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# NEWSLETTER



# CONTEXT ANALYSIS OF THE SECURITY SECTOR REFORM IN MONTENEGRO (1989 – 2009) \*

## INTRODUCTION

In this text we have analysed a wider context of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Montenegro from 1989 to 2009. This period was chosen as an explicative frame where fundamental structural changes were shaped during the process of transformation in the post-socialist societies of Europe. Our analysis includes the previous two decades, from the end of socialism in Montenegro, to the present-day, and it follows all the significant socio-political events and trends which have reflected on SSR in the country. We will consider the events which happened during the last two decades as mutually related. The process of reform is still ongoing with insufficient certainty in regard of its final result.

We will start our analysis by defining our two key dependent variables: Security Sector Reform; and a concept of established Reformed Security Sector. Security Sector Reform involves “a process of adaptation of security sector actors to political and organizational requirements of transformation” (Edmunds, 2007), whereas its ultimate goal is developing Reformed Security Sector which “provides security of both people and a state efficiently and effectively in the frame of democratic government” (Hanggi, 2004:275). The concept is based on the following criteria: legitimacy, representativeness, transparency, participation, rule of law and responsibility in governing the security sector (Ejdus, 2008:65).

A wider context analysis has the goal to recognise how, to what extent, and with what consequences, the context can influence the flow,

content, and range of Security Sector Reform. Since Montenegrin society passed through specific processes and changes, we made a periodisation of the context of SSR into three phases, according to the criteria of key and crucial points, which are results of activities of the most important social actors during the post-socialist transformation of Montenegrin society. Periodisation was done in order to recognise the key points of change. These events are important since they were, in a way, the driving force behind changes in security policy. Therefore, for the needs of our analysis, we developed the following periodisation:

Phase I: 1989 to 1997

Phase II: 1997 to 2006

Phase III: 2006 to 2009

In this paper, we shall conduct an analysis of the major socio-political events for each of these three phases, as well as institutional analysis of domestic security sector, in order to determine which context was the dominant one in the indicated period. In the appendix to this analysis, there is also a table which analyses key political actors in Montenegro, through their interests, strategies, abilities, and relations.

## 1. End of socialism and socio-political context (1989-1997)

This period was characterised by the breakdown of the socialism related to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, when the post-socialist transformation in all the former Yugoslav republics started. During this

\* This publication is as a product of “Civil Society Capacity Building to Map and Monitor Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans” - project which is financially supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway. This is regional project involving 7 regional Think-Tank organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia and it is being developed in cooperation with the DCAF, Geneva ([www.dcaf.ch](http://www.dcaf.ch)). This paper is developed using the methodology originally created by the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy ([www.ccmr-bg.org](http://www.ccmr-bg.org)).

period, a civil, democratic society based on the market economy, was perceived as the only alternative to the unsuccessful previous system of socialist federalism. After making clear what the goals were, and which socio-economic system would be desirable to adopt, some serious difficulties arose on the path to adopting it. These difficulties were recognized as transitional social problems. In the sphere of the economy, the process of privatisation, as a basic process of transferring state property to new owners, started. The main aim was a transition to market economy. However, soon after the mobilisation of citizens to support these changes, the free market concept and the imposed idea of getting material wealth in capitalism lost support very soon and became a subject of re-examination by the citizens. This was because the initial attempts of privatisation led to an atmosphere of general insecurity, 'tycoonisation' of the economy, the rapid rise in wealth of politicians and criminals, as well as a rapid increase in unemployment. At the same time, the overall standards of living of the majority of the citizens declined as well.

The socialist system certainly left strong and far-reaching consequences on the structure of Montenegrin society. During that period, new social layers, which had not existed before or had been sparse, were created by industrialisation and modernisation. Once a predominantly agricultural and economically underdeveloped country, with 85.3%<sup>1</sup> of the citizens living in villages and working mostly as farmers, Montenegro entered the 1990s as a society where, according to 1991 census<sup>2</sup>, only 7.2% of the citizens worked as farmers (Pavicevic, 1997:101-104). Since the former system did not create actors in the sphere of the economy who would be able to put these changes into effect, the reforms developed dominantly from political actors, so that "new managers had a task to deprive themselves economically (by privatisation) and make themselves politically replaceable (by regular democratic election

procedure)" (Lazic, 1994:22), in order to solve the formulated "equation in two unknowns (market and democracy)" (Lazic, 1994:22-23). Therefore, the new political elite had to start the process of privatisation, and to establish the procedures for fair and regular elections which would eventually lead toward their replacement in power. Thus, the most significant social change came with the breakdown of the centrally-planned economy, where now we saw a separation of political from economic and cultural subsystems, mainly as a result of activities of the new<sup>3</sup> political elite, which established its legitimacy on the basis of the results which they achieved in multi-party and relatively free elections.

The aforementioned context of changes in post-socialist societies should be considered in the framework of the most important socio-political events in Montenegrin society from 1989 to 1997, which are relevant factors that influence SSR. In January 1989, a two day protest meeting, named the "event of people", was held in Montenegro, where around 100,000 citizens, including workers, students, and intellectuals, gathered and demanding the resignation of the entire state management bureaucracy. The meeting soon ended with the acceptance of their demands. Complete management of the Communist League resigned. These events, known as "Anti-Bureaucratic (AB) Revolution"<sup>4</sup>, are taken as a turning point when the dissolution of socialism in Montenegro started. After the AB Revolution and the end of the socialist establishment, the first multi-party elections

<sup>3</sup> In expert public and among sociologists at the beginning of the 90s, two models of new political recruitment in post-socialism were mentioned, depending on the answer whether there was a change of personnel in managing positions of new political elite, that is, "circulation "from other layers of society or we have "a reproduction", that is, a change within the old socialist establishment and their adaptation to a new form of society. However, it was shown in practice that each society had its own distinctive features in this sense and most often, the first and the second model were combined.

<sup>4</sup> Anti-bureaucratic revolution, mass protests from January to August 1989 in Titograd (Podgorica), so called "event of people", where real aims of their organisers - to support policy of Slobodan Milosevic, were hiding behind the slogans against communist bureaucracy and democratisation of society.

<sup>1</sup> Data from pre-socialist period (Pavicevic, 1997:101-104)

<sup>2</sup> Majority of active population now are workers (32,1 %), shop or catering assistants (20,1 %), experts and artists (16,1 %), or clerks (13,5 %).

were organised, which marked the end of the single-party system in Montenegro.

Today it is clear that the first Montenegrin post-socialist elite was not autonomous in making decisions for a long time. It turned out that “during disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), the ruling Montenegrin policy blindly followed Milosevic’s war and great-power goals” (Bojovic, 2010), which caused numerous problems for Montenegrin society and its development (wars, isolation, deep economic crisis, hyperinflation, grey economy, smuggling of goods – often organized by state authorities, and ‘tycoonisation’) as a consequence.

One of the key variables in our research of the security sector reform context in Montenegro is sovereignty, since we start from the point of view that a sovereign country is very important for the democratic transition of society as well as for Security Sector Reform (Linc & Stephan, 1998:31-57). In that respect, the new government in Montenegro initiated a referendum on the state status of Montenegro in 1992<sup>5</sup>. The referendum was scheduled in the atmosphere of the war, with a 7-day time limit for campaigning, so that it was impossible, physically and because of the time limit, for both sides to organise a proper campaign. The referendum was not supervised by any accredited foreign observers or organisations.

The way Montenegrin government treated the issue of sovereignty at the beginning of the nineties had, it turned out, strong and far-reaching implications on halting democratisation of both society at large and the security sector in particular. Until the restoration of the independence of Montenegro in 2006 (and still present in the independent state), two strongly polarised groups existed: on one hand, the “Independents”, who advocated an independent, internationally-recognised state of Montenegro, and on the other hand, the Unitarians, who

advocated the retention of the federal state with Serbia, although it should be emphasised that these splits were guided by deeper historical processes (Antonic, 1999:165-186). Both sides seemingly struggled for the same cause – a liberal democratic civil society – but in fact, on the other hand, they led a long-lasting dispute over national identity and the issue of sovereignty, which even today breaks out again whenever there is a political motive for bringing up the issue. If we perceive the situation from the standpoint of a liberal-democratic ideal, we can notice that, for a long period of time, national, and not civil, identity was the priority on the country’s political scene, what turned out to be one of the main causes of the postponing of democratic transition and consolidation of Montenegrin society.

On the basis of the already mentioned referendum in 1992, the Republic of Montenegro together with Republic of Serbia formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), and a new Constitution of Montenegro was proclaimed on 15th May, 1992. Soon afterwards, membership of FRY in UN was suspended, and the UN Security Council imposed international trade, science, cultural, and sports sanctions on FRY. A long period of isolation and suspension of socio-political transformation started, and it also stopped the security sector reform process, although it is debatable whether to talk at all about the reform at that time. This period was predominantly characterised by wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Montenegrin security sector actors were directly or indirectly involved in war operations. Hence, it can be said that the security sector reform was stopped or blocked in this period.

After the break-up of the SFRY, the region was pushed in a bloody civil war from 1991 to 1995. It is not necessary for the purpose of this text to deal with either the causes of the civil war or explain how the civil war started and describe its course. It is enough to point out that the military forces of Montenegro took part<sup>6</sup> in the conflict on the territories of

<sup>5</sup> The results were the following: 95.96% of voters chose federal state of Serbia and Montenegro that is Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was created later. Voter turnout was 66%.

<sup>6</sup> At that time Army of FRY, armed forces of Serbia and Montenegro

Croatia, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>7</sup>. Montenegrin citizens were mobilised in order to militarily settle accounts with the citizens of the other Yugoslav republics (and with their just formed military and police defence forces), now new states which had already proclaimed or intended to proclaim independence, on the basis of their citizens' will as a result of referenda.

De-monopolisation of power, lawlessness, and anomia<sup>8</sup>, were identified as the main security threats and risks in this period. The armed forces were free from any kind of democratic control, instead being under the command of individuals - members of the ruling elite. The situation was additionally complicated by the formation of various para-military forces, which recruited mostly criminals as their members, and which were created by criminal groups and sometimes even by the security sector. The consequences of these events were horrifying during wars on the territory of the former SFRY. What should especially be emphasised is that these forces were active also on the territory of Montenegro (although its territory was not officially included in the war operations) and that war crimes did occur on the territory of Montenegro in these years. (Nansen Dialogue Centre, 2009) Those war crimes were committed by Montenegrin armed forces or para-military formations (or joint action of military and para-military forces).

When we talk about the attitude of Montenegrin officials to these crimes, first of all, we should point out that the fact that they happened on Montenegro's territory was ignored for a long time, and the lack of justice in this regard was prolonged until recently, when the prosecutor's office brought first charges for war crimes. Ig-

<sup>7</sup> Attack and destruction of Dubrovnik, war operations in Herzegovina

<sup>8</sup> This concept was introduced into science about society by French sociology classic Emil Durkheim, in order to explain suspension and inefficiency of social norms, laws, rules and values, which lead to disorganization and destabilization of a society, as well as to confusion in moral consciousness of an individual, and often to delinquent behavior. State of anomie appears in periods of social and political crisis, wars and rebellions, as well as in times of social transition, when the previous norms and traditional values are not valid anymore and new ones are not still established. It creates confusion and disorientation of members of a society in their search of socially desirable patterns of behavior.

noring war crimes committed on the territory of Montenegro also was a characteristic of a large part of the Montenegrin public.

The authorities defended themselves through silence or by claiming they were not informed, and the judiciary by lack of evidence. However, according to the charges, evidence, and eyewitness accounts in proceedings in Montenegrin courts in recent years, persons who at that time were members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) and the State Security Service<sup>9</sup> of Montenegro were directly involved in organising and committing war crimes. Undoubtedly, they received orders for those actions from the ruling elites, which are more or less at present time still in power. Hence it is not surprising that the government could ignore and not punish war crimes committed on its territory for a long time. There were a number of crimes committed on Montenegrin territory in this period:

***Crime in Bukovica***, municipality of Pljevlja, 1992 and 1993, when eight people lost their lives, a number of houses were burnt and robbed, whereas hundreds of Montenegrin citizens of Bosnian Muslim origin were expelled from their homes. Seventeen years later, the Montenegrin Prosecutor's office brought charges and asked for temporary arrest for seven former members of the armed forces of Yugoslavia and Ministry of Internal Affairs – who were charged with 'a crime against humanity' during 1992 and 1993, at the time of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina – they were accused of violating international law, systematically maltreating and frightening the Bosnian Muslim population in Bukovica region in the north of Montenegro, and forcing them to move out of their homes. These trials are still proceeding at the time of writing, and criminal charges are being brought against them before the Higher Court in Bijelo Polje.

***Crime in the Morinj prison camp***, – in the municipality of Kotor, where six members of the JNA have been accused of torturing and maltreating more than 169 prisoners of war, who had been taken prisoner in the region of Dubrovnik and

<sup>9</sup> State Security Service (SDB), was a predecessor of National Security Agency (NSA) which was established in 2005.

taken to the Morinj prison camp on the Montenegrin coast, at the time when the Montenegrin government was encouraging aggression to the region on Dubrovnik. The case was processed much later, in March 2009. Montenegrin officials and the judiciary ignored the case of Morinj for more than a decade. The case was processed much later, in March 2009. Eventually, in May 2010, the six accused were found guilty and sentenced to a total prison term of 16 years for all of them before the board of judges of the Higher Court in Podgorica. However, it seems that this case remains open because of the command responsibility, which was not asked for by the charges, has not been identified.

**Deportation of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina** in spring 1992, from Herceg Novi to Republika Srpska and handed over to the war authorities of Bosnian Serbs. A majority of the arrested were Bosniaks, who, after being handed over to the authorities of the Bosnian Serbs, were killed. According to the official document – a reply to the parliamentary question of the Minister of Police, Nikola Pejaković, in spring 1992, on the territory of Montenegro, 83 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina (48 Bosnian, 33 Serbian and two Croatian citizens) were arrested and deported. Criminal charges for deportation were brought before the Higher Court in Podgorica in November 2009. The trial was brought against a group of members of MUP and the State Security Service of Montenegro, who were accused of deportation, which was qualified as a crime against civilians. In December 2009, in an extra-judicial procedure, Montenegro paid four million and one hundred thirty five Euros to

families of deported and killed citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Crime in Kaludjerski laz**, a place in the municipality of Rožaje near the border with Kosovo, during NATO intervention in FRY, 8 members of active and reserve units of the Yugoslav army, the so-called Podgorica Corps, were accused of war crimes against civilians, because they had killed 21 civilians of Albanian nationality in a column of refugees, some of them were children, women, and old people, although the official military announcement was that it had been a clash with terrorists. Montenegrin police was not allowed to approach the crime scene, and the bodies of the murdered were discovered later in a mass grave in Kosovo. A trial started a decade later in March 2009, before the board of judges of the Higher Court in Bijelo Polje. Seven members of the reserve unit of the former Army of Yugoslavia had already been in custody, whereas the first accused, Predrag Strugar (battalion commander of the battalion the unit was a part of) was tried in absence.

A couple of different contexts of the security sector reform are generally mentioned in literature – post-authoritarian, post-conflict, and developmental (Ejdus, 2008:67). The period from 1989 to 1997 should fit into the post-authoritarian context of the security sector reform in sense of moving away from authoritarian socialism. However, because of a whole range of distinctive features, this period of post-socialist transformation has, as we are going to define it for analytical reasons, a combination of two models: a conflict context and a context of blocked security sector reform.

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# CEDEM Activities

## PROJECT: Active Monitoring for Human Rights



Project Active Monitoring for Human Rights is supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro, for a period of 18 months starting from February 2011. The overall objective of the action is to improve the ability of Montenegrin civil society to influence development and implementation of human rights policies. The realisation of the project has started on 1st February 2011.

## PROJECT: Justice System Monitoring Project



Justice System Monitoring Project is supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro, for a period of 18 months starting from February 2011. The overall objective of the action is to foster a more accountable, professional, effective and transparent judiciary in Montenegro which will be able to respond to the needs of the citizens.

## PROJECT: PGF Montenegro

In October 2011, the Center for Democracy and Human Rights - CEDEM was elected partner of the National Institute of Open Society Institute (OSI) in Budapest for the implementation of the “PGF Montenegro”. This project is implemented in partnership with the UNO Libertask and Humanitarac, within the MTM program aimed at improving the availability and accessibility of EU funds for the benefit of Roma civil society organizations and the inclusion of Roma into Montenegrin society.

The project “PGF Montenegro” aims to strengthen the capacity of Roma NGOs and members of the RAE community to write project proposals and manage complex project cycles, with special emphasis on projects funded by the European Union. The involvement of the Roma community in all phases and activities of the project represents a crucial value of the project.

Key activities include training for project proposal writing and management of projects financed by the European Union for the representatives of Roma NGOs, local self-governments, partners in social dialogue and the business sector, the establishment of PGF service for final beneficiaries at the local level, providing counseling and technical support in the writing and implementation of projects, establishment of selection committees for quality control of projects. A special component of the project is advocacy in the field of national and local strategies aimed at encouraging participatory decision making process concerning the RAE with the overall aim to contribute to the needs and problems of this population to be adequately addressed through public policies.

## Presentation

### PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST INTERNIM REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING

*Podgorica, Hotel Crna Gora, October 5, 2011*

Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) in partnership with the AIRE Centre from London organized a presentation of the first interim Report on Human Rights Monitoring. The Report was prepared within the project “Active monitoring for Human Rights in Montenegro” which is funded by the European Union and managed by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro.



The Report includes the results of monitoring of several rights prescribed in the European Convention of Human Rights as well as key findings and recommendations of the monitoring team. Monitoring process was implemented in the period from April 1st – September 30 th 2011.

## Workshop:

### PROHIBITION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PERSON WITH DISABILITIES

*Budva, October 06-07, 2011*

OSCE Mission to Montenegro, Ministry for Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro and CEDEM organized a third, two-day workshop on discrimination, entitled “Prohibition of discrimination against persons with disabilities.”

These workshops are intended to implement Law on anti-discrimination in accordance with international standards, and that the relevant national stakeholders acquire and improve their knowledge and understanding of anti-discrimination standards. Representatives of public administration and civil society in Montenegro participated at this workshop. Panelists at the workshop were Slobodanka Lazova Zdravkovska, Head of Protection and Employment of Persons with Disabilities in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and Vladimir Pesic, Assistant Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of the Republic of Serbia.



## Round table:

## Advocating for “Brain Gain” Policies aimed at Reintegration of High-skilled Returnees in the Western Balkans

*Podgorica, October 19, 2011*

Centre for Democracy and Human Rights CEDEM, organized Round table within the project: “Advocating for “Brain Gain” Policies aimed at Reintegration of High-skilled Returnees in the Western Balkans”.

The presentation was attended by representatives of Government of Montenegro, University of Montenegro, business sector, international organizations and civil society. The project is supported by Balkan Trust for Democracy.



## Seminar on the topic:

## European Convention on Human Rights and Code of Criminal Procedure of Montenegro

*Becici, October 31 – November 1, 2011*

CEDEM and Judicial Training Centre organized a two-day seminar on “European Convention on Human Rights and Code of Criminal Procedure of Montenegro” in Becici, Montenegro. The seminar was organized in partnership with the AIRE Centre from London and with the support of Konrad Adenauer Foundation - Rule of Law Program South East Europe and UK Foreign Commonwealth Office. This seminar is a part of a decade long program CEDEM implements with the aim to support judicial reform processes. The purpose of the seminar was to provide participants closer view to the standards of the European Convention on Human Rights and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights in relation to criminal proceedings as well as to initiate an expert debate on the challenges in implementing the new Code of Criminal Procedure of Montenegro.

Beside organizers, the seminar was attended by representatives of courts, prosecution offices, Police Directorate of Montenegro and lawyers, as well as representatives of human rights based CSOs and international legal experts. The seminar was attended by representatives of the Twinning project supporting the implementation of the new CPC and Twinning project aiming at strengthening capacities of the Police Directorate of Montenegro. Lecturers at the seminar were: Mr. Toby Cadman, barrister and legal expert of AIRE Centre, Mr. Veselin Vuckovic, Supreme State Prosecutor’s Deputy, Ph.D Milan Škulić from Belgrade Faculty of Law and author of the Comment on new CPC as well as Mr. Radule Kojović and Mr. Petar Stojanovic, judges of the Supreme Court of Montenegro and co-authors of the new CPC.



## Press conference:

### Presentation MTM program in Montenegro and PGF Montenegro Project

*Podgorica, November 7, 2011*

Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) and the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of the Government of Montenegro - organized a press conference on the occasion of the presentation MTM program in Montenegro and “PGF Montenegro Project”, implemented by CEDEM in partnership with U.N.O. Libertask and Humanitarac and “Capacity Building of RAE departments in the Ministry of Human and Minority



Rights” - implemented by the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, within the MTM program (Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma Program). Furthermore, the conference announced the organization of three-day workshop to produce the final text of the draft Strategy for the period of inclusion of RAE 2012-2016, which will be held from 15-December 17, 2011 in Tivat. At the press conference spoken:

- Marija Vuksanovic (CEDEM), PGF project coordinator;
- Sabahudin Delic, Deputy Minister for Human and Minority Rights;
- Sokol Beganaj, consultant for RAE population in the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights;
- Nedeljka Sindik, representative of the partner organizations UNO LIBERTASK and quality control advisor for the project.

## Workshop:

### Prohibition of discrimination based on sex/gender

*Przno, November 24-25, 2011*



OSCE Mission to Montenegro, Ministry for Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro, AIRE Centre from London, Judicial Training Centre of Montenegro and CEDEM organized a fourth, two-day workshop on discrimination, entitled “Prohibition of discrimination based on sex/gender.”

These workshops are intended to implement Law on anti-discrimination in accordance with international standards, and that the relevant national stakeholders acquire and improve their knowledge and understanding of anti-discrimination standards. Representatives of public administration and civil society in Montenegro participated at this workshop. Panelists at the workshop were: Saadiya Chaudary, Legal advisor at AIRE Centre, London, Biljana Zeković, SOS-Helpline for Children and Women Victims of Violence, Aida Petrović, Montenegrin Women’s Lobby, Nedeljka Sindik, NGO Libertask and Branka Vlahović, Ministry for Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro.

## Seminar in the topic:

## Montenegrin path into European and Euro-Atlantic integration

*Przno, March 15-16, 2012*

Seminar on the topic: Montenegrin path into European and Euro – Atlantic integration, organized by CEDEM and Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Lecturers on the seminar were: Alberto Camarata, Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro; PhD Gordana Djurovic, Faculty of Economics, Podgorica; H.E. Vladimir Gasparic, Slovenian Ambassador to Montenegro and Colonel PhD Mehmedin Tahirovic, Ministry of Defense.

The participants at the seminar were students from Faculty of Political Science, Law, Economy and KAS Fellows.



## Seminar in the topic:

## Montenegrin Anti-Discrimination Legislation and International and European Standards

*Becici, March 22-23, 2012*



CEDEM and Konrad Adenauer Foundation - the Rule of Law Program South East Europe - organized two-day seminar "Montenegrin Anti-Discrimination Legislation and International and European Standards". This seminar is organized in cooperation with AIRE Centre from London, Judicial Training Centre of Montenegro and OSCE Mission to Montenegro, with support of The United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office via British Embassy in Podgorica.

Participants of the seminar were judges, prosecutors, attorneys, representatives of the Police Unit, civil servants

as well as civil society organization and media.

The seminar was opened by Mr. Rade Bojovic, President of CEDEM and moderator of the introductory speeches, Ms. Vesna Medenica, President of the Supreme Court of Montenegro, H.E. Sarunas Adomavicius, Head of OSCE Mission to Montenegro, H.E. Kate Knight-Sands, Ambassador of the UK to Montenegro, H.E. Pius Fischer, Ambassador of the FR of Germany to Montenegro, Mr. Thorsten Geissler, Head of the Rule of Law Program South East Europe, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Ms. Biljana Braithwaite, Programme Manager for Western Balkans, AIRE Centre, London.

The lecturers at the seminar were: Ms. Blanka Radosevic-Marovic, Deputy Minister for Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro, Mr. Adam Weiss, Assistant Director from AIRE Centre, London, Mr. Goran Miletic, Western Balkan Programme Director at Civil Rights Defenders from Belgrade, Ms. Marijana Lakovic, Deputy of Ombudsman in Montenegro, Mr. Zoran Pazin, Representative of Montenegro before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg and Ms. Milena Ceranic, the Rule of Law Programme officer at OSCE Mission to Montenegro.

## Workshop:

### Training for writing project proposals funded by the EU

*Becici, March 24-25, 2012*

CEDEM organized two-day training for writing project proposals funded by the EU. The training is being carried out within the project "PGF Montenegro", supported by Open Society Foundations from Budapest through the MtM Program (Making the most of EU funds for Roma).

Specific goal of this project is to strengthen capacities of civil society organizations that gather representatives of Roma population in Montenegro, as well as to increase the availability of EU pre-accession funds for addressing social inclusion issues of Roma. The training was organized for 16 PFG assistants selected in order to contribute to achievement of this goal, together with CEDEM and partner organizations U.N.O. Libertask and Humanitarac.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: CEDEM ranked among 20 top Think-tanks in Central and Eastern Europe

In the latest research conducted under University Pennsylvania's Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program CEDEM was placed among 20 leading think tank organizations in the Central and Eastern Europe.

The report's publication «The Global Go To Think-Tanks Report 2011» is the culmination of an eight-month process involving 6545 think-tank organizations from 182 countries all over world.

Research included more than 1500 respondents from 120 states. Think tank organizations were nominated in 30 categories, one of which applying to organizations from Central and Eastern Europe (total 537 organizations), where CEDEM took 20th ranking position.

Ranking among 20 leading think tank organizations in Central and Eastern Europe we see as international acknowledgement of 15-year-long work on research and analysis of political processes in Montenegro.

## International activities of CEDEM's representatives

### **Vladan Simonovic - PASOS Annual Conference, Warsaw, Poland, November 25-27, 2011**

Vladan Simonovic, member of Steering Committee of CEDEM, participated in the work of the PASOS Annual Conference which was held in Warsaw, Poland, from 25-27 November. PASOS (Political Association for Open Society) is a unique network of Think Tank's from Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, which CEDEM joined as a full member since 2010. At this Conference participants discussed the further development of activities of this association, exchanged experiences from different regions and elected a new Steering Committee.

### **Marija Vuksanovic study visit, Hungary and Slovakia, November 27-30, 2011**

Within the MTM Program, representatives of the PGF project team in Montenegro and representatives of local self-governments (municipalities: Berane, Herceg Novi and Niksic) participated in the study visit to PGF partners in Hungary and Slovakia, organized by the Open Society Institute in Budapest, from 27-30th of November-2011.

The study visit was organized in order to meet PGF partners and representatives of local self-governments from the Western Balkans with experiences of EU Member States in addressing the social inclusion of Roma, to open space for potential partnerships and promote examples of good practice in this area. In addition to representatives of Montenegro, the study visit was attended by PGF teams from Serbia and Macedonia.

### **Dzenita Brcvak, Brussels, December 12, 2011**

PASOS training on topic Understanding and Influencing EU Policymaking - organized in Brussels on 12 December 2011. This was the first training of this kind organised by PASOS (Policy Association for an Open Society). The event consisted of an intensive training seminar that featured a simulation of an EU lobbying campaign and post-simulation critique and analysis; a panel discussion with experts in EU policymaking. The goals of training were to increase understanding of EU policymaking and level of participation in shaping EU policymaking on the part of civil society actors from the new EU member states, and EU neighbours to east (Eastern Partners and Central Asia) and south-east (Western Balkans).

### **MARIJA CIMBALJEVIĆ, BELGRADE, SERBIA, DECEMBER 15, 2011**

Regional conference "Repatriation of Highly Skilled Experts in the Western Balkans - Brain Gain or Brain Re-drain?" was organized by the Group 484 and the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence - as part of the project "Advocating for "Brain Gain" policies aiming at Reintegration of Highly Skilled Returnees" - with financial support from the Balkan Trust for Democracy. The main purpose of this Conference was exchange of experience, between representatives of government bodies, civil society, academic community and highly skilled migrants - towards policies that deal with how to attract the return of Highly Skilled Experts in their native countries of Western Balkan. Marija Cimbalević, Project Manager for Montenegro, presented the report of situation in Montenegro, when it comes to reintegration of Highly Skilled Returnees.

**MARIJA VUKSANOVIC & DZENITA BRCVAK, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, FEBRUARY 20 - 21, 2012**

Representatives of PGF Montenegro project team attended regional staff meeting within the implementation of MtM program. The meeting was organized by Open Society Foundations from Budapest on 20-21 February 2012. The subject of regional meeting was to analyse current implementation of PGF project, aimed at exchange of partners' experience on conduction of project activities, as well as to consider possible future directions for the continuation of following three-year project period. Beside representatives of CEDEM, meeting was also attended by coordinators of PGF projects from Central and South-Eastern Europe countries, as well as representatives of OSF working within the MtM program.

**MARIJA VUKSANOVIC, BELGRADE, SERBIA, FEBRUARY 21-23, 2012**

Marija Vuksanovic, Project Manager at the Centere for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), attended The Balkan Peer to Peer Exchange Conference gathered together more than 80 representatives of more than 60 think tanks, advocacy organizations and donors in order to address some of the issues that are relevant for the future work of civil society organizations as well as to open a space for potential partnerships between advocacy organizations and think tanks. The conference is organized in close collaboration between: Think Tank Fund from Budapest, European Fund for Balkan, Open Society Foundation Serbia, Balkan Trust for Democracy and National Endowment for Democracy.

**CEDEM - Empirical Research Department****POLICY PAPER, DECEMBER 2011:**

**Reintegration of highly skilled returnees to Montenegro: Challenges and Opportunities**

Within the regional project "Advocating for "Brain Gain" Policies aimed at Reintegration of High-skilled Returnees in the Western Balkans", CEDEM project team presents Policy Paper "Reintegration of highly skilled returnees to Montenegro: Challenges and Opportunities", which can be found on the website [www.cedem.me](http://www.cedem.me) This project is financially supported by Balkan Trust for Democracy.

**POLICY PAPER, DECEMBER 2011:**

**NATO AND MONTENEGRO - JANUARY- DECEMBER 2011**

At the end of December 2011, CEDEM published Policy Paper on the topic NATO integration of Montenegro, for the period January-December 2011, which can be found on the website [www.cedem.me](http://www.cedem.me) This project was supported of the Open Society Institute from Budapest.

**POLICY BRIEF, DECEMBER 2011:**

**NATO AND MONTENEGRO - JULY- DECEMBER 2011**

At the end of December 2011, CEDEM published Policy Brief on the topic NATO integration of Montenegro, for the semi-annual period, July-December 2011, which can be found on the website [www.cedem.me](http://www.cedem.me) This project was supported of the Open Society Institute from Budapest.

**“PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH”**

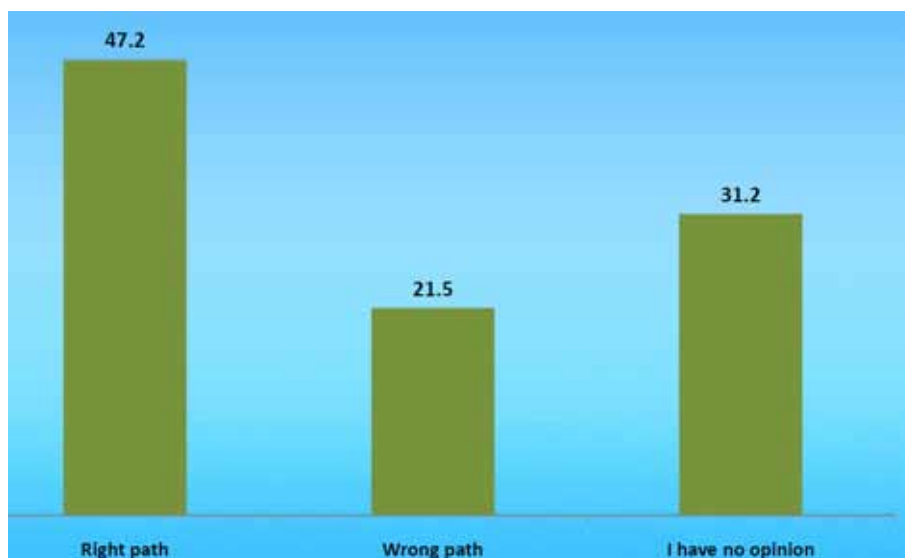
December 2011

This research survey was realized in December 2010. This research survey is an integral part of regular periodical public opinion sondages conducted by CEDEM. Besides survey of standard criteria of political public opinion of Montenegro through the following indicators: citizens' confidence in institutions, the Government, political public figures, political parties, media, EU and NATO, December research survey also contains a set of questions about citizens' attitudes about forming new political parties in Montenegro, because there was some discussion in domestic public about the need for establishing a new political party.

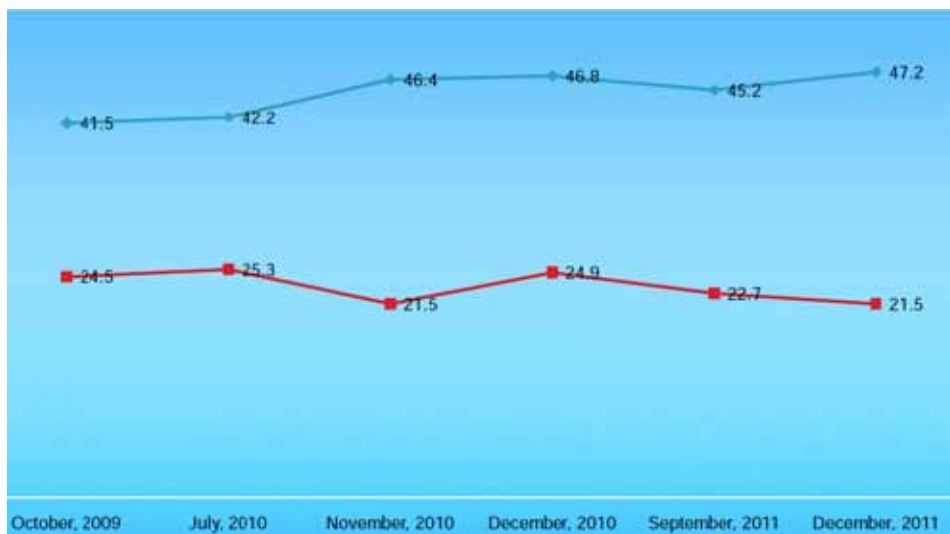
The instrument in this research survey was – a questionnaire which mostly corresponds to the previous questionnaires which CEDEM has already used for public opinion research of this kind. The research was carried out on the sample of 1042 examinees, from sixteen Montenegrin municipalities. The sample used in this research represents the result of standard sampling procedure on a two-phase stratified principle, together with random choice of examinees in final units of choice (local communities). In the final outcome the sample is representative for the whole population of Montenegro. Representativity of this sample was corrected by post-stratification pondering procedure, and data from the last Census in Montenegro were used as a principle of correction; the criteria were sex/gender, age and ethnic affiliation. Standard statistical error of estimate, with the incidence of 50 %, with 95% of confidence interval is +/- 3 %.

The research Political Public Opinion - September 2011 was supported by the Embassy of the United States in Podgorica.

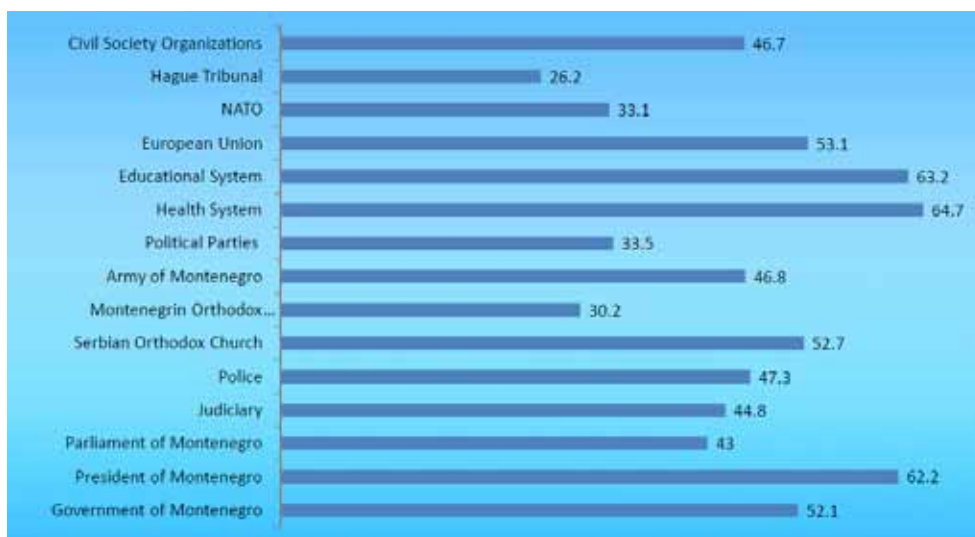
*In general, would you say that Montenegro is on the - %*



*Crna Gora se kreće: Trend - %*

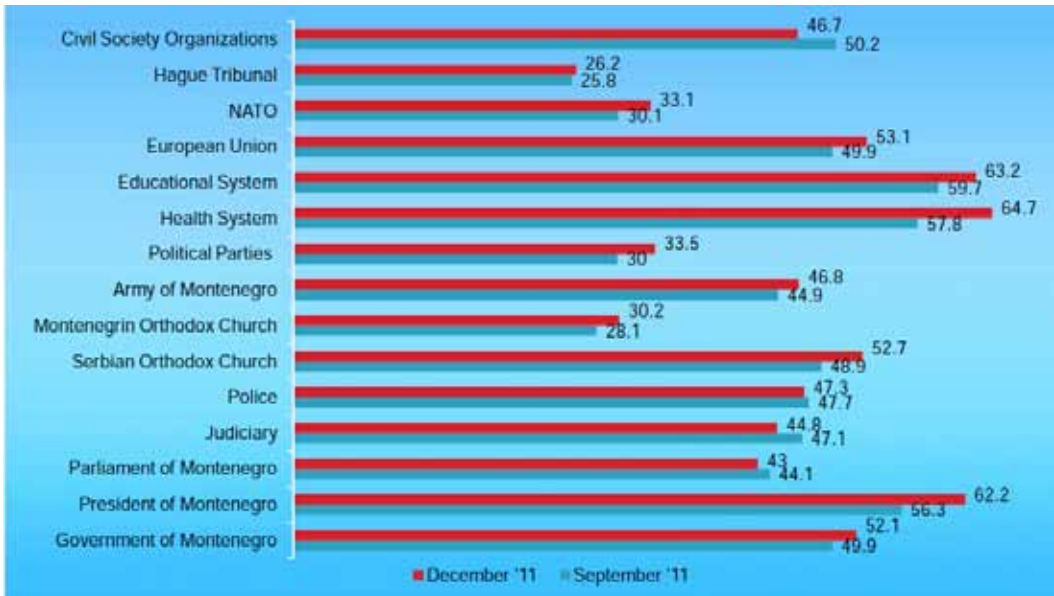


*Confidence in institutions – SUM high confidence and mostly confidence %*

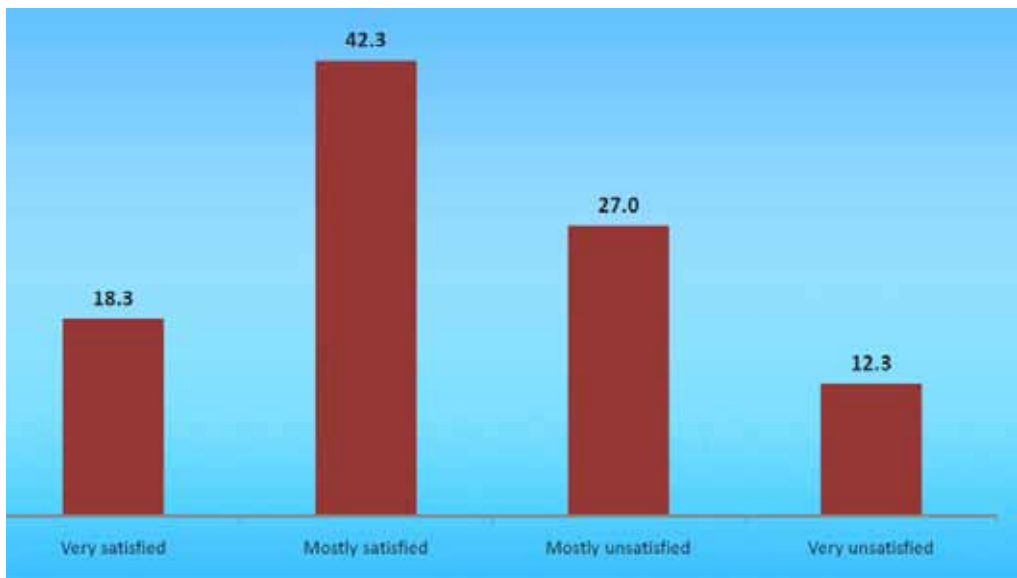




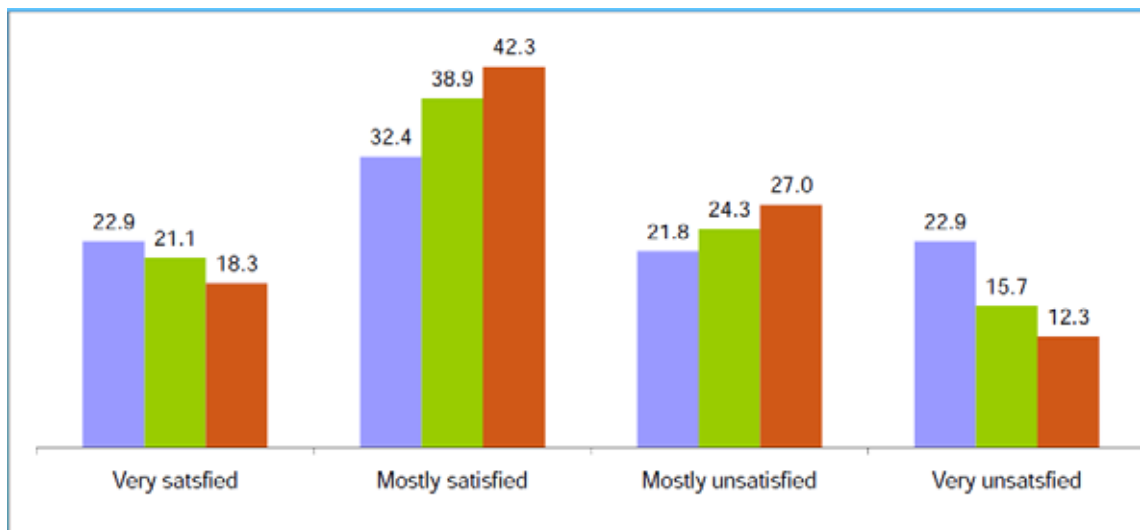
*Confidence in institutions - TREND %*



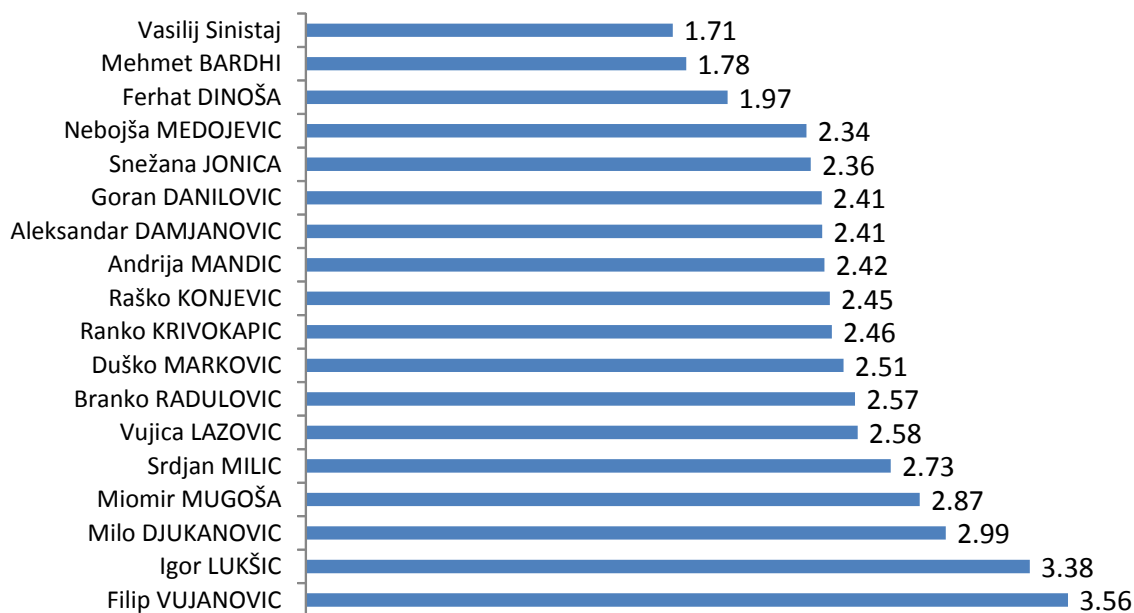
*Are you satisfied with Igor Luksic's Government performance so far? - %*



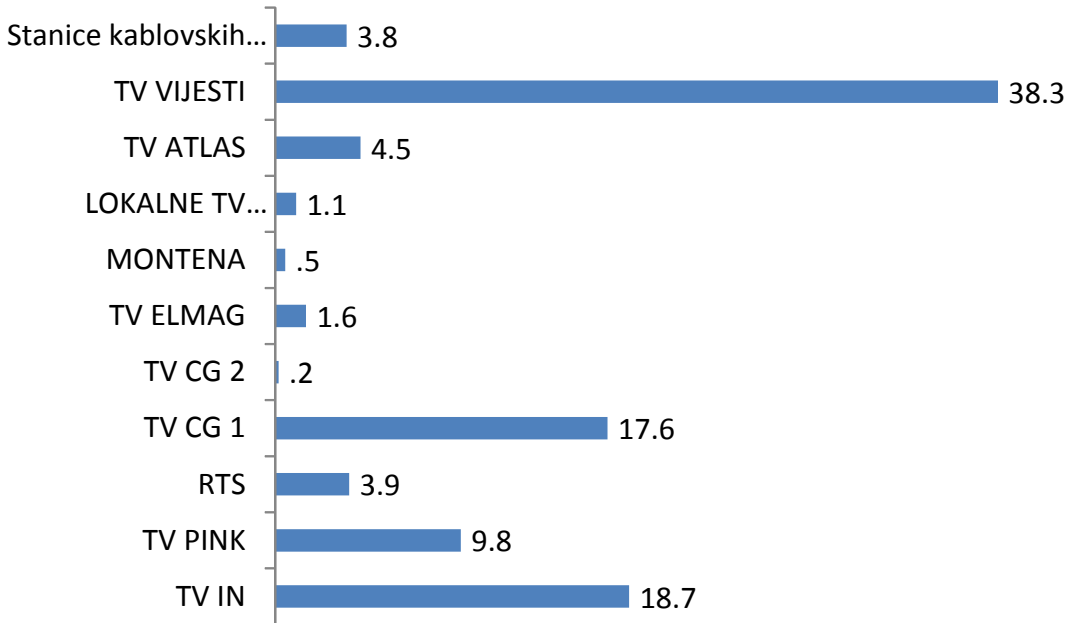
## SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT:



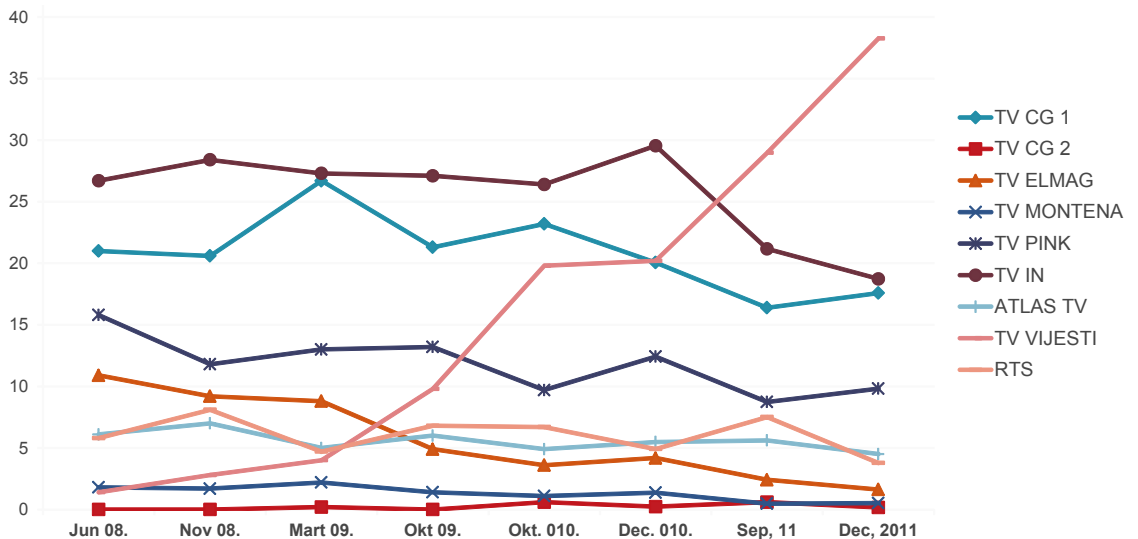
## POLITICIANS' POPULARITY



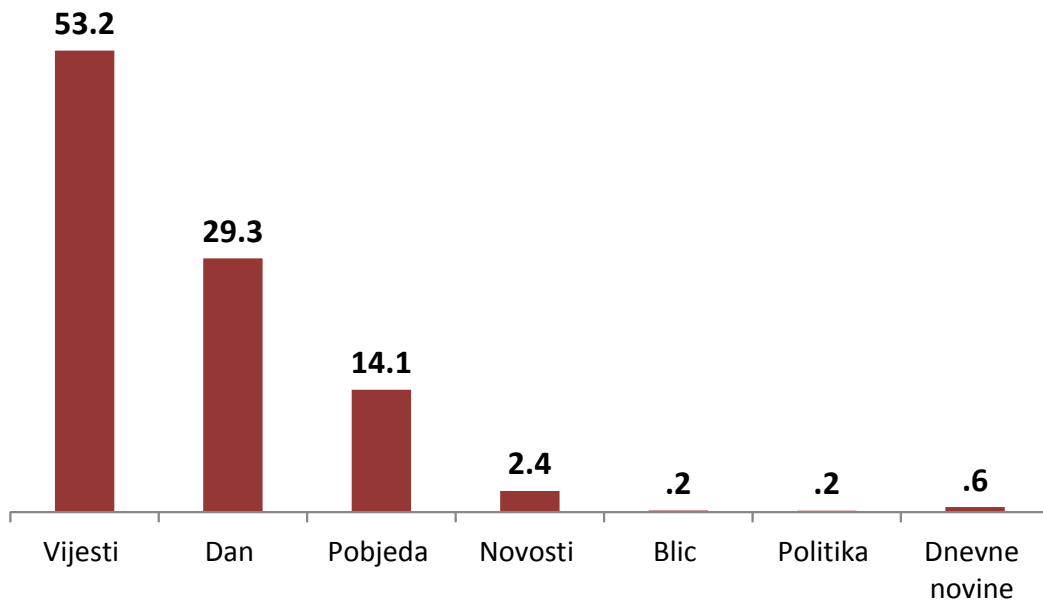
CONFIDENCE IN TV STATIONS - %



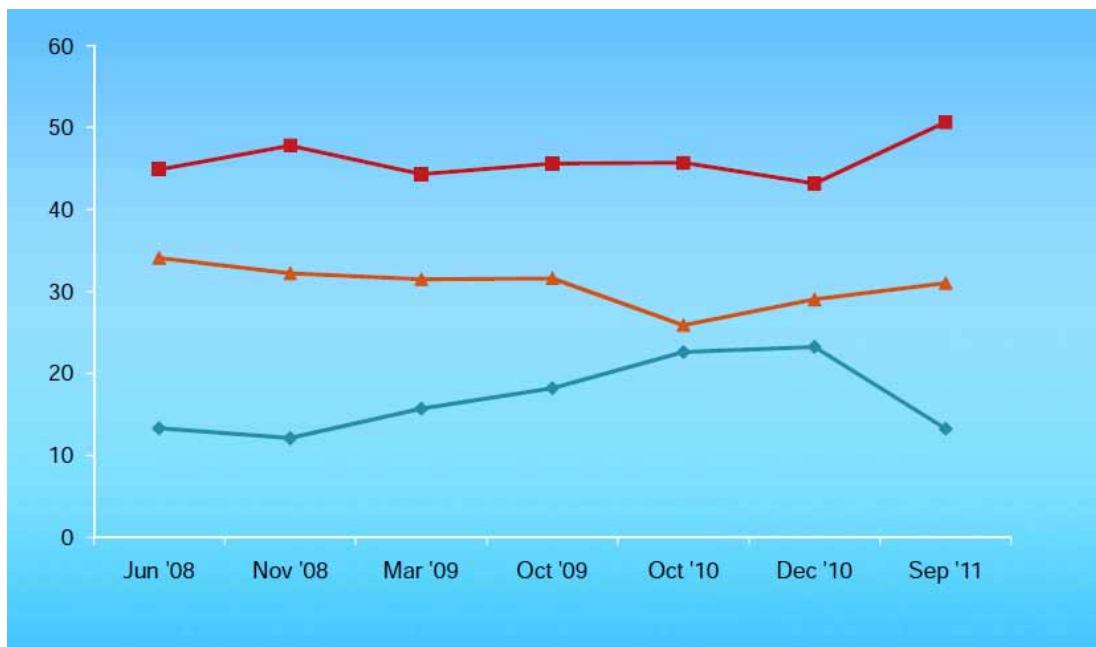
CONFIDENCE IN TV - TREND %



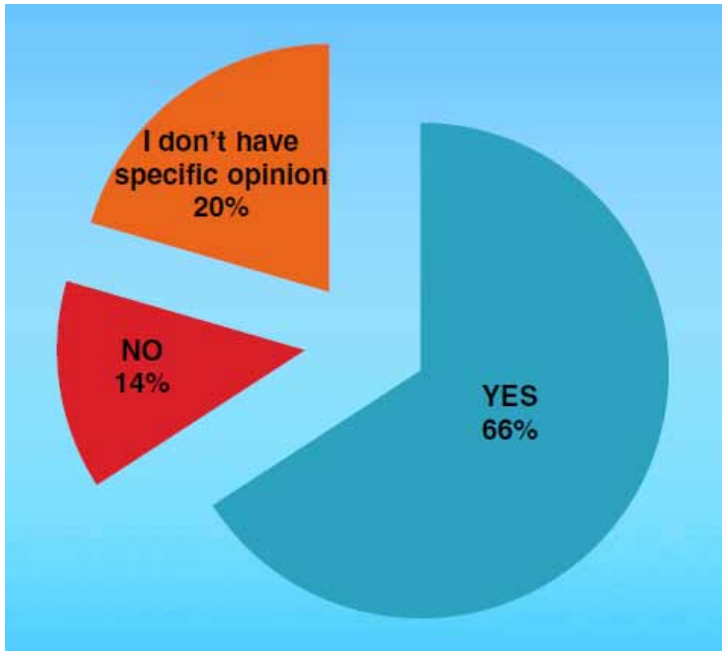
CONFIDENCE IN DAILY PRESS -%



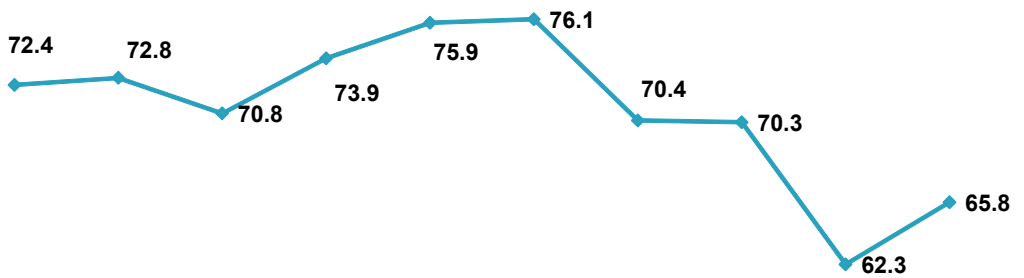
CONFIDENCE IN DAILY PRESS: TREND -%



*In your opinion, should Montenegro access the European Union? - %*

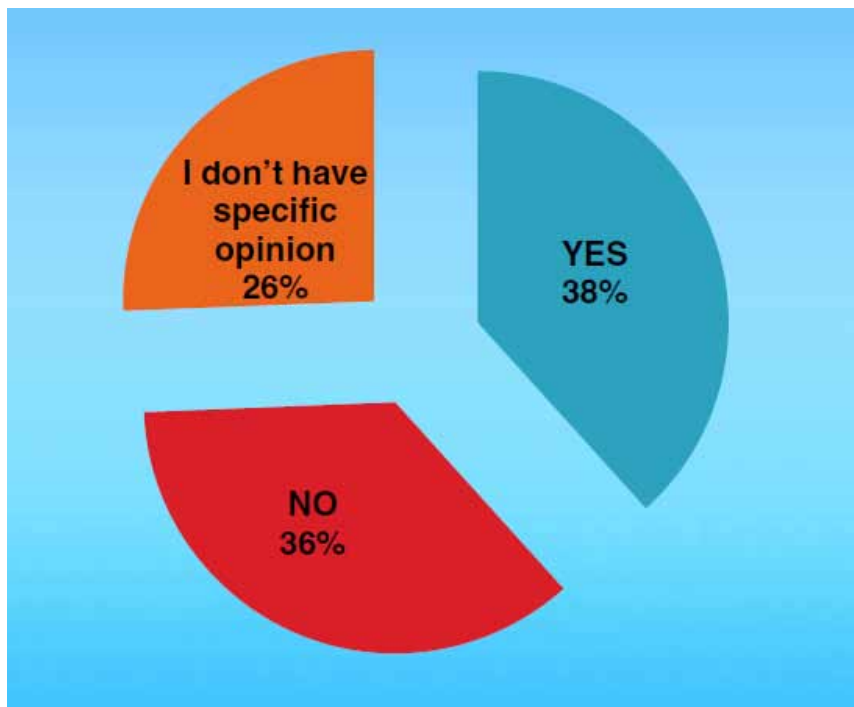


*SUPPORT TO THE EU: TREND %*



Okt '07. Feb '08. Jun '08. Nov '08. Mart '09. Okt '09. Okt '10. Dec. '10 Sep'11 Dec, 2011

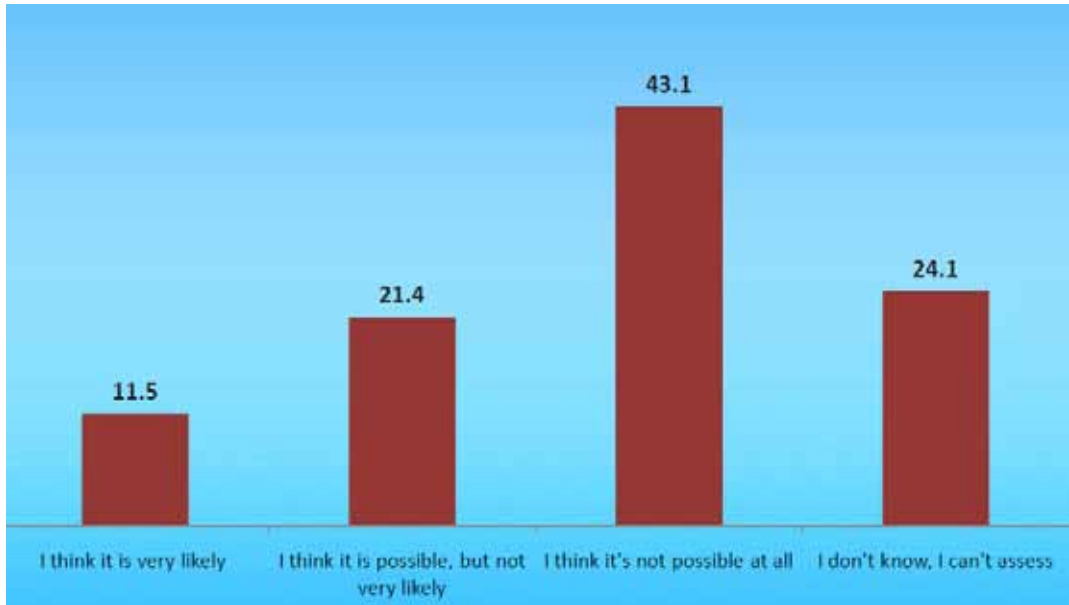
*If tomorrow you are to vote on Montenegrin membership in NATO, your answer would be?*



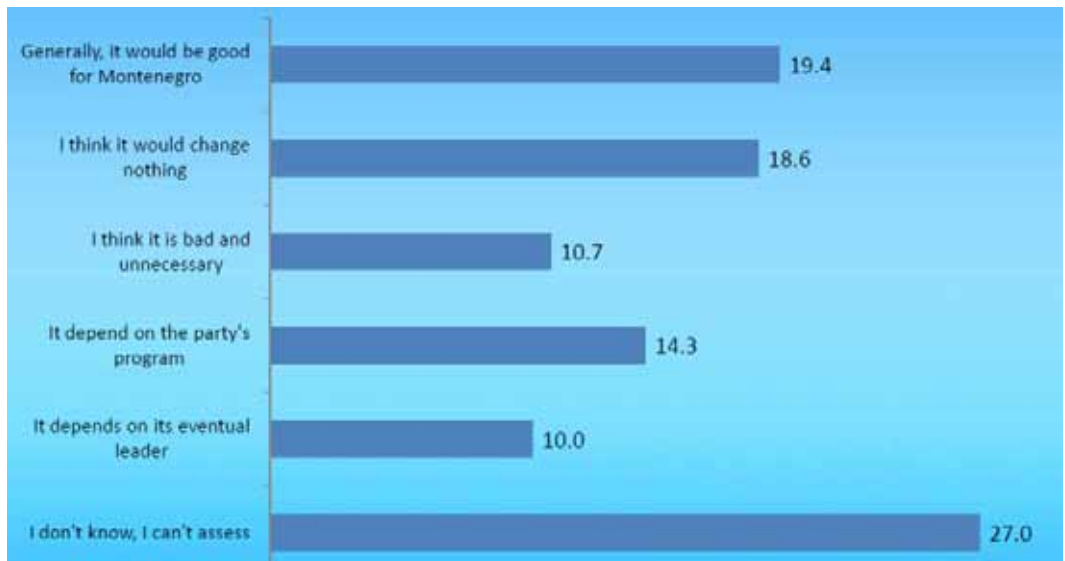
*TREND: YES on the referendum IN FAVOUR and AGAINST NATO - %*



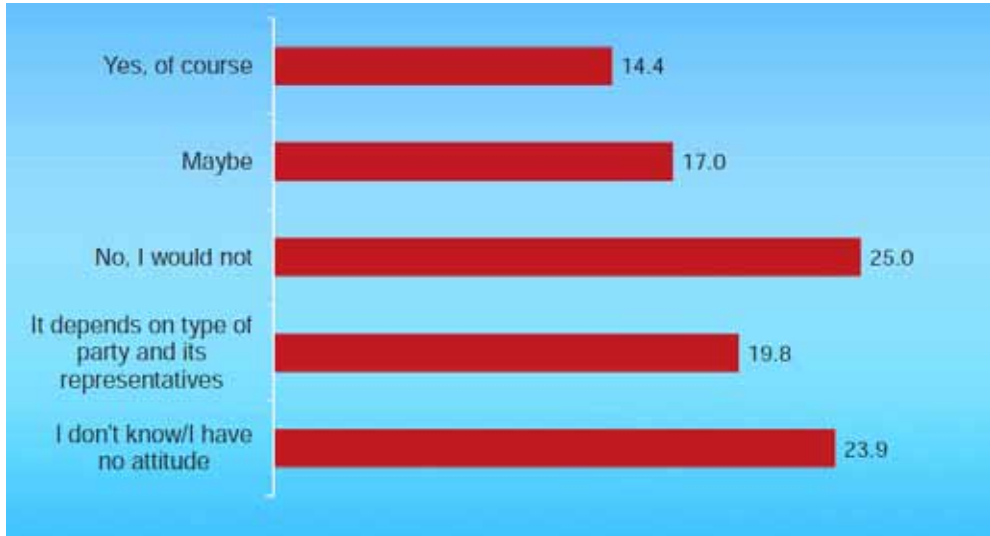
*In your opinion, to what extent is it possible for current opposition to take over the power after next elections in Montenegro? %*



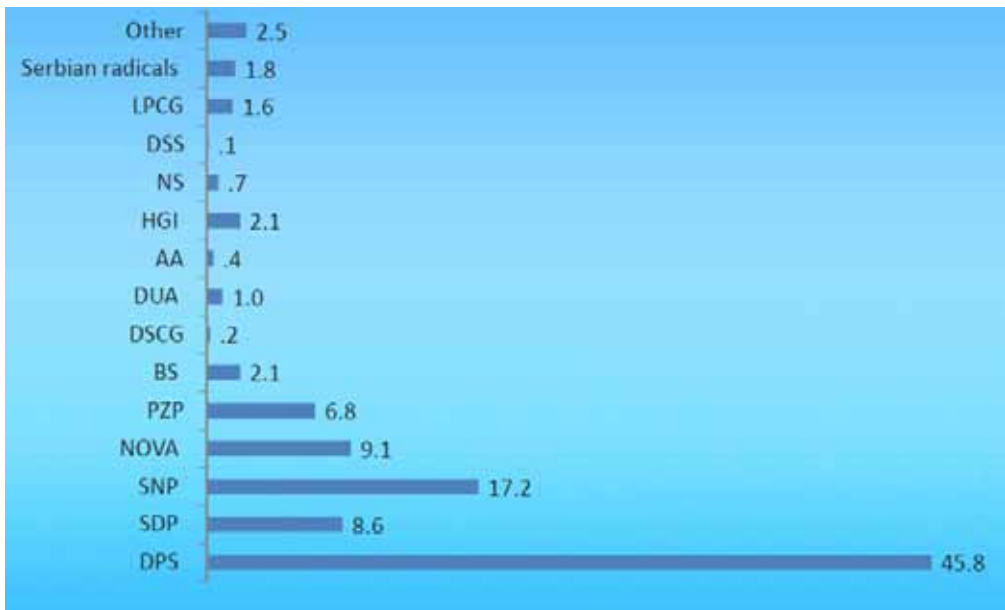
*Recently, there have been some speculations that new political parties are to be formed. What do you think about that? %*



*Would you personally support forming of new  
OPPOSING party in %*



*POLITICAL PARTIES' RANKING  
% VOTERS' AFFILIATION*





*POLITICAL PARTIES' RANKING  
% VOTERS' AFFILIATION*

	95CI +/-%	From %	To %
DPS	3,0	42,8	48,8
SDP	1,7	6,9	10,3
SNP	2,3	14,9	19,5
NOVA	1,7	7,3	10,8
PZP	1,5	5,3	8,4

*POLITICAL PARTIES' RANKING - TREND %*

	nov.'08	okt.'09	jul.'10	okt.10	dec.10	sep.11	dec.11
DPS	48,7	48,7	44,4	48,1	47,9	46,1	<b>45,8</b>
SDP	4,7	4,2	8,8	8,8	8,5	7,9	<b>8,6</b>
SNP	9	18,7	18,6	17,8	19,7	17,9	<b>17,2</b>
NOVA	15	8,3	8,1	9,2	6,1	8,2	<b>9,1</b>
PZP	12,2	5,5	4,9	4,7	6,9	7,7	<b>6,8</b>

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