

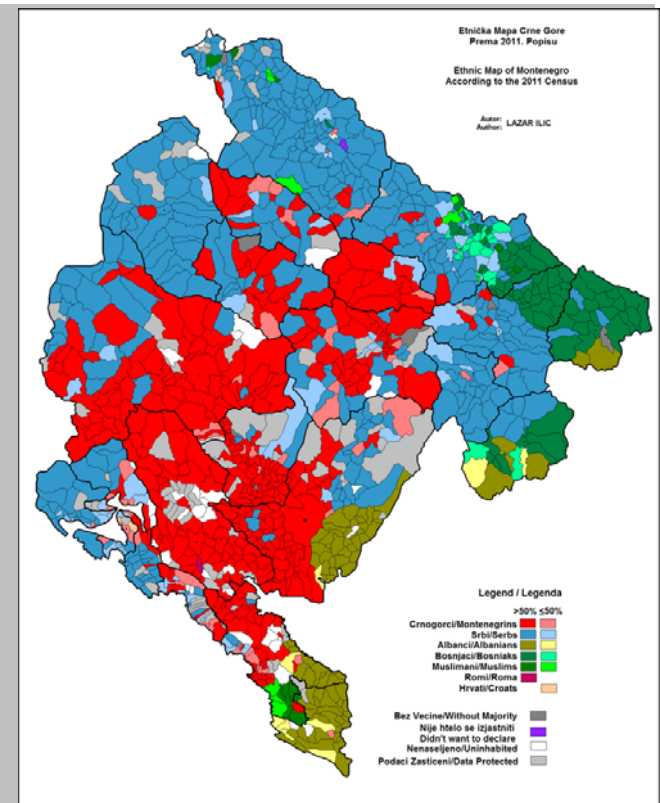
Small States Conflict Resolution (CR)

Montenegro

Olivera Komar & Nemanja Stankov
University of Montenegro

Small States & Conflict Resolution – Historical Background

- In the Balkans it is often „about identity“
- Fragile majorities and malleable identities
- Census 2011:
 - Montenegrin - 44.98%
 - Serbian - 28.73%
 - Albanian - 4.91%
 - Bosniak - 8.65%
 - Muslim - 3.31%
 - Croat - 0.97%
 - Other - 8%



Small States & Conflict Resolution – Internal divisions and external reflections

- Montenegrin rulers in from XI century on:
 - Vojislavici 1056 independence from the Byzantine and the Kingdom of Duklja
 - Conquered by Serbian king Stefan Nemanja 1189
 - Balsici, Kingdom of Zeta 1360
 - Dynasty of Crnojevici, First Orthodox majority, founding of Cetinje, the capital
 - Otoman Empire occupation: 1498-1697
 - Part of the population converted to Islam
 - Montenegrin state continuity - remains only partly free country in the western Balkans
 - XIX century dynasty Petrovic Njegos
 - Cooperation and mutual aspirations with Serbian rulers Karadjordjevici and Obrenovici
 - 1878 Berlin congress - independence
 - King Nikola's daughter married to Serbian ruler Petar Karadjordjevic
 - Future Yugoslav state
 - Balkan wars and the WWI
- Relations with Serbia
 - Mutual “aspirations”
 - Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenians (the first Yugoslavia) 1918
 - Montenegro „absorbed“ through Serbia
 - Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1929
 - Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1946
 - Federal republic of Yugoslavia 1992
 - Federal Republic of Serbia and Montenegro 2003
 - Independent Montenegro 2006

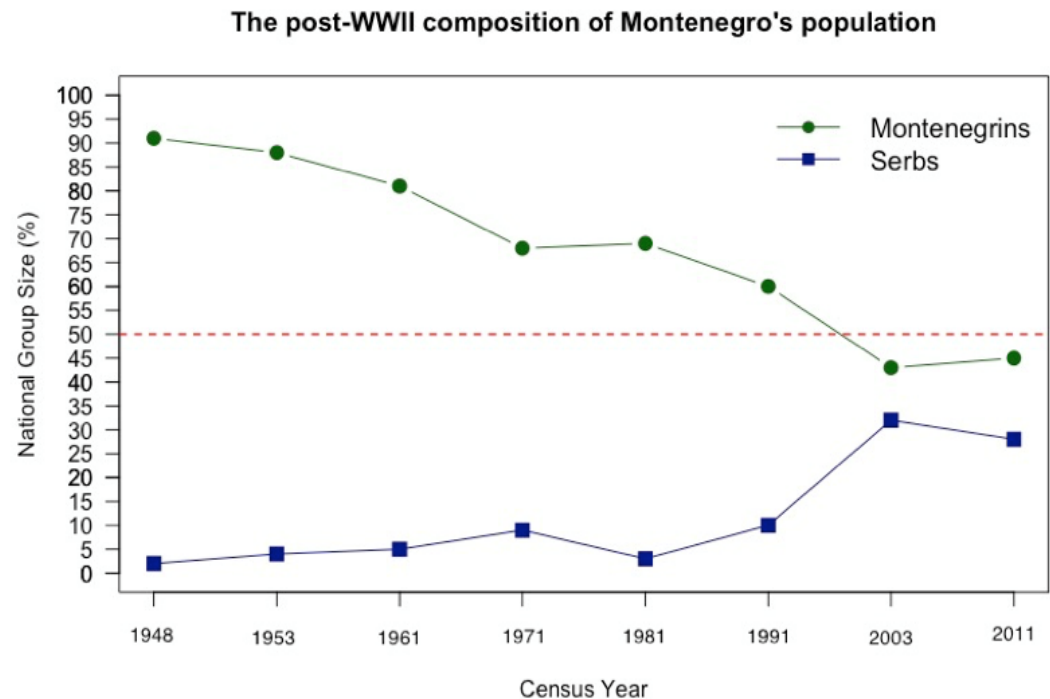
Small States & CR: Defining the nature and resolution of conflict

- Yugoslav war, 1991
 - “War for peace” (Svetozar Marovic, ex Yugoslav president)



Small States & Conflict Resolution: Major current conflict & issues

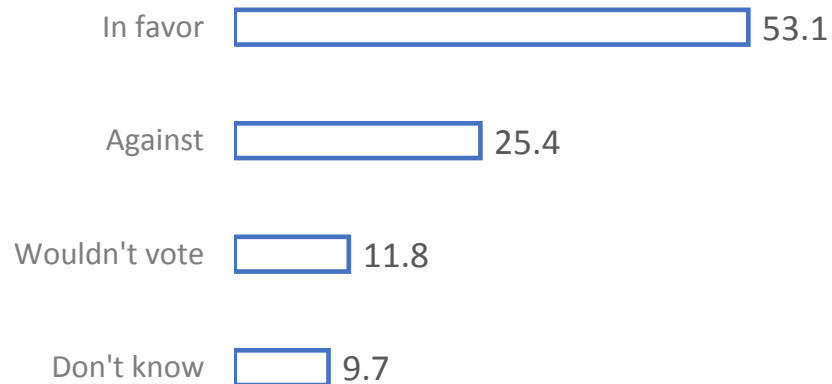
- Which are the main current issues of conflict in your country?



Source: *Statistical Office of Montenegro* (<http://www.monstat.org/eng/index.php>)

Small States & Conflict Resolution: Major current conflict & issues

If the Referendum would be repeated, how would you vote?



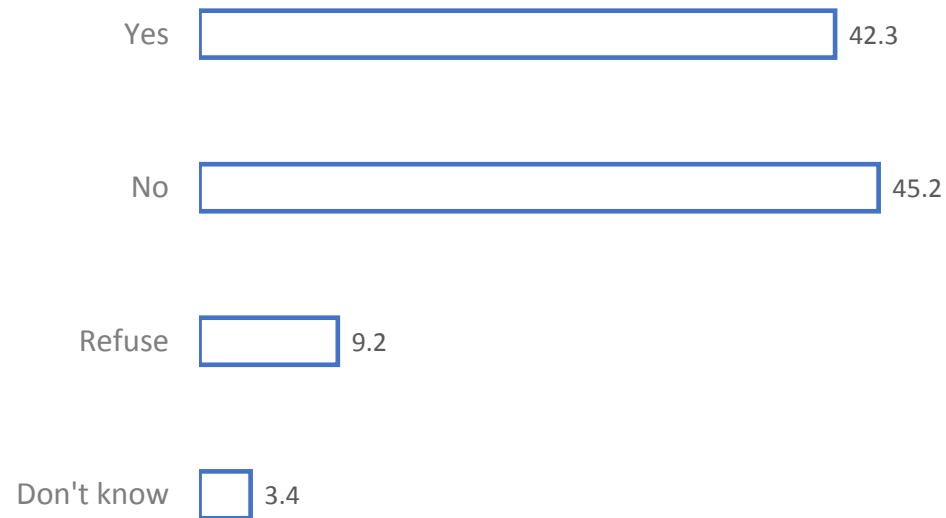
Do you stand when the national anthem is being played?



*Montenegrin National Election Study, 2016

Small States & Conflict Resolution: Major current conflict & issues

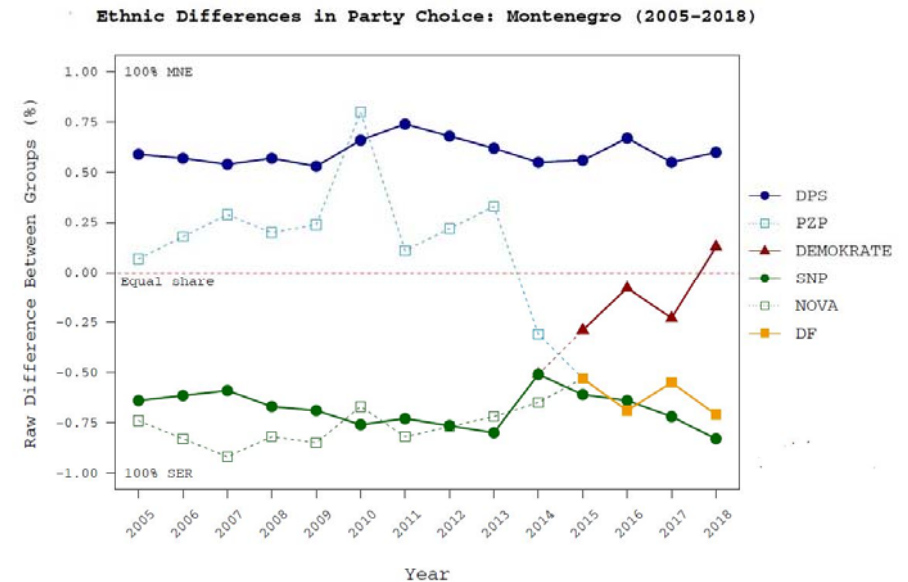
Are Montenegrins basically Serbs?



*Montenegrin National Election Study, 2016

Small States & CR: Defining the nature and resolution of conflict

- The role of political parties in defining the conflict and “inspiring” it
 - No middle ground - high polarization
- “Teasing” the oppositional parties to “come out”
- Translation of the conflict into other forms:
 - Pro and against NATO
 - East Vs. West
 - Serbian Vs. Montenegrin Orthodox Church



Small States & Conflict Resolution – institutional mechanisms within your country

- Which are the main state institutions/ actors within your country's dealing with the CR?
 - "Conflict" is not external so there are no official institutions dealing with it
 - It is part of the political process with social consequences

Small States & Conflict Resolution– Institutions/Agencies

- Are there any international institutional and arbitration mechanisms used by your country for CR e.g. UN, EU mechanisms, Council of Europe, International Courts used by your country?
- Any other external institutional mechanisms and actors involved e.g. friendly or traditional allies or neutral power?
 - Referendum 2006
 - The role of Miroslav Lajcak, special envoy by the European Commission
 - Frantisek Lipka, Slovak citizens, the Head of the Referendum Commission
 - European integration process
 - Stick and carrot approach

Small States & CR – Bilateral & multilateral relations

- How do bilateral and multilateral relations affect the CR in your country (e.g. relations with neighbouring countries or former rulers or colonisers or friendly foreign parties or others)? How does participation or relations or neutrality vis-à-vis multilateral and transnational organizations affect conflict resolution, management or transformation of conflict? Examples?
 - Torn between East and West
 - NATO membership as a highly disputed issue
 - Joined NATO even without the clear popular support
 - State coup affair - accusation that Russian operatives tried to influence elections using Serbian and Montenegrin citizens

Small States & CR: Challenges & Learning

- Which are the main challenges for your country in conflict resolution?
- What is there to learned for CR for other contexts from your country's role, knowhow and experience?
 - The main political challenge
 - The main political cleavage, highly politicized
 - Translates into different specific conflicts