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COLD WAR DIPLOMACY AND US–SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA FRUITFUL RELATIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF US–MONTENEGRO COOPERATION IN 1980

Dragutin PAPOVIĆ

University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Montenegro

ABSTRACT

During the 1970s, Yugoslavia formed a geostrategic partnership with the United States and engaged in multiple cooperative efforts. As one of the republics in Yugoslavia, Montenegro leveraged this partnership to establish numerous relations with the United States, with the primary goal of improving economic cooperation. Conversely, the United States paid greater attention to Montenegro during this period due to the Yugoslav constitution of 1974, which granted more power to the republics in creating international policy. The American government aimed to strengthen its influence in Montenegro and opened an Information Centre in the region in 1980. The close cooperation and mutual interests between the two nations resulted in the first official visit of the Montenegrin delegation to the United States in 1980. This paper relies mainly on unpublished sources from the State Archive of Montenegro.

Keywords: Montenegro, USA, Lawrence Eagleburger, Momčilo Cemović

LA DIPLOMAZIA DELLA GUERRA FREDDA E LE RELAZIONI PROFICUE TRA GLI STATI UNITI E LA JUGOSLAVIA SOCIALISTA: UN'ANALISI SULL'INSTAURAZIONE DELLA COOPERAZIONE TRA GLI STATI UNITI E IL MONTENEGRO NEL 1980

SINTESI

Negli anni '70, la Repubblica Socialista Federale di Jugoslavia ha instaurato una partnership geostrategica con gli Stati Uniti e ha intrapreso numerosi sforzi di collaborazione. In quanto una delle repubbliche costituenti della Jugoslavia, il Montenegro ha sfruttato tale partenariato per stabilire una serie di relazioni con gli Stati Uniti, con l'obiettivo principale di potenziare la cooperazione economica. Al contempo, gli Stati Uniti hanno concentrato maggiore attenzione sul Montenegro durante quel periodo, in virtù dell'emanazione della Costituzione jugoslava del 1974, che ha conferito alle repubbliche maggior potere nella sfera della politica internazionale. Il governo americano si è adoperato per rafforzare

la propria influenza nel Montenegro e, nel 1980, ha aperto un Centro informazioni nella regione. Grazie a una cooperazione stretta e ad interessi reciproci, le due nazioni hanno poi sperimentato la prima visita ufficiale di una delegazione montenegrina negli Stati Uniti nel 1980. La presente analisi si basa principalmente su fonti inedite provenienti dall'Archivio di Stato del Montenegro e pone l'accento sul ruolo di figure chiave come Lawrence Eagleburger e Momčilo Cemović.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, Stati Uniti, Lawrence Eagleburger, Momčilo Cemović

INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Yugoslavia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1948 marked a significant turning point in the communist bloc, as it broke its monolithic nature and caused major geostrategic changes (Leffler & Westad, 2010, I, 214). The West, particularly the United States of America (USA), supported Yugoslavia at that time because of its importance for the security of NATO's southern flank (Leffler & Westad, 2010, I, 215). From 1950 to 1955, the West, i.e., NATO, provided substantial military and economic aid to dissuade the USSR from invading Yugoslavia, with the USA playing a prominent role by sending over USD 525 million worth of aid and USD 55 million in loans by the end of 1952 (Aleksić, 2019, 125). The total value of economic and military support from the West during the 1949–1955 period amounted to approximately USD 1.5 billion (Leffler & Westad, 2010, I, 215). The USA supported Yugoslavia's "hybrid non-Soviet form of socialism" due to Belgrade's policies that served Western interests (CIA Documents, 2009, 231). The Democratic Party leader Adlai Stevenson's visit to Belgrade in June 1953 symbolized US diplomatic support for Yugoslavia (Petrović, 2014, 583), and Yugoslavia was included in the USA's Most Favoured Nation (MFN) program (Leffler & Westad, 2010, II, 52). The USA's comprehensive support reached its peak in 1953 to keep Tito in power, as stated by the US Ambassador to Belgrade George Allen (Lampe et al., 1990, 47). Allen believed that a Marxist Yugoslavia independent of Moscow benefited the "free world" more than joining the West, and thus it was crucial for the USA to make Tito capable of resisting Moscow and keeping him in power (Jakovina, 2002, 34; Bekić, 1988, 75). The USA's geostrategic goal was achieved when Tito rejected Moscow's attempt to bring Yugoslavia back into the communist base.

However, since the mid-1950s, Yugoslavia's closer ties with the Soviet bloc led to a decline in relations with the USA, resulting in the termination of military cooperation in 1957 (Jakovina, 2002, 120). At the same time, ideological disagreements caused a new cooling of relations with the USSR during 1957–1958 (Cvetković, 2014, 657–658). Yugoslavia then sought a "third way" and became one of the founders of

the Non-Aligned Movement, hosting the first conference in 1961. In the early 1960s, Yugoslavia once again aligned itself more closely with the USSR in international politics. The USA perceived this as Yugoslavia's preparation to return to the Soviet bloc, which led to Yugoslavia's exclusion from MFN status in June 1962 (Bogetić, 2009, 88). The increasing closeness between Yugoslavia and the USSR led to the deterioration of relations with the USA, so during Tito's first visit to the USA to meet with President Kennedy in 1963, the Americans insisted that it was an unofficial, working visit (Bogetić, 2007a, 70). Even though political relations were reaffirmed and an agreement on economic cooperation was reached, the visit was overshadowed by the incident against Tito in New York, caused by members of the Serbian and Croatian political emigration. Only a month after the meeting with Tito, President Kennedy was assassinated, and the benefits of this visit were temporary.

Yugoslavia maintained close relations and cooperation with the USSR from 1962 until the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Bogetić, 2009, 94). The possibility of a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia was a genuine concern at the time. However, a new rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the United States followed. In October 1968, President Lyndon Johnson informed the Yugoslav ambassador in Washington of his interest in the independence, sovereignty, and economic development of Yugoslavia (Bajc, 2014, 720). Relations continued to improve with the start of President Richard Nixon's administration mandate. Two days before his inauguration in January 1969, Nixon sent a letter to Tito expressing his desire to visit Yugoslavia (Bogetić, 2007b, 166). Nixon's visit to Yugoslavia took place in late September and early October 1970, during which he supported Yugoslavia's independence from the USSR and challenged the Soviet leader Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty. Nixon complimented Tito, calling him a giant on the world stage. Nixon believed that Tito, as the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, could significantly contribute to improving relations between the East and West, particularly in the crisis zones of Asia and Africa. This was especially true with regards to Tito's mediation efforts in improving relations between the US and Egypt (Richard Nixon Foundation, 2022). One of the achievements of this meeting was the reaffirmation of economic relations. On Nixon's initiative, the US granted Yugoslavia the privileged status of a developing country and promised financial support. The American Government also guaranteed security for American companies to invest in Yugoslavia (Bogetić, 2007b, 174).

Nixon's visit to Yugoslavia in 1970 marked the beginning of a decade of improving relations between the USA and Yugoslavia. The US supported Yugoslavia's independence and non-aligned policy, on the condition that it remained ideologically and militarily independent from the USSR and China (Milosevic, 2018, 191). The two countries shared common interests, and to solidify their renewed partnership, President Tito visited President Nixon in October 1971, resulting in the "Joint Statement" of the two presidents, also known as the "Washington Declaration," which established long-term Yugoslav-American relations (Bogetić, 2015a, 15). The relationship between non-aligned Yugoslavia and the US, a world

superpower, was based on mutual respect, cooperation, and equality (Milošević, 2018, 192–193). The US confirmed its interest in an independent and non-aligned Yugoslavia, emphasizing that Yugoslavia was an important factor in international relations (Bogetić, 2011, 169). During the meeting in Washington, Presidents Tito and Nixon exchanged compliments, with Tito calling Nixon an “esteemed friend,” and Nixon praising Tito’s “strong convictions” and his ability to talk “with anyone in the world” (Robertson, 1971). The two presidents agreed to regular consultations and to improve all forms of cooperation, including trade, joint ventures, industrial cooperation, and long-term programs of scientific, educational, and cultural cooperation, to maintain positive continuity in their relationship.

Non-aligned Yugoslavia played a crucial role in maintaining the political balance and security of European countries, as NATO had a “vital interest in preserving the integrity and independence of Yugoslavia” (CIA Document, 2009, 232). The USA and NATO were prepared to provide military support to Yugoslavia in the event of Soviet aggression, and in November 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger supported Yugoslavia’s independence and non-alignment during a meeting with Tito in Belgrade (Bogetić, 2014, 177). As the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia played a significant role in US policy towards Third World countries and was instrumental in the policy of détente between the blocs, leading to improved relations between the USA and Yugoslavia in the second half of the 1970s. This is evidenced by the meeting between Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito and American President Gerald Ford in 1975, as well as the meeting between President Tito and President Jimmy Carter in 1978. At that point, the positions on the relations between the two countries, as well as on significant international issues, were harmonized. In August 1975, Presidents Tito and Gerald Ford discussed several topics during their meeting in Belgrade, including the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki and the Israeli-Palestinian crisis and its impact on the Middle East region (Gerald R. Ford, 2023). Yugoslav main goals were: to acquire modern military and civilian technology from the USA, continue credit arrangements with the American financial institutions and get help from administration in suppressing the activity of anti-Titoist emigre groups (Lazić, 2022, 129–130). The USA requested Yugoslavia, as the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, to influence Arab states, particularly Egypt, to accept peace negotiations with Israel organized by the USA (Naughton, 1975). President Ford’s visit demonstrated Washington’s continued support for maintaining the independence of Yugoslavia, while on the other hand, Washington expected more understanding from Yugoslavia for USA interests in various international issues (Lazić, 2022, 129). Meanwhile, Yugoslav representatives demanded increased investment from the USA in industry, agriculture, and technology transfer (Bogetić, 2015b, 253). President Ford pledged to strengthen economic ties and agreed to procure arms from the USA to Yugoslavia, which supported Yugoslavia’s independence, integrity,

and non-aligned position (Bogetić, 2014, 179). Secretary of State Kissinger emphasized the significance of Tito and Yugoslavia for American interests, stating “Tito is not under the control of Moscow, and his influence is felt all over the world” during a meeting with his team in 1975 (Leffler & Westad, 2010, III, 52). This position was unique in the bipolar world at that time.

During a meeting in Washington in March 1978, Presidents Tito and Carter agreed on the positions of détente between the East and West and the mediating role in peace processes in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. At the time, the Cold War was only cold in Europe, while it was hot on the periphery, namely Africa, Central America, and the Middle East (Leffler & Westad, 2010, III, 75). This was particularly significant in relation to the then serious crisis in the Horn of Africa, where Yugoslavia, through communist Ethiopia, had a great influence. United States Secretary Cyrus Vance expressed the goals of the United States as strong support for the independence and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, respect for Tito and Yugoslavia as leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the strengthening of bilateral relations in all areas.¹ Tito’s policy remained important for US interests, so Carter described Tito as “the symbol of East European aspiration for freedom and independence and a true friend of the United States” (Doder, 1978). The American president also emphasized that the independence and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia were essential for peace in the world.² According to US Ambassador in Yugoslavia, Lawrence Eagleburger, this period marked the best Yugoslav-American relations since World War II.³

The USA remained committed to supporting Yugoslavia’s internal and foreign policies even after Tito’s death in May 1980. American officials were concerned about the fragile nature of Yugoslavia as a multinational federation and feared that nationalist tensions between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes would tear the country apart. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter’s national security adviser, shared this view (González Villa, 2017, 701). In June 1980, President Carter visited Yugoslavia and reassured its new leadership of America’s continued support for Yugoslavian independence (Dobbs, 1980). The US had a strategic interest in maintaining Yugoslavia’s independence to prevent Soviet access to the Adriatic and Mediterranean (CIA Documents, 2009, 269). However, it was a challenging task given the federation’s significant internal problems, such as political leadership issues, internal divisions, unemployment, inflation, and a growing trade deficit, even during Tito’s final years in power (Ramšak, 2017, 689).

1 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 252. Memorandum from Secretary of State Vance to President Carter, Washington, Undated. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-02-02).

2 Foreign Relations, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 242. Memorandum from the President’s Assistant for National security affairs (Brzezinski) to President Carter, Washington, September 20, 1977. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-02-05).

3 Foreign Relations, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 249. Telegram from the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, February 24, 1978. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-03-23).

The strengthening of political cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USA led to intense diplomatic activity.⁴ From 1977 to 1980, several high-level Yugoslavian officials visited the USA, including Edvard Kardelj, a member of the Yugoslav Presidency; President Draža Marković, who headed a delegation of the Yugoslav Parliament; Tihomir Vlaškalić, who led a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; and General Nikola Ljubičić, Federal Secretary for National Defense. Additionally, there were numerous visits by republic and provincial delegations, economic delegations, and other groups. In turn, Yugoslavia received visits from US Vice President Walter Mondale, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, several members of the presidential cabinet, almost 100 congressmen and senators, and numerous delegations from American federal states, governors, and other groups.

The bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and the USA were marked by a special focus on growing economic cooperation. In terms of its value, the USA was the fourth largest partner in Yugoslav foreign trade, after the USSR, FR Germany, and Italy. In 1979, the total trade in goods between the USA and SFRY amounted to 1,419,000,000 dollars. Yugoslav exports were around 370 million dollars, while the import from the USA was worth about 1,049 million dollars. However, SFRY had a high trade deficit with the USA amounting to about 679 million dollars. Yugoslav exports stagnated, while imports from the USA increased significantly in just one year, reaching 615.8 million dollars in 1978. The import from the USA accounted for 8.2% of total Yugoslav imports and 5.7% of total Yugoslav exports. To facilitate business meetings and agreements between American and Yugoslav businessmen, the Yugoslav-American Economic Council was established in 1974 (Lampe et al., 1990, 144). American investments played a significant role in economic relations. In 1967, Yugoslavia adopted the first law allowing foreign investments, based on which the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank formed the International Investment Corporation for Yugoslavia (IICY) in 1969 to promote foreign investments in Yugoslavia (Lampe et al., 1990, 127). The financial cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USA was well-developed (Lampe et al., 1990, 148). American state and private banks, along with the International Monetary Fund, were Yugoslavia's main creditors, having lent several billion dollars. Between 1949 and 1989, the official export-credit agency of the US Government, the "Export-Import" (EX-IM) bank, approved more than 2.5 billion dollars in loans to Yugoslavia (Lampe et al., 1990, 112).

US - MONTENEGRO COOPERATION IN 1970S

After World War II, Montenegro became a republic within socialist Yugoslavia, with the smallest territory of all the Yugoslav republics at 13,812 km² and a population of approximately 585,000 according to the 1981 census. In the 1970s,

4 SAMN 358, f. 6. Proposal of the platform for the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of Socialist Republic (SR) Montenegro to the United States of America, Titograd, April, 1980.

Montenegro sought to enhance cooperation with the United States based on the framework of Yugoslav-American relations. It is worth noting that Montenegro and the United States had established diplomatic relations prior to 1918, during the period when Montenegro was an independent state. In 1905, the US representative John Jackson presented his credentials to the Montenegrin King Nikola I Petrović-Njegoš (Andrijašević & Rastoder, 2006, 184). However, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Montenegro in January 1921 when they recognized the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which included Montenegro since 1918. As a result, there were no official relations between the two nations until the establishment of US-Montenegro cooperation in 1980.

The first significant contact between Montenegro and the United States during this period occurred in 1972 when, at the request of the Montenegrin government, the Committee for Coordination of Activities of the US Institutions in Cooperation with the University of Montenegro was established at Florida State University in Tallahassee.⁵ This initiative was made possible by the cooperation agreement between Presidents Tito and Nixon, as outlined in the Washington Declaration of 1971, which called for long-term cooperation in science, education, and culture (Bogetić, 2011, 169). The committee, chaired by Professor Robert M. Johnson of Florida State University, consisted of professors from several US universities and provided significant consulting assistance to Montenegro in the establishment of the University “Veljko Vlahović,”⁶ which was founded in 1974. Subsequently, the University “Veljko Vlahović” continued to collaborate intensively with Florida State University.⁷ In December 1975, the two universities signed an indefinite-term cooperation agreement that envisaged teacher exchanges, work on joint research projects, and the organization of seminars.⁸ During the signing of the agreement, Dr. Branislav Ivanović, Vice-Rector of the University “Veljko Vlahović,” visited Florida State University, and the university’s Rector, Stanley J. Marshall, made a

- 5 SAMN 361, f. 17, 41; 5/1972, Commission for the Development of Higher Education in Montenegro, Information on the forthcoming discussions of the representatives from SR Montenegro and the USA, Titograd, 4th October 1972. The committee had 12 members: Robert M. Johnson (Dean of Postgraduate Studies and Director of Research Work of the State University of Florida), Dr. White Kerr (Professor at Michigan School of Medicine), A.R. Chamberlain (President of Colorado State University), William H. Clayton (Dean of the College of Oceanographic Sciences A. and M. University of Texas), Guy Corriden (Director of the Department of European Studies), Paul M. Dottie (Professor of Biochemistry at Harvard University), William R. Kist (Head of the Department of English Language at the University of Texas), Robert O. Lawton (Dean of the College of Art and Science, Florida State University), George Mačević (Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for Slavic and Eastern European Studies at the State University of Florida), Viktor G. Rosenblum (Professor of Political and Legal Studies of the North-western University School of Law), John E. Nelor (Assistant Vice President, Michigan State University) and Denzel D. Smith (North-western University Advisor and Senior Advisor, Batel Memorial Institute).
- 6 In the period 1974 - 1992, the University of Montenegro was called University “Veljko Vlahović” after a prominent Montenegrin intellectual and revolutionary.
- 7 SAMN 358, f. 10. Note on some issues of international activities of the University “Veljko Vlahović”.
- 8 SAMN – 358, f. 12. Information on the activities of the University “Veljko Vlahović” at the international level, without date.

return visit in March 1976. In October 1977, Bernard F. Sliger, the new rector of Florida State University, visited the University of Titograd.

Through the Loan Agreement signed in 1974 between the Government of Yugoslavia and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), some of the funds were allocated to the development of the University of Montenegro.⁹ Additionally, the University signed a collaborative agreement with the Centre for Yugoslav-American Studies, Research and Exchange. Notably, the Biological Institute of Titograd¹⁰ and the Smithsonian Institute, as well as the Kotor Brain Research Laboratory and the University of California Brain Research Institute, participated in joint projects. Since 1972, the Medical Institute in Titograd and the US Department of Health have also cooperated. Educational collaboration was fostered through scholarships, such as Fulbright and Irex, which supported various forms of training, university partnerships, and guest lecturers.¹¹

The first significant economic contact between Montenegro and the United States occurred in the late 1950s when the US Development Loan Fund (DLF) approved USD 15 million for the construction of a new hydropower plant in Montenegro (Lampe et al., 1990, 60). On December 21, 1973, representatives of EX-IM Bank, Montenegrin Ironworks company, and Investment Bank of Titograd signed a Loan Agreement worth USD 34 million in Washington for the reconstruction and modernization of the Ironworks company, the largest loan that a Montenegrin company had received from abroad until then.¹² However, the development of trade exchange was slow. In the first ten months of 1979, Montenegrin imports from the United States amounted to about USD 105 million, with machinery and equipment, corn, soybeans, petroleum coke, and aluminum fluoride being the main items.¹³ Nevertheless, Montenegrin exports to the United States were 50 times smaller than imports, totaling only about USD 2.5 million. Over 50% of the value of Montenegro's exports to the United States referred to refrigerators produced by the company Obod from Cetinje, followed by significant exports of medicinal herbs.

Montenegro aimed to improve economic cooperation with the United States based on long-term agreements and contracts, in line with the economic liberalization policies and efficiency-oriented economic reforms introduced by Slovenia during the 1960s (Woodward, 1995, 345). The Yugoslav government's economic reform and agreement with international creditors sought to increase exports to western markets over an extended period (Woodward, 1995, 347). Montenegro intended to attract US investments to enhance economic development and address the growing unemployment rate. Official data indicated that unemployment in Montenegro rose

9 SAMN 361, f. 39, 57; 6/1975, Proposal for the Law on the Ratification of the Agreement.

10 The capital of Montenegro, Podgorica, was renamed into Titograd in 1946. The city was named after Yugoslav President Tito. The name Podgorica was returned in 1992.

11 SAMN 358, f. 6. Proposal of the platform for the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of Socialist Republic (SR) Montenegro to the United States of America, Titograd, April, 1980.

12 Pobjeda, 23. 12. 1973, 1.

13 SAMN 358, f. 1. Initiatives for improving cooperation with the USA, Titograd, 18th December 1979.

from 6.5% in 1971 to 19.3% in 1979 (Woodward, 1995, 383–384). The priorities were to increase exports to the US market and attract US investments and technologies.¹⁴ At that time, Montenegro had only one joint investment agreement, signed in 1973 with the US companies Buttes Gas and Oil Co. and Chevron Overseas Petroleum Inc. from California, for oil exploration in the Montenegrin submarine (Lampe et al., 1990, 135). Montenegro particularly hoped for financial assistance from US commercial banks, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and the International Finance Corporation, all members of the World Bank Group. Interbank and financial cooperation with the United States primarily occurred through the Investment Bank-Titograd and US commercial banks such as Bank of America, Manufactures Hanover Trust Co., City Bank, First Chicago International Banking Co., National City Bank, and Crocker National Bank. The most significant credit indebtedness from the late 1970s was a loan in the amount of USD 50 million approved by the Bank of America to complete the reconstruction of the Ironworks company.

In the late 1970s, Montenegrin expatriates living in the United States, numbering about 45,000, were of particular interest to the state. They formed immigrant clubs, with the Lovćen club from Detroit standing out as it mainly brought together ethnic Montenegrins. Additionally, there were 14,000 Albanian immigrants from Montenegro living in the USA, and their most famous club was called Besa, founded in Detroit in 1973. This club was recognizable for its patriotic attitude towards Montenegro and Yugoslavia. In 1974, Albanian immigrants from Montenegro founded a club named Montenegro in Los Angeles. Immigrants who lived in and around New York founded the American-Montenegrin-Albanian Association in New York in 1979. Immigrants from Montenegro who lived in Chicago founded the Boka association in 1979.

BEGINNING OF DIRECT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MONTENEGRO

The Yugoslav republics began actively participating in international cooperation in the mid-60s. In March 1967, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the Italian autonomous region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and the Austrian federal state of Carinthia entered into an agreement for cultural cooperation. This was followed by the establishment of the Commission for Cooperation between Friuli, Carinthia, Slovenia, and Croatia in the area of spatial planning and tourism in Videm in 1969, which led to the creation of “Quadrignon” (Klabjan, 2013, 412).

The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution enabled greater participation of the republics and provinces in international relations. While foreign policy management remained under the responsibility of the Federal Government, Article 271 of the Constitution allowed the republics and autonomous provinces to cooperate internationally within

14 SAMN 358, f. 6. Proposal of the platform for the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of Socialist Republic (SR) Montenegro to the United States of America, Titograd, April, 1980.

the framework of Yugoslavia's established foreign policy and its international treaties (Ramšak, 2014, 736). This led to the establishment of international economic cooperation by special bodies, including the Republic Secretariats for International Cooperation, which were renamed the Republic Committee for International Cooperation in Slovenia in 1980 (Ramšak, 2015, 767). The republics also formed institutes for international scientific, technical, and cultural-educational cooperation (ZAMTES), and the republican Chambers of Commerce also participated in cooperation. On November 20, 1978, the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia, the Italian regions of Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and the Austrian Federal States of Carinthia, Styria, and Upper Austria formed the "Working Community of States and Regions of the Eastern Alpine Regions," whose main goal was regional cooperation (Portmann & Ruzicic-Kessler, 2014, 306). This community was later renamed the "Alpine-Adriatic Working Community." During the 1970s, Slovenia strengthened its cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany, particularly with the federal province of Bavaria, which saw several high-level visits (Udovič, 2022, 541).

In accordance with the 1974 Constitution, the Committee for Foreign Relations was established in 1975 within the Executive Council (Government) of the Parliament of Montenegro.¹⁵ The committee was responsible for following Yugoslavia's foreign policies and exploring potential cooperation with other countries of interest to Montenegro. In 1979, the Committee for Foreign Relations was reorganized into an independent collegial administrative body, officially named the Republic Committee for Foreign Relations, with the task of managing Montenegro's international relations in accordance with its constitutional rights and duties.¹⁶ One of its primary objectives was to establish direct cooperation between Montenegro and the USA, which was a significant and crucial undertaking.

The cooperation between Montenegro and the United States was deeply influenced by the devastating earthquake that struck Montenegro in 1979, causing material damage amounting to around USD 4.5 billion, or approximately four times the annual gross national income. The United States was among the first countries to send urgent aid to Montenegro, providing assistance in the form of food and equipment which arrived on nine special planes, as well as a team of top US experts in seismology and geology. In addition to the US government, aid was also provided by the US Red Cross and many US companies, including money, medicines, clothing, food, and water purifiers.¹⁷ The initial aid from the United States was valued at USD 1.3 million, and Mr. Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the US Ambassador to Belgrade, donated USD 25,000 and visited Montenegro in the first days after the earthquake. The US President, Jimmy Carter, authorized

15 SAMN 358, f. 10. Report on the Committee's work for the period May 1978– 31 December 1979, Titograd, mart 1980; Official Gazette SRMNE, 4/1975, 10. 2. 1975.

16 SAMN 358, f. 1. Records from 3rd Session of the Republic committee for foreign relations , 21.12.1979. and 11.01.1980.

17 SAMN 358, f. 9, Reminder for discussions with the US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Titograd, November 1980.

Ambassador Eagleburger to coordinate the distribution of American aid.¹⁸ Following the Montenegrin government's suggestion, the US Congress approved USD 10 million in aid for the construction of schools and hospitals. However, Ambassador Eagleburger was not satisfied with this amount and asked the US government to send more aid, as the earthquake had destroyed much of the coastal infrastructure, and tens of thousands of people had lost their homes.¹⁹

During a Congressional debate, Senator Edward Moore Kennedy proposed an amendment to provide USD 20 million in aid to Montenegro, but the proposal was ultimately rejected, which Ambassador Eagleburger believed was a mistake. Despite his energetic appeals, the US Government cited a lack of funds and did not change its decision.²⁰ Ambassador Eagleburger warned the government that the absence of significant US aid would damage relations with Yugoslavia, strengthen forces seeking closer relations with the USSR and a return to a more repressive system, and strengthen nationalist forces wanting to destroy Yugoslavia. This had wider political consequences, as other Western countries were waiting to see the US response before providing aid. In September 1979, Ambassador Eagleburger and Yugoslav representatives signed a USD 10 million gift agreement between Yugoslavia and the US to aid in the aftermath of the earthquake in Montenegro.²¹ The US Government delivered this assistance through the USAID.

The US Embassy in Belgrade organized the provision of aid and contacted representatives from the USA regarding further assistance and cooperation programs for the reconstruction of Montenegro. Ambassador Eagleburger promised to encourage US partners and corporations to provide aid to Montenegro.²² Since finances were a priority, the first cooperation was agreed upon in this area. In October 1979, President of the Government of Montenegro, Mr. Momčilo Cemović, and President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, met at the exclusive Montenegrin hotel St. Stefan (Pobjeda, 9. 10. 1979, 2). Mr. McNamara, who had served as Secretary of Defense from 1961 to 1968, agreed that the IBRD would approve an USD 85 million loan to Montenegro to

18 SAMN 358, f. 1. A note on the conversation between Deputy Federal Secretary, Milorad Pešić and Ambassador L. Eagleburger, Belgrade, 16th May 1979.

19 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 264, Telegram from the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, May 10, 1979. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-02-12).

20 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 265. Telegram From the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, June 1, 1979. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-02-12).

21 SAMN 358, f.1 Agreement on gifts between the SFRY and the USA for assistance in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, Belgrade, 29 September 1979.

22 SAMN 358, f. 1. A note on the conversation between Deputy Federal Secretary, Milorad Pešić and Ambassador L. Eagleburger, Belgrade, 16th May 1979.

help it eliminate the consequences of the earthquake.²³ Representatives of the Montenegrin Government signed this loan agreement in Washington, D.C. at the IBRD in October 1979. Later, the American EX-IM Bank approved a USD 90 million loan for the import of US equipment to Montenegro for repairing the consequences of the earthquake. The loan could be used by all Montenegrin companies that were importing American equipment.

PREPARATIONS FOR MONTENEGRIN DELEGATION'S VISIT TO THE USA

Scientific, trade, financial, and humanitarian cooperation were emphasized as crucial for improving relations between the United States and Montenegro. In a meeting with Ambassador Eagleburger, Milorad Pešić, the Deputy Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs, expressed Montenegro's desire for their delegation to visit the United States to obtain more aid.²⁴ The US government accepted this proposal, and Ambassador Eagleburger extended an official invitation to the Montenegrin government delegation. In June 1979, the Yugoslav government approved the visit of the delegation, and in September of the same year, the Montenegrin government decided to send the delegation to the United States to discuss various forms of cooperation with US representatives.²⁵ Montenegro coordinated its cooperation plans with the United States with the official Global Projection for the Development of Yugoslavia's Cooperation with the United States for the period 1979–1985.²⁶ The Montenegrin government undertook extensive preparations for the delegation's visit, which was the first official visit since World War II, with a focus on long-term economic cooperation.²⁷

The United States were also keen to strengthen institutional relations with Montenegro. In light of this, the US government made the decision to establish a US Information Center in Titograd at the end of 1979. The first director of the center was Mr. Robert McCarthy, who visited Titograd and met with the Republic Committee for Information in late November 1979.²⁸ The center was scheduled to begin operations at the beginning of 1980, with the aim of promoting US literature and culture and collaborating with Montenegrin educational, cultural, and information institutions.

23 SAMN 358, f. 1. Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Directorate for North America, Australia and New Zealand - Executive Councils of SR Montenegro, SR Macedonia and Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) Kosovo, Belgrade, 2nd November 1979.

24 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XX, Eastern Europe, 265. Telegram From the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, June 1, 1979. <https://history.state.gov/> (last access: 2023-02-15).

25 SAMN 358, f. 2. Conclusions from the First Session of the Republic Committee for Foreign Relations, 7th September 1979.

26 SAMN 358, f. 1. Republic Committee for Foreign Relations – Chamber of Commerce SR Montenegro, Titograd, 14th September 1979.

27 SAMN 358, f. 1. Initiatives for improving cooperation with the USA, Titograd, 18th December 1979.

28 SAMN 358, f. 1. A note on the visit of Robert McCarthy, the newly appointed director of the future US Information Centre in Titograd, to the Republic Information Committee, 29th October 1979.

In early October 1979, the President of the Republic Committee for Foreign Relations, Mr. Branko Lukovac, and Ambassador Eagleburger met to discuss the development of cooperation and friendship between Montenegro and the United States, and to facilitate the Montenegrin delegation's visit to the US.²⁹ They agreed to continue meeting to ensure the delegation's visit was successful. To this end, William Whitman, an economic advisor at the US Embassy in Belgrade, visited Montenegro from November 12th to 14th, 1979.³⁰ During his visit, he toured the Aluminum Plant Titograd, a significant player in the non-ferrous metallurgy sector producing roughly 110,000 tons of primary aluminum annually. Whitman stated that there were real opportunities for cooperation and joint investments between the US-based General Motors and Aluminum Plant Titograd. Additionally, the Ironworks company, Montenegro's largest company in the ferrous metallurgy sector, sought diplomatic assistance in securing an additional USD 3 million loan from EX-IM Bank to complete its reconstruction project, in addition to a USD 50 million loan already taken from US banks for equipment purchases. The Ironworks company also required support from the US Embassy in obtaining US licenses for projects based on special steels and sought US investors for their realization. Much of the Ironworks company's equipment was of US origin, making it necessary to facilitate the quick import of required spare parts from the United States.

In Montenegro's most significant financial institution, the Investment Bank, Whitman was informed that Montenegro's development depends on processing steel, aluminum, and wood, as well as on developing coastal and mountain tourism. The bank requested joint investments and cooperation with appropriate US companies for these projects. Investment Bank representatives requested that the US Embassy direct US business people to Montenegro and help find business partners. Mr. Whitman agreed with this proposal. The representatives of Montenegro's largest agricultural company, Agrocombine "13th July," expressed interest in exporting red wine to the US market. Mr. Whitman also mentioned the possibility of exporting white wine to the US since the United States had low customs rates on imports of wine from Yugoslavia. Additionally, representatives of the largest company in the electronic industry sector, Obod, informed the US advisor that they signed a contract for exporting 50,000 refrigerators to the USA in 1980. Obod was interested in purchasing technology, obtaining US licenses, and joint investments in the electronic industry. The largest tourist operator, Montenegro-tourist, presented the possibilities of joint investments in constructing luxury hotels to attract US tourists. Whitman also discussed with the representatives of the Port of Bar the possibilities of agreeing on joint investments in the free customs zone and making the port a transit point for exporting American goods to Southeast European countries.

29 SAMN 358, f. 2, Chairman of the Committee Branko Lukovac – Mr. Lawrence S. Eagleburger, US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Titograd, 11th October 1979.

30 SAMN 358, f. 1. A note on the visit of the US Economic Adviser William Whitman to Montenegro.

After consulting with Montenegrin businessmen, Mr. Whitman highlighted the real possibilities of economic cooperation. First and foremost, the US market was interested in importing quality wines from Montenegro. The refrigerators produced by Obod company were in demand in this market, and Mr. Whitman recommended expanding cooperation in this area. Additionally, cooperation with Ironworks company and the Aluminum Plant should have been raised to a higher level. He advised Montenegro-tourist to increase interest in the Montenegrin coast among American tourists through advertising and the development of a reservation system. Moreover, he suggested that joint investments were possible in the reconstruction and construction of areas affected by the earthquake, especially in the construction of modern catering facilities. Finally, Mr. Whitman recommended that representatives of Montenegrin companies should consider opening a joint representative office in the USA, which would conduct research on the US market.

In the early 1980s, it was decided that a Montenegrin delegation would visit the United States in the latter half of April.³¹ In mid-February 1980, the Montenegrin Government made an official decision to send the delegation to the United States.³² At the end of February 1980, President of the Republic Committee for Foreign Relations, Branko Lukovac, and Ambassador Eagleburger discussed the goals, approximate date of the visit, and preparations for the delegation's departure.³³ Mr. Lukovac presented the preparations for the visit in detail and the Montenegrin side's views on the possibilities of cooperation in certain areas. Ambassador Eagleburger praised Montenegro's decision to offer a broader list of programs and projects, so that the US side could hold consultations and determine its interests in the projects. However, upon the request of Ambassador Eagleburger, the visit was postponed until May. Subsequently, the State Department informed the Yugoslav Government that it would cooperate fully to facilitate the Montenegrin delegation in achieving the goal of the visit.³⁴

Following that, preparations were accelerated. The Republican Committee for Foreign Relations established a Platform for the visit of the Executive Council delegation to the US in April.³⁵ In the meantime, Ambassador Eagleburger returned to Montenegro, accompanied by a group of associates, including John E. Reinhardt, the director of the United States Information Agency.³⁶ The purpose of their visit was to officially open the US Information Centre in Titograd, the

31 SAMN 358, f. 6. Federal Secretariat for Foreign Relations – Administration for the North America, Belgrade, 30th January 1980.

32 SAMN - Republic Committee on Foreign Relations (358), f. 12, Report on the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of SR Montenegro to the USA, Titograd, June 1980.

33 SAMN 358, f. 7. A note on the conversation with the US Ambassador, Titograd, 22 February 1980.

34 SAMN 358, f. 6. To the comrade Budimir Lončar, ambassador of the SFRY in Washington, 3rd March 1980

35 SAMN 358, f. 6. Proposal of the platform for the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of Socialist Republic (SR) Montenegro to the United States of America, Titograd, April, 1980.

36 SAMN 358, f. 11, Information on the discussions with Mr. Rainhard and L. Eagleburger, Titograd, 17th April 1980.

first official institution of a foreign country in Montenegro since World War II.³⁷ During the opening of the Centre, an exhibition entitled “Contemporary American Graphics” was showcased, which was a significant step toward better cooperation between the United States and Montenegro in the fields of information, science, technology, and culture. President Cemović informed the US representatives about the preparations for the Montenegrin delegation’s visit to the United States. The US Embassy provided concrete proposals to the Montenegrin delegation on whom to contact in the United States, and President Cemović requested that representatives of certain US companies be involved in the visit preparations. Ambassador Eagleburger accepted the request and assigned William Whitman, an economic advisor at the Embassy, to facilitate this task. In mid-April 1980, Montenegrin representatives met with representatives of several US companies, including General Electric Company and General Motors, in Belgrade.³⁸ It was agreed that the representatives of the US companies would visit appropriate partners in Montenegro and continue negotiations on possible cooperation in the United States during the visit of the Montenegrin delegation.

VISIT OF MONTENEGRIN DELEGATION TO THE USA

The Platform for the visit of the Montenegrin delegation was officially approved by the Yugoslav Government at the end of April 1980.³⁹ Subsequently, the Government and the Presidency of Montenegro agreed that the delegation should visit the United States between the 21st and 30th of May, with Prime Minister Momčilo Cemović leading the delegation.⁴⁰ The delegation’s members of the economic section were headed by Omer Kurpejović, the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Montenegro. The majority of the delegation members were representatives of Montenegrin companies, which was consistent with the business-oriented essence of the Visiting Platform. The political objectives of the Platform included meetings with high-ranking officials in the State Department and Congress.

The Montenegrin delegation arrived in the United States on May 21, 1980, just two weeks after Tito’s funeral.⁴¹ In Washington, the delegation met with US Secretary of Commerce, Philip M. Klacnik, and his team. The Prime Minister of Montenegro, Cemović, emphasized that it was in Montenegro’s interest to

37 SAMN 358, f. 13, Proposals regarding the obligations related to the opening of the US Information Center in Titograd, 3rd April 1980.

38 SAMN 358, f. 6, Information on discussions.

39 SAMN 358, f. 12, Report on the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of SR Montenegro to the USA, Titograd, June 1980.

40 SAMN 358, f. 6, Republic Committee on Foreign Relations – to the Presidency of Montenegro, Titograd, 13th May 1980.

41 SAMN 358, f. 12, Report on the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of SR Montenegro to the USA, Titograd, June 1980.

enhance economic relations, increase cooperation, and boost trade in goods, and he expected the US to take more initiative. The delegation presented a list of Montenegrin products available for export to the US, along with a special publication on Montenegro's economy and an agreement for joint investments and long-term production cooperation. However, Yugoslav restrictive regulations and the insistence on tied counter-deliveries were significant obstacles for US investors, which deterred them from investing more in Yugoslavia. Secretary Klacnik promised to encourage US companies to work with partners from Montenegro and expressed that he had the mandate of President Carter to improve economic cooperation with Yugoslavia.

During their visit, the Montenegrin delegation also met with George West, the Assistant Secretary of State at the US State Department. Prime Minister Cemović presented the goals and interests of the delegation, stressing the importance of maintaining stable and consistent relations between Montenegro and the United States. Mr. West, in turn, acknowledged the significance of Yugoslavia's non-aligned policy and the US government's commitment to strengthening relations with the country. He expressed support for cooperation programs between Montenegro and the United States and offered assistance to generate interest among US business communities for further cooperation with Montenegro.

The President of the Foreign Policy Committee of the House of Representatives in Congress, Clement J. Zablocki, along with about 10 congressmen, met with the Montenegrin delegation. Mr. Zablocki was well-versed in Yugoslav politics, having been a member of the first congressional delegation to visit Yugoslavia in 1952 (Aleksić, 2019, 120). The congressmen emphasized their support for President Tito's policies and for an independent and non-aligned Yugoslavia. Prime Minister Cemović explained Montenegro's position within Yugoslavia and its plans for development, which relied on strengthening economic cooperation with the United States.⁴² The congressmen also discussed Yugoslavia's relations with the United States and other Western countries, as well as its role in the Non-Aligned Movement. They expressed interest in cross-national relations and the internal cohesion of Yugoslavia, and supported joint investments in the Yugoslav and Montenegrin economies as a means of improving other forms of cooperation.

The Montenegrin delegation received support during their discussions with representatives of the US Government's financial institutions. They met with Harold Allen, Vice-President of the EX-IM bank, and signed an agreement to use the previously approved loan of USD 90 million (Pobjeda, 23. 05. 1980, 1). Vice President Allen emphasized that this was a unique loan, not only because of its particularly favorable conditions but also because of its purpose. The EX-IM Bank representatives expressed their readiness to review all programs and projects for the reconstruction and development of Montenegro after the earthquake.

42 SAMN 358, f. 12, Report on the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of SR Montenegro to the USA, Titograd, June 1980.

The meeting with Paul Gilbert, the President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), was significant. OPIC had published a report on joint investments between Yugoslavia and the USA, which was of interest to the Montenegrin delegation. They had hoped that OPIC would encourage US companies to invest in Montenegro and participate in the loan approved by EX-IM Bank. The OPIC representatives acknowledged that Montenegro had viable projects for US companies to get involved in and offered loans up to USD 4 million and insurance up to USD 50 million for projects in Yugoslavia. The meeting with Mr. Bradshaw, the USAID director of the Department for Europe and the Middle East, focused on the realization of the USD 10 million aid approved by Congress for repairing earthquake damage in Montenegro.

Representatives of the US Government, Congress, and state financial institutions expressed support for cooperation with Montenegro during the visit of the Montenegrin delegation. They informed the US business community about the visit, which opened doors to many important US companies in Detroit, Chicago, and New York for the Montenegrin delegation. Several US companies, including Jim Miller, Whirlpool, JTI, Panda Corporation, Intertronic, and General Electric, showed interest in cooperating with Montenegro in the electrical industry, particularly with the Montenegrin company, Obod. General Electric was already procuring aluminum from Montenegro at the time. The Montenegrin delegation also visited the headquarters of Ford in Detroit, which expressed interest in importing steel components from Montenegro and cooperating in the production of off-road vehicles. Furthermore, the company International Harvester offered cooperation in the production of construction and agricultural machines.

Prominent US tourist companies from Chicago and New York expressed interest in investing in Montenegrin tourism. Representatives from Hyatt, one of the world's leading tourist companies, proposed building two hotels in Montenegro: one in the capital and another on the coast. They agreed to send representatives to Montenegro for further consultations. Additionally, Inter Continental considered building a hotel in Titograd. The US travel agency Harvey Olson and American Express Agency, one of the world's largest, were interested in cooperating in tourism and working with Hyatt. The company Bangor Punta proposed a joint investment in the construction of sailboats and yachts in Boka Kotorska, one of the most beautiful bays in the eastern Adriatic, and their rental in Yugoslavia and Europe. The largest US manufacturer of machines for recording and controlling business in tourism and catering, National Cash Register (NCR), offered modern machines for Montenegro's tourism industry.

Discussions about cooperation, joint investments, trade, and technology transfer in agriculture were held with companies such as FMC, Borde, and Pepsi-Co, who expressed interest in cooperating with Agrocombine "13th July." Additionally, several US shipping and port companies considered an offer for the Port of Bar, with the intention to receive general cargo and containers from the USA for the Yugoslav and neighboring markets and to transport goods from the same area to the USA. A

significant advantage of the Port of Bar was its free customs zone with grain silos that could store high quantities of grain exported by the USA to this part of Europe. The US exported approximately 500,000 tons of wheat per year only to Yugoslavia. The largest freight forwarding company in Montenegro, Zeta-trans, requested a partnership in these matters.

During the visit, the company Talos negotiated long-term cooperation and discussed the construction of a factory for the production of contact lenses in Titograd. The company Industrial Noise Control offered a complete project for the production of isolation material, while Amarkord showed interest in cooperating in the field of production of telecommunication devices. The company Forbacks offered the sale and installation of lighting fixtures, and representatives from the Fuller company expressed interest in making a project for dry cement production in the cement factory located in Pljevlja.

In addition, the Montenegrin delegation held meetings with representatives of the international banking sector and leading US banks to secure their financial support for Montenegro's reconstruction and development projects and programs. At the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Montenegrin delegation was received by the bank's President, Robert McNamara, and his team. President McNamara affirmed the bank's commitment to support Montenegro's development program as part of its collaboration with Yugoslavia. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) approved funding for two programs in Montenegro. Furthermore, the delegation met with representatives from Chemical Bank (New York), Marine Midland Bank (New York), Continental Bank (Chicago), American National Bank and Trust Company (Chicago), First Chicago Bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company (New York), Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company (New York), and The Chase Manhattan Bank (New York).

Apart from discussing direct financial and credit cooperation, these banks expressed interest in supporting investments by US companies in Montenegro. The banks requested that all business arrangements between Montenegro and the United States be reported to them in a timely manner so they could be involved. During these negotiations, President Cemović was hosted by David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank. Additionally, Investment Bank-Titograd decided to open a branch in New York to improve Montenegro's cooperation with US banks and companies. The US banks expressed readiness to assist with the work of the office and to provide staff training.

The Montenegrin delegation had a series of meetings with emigrants from Montenegro and their associations in Detroit, Chicago, and New York. This was the first time an official delegation from Montenegro visited these associations, recognizing the important role that emigrants play in bridging cooperation between Montenegro and the United States. While in New York, the delegation also visited the UN, which had financed four projects in Montenegro after the earthquake. The delegation met with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who promised further UN engagement in repairing earthquake damage, especially in the restoration and protection of cultural and historical monuments.

THE OUTCOME OF THE VISIT

The Montenegrin delegation successfully achieved the primary objectives of their visit, which was to spark economic cooperation between the US and Montenegro.⁴³ They secured the interest of various US companies and banks, and the next crucial step was to implement the agreements and conduct further negotiations with the interested parties. To achieve this, the Montenegrin government created a program related to tasks execution in mid-June 1980, and interested Montenegrin companies developed action plans for cooperation with US partners.⁴⁴ Specific negotiations started between several US companies and Montenegrin partners. The President of Panda Corporation visited Montenegro and discussed establishing cooperation in the food and electronic industry. International Harvester from Chicago also visited and talked about cooperation in the production of construction and off-road vehicles. General Manager of General Electric, Arthur Puccini, informed the Prime Minister of Montenegro about the possibilities of long-term production and technical cooperation, and General Electric was interested in purchasing various products from Obod and Ironworks companies. American Express made a significant number of reservations for US citizens and Montenegrin emigrants. The touristic agency Harvy Olson made a proposal for cooperation with Montenegro-tourist. NCR contracted the sale of its products, and Hyatt Hotel Corporation drafted a contract for construction of two hotels in Montenegro. Bangor Punta corporation prepared an agreement on the production, sale and rental of sailboats in the Bay of Kotor. Talos was ready to conclude a long-term arrangement with the Aluminum Plant, worth USD 70 million per year for the purchase of certain aluminum products.

More specific moves were made by Montenegro as well. Montenegro-export (Montex) was appointed as the representative of the US chemical giant Union Carbide for the Soviet Market, while the Montenegrin company Industria-import established a concrete cooperation agreement with the company Intertronic from Chicago. Additionally, the Investment Bank from Titograd opened a representative office in New York, which became operational on January 1st, 1981.

The specific moves that were taken by Montenegro yielded significant results. In 1980, the value of Montenegrin exports to the United States had increased about 3.5 times compared to 1979, reaching around USD 9 million.⁴⁵ However, the value of imports from the United States to Montenegro remained roughly the same as in 1979. The coverage of imports by exports from Montenegro to the USA was still low, at only 12.2%. The largest contributor to Montenegrin exports was the company Obod, which signed a long-term agreement with US partners in New York

43 SAMN 358, f. 6, Reports, Titograd, 19th June 1980.

44 SAMN 358, f. 8. A record from from the 7th Session of the Republic Committee for Foreign Relations, held on 16th June 1980.

45 SAMN 358, f. 8. Draft action program for the implementation of tasks arising from the visit of the delegation of the Executive Council of the Parliament of SR Montenegro to the United States.

46 SAMN 358, f. 9, Reminder for discussions with the US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Titograd, November 1980.

on December 4th, 1981, to export 35,000 refrigerators, valued at around USD 4 million (Pobjeda, 5. 12. 1981, 1). The US Information Centre in Titograd was a symbol of successful cooperation between the two countries. The Centre functioned as part of the US Communications Agency and had a library of about 2,500 books and regularly received around 90 US magazines (Pobjeda, 2. 12. 1981, 7). It organized monthly screenings of American movies and facilitated the exchange of scientists and lectures. Through the Fulbright program, the Centre also enabled the exchange of professors and students.

CONCLUSION

The Montenegrin delegation, led by President of the Executive Council Momčilo Cemović, visited the United States in late May 1980. The delegation established political ties and received support for their program to strengthen relations with the United States, meeting with representatives from the Congress and State Department. The delegation also held meetings with representatives from significant US state-owned and private financial institutions and banks.

The cooperation between the United States and Montenegro was in line with the diplomatic and economic relations between Yugoslavia and the US. Like other Yugoslav republics, this collaboration was conducted under the supervision of the Yugoslav government but had local specificities. Following the devastating earthquake in 1979, Montenegro required humanitarian aid as well as direct financial and economic cooperation with the US. Direct cooperation with the US was also necessary for Montenegro to establish stronger connections with its significant diaspora in America. On the other hand, the US recognized that the survival of Yugoslavia after Tito's death depended primarily on political consensus among the republics. This necessitated the US to have better insights into the developments within the individual republics. Consequently, the US established its Information Center in Montenegro in April 1980, becoming the first institution of a foreign state to open in Montenegro after World War II. During this period, the US Ambassador Lawrence Eagleburger established close contacts with the highest representatives of the Montenegrin government. Additionally, the US aimed to strengthen its political influence in Montenegro by enhancing financial and economic cooperation with the country.

DIPLOMACIJA HLADNE VOJNE IN PLODNI ODNOSI MED ZDA IN SOCIALISTIČNO JUGOSLAVIJO: PREUČITEV VZPOSTAVITVE SODELOVANJA MED ZDA IN ČRNO GORO LETA 1980

Dragutin PAPOVIĆ

Univerza v Črni gori, Filozofska fakulteta, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Črna gora

POVZETEK

Črnogorska delegacija, ki jo je vodil predsednik izvršnega sveta Momčilo Cemović, je konec maja 1980 obiskala Združene države Amerike. Delegacija je navezala politične stike in dobila podporo za svoj program krepitve odnosov z Združenimi državami, pri čemer se je srečala s predstavniki kongresa in zunanjega ministrstva. Delegacija se je sestala tudi s predstavniki pomembnih ameriških državnih in zasebnih finančnih institucij in bank. Sodelovanje med ZDA in Črno goro je bilo v skladu z diplomatskimi in gospodarskimi odnosi med Jugoslavijo in ZDA. Tako kot v drugih jugoslovanskih republikah je to sodelovanje potekalo pod nadzorom jugoslovanske vlade, vendar je imelo lokalne posebnosti. Po uničujočem potresu leta 1979 je Črna gora potrebovala humanitarno pomoč ter neposredno finančno in gospodarsko sodelovanje z ZDA. Neposredno sodelovanje z ZDA je bilo potrebno tudi zato, da bi Črna gora vzpostavila močnejše povezave s svojo številčno diasporo v Ameriki. Po drugi strani pa so ZDA priznavale, da je bilo preživetje Jugoslavije po Titovi smrti odvisno predvsem od političnega soglasja med republikami. Zaradi tega so ZDA morale imeti boljši vpogled v dogajanje v posameznih republikah. Zato so ZDA aprila 1980 v Črni gori ustanovile svoj informacijski center in tako postale prva institucija tuje države, ki se je po drugi svetovni vojni odprla v Črni gori. V tem obdobju je ameriški veleposlanik Lawrence Eagleburger vzpostavil tesne stike z najvišjimi predstavniki črnogorske vlade. Poleg tega so si ZDA prizadevale okrepiti svoj politični vpliv v Črni gori s krepitvijo finančnega in gospodarskega sodelovanja z državo.

Ključne besede: Črna gora, ZDA, Lawrence Eagleburger, Momčilo Cemović

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