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# NEWSLETTER





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## Consequences, tendencies and the role of the civil society in the accession process in Montenegro

### I Introduction

Following the referendum on the State-Status of Montenegro of 21 May 2006 and the Declaration of Independence adopted by the Montenegrin Parliament on 3 June 2006, the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was dissolved and Montenegro has become an independent and sovereign state with full international legal personality. A convincing majority of 55.5 per cent voted in favour of independence and 44.5 against, on a turnout of 86.5 per cent of the registered electorate. Montenegro should be praised for its good organisation of the referendum, which took place in accordance with relevant international standards. The greatest achievement of Montenegro, its citizens and state politics, is that it preserved peace. It remained the only territory where war was not waged. By satisfying the aspirations to independence of Montenegro and thus marking the end of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia as a federation, the outcome of the referendum will contribute to the further regional stabilisation of the Western Balkans. One key item of 'unfinished business' has been removed from the 2006 agenda in the Western Balkans.

The EU's efforts overcame acute political polarisation among key players and bro-

kered acceptable rules of the game, which stimulated exceptionally high voter turnout on the day. One of the strongest reason for voting 'yes' on the referendum have been that independence looked like the surer way of escaping from the frustrating political mess of the status quo and moving forward faster towards EU integration. This opened new space for a Montenegrin national identity, attached to historic territory and traditions, but also aspiring to be modern, to govern itself democratically, and to 'return to Europe'. The key test of independent Montenegro will be whether it fulfils its promise as an inclusive and pluralist nation. This is a national idea that the Albanian, Bosniak and Muslim minorities have not only accepted but helped to shape. The pro-independence majority must show that Montenegro can work just as well for those who identify as Serbs as it can for all other parts of the 'body politic'. In the next period Montenegro will be engaged in drafting a new constitution and reforming its institutions and administrative structures. A process of constructive dialogue will have to be established with the political forces that were in favour of preserving the State Union and continue to refuse to recognise the referendum results and have been boycotting parliament. The best way for the next government to overcome



their reservations is to prove that Montenegro can deliver what supporters and opponents of independence alike clearly want: more transparent democratic governance, credible economic reforms that bring prosperity and social justice and faster EU integration. In this regard, the parliamentary elections due in the September will be a major test for the democratic viability of the newly independent state.

After the restoration of the statehood independence, Montenegro has the potential to fulfil the European standards faster and more efficiently and thus to approach the candidate status for EU accession. Montenegro now belongs to low debt countries, low inflation rates and high inflows of foreign capital, all of which are important indicators of significant progress towards the club of 25. Improved macroeconomic stability, inflationary regulation and increased foreign direct investment are just a few of the tangible results from Montenegro's drive to take control of its political, economic and social welfare. Montenegro has adopted the euro and pursued a policy of economic reforms which have already resulted in increased stability and brought a 5% average growth last year. More than 82 percent of state capital has now been privatized. Net

foreign direct investment in the first half of 2005 reached €167 million - seven times greater than in the same period in 2004. Credit potential of licensed banks increased by 37 percent in 2005 and the total volume of trade tripled on both Montenegrin stock exchanges. Besides tourism, which is a priority, there are also excellent opportunities in agriculture, food production, industry, mining and wood processing. Tourism is definitely the most strategically important sector of the economy and main priority. In 2001 Government adopted a master plan for the next 20 years, developed with European experts. It has decided to focus on sustainable development in tourism with the aim of building high quality destinations. In the World Travel and Tourism Council 2006 list of top ten travels and tourism economies, Montenegro has the highest growth rate for the third year in a row, continuing to use the industry as a key to economic development and job creation. For the period 2007-2016, Montenegro is in first place with annualized real growth put at 10.2 percent. After the referendum, at least one thing is certain - cooperation with the ICTY ceases to be an obstacle on the Montenegrin road to Brussels. From now on, everything is in the hands of the official Podgorica, where they expect to conclude the Stabilisation and Association Agreement by the end of this year. Montenegro has already adopted the euro as its currency and in 2004 it established three new official symbols of identity: a new flag, a national anthem, "Oh the Bright Dawn of May," and national day on July 13, marking the date in 1878 when the Berlin Congress recognized Montenegro as the 27th independent world state. An enviable history of inter-ethnic stability and a burgeoning polit-

ical and economic climate are harmonizing efforts for EU membership. In the last years Montenegrin Parliament adopted some 120 EU-compliant laws and regulations and Ministry for European integration has been established. Montenegrin Parliament managed to pass some key reform legislation and began to exercise limited oversight functions. Despite advancing the formalities of integration, the European Union continued to highlight deep-rooted levels of corruption as a key obstacle in Montenegro's accession process.

Overall, Montenegro continues to put in place the necessary legal framework for democratic consolidation, but slow implementation continues to be an obstacle. Problems of implementation are sometimes deliberate, but more often they result from the small-town nature of Montenegrin society, where family, connections and friendships among a population of 670,000 have traditionally governed relationships that the law now seeks to regulate. Although the machinery of the Communist system is being dismantled, the mentality of one-party rule still influences public perceptions and interferes with the development of an open society that respects the rule of law and demands accountability from its elected leaders.

## **Montenegrin's attitude towards joining the EU**

The idea of joining EU is one of the most legitimate ideas in Montenegrin public and one of the rare issues where it is possible to reach consensus among warring politi-

cal options; there is consensus regardless of political orientations, party affiliations, and ideological profile of citizens. CEDEM's regular surveys shows that huge majority of citizens think that Montenegro should be the part of EU, either as independent state or in the Union with Serbia. All surveys have showed that support to Montenegro joining the EU is of almost plebiscitary character. More than 80% (81.5% - survey from June 2006), of Montenegrin citizens are in favour of accession to EU, so the number of those opposing the Montenegrin membership in EU has been reduced to less than 6 %.

Process of accession to EU is on ongoing although we have different opinions about the roads Montenegro has to take within this process. Different opinions in the public are largely the result of poor information of the citizens about the accession process. Results are showing (table 41) that only 12% of testees are completely informed about negotiations on the accession; with little bit less than 50% of testees who are partially informed. On the other hand, little bit less than 30% of testees claim that they are not informed at all and 9% of them do not express interest for this type of information.

Regarding the need for information in respect to future membership in EU (table 44), it is clear that more than half of interviewers think they need additional information in order to review all the aspects of EU membership. On the contrary, little bit more than 1/5 of citizens say they are not interested in information of the kind. Finally, regarding the information of the kind, citizens primarily expect the Government and its agencies to provide them, and after them, the media (table 46).

**Table 41: Negotiations on Accession Agreement to EU are currently on the way. Are you, and to what extent informed about that process?**

Position	N	%
Yes, completely	122	12.0
Yes, partially	502	49.4
No, not informed at all	301	29.6
Not interested in that type of information	92	9.0
Total	1017	100.0

**Table 44: Do you need more information regarding conditions certain country has to fulfil in order to become EU member?**

POSITION	N	%
YES	553	54.9
NO	236	23.5
Not interested in information of the kind	217	21.6
Total	1006	100.0

**Table 46: Expected sources of information regarding conditions for joining the EU**

Izvori informisanja	Januar 05 %	Maj 05 %
Predstavnici Vlade i drugi državni organi	40.2	39.4
Predstavnici političkih partija	7.6	5.6
Predstavnici organa lokalnih samouprava	1.1	1.6
Neke NVO	6.1	4.6
Mediji	15.7	20.4
Neko drugi	2.7	3.0
Nije zainteresovan za informacije te vrste	25.2	25.4

## II European Integration Process in Montenegro

The Western Balkans got another chance. After the sombre projections from last year, when it seemed that European Union is not interested in further enlargement as France and Netherlands rejected the European constitution, the heads of European states and governments agreed in the last EU summit in Brussels that "capacity of the block to absorb new members should not be a criterion for further enlargements". Discontent of the old EU members, especially its founders France and Netherlands, with the effects of the latest enlargement wave of May 2004 taking in 10 new members of Central and Eastern Europe, was evident in the events around the referendums held in May and June last year.

Both politicians and analysts agreed that the failure of the referendum was, among other, the result of a reaction of French and Dutch citizens to the enlargement, as nobody asked them whether they liked the idea of another 10 partners getting the right to decide on the future perspectives of EU. Another result of the French and Dutch "No" was that the European Parliament (EP) became very important in enlargement issues, more important than earlier. The EU now needs to hear the views of European citizens through the EP before the European Council can decide on the exact date for Bulgaria and Romania. However, the leaders spoke, and they sent a message to the Western Balkans and Turkey that they have a chance now, and that it is only up to them whether they will make use of it. At the same time, it was suggested that

this offer is not to come real in too near a future. According to the press, they agreed that “the way citizens experience enlargement” should be taken into account more in the future, “dispelling fears among certain member states, whose citizens have expressed their concern with the issues of employment and migration”. However, the president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, implied that the countries of Western Balkans and Turkey have something to hope for, explaining that European Union needs Constitution in order to be able to function more efficiently.

At the moment some South Eastern European countries, including Montenegro, do not have contractual relations with the European Union. An SAA is the very first step and a precondition for further steps, such as submitting a membership application and opening negotiations. The process of stabilisation and association has proven its advantages. In 2005, every country made a step forward. This is quite some progress, and a success for the EU policy in this region. However, further successes will not be achieved by raising limitations, but rather by further promotion of this policy. In the case of Bulgaria, Romania or Turkey obtaining candidate status and beginning official negotiations were the real turning points also for the economy and social development. It is at these moments that expectations (also of outside investors) adjust and people begin to see eventual accession as likely or even inevitable. This starts the virtuous circle of Europeanization that has transformed Spain, Ireland, Portugal, Greece, the Baltic States or Bulgaria in recent decades or years. It would be very important for the whole region that by mid-2007 all countries have SAAs and that all of them are on their way to being official candidates.

Croatia is far advanced, Turkey is already negotiating and Macedonia is already a candidate. However, each step by any of these countries helps the others, because it keeps enlargement on the agenda and opens more doors. The EU is based on keeping its promises, and as we have seen in the past year, it has kept its promises to Croatia, Turkey and Macedonia. Regional cooperation and joint lobbying can also help, as they have in advance of the 2003 Thessalonica summit. Montenegro needs to conclude SAA as soon as possible. It will then submit a formal application for membership as soon as its SAA is concluded.

The Council of EU ministers decision to give mandate to the European Commission to continue negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Montenegro cannot be expected before September. All that has been negotiating so far, while Montenegro was still part of S&M, will represent a starting point for consolidation and faster finalisation of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Montenegro and European Union. During the SAA negotiations, Montenegro and EU are supposed to agree on deadlines which Montenegro will have to meet in harmonizing its legislation with the EU law, and to define the period within which the whole system (ecology, agriculture, transport, consumer protection, etc.) will be functioning according to the EU rules. Deadlines for opening up the Montenegrin market to the EU products are also on the agenda. The agreement will define classes of EU products which can be allowed on the Montenegrin market immediately, without any customs tariffs, as well as those which will be allowed only after a few years, vulnerable products which are currently subject to high customs, in order to protect the

Montenegrin production. On the other hand, right after the Agreement is signed, the EU will open up its market for all products from Montenegro produced according to the European standards, although some of them might be subject to export quotas. The Government already had previously announced that more than half of the text was already agreed upon, the technical communication with EC continued immediately after the referendum, so that the conclusion of the agreement can be expected before the end of the year. According to the rules of procedure, once the agreement proposal has been defined, the Commission forwards it to the Council of EU Ministers, which is supposed to approve the proposal and issue a new mandate to EC to continue negotiations. The Head of European Commission Delegation in Belgrade, Josep Lloveras, said that Podgorica will soon become a seat of a European Commission office.

Independent, Montenegro will make it faster and easier towards European integration. Everybody with a little background in the complexities of the European Union accession process understands the logic behind this - one small system is more flexible in adjusting to a myriad of standards governing the EU, which every country hoping to become a part of the club - 25 will have to adopt. Within such a small system, it is easier to make decisions, if the process of decision-making is sufficiently coordinated and if the claims of Montenegrin absolute commitment to "overcoming all barriers on the road towards European Union" are indeed backed with stern decision to make it that way. In addition to this, Montenegro is no threat to the European market, because, luckily or otherwise, it lacks strong agricultural production which could cause it to haggle with

European Commission over its exports and quotas. Tiny Montenegro is not even a potential exporter of immigrants, having set up border controls in accordance with EU standards, which allow it to await calmly the upcoming negotiations on the visa regime facilitation. Finally, breaking out of the union with Serbia, Montenegro is now free of one of the key political conditions for continuing negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement - it has no further commitments towards the ICTY.

One bright side of the independence is the consensus among the political rivals with respect to European integrations. There used to be an agreement even before, best illustrated by the Declaration on European Integrations, adopted almost unanimously in the Parliament, however, the competing views on the issue of statehood caused disputes with respect to certain legal solutions which were supposed to introduce European standards. After the independence vote, the government will have to approach with additional deal the same problems that the European Commission has identified while Montenegro was still part of the State Union with Serbia. "Independence means more responsibility than before", says the speaker of the European Enlargement Commissionaire, Ms Christina Nagy. In the Feasibility study for Serbia and Montenegro from last April, as well as in the European Commission Report from November 2005, the Montenegrin authorities have been warned about the need to strengthen administrative capacities, decrease the influence of politics on the judiciary, and clamp on the organised crime and corruption. There is the problem of Montenegrin judiciary, which is not considered entirely professional and free of all political influence, as well as the need to make serious

efforts in Montenegro to bring corruption to a reasonable level, to break ties between the organised crime and certain government bodies - according to the EU documents, to improve administrative capacities in all the government sectors - not only in the Ministry for European Integrations... Nagy explained that Montenegro will have to prove that it has sufficient administrative capacity to implement reforms. According to her, the EU expects Montenegro to adopt a new Constitution based on general political consensus, respecting European values and standards.

One of the main advantages of independent Montenegro is direct representation of Montenegrin interests in the process of EU association. Direct representation includes greater amount of support from European funds and programmes for countries in the accession process. As an independent state, Montenegro can get more funds, being a separate subject. Additionally, there is the possibility to secure greater funds from donations, which will now be allocated in line with Montenegrin priorities and needs of its population. Moreover, once the European Commission office is established in Podgorica, representatives of the Montenegrin society, such as the Government, the Parliament, NGOs, media, educational institutions etc, will have a direct contact with EU institutions. Among the advantages of Montenegro with the respect to EU association are the existing low custom tariffs, which should make negotiations with EU on this issue a lot easier. In Montenegro, only the customs tariffs concerning sensitive domestic agricultural products have been slightly higher, in order to allow the producers to gradually adapt to the highly competitive conditions of the EU single market. Minister for European Integrations, Gordana Djurovic, explained that



the restitution of statehood may signal an opportunity for a relaxed visa regime, with a decrease in visa application costs. The administrative capacity of Montenegro for the process of negotiations and implementation of the commitments from the Stabilisation and Association Agreement has been steadily improving, as compared to an earlier period. The focus is not on the length of pre-accession, but rather on the quality of the association process where Montenegro should promote dynamic development of its economy and its society as a whole, while preserving its identity. Strategic development document – Economic Reform Agenda 2002-07 represents a kind of “European Agenda” for Montenegro. Economic reforms are dynamically and systematically implemented, including also restructuring of companies in the public sector, restitution process, enhancement of property rights protection and incentives in the area of investment policy that enable access to the market and strategic foreign partners bringing new investments and thus stimulate additional employment in Montenegro.

Montenegro should prepare for an effective campaign to explain to EU policy makers and the interested European public the reasons why it is ready for negotiations and

how these would advance the European project. This will be a challenge in light of current scepticism in the EU, but it is one that other countries have also overcome in the past. In the coming year Montenegro has an opportunity to redefine its international image, and to prove that it is capable of following in the footsteps of Macedonia and Croatia. If this period is used effectively, and if there emerges a solid domestic consensus behind EU accession, the perspective is encouraging and Montenegro could surprise quiet a few sceptics. The main preconditions for Montenegro in this process are: having a strong, cross-party consensus and willingness to learn from previous candidate. It is both an advantage and a challenge to be a small country with a small administration.

From the beginning of negotiations on the Stabilisation and association agreement until the membership in the EU some eight to ten years must pass. Slovenia started negotiating the accession agreement in 1996, and joined EU in 2004. Some of the Central and Eastern European countries made it even faster, but eight to ten years is a reasonable period, during which a lot of things can be done. A lot of things will change, and at the end it will be good for us, because these are some standards that have already proven to be beneficial in other countries. It will, of course, depend, also on the readiness in the EU to support the process, financially and otherwise. Except for Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia, every country in the region is looking hopefully towards Brussels, although they are aware, according to the messages of their officials, that they cannot hope for joining this elite club before 2015. After Romania and Bulgaria, who were promised membership in 2008, it is speculated that Croatia could join EU in 2010, Turkey is still uncertain, while it

seems that the Western Balkan countries will most probably join EU en bloc. When, that's a big question. EU must remain committed to the enlargement. There are still strong anti-reform and anti-democratic forces in the Balkan states, where radicals and nationalists could use the opportunity to irresponsibly spread fears in the population - that EU future is just an illusion. It will definitely not be the first time for certain political groups to base their strategy against reforms on an anti-EU platform. Therefore it is important EU to confirm its commitments to the enlargement process and to send a positive message to the Balkan states that they are indeed eligible for EU membership. EU visa policy towards Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Serbia, contributes to the ghettoisation of the region and undermines Balkan efforts for reform and stability. Its sclerotic deficiencies jeopardize the objective of enhanced European integration and damage the countries' European outlook and hopes for eventual EU membership. This is not about emigration, permanent residence or threats to EU jobs but rather liberalizing the limited-term visa regime for certain categories, primarily students, business people and tourists, and making the application process speedier and less painful for all. In 2003, the EU assured the peoples of the region that Brussels would not regard the map of the Union as complete until those countries had joined, but it has not moved on implementing its travel commitment. In order to give the enlargement a new meaning, it is necessary to find another enlargement formula, which would fill up the gap between those for and against the enlargement inside Europe. The enlargement must have a strategic purpose, not an inert tangent. Free trade and opening economies

to outside competition help the region. The only real Euro-region in the Balkans that can emerge is when all countries are full members of the EU. Further economic liberalization in the Balkans should also be supported by a European commitment to putting the Western Balkans on the European cohesion map. Cohesion is a central concept in the EU: helping poorer regions catch up, not through transfers of wealth for consumption but through support for investments that raise productivity, develop infrastructure and human capital. The sooner the whole Balkans is part of both the European internal market and its area of cohesion, the better for every European.

The promises made in Thessalonica and confirmed in Salzburg must be honoured, leaving the perspective open for each country to advance in the process of EU association to the best of its abilities. EU must keep supporting the process. This is the best guarantee of peace and stability in the region, and thus on the European continent. When we say that the process of EU enlargement cannot be complete until the countries of the Western Balkans join in, it's not just a phrase, it is the essence. The entire EU project, based upon the need to bring the West European countries together in peace, stability and development instead of war, is directly applicable in our case, and there is no better solution, neither for us, nor for the EU, than bringing this process to a conclusion.

### **Role of the NGO's engaged in the European Integration Process**

Civil society organizations, next to political parties, have important roles to play to inform the people about the unique and successful

EU, which as heads of state said, still has to become even more democratic, transparent and efficient in an enlarged Europe. The civil sector is growingly active in spreading positive energy of the integration process. In Montenegro, since the passage of important legislation in 1999, civil society has enjoyed a more lax, more liberal environment for its development. The most active NGOs are those dealing with public issues and public policy. Their existence is dependent primarily on foreign donations, although the government also allocates substantial funds from the state budget. It is expected that the NGO sector take on a significant role in the process of European integration. There are two key segments where it is necessary to use the services of the civil sector: a) Writing new laws, the usage of expert base of the NGOs and contacts with foreign experts. It is obvious that the ministries do not have a sufficient number of lawyers who are familiar with the laws of the EU. b) Raising public awareness by the means of a campaign on the importance of the process of integration. In last few years, the Montenegrin government remained under the constant watch of nongovernmental organizations, which now appear to be more influential than the opposition political parties.

### **III Conclusions**

The reform of state administration and the strengthening of its capacities will be the key elements for the future of the European integrations process in Montenegro. Harmonisation with *acquis* and its implementations are primarily within the competence of administration, and the Montenegrin journey to the EU will, consequently, depend on its quality

and effectiveness. Administrative capacities required by the Stabilisation and Association Agreement are of a much lower level than those which will be necessary for the start of negotiations for full EU membership. For Montenegro, developing a stable, efficient and professional public administration is an imperative, together with the reforms which have already been implemented and various programmes of state administration training. The European Commission, in its latest annual report on the progress of Serbia and Montenegro for 2005, noted positive developments in terms of European integrations process in Montenegro, which encompassed numerous new laws, harmonised with the European legislature, as well as the establishment of new and strengthening of the institutions already in place. It also emphasised the importance of the European integrations network in Montenegro, which can

serve as a solid basis for the further strengthening of administrative capacities for the rapprochement with EU. However, EC also noted that, in order to implement the European integrations process successfully, every structure involved in this process, as well as cooperation among them, will have to be upgraded further. Consequently, their conclusion was that Montenegro needs a higher level of administrative capacities in order to be successful in the EI process, and they urged for a serious commitment to this issue. Montenegrin authorities started consolidating an efficient public administration already in 2002, through a project titled Reform of the Public Administration in Montenegro (PARIM), funded by EU agencies. Parallel with the public administration reform, there are bilateral training programmes taking place continuously in cooperation with different partners as well as EU institutions

(TAIEX). In 2006, they began with the twinning programme, a joint venture with Slovenia and France, focused on the strengthening of the institutions for the process of European integrations, for a period of 18 months. These projects, designed to enhance building of an efficient system of public administration in Montenegro, will contribute to the acceleration of reforms in the sectors of public governance and thus prepare Montenegro for the future membership in EU. Getting closer to the European Union also means creating a series of new institu-



tions, as well as a need to involve new experts in the functioning of these institutions, in order to conclude the process successfully. Except for the reform of state administration, another important segment of the capacity building must include educating the right cadre for the functions required by the process of European integrations. This training should be conducted on all levels, including the high officials, managers, interns, as well as the administrative staff of various public institutions. Professional training for the civil servants should enable them to acquire new knowledge on European integrations, and should be focused on practical issues, rather than theory - through analysing experiences of the new EU members and other countries in the region that have already made several steps ahead on the road that Montenegro is yet to travel.

In the Resolution, adopted by the Assembly on 29 June 2006, Council of Europe calls on Montenegro:

- To reform its institutions and administrative structures to adapt them to its new status as an independent state in the most efficient and democratic manner, in full co-operation with the Council of Europe and other international organisations;
- To ensure the efficient functioning of parliament and a spirit of constructive and inclusive dialogue between political forces, including those who object to the referendum results;
- To adopt a new Constitution as soon as possible, in full compliance with European standards and in consultation with the Venice Commission;
- To organise and hold free and fair parliamentary elections under international observation;
- To guarantee in law and in practice the

rights promised to Serb citizens;

- To guarantee the protection of national minorities;
- To ensure that no protection gaps affect the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) present in its territory, including those originating from Kosovo, irrespective of their ethnic origin, as well as refugees, and take all the appropriate steps to avoid statelessness;
- To complete the reform of the judiciary;
- To fight efficiently against corruption, organised crime and trafficking;
- To ensure full co-operation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and pursue programmes aimed at enhancing public understanding and acceptance of its objectives;
- To endeavour to create all the preconditions conducive to the signature of a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the European Union in the nearest possible future.

Finally, the Assembly calls on the European Union:

- To begin negotiations with Montenegro for the conclusion of a Stabilisation and Association Agreement as soon as the relevant conditions are met.

Speaking about administrative capacities, it is extremely important to keep the educated cadre motivated to stay in the service and use their potentials to the maximum. This can be done by increasing the level of professionalism in the entire public administration, where promotions should be driven entirely by the professional capacities and the results achieved, but also by involving these people as much as possible in the process of integrations and exchange of experiences with other countries.

Entry into the European Union is a clear goal articulated by leaders across Central, East-

ern and South Eastern Europe. Yet, at present, a majority of Central, Eastern and SEE jurists perceive European law as having no direct impact on reforms taking place. Existing economic and political democratization will continue to operate in a vacuum unless countries such as Montenegro and others implement a rule of law in accordance with EU standards. To harmonize the current legal systems in these regions with those of the EU countries and to cultivate original legal thinking, it is important to note that focus is not on the duration of association, but on the quality of association process. On that road, Montenegro wants to preserve its identity as

well as to enable dynamic development of economy and the society as a whole. Administrative capacity may be a weak point (as emphasised by the Commission's reports), but the organisation and conduct of the referendum showed that, with firm EU guidance and close monitoring, the Montenegrin authorities can deliver good results. There is no doubt that the resolution of the state status issue will change the political dynamics in Montenegro, enabling it to assume responsibility for its own destiny and hopefully proceed quickly along the road of democratic consolidation and EU integration.

## CEDEM Activities

Seminar:

”The Right to a Fair Trial  
under European Convention on Human Rights”

**October 06 – 07, 2006 Bečići**

Seminar for the Montenegrin judges, attorneys and prosecutors *The Right to a Fair Trial under European Convention on Human Rights* was organized by CEDEM, Council of Europe, AIRE (Advice on Individual Rights) and Judicial Training Centre.

Facilitators were: *Zvonimir Mataga*, legal advisor of European Court for Human Rights Secretary from Strasbourg, *Catharine Herby*, legal advisor, AIRE

Centre from London, *Biljana Braithwaite*, legal advisor, AIRE Centre from London, *Miraš Radović*, Montenegrin Supreme Court's Judge, *Petar Stojanović*, Montenegrin Supreme Court's Judge and *Zoran Pažin*, President of Basic Court from Podgorica. This project was supported by Council of Europe, British Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Westminster Foundation for Democracy.



## Seminar:

“Human Rights and Police in context of Law on criminal proceeding  
– pre-criminal proceeding”

Pljevlja, 14. oktobar 2006. godine



Training for police members on following subject: *Human Rights and Police in context of Law on criminal proceeding – pre-criminal proceeding*, organized by CEDEM and Police Academy from Danilovgrad, with support of Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights.

## CEDEM

Empirical Research Department

### Public opinion in Montenegro August 2006

This research was conducted in period 24 - 29th June 2006, using standard CEDEM's twofold stratified sample with random selection of testees in final units applied, at the level of 1003 testees from 9 municipalities (Pljevlja, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Cetinje, Herceg-Novi, Bar and Ulcinj). Project Political Public Opinion is supported by **Foundation Open Society Institute**, representative office in Montenegro (OSIM).

#### Basic characteristics of the sample

Age structure of testees	%
from 18 to 34 years	37.1
from 35 to 54 years	38.6
Over 55 years	24.3
Nationality	%
Montenegrians	45.0
Srbs	35.1
Bosnians	4.2
Albanians	5.1
Muslims	8.4
Croats	1.1
Other	1.1

#### Confidence In Institutions

Institutions	Confidence coefficient	
	June	Aug
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.39	3.35
President of Montenegro	3.06	2.83
Montenegrin Government	2.94	2.72
Montenegrin Police	2.87	2.68
Montenegrin Parliament	2.84	2.60
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.72	2.55
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.51	2.39
Political parties in Montenegro	2.36	2.23

**Rating of the politician/public figure**  
- Trends at the level of entire group of testes -

Rating of the politician/ public figure	May 2005.	Septem- byr 2005.	Decem- ber 2005.	April 2006.	June 2006.	August 2006.
Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.67	2.72	2.79	3.21	3.18	2.98
Filip VUJANOVIĆ	2.54	2.57	2.67	-	2.96	2.87
AMFILOHIJE Radović	2.61	2.67	2.57	-	2.83	2.59
Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.95	2.99	3.07	2.97	2.79	2.43

\* Average scores of the four most favoured politicians/public figures from the August opinion poll

**Confidence in Politicians And Public Figures**

Rating of the politician/ public figure	Average score
1. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.98
2. Filip VUJANOVIĆ	2.87
3. AMFILOHIJE Radović	2.59
4. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.43
5. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ	2.21
6. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ	2.11
7. Andrija MANDIĆ	1.95
8. Krsto PAVIĆEVIĆ	1.93
9. Predrag POPOVIĆ	1.88
10. Predrag BULATOVIĆ	1.86
11. Ranko KADIĆ	1.81
12. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ	1.80
13. Ferhat DINOŠA	1.75
14. Mehmet BARDHI	1.55

**ELECTORAL PREFERENCE**

- Committed voters -

Party / Coalition	%
DPS-SDP	45.1
SNP-NS-DSS	18.8
Srpska lista	11.1
Liberals and Bosniak's party	6.5
MfC	16.2
Others	2.3

**Satisfaction With The Government  
Of Montenegro**

Answer	%	
	June	Aug
Very dissatisfied	23.5	30.9
Mostly dissatisfied	20.1	17.1
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	22.0	23.2
Mostly satisfied	23.7	19.8
Very satisfied	10.7	9.1

**Membership in European Union (trend)**

	Maj 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06	Avg 06
Yes	80.1	77.0	81.2	81.5	76.5
No	5.6	6.4	4.8	5.5	5.6
Doesn't know	14.3	16.6	14.0	13.0	17.9

**Membership in NATO (trend)**

	Maj 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06	Avg 06
Yes	35.7	33.3	37.8	44.2	36.9
No	35.0	34.6	35.0	27.3	31.4
Doesn't know	29.3	32.1	27.2	28.5	31.8

**Cooperation With The Hague Tribunal (trend)**

	Maj 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06	Avg 06
Yes	44.9	47.4	49.7	54.8	50.9
No	39.3	33.1	31.0	28.4	27.4
Doesn't know	15.8	19.5	19.3	16.8	21.7

## Montenegrin allies in area of foreign policy

	Absolutely not	Little bit	Yes, significantly	Absolutely	Can't assess
EU	5.0	16.2	31.6	34.6	12.6
SAD	29.2	24.7	18.4	11.6	16.1
RUSIJA	25.5	27.8	17.3	11.9	17.5

NOTICE: 26.3% of interviewees think that Montenegro shouldn't rely on nobody especially in area of foreign politics

Comment: Completed opinion poll results could be found on CEDEM's website: [www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)

## International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

**Srdjan Darmanović, Veselin Pavićević and Nenad Koprivica**

*September 28-30, 2006, Beograd*

ASN Conference on the issue of *Globalization, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts in the Balkans and its Regional Context*, organized by Forum for Ethnic Relations (FER).

**Aleksa Ivanović**

*September 30 – October 01, 2006, Tirana*

Conference titled *Strengthening and promoting religious co-existence and tolerance for a more secure Civil Society in the Balkans and beyond*, organized by Millennium Centre from Tirana.

## We were visited by ...

- **Patrick Hebert** – counsellor, Embassy of Canada, Belgrade
- **Manon Riviere** – journalist, Deutsche Welle Radio, Bonn, Germany
- **Fabrice de Kerchove** – project manager, King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels
- **Tsutomu Sunada** – First secretary, Embassy of Japan, Belgrade



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**Center for Democracy and Human Rights MONTENEGRO**

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**Opinion Polls**  
Ispitivanja javnog mnjenja

CEDEM is NGO established as non-profitable association of citizens, with a main goal to advance and spread conscience on importance of proper and successful democratic transition, to research, analyze and follow process of transition, to influence by its activities, as much as it possible, on transitional process in Montenegro; to contribute in strengthening of civil society and democratization process as a whole.

In that direction CEDEM acts as a think-thank group, as an organizer of various kinds of public discussions and as an organizer of practical actions. CEDEM acts mostly through: [read more](#)

**LATEST OPINION POLL**  
Political Public Opinion August, 2006

**LATEST NEWSLETTER**  
No 17 - May - July '06

**democracy index**  
What is Democracy INDEX?  
Democracy index represents the way to measure the level of democratic development of one society. Using the language of figures, through analysis of specific indicators, we are indicating the level of democracy within the society. This is the first of the kind in Montenegro, and its follow up in years to come, will create possibilities to compare obtained data and democracy progress in our society.

Democracy Index is being implemented in Montenegro by Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) from Podgorica with the support of National Endowment for Democracy from Washington (USA). CEDEM's team of analysts headed by Ph.D. Miloš Bašić- responsible methodologist- in period October 2005- May 2006, has conducted systematic surveys of Montenegrin public opinion, based on which we obtained citizens' positions on offered indicators.

**Report for 2006 (pdf format)**

**Presentation of results >>>**

**LATEST NEWS - SEMINAR: "HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLICE IN CONTEXT OF LAW ON CRIMINAL PROCEEDING - PRE-CRIMINAL PROCEEDING"**  
Pljevlja, October 14, 2006  
Training for police members on following subject: *Human Rights and Police in context of Law on criminal proceeding*

**REFERENDUM IN MONTENEGRO 2006**  
On April 28, 2006 CEDEM (Centre for Democracy and Human Rights) has announced opinion poll results regarding the referendum in Montenegro - May 21, 2006.

Turn outs	
CEDEM	87.0
RRC	86.5

Results of referendum	
CEDEM	YES 56.3
	NO 43.7