

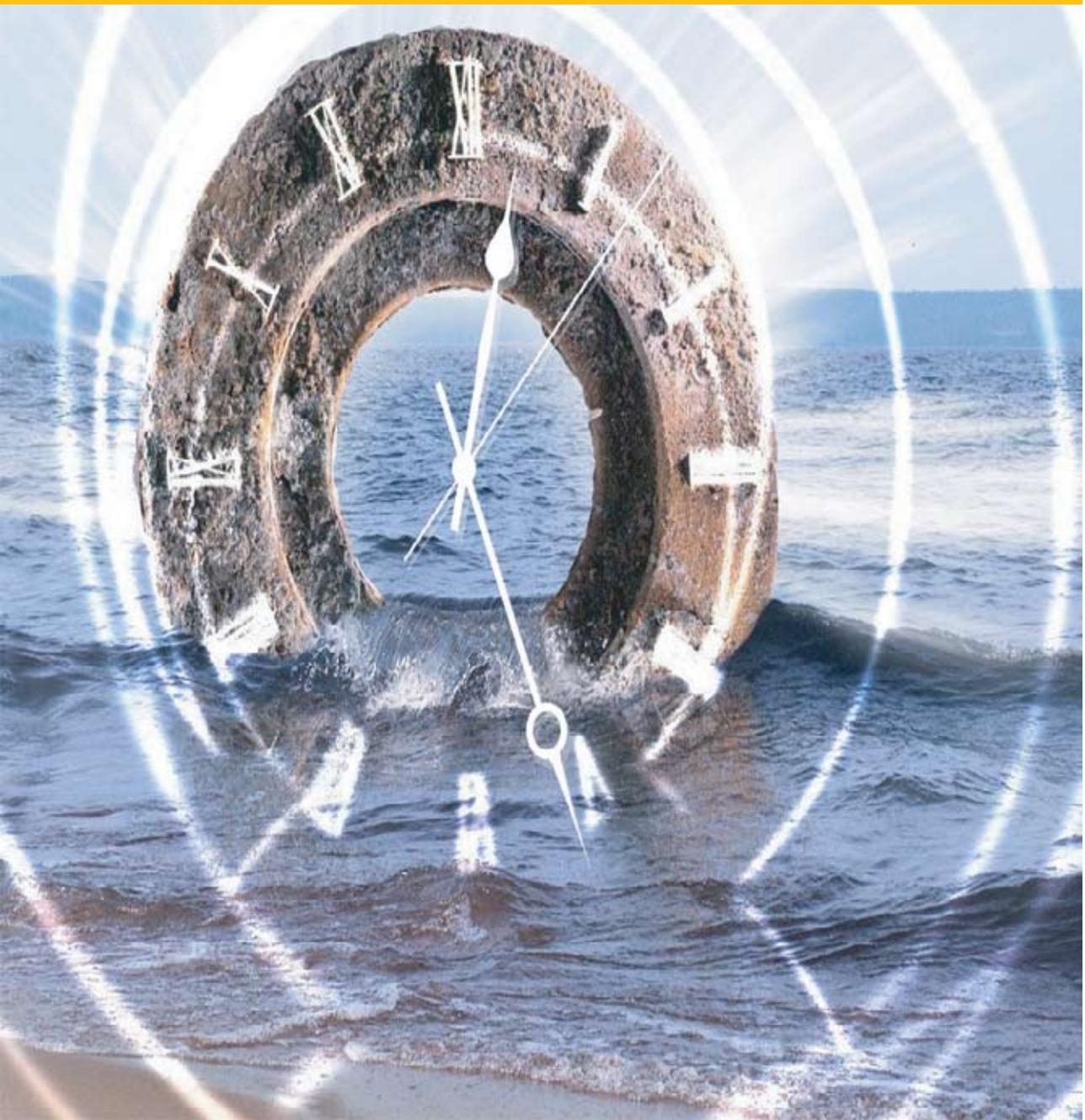
Centar za demokratiju  
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Center for Democracy  
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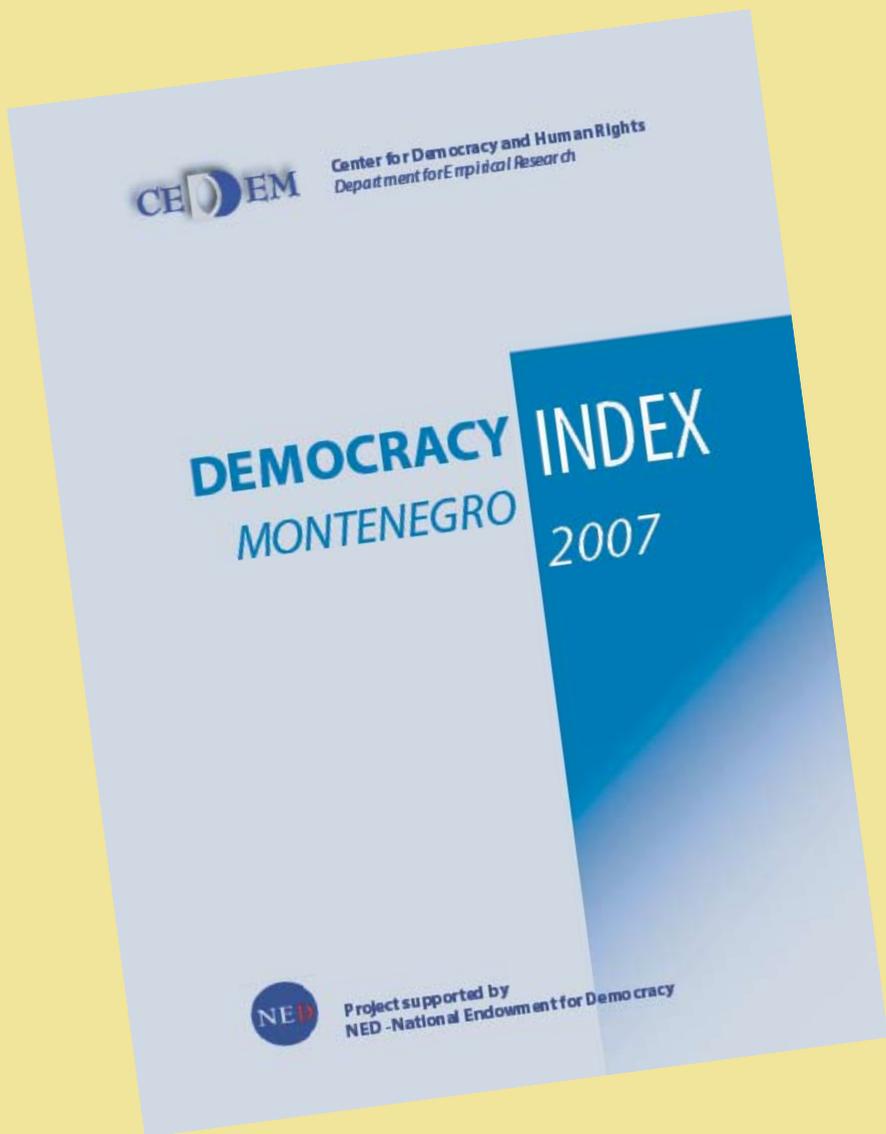
George Washington Boulevard 51, 3/48  
81000 Podgorica, Montenegro  
phone: ++382 81 234 114, fax: ++382 81 234 368  
e-mail: [cedem.web@cg.yu](mailto:cedem.web@cg.yu), [www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)

# NEWSLETTER

No 21 • July - October 2007



# CEDEM edition:



# democracy<sup>1</sup> index

## 1. DEMOCRATIC QUALITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES

Politics is a complex social phenomenon which includes power as one of the basic categories. It is understood and interpreted in different ways. According to the modern liberal concept politics is a social activity of conscious governing of social processes and affairs in the aim of harmonizing and overcoming irreconcilable interests and opposites, with the view of achieving harmonious development and integration of the society. Thus, politics has a governing – guiding and organization-integration function. On the other side, in democratic societies power is in the function of certain politics, which is a result of social consensus and democratic harmonization. Power, therefore, should be organizational-functional element of politics, i.e. its executive tool and physical instrumentarium. However, it is not rare that politics and power become factors of disintegration in a society. And it is exactly because of such a possibility that it is important to research this field and improve by suggestions the democratic quality of Montenegrin society in order to neutralize, or at least to reduce the possibility for the power to become alienated from the ones in whose name and on whose behalf it should be working.

There is one specific feature in Montenegro which makes it different from the other post-socialist societies. While in other young post-communist democracies there were frequent changes of power in the first several elections, namely, Montenegro has one political party, which has “skillfully” managed to stay in power all the time. The reasons for this are numerous but we will mention only a few that we consider the most important. One of the basic reasons is

certainly the fact that the current ruling political class managed to neutralize conservative forces in the crisis and final stage of the rule of the Alliance of Communist of Montenegro. It managed to impose a new and at that time revolutionary pace followed by the ideas of modernization. Along with this there is one demographic variable that significantly influenced the course of events. The political elite that took the helm from the Communist Party of Montenegro at the end of the eighties was, namely, extremely young at that time. And in fact, the same elite still belongs to the group of young political classes, particularly if compared to European political elites. And then, there is no doubt that the ruling party in Montenegro manages really well to stay in power by supporting various ideas, starting from the national idea at the beginning of the 90s, changing the ideological matrix in the second half of the last decade and becoming the leading advocate of the civil and statehood option. At the same time, the ruling party used to include other parties of various political orientation into the ruling structures, which was of help to maintain its own ‘freshness’. And finally, the right timing of the identification with the idea of European integration in the ideological sense provided good prospects to the ruling party.

These were only some of the reasons. We could certainly list a huge number of other reasons as well, including some that were functional from the aspect of staying in power but negative from the aspect of democratization and development of Montenegrin society. But the fact that one party has been in power for such a long time implies a number of negative consequences, one of which is the phenomenon of clientism. Making connections with the ruling structures, a large number of individuals acquired significant wealth under suspicious circumstances and not in a transparent process of primary capital

<sup>1</sup> The whole report can be found at web page [www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)

accumulation. Unfortunately, it seems that those connections are still rather stable and strong. Clientism certainly is a strong obstacle for success of democratic reforms because it significantly influences social polarization and political delegitimization of power. Another problem of having one political elite in power for a long time is the fact that the possibility of innovation of staff is limited, so that 'worn out' but also very frequently corrupt staff suffer from the lack of ideas and initiatives. And finally, when one ruling structure is in power for so long one of the basic principle of democracy is challenged – the principle of removability of ruling structures. „It is wrong to ask 'who will rule'. The ability to vote a bad government out of office is enough. That is democracy“ (Karl Popper).

Currently the electorate have a bit wider range of party supply in Montenegrin political market than they used to have in the past. Supply on the political market of Montenegro is richer then it was in the period behind us. The political scene is more diversified, there are new players and slowly the formal preconditions for development of the necessary alternative to the ruling party are being created. This is certainly a positive trend because diversity of choices is equally important as the opportunity to choose.

It is also important to mention that the hot issue of Montenegrin independence got its epilogue in the referendum, the results of which are well known, and thus this important issue was put ad acta. Unfortunately, the divisions on all other grounds have persisted. The best evidence of this is the discussion on the future Constitution of Montenegro.

As for political structure of the society, which is reflected in the aspects we referred to above, using the relevant analytical apparatus we identified four key dimensions of this area.

They are

- Control and legality of structures in power
- Transparency (publicity) of structures in power
- Accountability and removability of structures in power
- Professionalization in the operation of authorities

Each of the listed dimensions was subject to separate measuring done by a network of indicators. What follows is a presentation of every dimension and the indicators used as unit of measurement for the given dimensions.

### **1.1 Control and legality of structures in power**

The issue of possibility to control the ruling structures and the compliance of their activities with the law is definitely of particular importance for the overall democratic process in a society. Therefore, we wanted to examine to what extent Montenegrin citizens perceive the structures in power as are working in legal manner and controlled by the citizens. Table 1 provides an insight into all the indicators we included in the measuring of this dimension.

We can see that the range for all the indicators is from 1.99 to 2.59. The highest value is measured for the indicator of legality in operation of state authorities and it amounts to 2.59. The indicator of the control of publicity and authority over secret services and security services is on the second position (2.43), which indicates to the fact that these structures are losing the power they used to have in the period of socialism. However, we also have to have in mind the very nature of their activities, which is mostly perceived as non-transparent by default. Then, we can see that in comparison to the last Index the citizens think that civil control of central government structures is on a higher level (2.25) than the civil control of local government (2.23). And finally, the last finding indicates that corruption and criminal are the most serious problems both at the local

*Table 1 – Control and legality of structures in power – presentation of all in-*

| Indicators  | N   | A.S. | SD    | Skew-ness |
|---|-----|------|-------|-----------|
| Efficiency of civil control of central government structures                  | 897 | 2.25 | 1.135 | 0.779     |
| Efficiency of civil control of local (municipal) government                   | 895 | 2.23 | 1.135 | 0.737     |
| Control of publicity and authority over secret services and security services | 834 | 2.43 | 1.248 | 0.485     |
| Legality in the operation of state authorities                                | 864 | 2.59 | 1.260 | 0.353     |
| Absence of corruption and criminal in central government structures           | 887 | 1.99 | 1.028 | 1.044     |
| Absence of corruption and criminal in local (municipal) government            | 859 | 2.12 | 1.043 | 0.887     |

(2.12) and at the national level (1.99).

## 1.2 Transparency (publicity) of structures in power

Transparency of work is one of the basic principles on the basis of which every power should function. It is a situation in which every authority and every official is positioned in such a way that it is controlled by citizens. Although this principle is promoted through all the laws that govern the operation of public administration and local government, the citizens obviously see the implementation side as a huge problem.

Transparency or publicity in work is one of the key conditions for achieving the relationship of trust between citizens and people holding responsible public offices. In the specific cultural setting as Montenegro (layers of traditional-patriarchal society; to dense social network of tribal, family, best-friends/godfathers and friendship relations and other informal elements, i.e. power channels that can often be participated as a kind of nepotism) and with population of 670,000 people it is only expected to have the problem of non-transparency.

The problem of transparency is in the perception of citizens also particularly emphasized in

the area of economics, which is understandable because in the period we observed the accelerated ownership transformation is in progress.

Discussing transparency of the structures in power, we also have to mention the role of NGO sector in that respect. This sector has a very important role in the overall democratization of Montenegrin society, both because it generates the energy of mostly young and educated people that work in NGOs and because NGOs are connected to similar organizations in Europe and in the world that provide them with the necessary logistics and expertise.

As for the results for this dimension, we can say that the best scores are given to the objectivity of the media in reporting on the work of the Government and the Parliament (2.85). This is immediately followed by transparency in the operation of local government (2.59) and accessibility of the information of authorities and services to the media (2.58). These three indicators that have the best scores are followed by the indicator for transparency in the operation of national government (2.53), the possibility of citizens to obtain insight into the decision making process for important political decisions (2.46). And in the end, Montenegrin citizens gave the lowest score to the accessibility of information of the authorities and services to the citizens (2.32). In general, the

*Table 2 – Transparency of power – presentation of all indicators*

| Indicators   | N   | A.S. | SD    | Skewness |
|--|-----|------|-------|----------|
| Transparency in operation of central government structures   | 887 | 2.53 | 1.118 | 0.412    |
| Transparency in operation of local government  | 882 | 2.59 | 1.100 | 0.364    |
| Objectivity of media in following the work of the Government and the Parliament                        | 902 | 2.85 | 1.163 | -0.021   |
| Possibility of citizens to obtain insight into the process and making of important political decisions | 876 | 2.46 | 1.130 | 0.432    |
| Accessibility of the information of authorities and services to the media                              | 781 | 2.58 | 1.102 | 0.311    |
| Accessibility of information of the authorities and services to the citizens                           | 860 | 2.32 | 1.065 | 0.565    |

range of indicators for this dimension is from 2.32 to 2.85.

### 1.3 Accountability and removability of structures in power

Removability of political elite, ensured in a legal and legitimate way through democratic elections, with political responsibility of the parties and individuals in power and the existence of several political options, is one of the basic preconditions to build a society on democratic principles. Of course, we have to have in mind that removability of ruling structures is a democratic principle, but as such it does not mean that the ruling structure has to be removed de facto in the elections, but only that democratic mechanisms have to provide for the possibility to remove the ruling structures. So, we must not confuse the possibility to remove (removability of) and the factual situation of removing ruling structures which is the consequence that is not necessary as such.

On the other side, the accountability of the ruling structures is very important because a democratic society has to provide mechanisms that will guarantee that the ruling structures will behave in a responsible manner in their relations to the citizens, since they are the source of the

legitimacy of the ruling structures. The process of democratization is not a simple establishment of democratic mechanisms, but (the case of Montenegro being convincing evidence) it necessarily requires a specific civil emancipation and change in the social-psychological tissue of the society.

The results that we got measuring this dimension (Table 3) show that the scores range between 3.12 and 2.32. The highest score was given to the legitimacy of the ruling structures (3.12). It is followed by the removability of local government in the elections in compliance with democratic procedures (2.88). And then, on the third position, which is rather interesting in light of the fact that the ruling structures have not yet been removed in Montenegro, there is the indicator of removability of national government in the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures (2.77). Then there is the accountability and conscientiousness of the local government in providing services to citizens (2.54), and after that the statement that the local government is in the service of citizens (2.48); the accountability and conscientiousness of public administration in providing services to citizens (2.47); the accountability and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers (2.44) and almost at the very bottom the statement that the national government is in the

service of citizens (2.39). The last position is shared by the indicator of accountability and conscientiousness of Members of Parliament and the indicator of responsibility of ruling structures for the protection of the interests of citizens, with the lowest scores (2.32).

**1.4 Professionalism in the work of authorities**

Modern society is a kind of organized technocracy. Expertise, professionalism and competence are constituent parts of an efficient democratic rule. That is why we included this dimension in our measurements. It should also be noted that a constituent part of this dimension is the relation of majority to minority when it comes

to expert and competent arguments.

Thus, a democratic society envisages certain criteria for the inclusion of expertise and competences in the overall political life of the society, regardless of ideological and political differences between political parties and other participants.

The results we got measuring this dimension show that the scores range between 2.53 and 2.88. The highest score was given to the professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in government services and ministries (2.88) which is much higher score than the one given to the civil servants and employees in local government (2.73), while administrative officers in the Parliament and its bodies are somewhere in

*Table 3 – Accountability and removability of ruling structures – presentation of all indicators*

| Indicators  | N   | A.S. | SD    | Skewness |
|---|-----|------|-------|----------|
| National government in the service of citizens  | 899 | 2.39 | 1.095 | 0.506    |
| Local government in the service of citizens   | 895 | 2.48 | 1.095 | 0.399    |
| Accountability and conscientiousness of public administration in providing services to citizens   | 869 | 2.47 | 1.094 | 0.301    |
| Accountability and conscientiousness of local government in providing services to citizens        | 865 | 2.54 | 1.103 | 0.270    |
| Accountability and conscientiousness of Members of Parliament                                     | 890 | 2.32 | 1.119 | 0.534    |
| Accountability and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers                                  | 864 | 2.44 | 1.121 | 0.383    |
| Removability of national government in the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures | 870 | 2.77 | 1.337 | 0.77     |
| Removability of local government in the elections in compliance with democratic procedures        | 870 | 2.88 | 1.304 | -0.057   |
| Legitimacy of ruling structures   | 897 | 3.12 | 1.408 | -0.236   |
| Responsibility of ruling structures for the protection of the interests of citizens               | 893 | 2.32 | 1.213 | 0.572    |

*Table 4 Professionalism in work of authorities – presentation of all indicators*

| Indicators   | N          | A.S.        | SD           | Skewness     |
|--|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in government services and ministries</b> | <b>885</b> | <b>2.88</b> | <b>1.135</b> | <b>0.031</b> |
| <b>Professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in local government</b>                   | <b>880</b> | <b>2.73</b> | <b>1.145</b> | <b>0.187</b> |
| <b>Professionalism and expert qualifications of administrative officers in the Parliament and parliamentary bodies</b> | <b>862</b> | <b>2.80</b> | <b>1.127</b> | <b>0.103</b> |
| <b>Respect for minority shown by majority at all levels</b>  | <b>873</b> | <b>2.53</b> | <b>1.212</b> | <b>0.404</b> |

the middle (2.80).

And in the end, the lowest score was recorded for the indicator of respect for minority shown by majority at all the levels of power (2.53). We should say that this result is slightly improved in comparison to the last measuring, but the very fact that it is at the bottom of our ranking indicates that not enough has been done in this field, although the need for higher-quality communication between majority and minority in Montenegro is strongly emphasized.

### **1.5 Summary indicators of democratic quality of political processes (Trend)**

In the end we summarized and compared the results we got, which is one of the basic goals we set in this survey. In order to see possible changes we also compared the results we got this year with the results from the last Index (2005 – 2006). Table 5 and graph 1 provide an

insight into the data we obtained for all four areas we measured. It should be noted that the presented data for one dimension present a summary of indicators measured for that dimension.

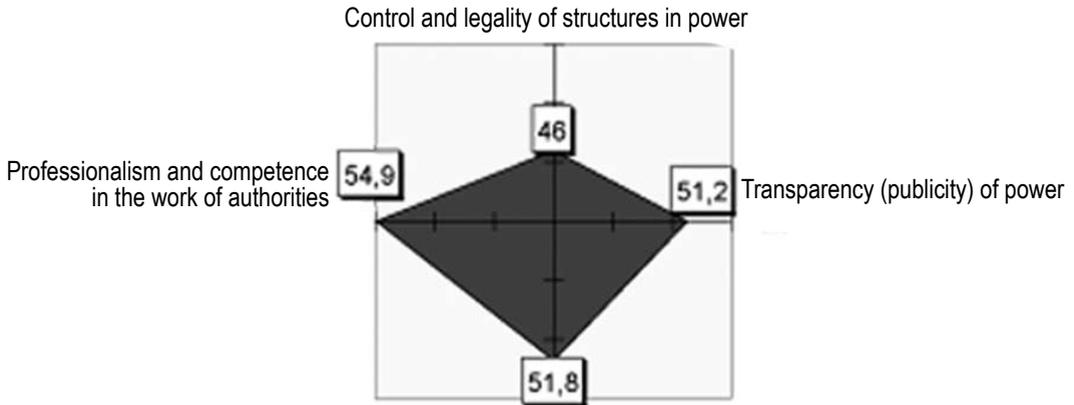
The results show that the citizens perceive that most has been achieved in the field of professionalism and competences in the work of authorities (54.9), then in the field of accountability and removability of ruling structures (51.8) and in transparency (publicity) of power (51.2), the difference between these two dimensions being very small. Finally, the citizens think that the most serious problem in Montenegro from the aspect of democratic quality of political processes is in the dimension of control and legality of structures in power (46) and the score for this dimension is much lower than all the others.

If we compare the results that we obtained this time with the results from the last survey

*Table 5 Politics and ruling structures - summary by dimensions*

| Indicators   | N          | K              | SD              | Skewness     |
|--|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <b>Control and legality of structures in power</b>               | <b>968</b> | <b>45,9225</b> | <b>18,59244</b> | <b>0.586</b> |
| <b>Transparency (publicity) of power</b>                         | <b>969</b> | <b>51,1934</b> | <b>18,41105</b> | <b>0.239</b> |
| <b>Accountability and removability of structures in power</b>    | <b>965</b> | <b>51,7969</b> | <b>18,99458</b> | <b>0.176</b> |
| <b>Professionalism and competence in the work of authorities</b> | <b>944</b> | <b>54,8996</b> | <b>20,49428</b> | <b>0.179</b> |

## Democratic quality of political processes



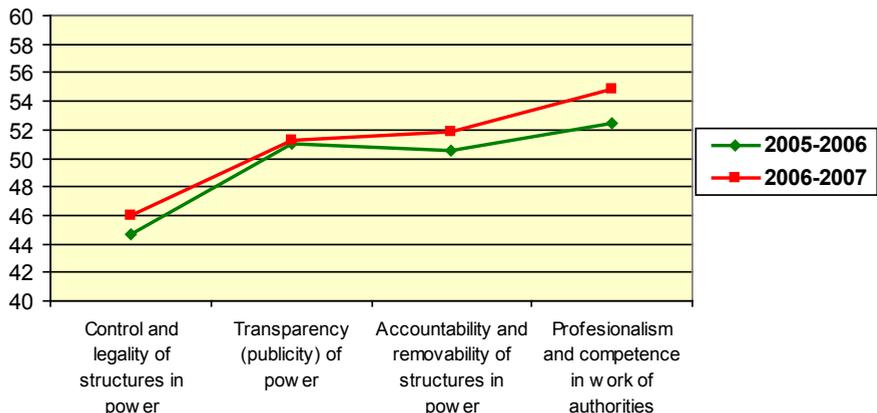
Accountability and removability of structures in power

| Indicators  | 2005-2006 | 2006-2007 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Control and legality of structures in power               | 44.7      | 46.0      |
| Transparency (publicity) of power                         | 51.0      | 51.2      |
| Accountability and removability of structures in power    | 50.5      | 51.8      |
| Professionalism and competence in the work of authorities | 52.4      | 54.9      |

coefficients by dimensions is from 46 to 54.9, which means they are slightly higher than in the last measuring but it is certainly still unsatisfactory since the maximum value of the coefficients is 100.

In the end we can conclude that the first step to be taken in order to improve democratic quality of political processes in Montenegro is ensuring higher level of control and legality of structures in power. It should be noted that within this dimension corruption and criminal in the ruling structures, particularly on the national level, has been emphasized as the most serious problem.

we can notice that the ranking of dimension scores is the same and that a slight increase is recorded in all indicators. The range of



## Public opinion in Montenegro September/October 2007

This research was conducted in period 28.09 – 04.10. 2007, using standard CEDEM's two-fold stratified sample with random selection of interviewees in final units applied, at the level of 981 interviewees from 9 municipalities ( Pljevlja, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Niksic, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Bar i Ulcinj). Project Political Public Opinion is supported by Foundation Open Society Institute, representative office in Montenegro (OSIM).

| Basic characteristics of the sample  |      | Confidence in Institutions (trend) |         |         |      |
|--|------|------------------------------------|---------|---------|------|
| <b>Age structure of interviewees</b>   |      |                                    |         |         |      |
|  | %    | K                                  |         |         |      |
| 18 - 34 years  | 34.4 | Feb '07                            | Jun '07 | Sep '07 |      |
| 35 - 54 years  | 37.1 |                                    |         |         |      |
| over 55 years  | 28.2 |                                    |         |         |      |
| No answer  | 0.3  |                                    |         |         |      |
| <b>Nationality of interviewees</b>   |      |                                    |         |         |      |
|  | %    |                                    |         |         |      |
| Montenegrins   | 45.5 | Serbian Orthodox Church            | 3.29    | 3.40    | 3.42 |
| Srbs   | 34.1 | President of Montenegro            | 2.69    | 2.86    | 2.84 |
| Bosnians   | 3.6  | Government of Montenegro           | 2.56    | 2.80    | 2.72 |
| Albanians  | 4.8  | Montenegrin Police                 | 2.47    | 2.68    | 2.60 |
| Muslims  | 7.8  | Montenegrin Parliament             | 2.96    | 2.68    | 2.66 |
| Croats   | 1.8  | Montenegrin Judiciary              | 2.26    | 2.57    | 2.50 |
| Other  | 2.5  | Montenegrin Orthodox Church        | 2.35    | 2.55    | 2.56 |
|  |      | Political Parties in Montenegro    | 2.16    | 2.54    | 2.36 |
| <i>Comment: Completed opinion poll results could be found on CEDEM's website: <a href="http://www.cedem.cg.yu">www.cedem.cg.yu</a></i> |      |                                    |         |         |      |

### Rating of the politician/public figure - Trends at the level of entire group of interviewees -

| Politicians / public figures | April 2006 | June 2006 | August 2006 | February 2007 | June 2007 | Sep/Oct 2007 |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| Vanja ČALOVIĆ                | -          | -         | -           | -             | 3.18      | 3.19         |
| Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ               | 3.21       | 3.18      | 2.98        | 2.86          | 3.09      | 3.01         |
| Filip VUJANOVIĆ              | -          | 2.96      | 2.87        | 2.82          | 2.99      | 3.02         |
| Željko ŠTURANOVIĆ            | -          | -         | -           | 2.99          | 3.14      | 3.07         |
| Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ            | 2.97       | 2.79      | 2.43        | 2.93          | 3.10      | 2.98         |

## Confidence in Politicians/Public figures

| Rating of the politician/<br>public figure | Average<br>score |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Vanja ČALOVIĆ                           | 3.19             |
| 2. Željko ŠTURANOVIĆ                       | 3.07             |
| 3. Filip VUJANOVIĆ                         | 3.02             |
| 4. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ                          | 3.01             |
| 5. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ                       | 2.98             |
| 6. Gordana ĐUROVIĆ                         | 2.95             |
| 7. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ                        | 2.47             |
| 8. Vujica LAZOVIĆ                          | 2.46             |
| 9. Andrija MANDIĆ                          | 2.37             |
| 10. Ranko KADIĆ                            | 2.23             |
| 11. Srđan MILIĆ                            | 2.18             |
| 12. Predrag POPOVIĆ                        | 2.09             |
| 13. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ                       | 2.08             |
| 14. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ                            | 1.99             |
| 15. Emilo LABUDOVIĆ                        | 1.93             |
| 16. Ferhat DINOŠA                          | 1.83             |
| 17. Mehmet BARDHI                          | 1.65             |
| 18. Rafet HUSOVIĆ                          | 1.64             |
| 19. Vasil SINIŠTAJ                         | 1.55             |

## Satisfaction With The Government Of Montenegro

| Answer                             | %          |            |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|
|                                    | Jun<br>'07 | Sep<br>'07 |
| Very dissatisfied                  | 16.1       | 16.7       |
| Mostly dissatisfied                | 18.7       | 14.2       |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 41.8       | 38.7       |
| Mostly satisfied                   | 18.5       | 22.8       |
| Very satisfied                     | 5.0        | 7.6        |

## Electoral preference – Committed voters

| Party         | %    |
|---------------|------|
| DPS           | 43.5 |
| SDP           | 5.0  |
| SNP           | 7.1  |
| SNS           | 12.7 |
| PZP           | 19.4 |
| NS            | 2.5  |
| Other parties | 9.8  |

## Respecting human rights and freedom of individual

| Rigt/Freedom Attitude   | June<br>2007 | Sep/Oct<br>2007 |
|---|--------------|-----------------|
| Right on fair lawsuit in reasonable time  | 2.91         | 2.99            |
| Ban of torture (in prison, police detention and court detention)  | -            | 2.87            |
| Right to enjoy its own property (restitution, misuse of right to build)                                   | 2.78         | 2.75            |
| Women rights (protection at work, right on pregnancy absence, stopping of violence against women)         | 2.72         | 2.63            |
| Freedom to speak (in medias and public places)  | 2.66         | 2.55            |
| Right on privacy (letter protection, other way of communication - phone, fah machine, apartment immunity) | 2.63         | 2.55            |
| Right on confession   | 2.31         | 2.18            |
| National minority rights  | 2.25         | 2.17            |
| Right on abortion and/or freedom to give birth  | -            | 2.05            |

**Will the Parliament adopt the new Constitution?**

|                    | Attitudes % |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Yes I am sure      | 13.1        |
| I believe so       | 25.8        |
| I don't believe so | 15.5        |
| No, certainly not  | 7.5         |
| Can not tell       | 38.1        |

**Voting on referendum for the new Constitution**

|                                  | Attitudes % |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| YES                              | 49.0        |
| NO                               | 12.9        |
| Will not take part in referendum | 38.1        |

**Level of corruption**

| Institution / area             | Jun 07 | Sep 07 |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Health service                 | 7.04   | 7.37   |
| Customs                        | 7.21   | 7.30   |
| Police                         | 6.85   | 7.17   |
| Judiciary                      | 6.90   | 7.13   |
| State services                 | 6.64   | 7.08   |
| Municipality services          | 6.71   | 7.00   |
| Public Prosecutor              | 6.70   | 7.00   |
| High education (University)    | 6.07   | 6.60   |
| Medias (TV, radio, newspapers) | 5.88   | 6.01   |
| Sport                          | 5.64   | 5.44   |
| Primary school system          | 5.15   | 5.36   |
| Primary school system          | 4.38   | 4.75   |

**Name of the language in the official use**

| Name of the language                           | %    |
|--|------|
| Montenegrin                                    | 34.9 |
| Serbian  | 30.2 |
| Montenegrin + Serbian of Serbian + Montenegrin | 4.0  |
| Other  | 3.6  |
| It's same to me                                | 19.4 |
| No opinion                                     | 7.8  |

**Membership in the European Union (trend)**

|              | Jun 06 | Aug 06 | Feb 07 | Jun 07 | Sep 07 |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Yes          | 81.5   | 76.5   | 74.0   | 78.3   | 72.4   |
| No           | 5.5    | 5.6    | 8.4    | 6.5    | 9.4    |
| Doesn't know | 13.0   | 17.9   | 17.6   | 15.2   | 18.2   |

**Membership in NATO (trend)**

|              | Jun 06 | Aug 06 | Feb 07 | Jun07 | Sep 07 |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| Yes          | 44.2   | 36.9   | 36.6   | 32.9  | 32.4   |
| No           | 27.3   | 31.4   | 34.6   | 39.7  | 40.7   |
| Doesn't know | 28.5   | 31.8   | 28.8   | 27.4  | 26.9   |

**Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal (trend)**

|              | Jun 06 | Aug 06 | Feb 07 | Jun 07 | Sep 07 |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Yes          | 54.8   | 50.9   | 45.3   | 48.2   | 47.7   |
| No           | 28.4   | 27.4   | 32.6   | 30.6   | 29.5   |
| Doesn't know | 16.8   | 21.7   | 22.1   | 21.2   | 22.8   |

**Montenegrin allies in area of foreign policy**

|        | Attitudes      |          |                   |                 |              |
|--------|----------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|
|        | Absolutely not | A little | Yes significantly | Yes, absolutely | Can not tell |
| EU     | 11.4           | 15.5     | 27.7              | 30.2            | 15.2         |
| USA    | 30.7           | 23.5     | 19.1              | 9.9             | 16.8         |
| RUSSIA | 21.0           | 28.4     | 19.7              | 13.2            | 17.7         |
| SERBIA | 21.9           | 18.7     | 14.1              | 30.0            | 15.2         |

*NOTE: 21.2% of interviewees think that Montenegro should not rely on nobody in area of foreign policy.*

# CEDEM Activities

## Seminar:

”Article 6 guarantees in criminal proceedings  
for Montenegrin judges, attorneys”

### *Igalo, Montenegro, 5-7 July 2007*

Seminar on the topic: **Article 6 guarantees in criminal proceedings** for Montenegrin judges, attorneys, prosecutors and NGO representatives was organized by CEDEM, AIRE Center from London and OSCE, supported by Foundation Open Society Institute, UK Foreign Office, and Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

Facilitators were: Nuala Mole, Director of AIRE Centre, London; Catarina Herby, legal adviser within AIRE Center, London; Petar Stojanovic, judge of the Montenegrin Supreme Court; Miras Radovic, Minister of Justice in Montenegrin Government; Zoran Pazin, President of Basic Court in Podgorica; Ph.D Radomir Prelevic, Attorney from Podgorica.



## Seminar:

”Reform of the criminal and misdemeanor justice system in Montenegro”

### *Herceg Novi, Montenegro, 20-22 September 2007*

Seminar on topic “**Reform of the criminal and misdemeanor justice system in Montenegro**” was organized by CEDEM, AIRE Center from London, OSCE and Montenegrin Ministry of Justice, supported by Foundation Open Society Institute, UK Foreign Office, Westminster Foundation for Democracy and High Judicial

and Prosecutors Council from Bosnia and Hercegovina for Montenegrin judges, prosecutors and attorneys. Facilitators were: Branka Lakocevic, Deputy of Montenegrin Minister for Justice; Nuala Mole, Director of AIRE Centre, London; Zoran Pažin, President of Basic Court in Podgorica; Vesna Cetkovic, Judge in Republic Council for misdemeanour; Ines Boji c attorney, Zagreb; Nataša Mrvic Petrovic, Law faculty of Union University in Belgrade; Goran Salihovic, President of Municipal Court in Sarajevo; Zoran Živkovic, President of Republic Council for misdemeanours.



*Seminar:*

”Rule of law as a basic value for democratic society development”

***Becici, Montenegro, September, 29-30, 2007***

Seminar organized by CEDEM, supported by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung on following topic: ***Rule of law as a basic value for democratic society development.***

Facilitators were: Claudia Nolte, Director of the German Foundation Konrad Adenauer, Former Federal Minister for Family Affairs, Rifat Rastoder, Vice President of Montenegrin Parliament; Sinisa Bjekovic, coordinator of the Centre for Human



Rights, Law Faculty, Podgorica; Vesna Ratkovic, Director of the Montenegrin Directorate for Anti-corruption Initiative; Biljana Vuksanovic, Basic Court’s judge, Podgorica and Tamara Durutovic, attorney.

Participants were: students of Faculty of Political Sciences from Podgorica and young employees in judiciary.

**We were visited by ...**

- **Ivana Howard**, Program Officer for Central and Eastern Europe (NED)
- **Bjorn Linderfalk**, Counselor, Second Secretary Embassy of Sweden, Belgrade
- **Nils Ronstron**, Embassy of Sweden, Belgrade
- **Erin K.Jenne**, Associate professor, Central European University International Relations and European Studies Department
- **Qian Xiangyun**, Attaché in the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in Montenegro

## International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

**Rajko Radević**

*July 04 – 06, 2007 Novi Sad*

Regional training on the issue of civil dialogue, organized by Balkan Civil Society Development Network.



**Nikola Đurović**

*September 13 – 14, 2007 Belgrade*

Workshop organized by Handicap International with the main topic: “Mainstreaming of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in human rights organizations”.

**MA Nenad Koprivica**

*September 17 – 23, 2007 Washington*

NDRI Workshop for Think Tank Managers.



**Nikola Đurović**

*October 07 – 10, 2007 Pržno*

Regional conference with the main topic “Through cooperation towards integration”, organized by the Montenegrin Secretariat for European Integrations, GTZ and German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

