



Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO:
POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING
AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
USAID Cooperative Agreement No: EE-A-00-98-00028-00
October 1 to December 31, 2001

I. SUMMARY

Uncertainty over the question of Montenegrin independence has continued with no end in sight to the political crisis. An October meeting among Serb, Montenegrin and Federal representatives did not resolve the federation's future. Although the U.S. and the European Union (EU) have pressured Montenegrin authorities to resume dialogue with Serbia and abandon independence plans, the Montenegrin government announced that the issue would be decided in a referendum held in early 2002. However, at the insistence of EU High Representative Javier Solana, the negotiations on the future of the federation resumed in mid-December. Meanwhile, a draft referendum law, heavily criticized by the OSCE since it provides for passage by simple majority only, did not pass in parliament. The pro-Yugoslavia opposition continued to demand an investigation of cigarette smuggling operations that implicate President Milo Djukanovic.

Whether independent or not, Montenegro's transition to a modern European actor will depend on its ability to build a democratic system that allows for informed and open debate related to the political reform process. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. The Institute received a no-cost extension of its regional cooperative agreement through July 31, 2002, but anticipates completing activities in Montenegro by April 30, 2002.

NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Organized the first-ever, multiparty conference for women political party activists and another conference for leaders of women's NGOs;
- Fielded the fourth tracking political party poll and distributed key findings and party specific results; and
- Held two single-party workshops on party caucus communications for the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the Socialist People's Party (SNP).

Specific results identified this quarter include the following:

- The NDI seminar for women's branches of the political parties transferred skills to participating women, but each participating party branch left the seminar with an action plan for the future on such issues as establishing a women's branch, and increasing women's membership in the party.
- In consultation with NDI, the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) published and began to distribute the citizen's guide to parliament and "how a bill becomes law." A number of political parties – including the Liberal Alliance, SNP, DPS and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) have commented on how professional and useful the publication will be.

II. BACKGROUND

Protracted and chaotic negotiations continue to dominate the political environment with some observers now relying on a possible EU-brokered resolution. During the quarter, the debate over the referendum completed a full circle. It began with attempts at inter-republican negotiations, which were concluded on October 26, 2001. In a three-hour meeting of principals from Serbia, Montenegro and the Federation, it was determined that the two proposals (a union of sovereign states or a renegotiated federal compact) were irreconcilable and that a referendum in Montenegro needed to be held. Meanwhile, the pro-independence parties in parliament worked alone on a new referendum law. The international community, namely the OSCE, criticized the new draft for eliminating the qualified majority provision although tacitly recognized that a referendum was inevitable. With the Together for Yugoslavia coalition's boycott of parliamentary sessions, the pro-independence parties finally met in plenary to vote on the draft referendum law on November 29. After a month spent trying to reach a quorum, the law ultimately failed. Discussions to organize a concentration government and then a referendum were ready to begin when the EU's High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security, Javier Solana, arrived in Podgorica. During this December 2001 visit and subsequent meetings in Belgrade, Solana pressured the DPS government to return to negotiations with Serbia, offering himself as an arbiter/observer/facilitator, and now the question is back at the negotiating table that seats representatives from the two republican governments and the Federal government.

Initial talks beginning in mid-December included FRY President Vojislav Kostunica, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Miroljub Labus, Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic and Serbian and Montenegrin Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Filip Vujanovic. The outcome of the first meeting resulted in the formation of expert teams to discuss redefinition of the federation and the consequences of its cessations. Rather than dealing with the issue of one or two seats at the UN, these discussions are to focus on issues of border regime, citizenship, and property, citizens' and political rights. The teams reportedly have until the middle of January 2002 to come up with a report that will be considered by the principals. The pro-Montenegrin authorities are increasingly isolated in a struggle against the Serbian and Federal authorities, the Montenegrin opposition and the international community – and, yet, they seem more determined than ever.

While making little progress on the state status issue, parliament was also mired in an opposition boycott over the expiration of a special commission investigating the authenticity of a series of articles implicating top government officials in nefarious cigarette smuggling acts tied to the mafia. In an attempted show of force, the opposition parties walked out of parliament when the commission's mandate expired November 2 and refused to return until the extension of the mandate was placed on the agenda. The speaker refused to discuss a change in the agenda until the proposed new referendum law was discussed. On December 6, the opposition returned after a formula was worked out for the commission's extension with the support of the Liberals and the Albanian parties.

The success of Montenegro's democratization process will be determined by the degree to which it constructs a multiparty political system based on accountability, transparency, and representation. To this end, NDI is conducting a program to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs.

The specific objectives of NDI's 2001 program are the following:

- Political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making;
- Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit and respond to feedback from the grassroots on party positions;
- Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party;
- Parties become more open to political participation of women and youth;
- Political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies;
- Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition; and
- Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Building

Women's Seminars

From November 2 through 6, NDI held two seminars to help build the skills and knowledge of Montenegrin women political party and non-governmental organization (NGO) activists. The first seminar called *Women in Political Parties: Increasing their Influence*

included more than 40 women members of seven parties represented in the Montenegrin parliament. The second seminar called *Defining a Women's Agenda for Action* – organized in cooperation with the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and USAID/OTI (Office of Transition Initiatives) – included approximately 25 women NGO activists and 20 to 25 women trade union activists.

International trainers included Amy Conroy, the former executive director of both the Women's Leadership Forum of the U.S. Democratic National Committee and the Women's Campaign Fund; Kate Fearon of NDI/Bosnia-Herzegovina, a co-founder of the non-sectarian women's political party, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; Mica Mladineo of NDI/Croatia, long-time trainer and co-founder of the NGO BaBe; and Dina Loghin, an executive director of Equal Opportunities for Women, a Romanian women's NGO. Five trainers from the NDI/Bosnia (Tanja Kremenovic and Amila Ibrahimovic) and NDI/Serbia (Nevena Ivanovic, Mirjana Kovacevic and Mirjana Barbulovic) programs acted as trainers/facilitators for break-out sessions. The seven regional trainers' participation provided invaluable experiences that leveraged lessons learned from other transition countries.

“Extremely useful and interesting lectures. The experiences brought to us by guests from USA, Northern Ireland and Croatia were especially interesting, as well as information we got by working in workshops.”
- seminar participant

The specific focuses of the women in politics seminar were to increase understanding of the role of women in parties, increase influence of women in parties, and strengthen concrete skills related to women's political participation so they could reach their goals. In response to participants' requests, NDI added several plenary sessions regarding leadership, networking and how to hold a meeting. All of these sessions were designed to demonstrate the characteristics of effective, democratic leadership and organization.

The seminar for women NGOs focused on the strategic planning process and on the need to coalesce in order to leverage resources. The seminar divided the group into two smaller issue-focused workshops to work through advocacy efforts in domestic violence and trafficking, and women's involvement in politics. The domestic violence/trafficking group developed a medium-term plan of collective action to train police and health workers about identifying and reporting problems of domestic violence. Included in this plan were an identification of targets, tactics, allies and opponents and development of a clear message and media plan.

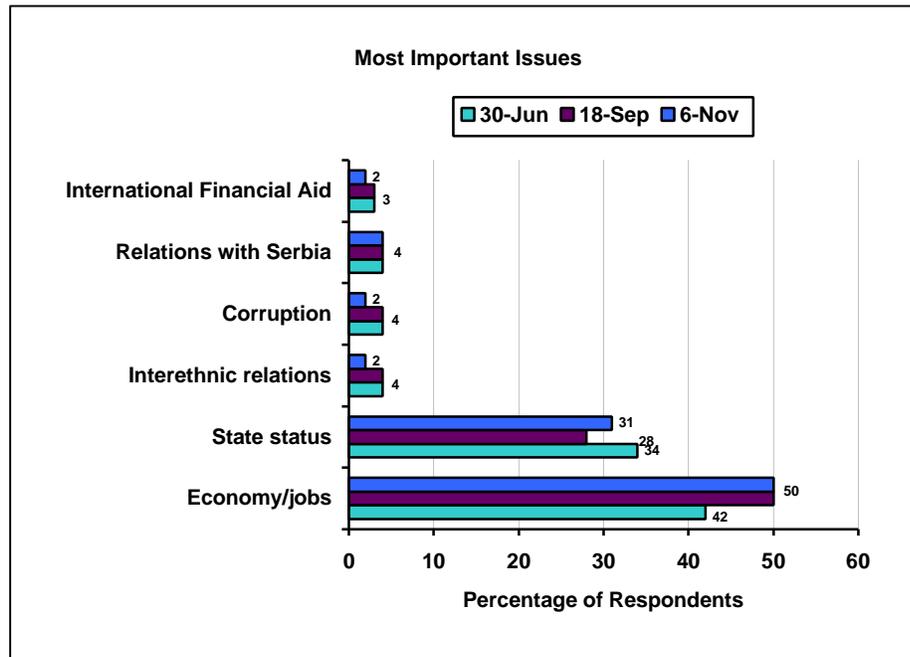
The design of both seminars was similar and included the topics below:

- **Plenary sessions:** The Role of Women in Political Parties/The Role of Women in NGOs; Designing a Strategy; and Women's Political Leadership
- **Joint political and civic plenary:** Finding a Common Agenda
- **Small group sessions:** Defining an Agenda; Finding Partners for Success; Developing a Message and Communicating it Effectively; and Strategic Planning

Political Party Polling

NDI fielded the fourth tracking survey in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities in early November to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. In mid-November, NDI delivered party specific reports to representatives of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG), the Socialist People's Party (SNP), the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the People's Party (NS). NDI delivered a report on key findings to USAID and other interested international organizations, and a press release to the media in Montenegro. Additionally, the key findings were sent to the three other parliamentary parties: Serb People's Party (SNS); Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA), and Democratic Alliance in Montenegro (DSCG) whose support is too small to enable a party-specific analysis of their voting body.

The key findings reveal that the economy continues to be the most important issue to voters when deciding for whom to vote. In this poll, the importance of economic issues, which include the economic situation, unemployment and start up of industry, remained steady at 50 percent.



After the economy, the next most important issue to the respondents is Montenegro's state status at 31 percent. On the issue of state status, more than two-thirds (67 percent) continue to support the conduct of a referendum, and 79 percent of all respondents, including those who oppose a referendum, expressed their intention to vote. The poll also revealed that 92 percent of the

respondents believe that party interests should be put aside in favor of solving the state status crisis.

Opinions regarding the issues surrounding state status remained largely unchanged between the September and November polls. More than two-thirds (67 percent) support the holding of a referendum, and 79 percent express their intention to vote. When asked the question, "Are you for Montenegro as an independent country/state?" 51 percent say they would vote "yes;" 31 percent would vote "no;" and 8 percent would not vote.

Parliamentary Caucus Consultations

As part of its follow-up to the initial multiparty caucus seminar held in July 2001, NDI organized two workshops on party caucus communication in early December. Political Advisor to the Party of European Socialists Nicholas Crook led the consultations with assistance from NDI/Montenegro Director Lisa McLean. The purpose of the workshops was to provide examples of how to organize the caucus to best communicate with its members, the party headquarters and voters.

Two five-hour, single-party workshops were held for Members of Parliament (MPs) of the two largest parties in Montenegro: the DPS, the largest party in government with 30 MPs and the SNP, the largest party in opposition with 19 MPs. Nine MPs from the DPS participated, including Dragan Kujovic, vice-chair of the parliament; Miodrag Vukovic, chief of the party caucus; and Igor Luksic, party spokesperson. Ten MPs from the SNP participated including Vuksan Simonovic, chief of the party caucus; Dragan Koprivica, party spokesperson; and Miodrag Vucetic, chair of the committee monitoring the transparency of the privatization process. Each workshop concentrated on all elements of caucus communication, with a special emphasis placed on internal party communication, caucus communication to party organs and communication with voters.

On a scale from 1 to 5 (5 being extremely useful), the DPS and SNP rated the workshop a 4 (very useful). The most relevant issues noted by DPS participants included voter contact; understanding that “the campaign starts the day after the last elections,” the need to create news to try to help constituents and to show that you care, and the idea of “casework.” Several MPs said they would create a voter communication program in cooperation with their local branch and that they would do door-to-door campaigning.

The most relevant lessons learned identified by SNP participants included the organization of the parliamentary caucus and the role of the “whip,” the suggestion that press conferences should be held outside the “party press room” in order to create an interesting visual, and the importance of regular voter contact. Like the DPS, several of the MPs promised to increase their contact with the voters in the future using the techniques learned at the workshop.

NGO Development

Center for Democratic Transition

NDI advised CDT in its planning and implementation of a parliamentary education program for citizens, which is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and USAID/OTI and seeks to promote the transparency of the National Assembly. During this period, NDI assisted CDT on a weekly basis in the following program components:

- **Observation trip to Croatia:** At the beginning of October, CDT staff traveled to Croatia to participate in a training and exchange program organized by Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG), an NDI-trained domestic monitoring and parliamentary watchdog organization. CDT observed GONG's parliamentary program, interacted with MPs and

GONG volunteers, and gathered information about what is needed to implement a successful program to encourage citizen interest in the parliament and parliamentary engagement with the citizens.

Upon returning from Croatia, CDT incorporated lessons learned from GONG in seeking support from the parliamentary leadership for its program. Based on GONG's advice, CDT distributed an information package to each MP, which included the CDT "calling card" listing its contact information, an outline of the parliamentary program, a questionnaire for MPs about their receptiveness to the CDT program and interest in a future internship program, and the final report on the April 22 parliamentary elections. NDI also advised CDT on its political advocacy efforts with the parliamentary leadership, including who to talk to and how to approach them.

- **Public Awareness:** With USAID/OTI funding, CDT developed a 15-second TV and a 30-second radio advertisement and produced sugar packets (advertising the "ask your MP" program component) that will be distributed to café bars throughout the republic. The advertisements were released in early December and raise awareness about the parliament and CDT's website.
- **Polling:** With NDI assistance on question development and polling methodology, CDT fielded its 10-question "man-on-the-street" poll in mid/late October to find out how much citizens know about the functioning of parliament. One thousand and thirty-eight Montenegrin citizens participated in the poll and the findings were released at a press conference in mid-December revealing the following:
 - Approximately 43 percent of citizens do not know what the governing system is in Montenegro, and 27.2 percent think it is a presidential system;
 - 18.2 percent think that the parliament of Montenegro elects the president of the republic;
 - 68.3 percent follow the work of parliament; and
 - 35.9 percent of respondents think that the president of the republic proposes laws, while 65.2 percent believe that the Montenegrin Parliament is inefficient.
- **Program Activities:** CDT formally launched its parliamentary program for citizens in late November (In order to solidify its nonpartisan credentials, CDT postponed its program launch because of the boycott by the parliamentary opposition. This decision was based on extensive contact and discussion with leaders of the "Together for Yugoslavia" coalition). Activities included the following:
 - Release of its citizens' guide to parliament, including an insert on how a bill becomes law that can be hung up on the wall, which will be distributed to NGOs, parties and participants in the parliamentary tours (see attached). NDI contributed significantly to the parliamentary guide by providing examples of guides from other countries in Africa, Asia, the U.S. and Southeastern Europe, critiquing the initial outline for the guide and follow-on drafts, designing an initial draft of the "how a bill becomes law" diagram and advising on important pre-publication activities, including seeking parliamentary staff and MP comments.

- Organization of two tours of parliament – one for the CDT regional coordinators and one for students from a high school in Niksic.
- Organization of two public discussions – one in Podgorica and one in Niksic – with prominent MPs from the People’s Party, Liberal Alliance, DPS and Serb People’s Party on the issues of the legal framework for referendum and the general reform program in Montenegro.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

During this quarter, NDI continued to hold informal consultations with AYJ on its advocacy efforts to reform media laws (but not on the substance of the reform itself). With NDI guidance, AYJ revised its original idea of organizing a public campaign on reform of the media laws, which could have been perceived as confrontational to the government. Instead AYJ offered its expertise to the Secretariat of Information who subsequently invited the organization to join its reform efforts. By using its knowledge gained from the last two years of media monitoring and its extensive international contacts, specifically ProMedia/IREX and the European Media Institute, AYJ greatly enhanced its credibility to contribute to the reform efforts. The current version of the media laws, supported by the Secretariat of Information, envisions no role for political parties in the broadcasting councils that will govern public media. AYJ advocated for this position based on its research of other European countries. Equally significant, the Association has turned the Secretariat into an ally rather than a potential opponent.

With passage expected in early 2002, NDI is now consulting with AYJ on a public media campaign to raise awareness of the new law and encourage the public to demand compliance. NDI is also providing advice on developing a fundraising strategy and assisting AYJ in conducting a similar public campaign on a journalist code of ethics.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective: Parties become more open to the political participation of women and youth.

- Nada Drobnjak, DPS MP chair of the parliamentary committee on gender equality and women’s coordinator for the party, said that the NDI’s women’s conference held in early November “was a major step forward in agreeing on issues of common concern,” especially among herself, the other two MPs in attendance (one DPS and one NS) and Ana Perovic, women’s coordinator for the SNP. She also said that the “atmosphere [at the conference] fostered a much better possibility for a women’s political network,” which has long been a goal of some women leaders. NDI will monitor concrete progress that women politicians make in efforts to cooperate and will document results in future quarterly reports.
- Of the seven parties attending the women in politics seminar, SNP, DPS, NS, DUA and SNS left with concrete action plans to either create a women’s branch in order to increase and more effectively organize the participation of women within the party or increase women’s membership and activity within the party. NDI will monitor concrete activities that women

politicians make in implementing action plans and will document results in future quarterly reports.

Objective: Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition¹

- During its October party congress, the DPS recognized the Youth Council as a formal part of its party structure. In working with the Youth Council in 1999, the DPS youth had identified this as an important strategic goal. NDI expert trainer in 1999 discussed with the youth the role of youth branches in other parties in Canada and Europe.
- In reviewing news reports, NDI identified evidence that some parties are beginning to factor issues of importance to voters, noted in the Institute's polling information, into their policy statements. While other external influences could also contribute, NDI has repeatedly emphasized the need for parties to frame positions in terms of the interests of its voters (i.e. the economy). Examples of evidence that NDI poll results noting voter concerns are used include the following:
 - In his opening speech to the party congress, President Djukanovic strongly emphasized the role and importance of youth within the party. Indeed, the September tracking poll demonstrated that the DPS had a definite advantage among 18 to 30 year olds.
 - In two cases in the fall and increasingly in the last months of the quarter, SNP public statements referred to economic arguments for why Montenegro should remain in a federation with Serbia instead of relying on the usual party rhetoric.
 - In early December, People's Party President Dragan Soc made a fervent argument for remaining in a federation based on economic considerations (specifically, start-up of industry) rather than emotional or historical reasons.
 - In mid-December, DPS party spokesperson Igor Luksic made an equally fervent argument for independence based on "pocketbook" issues. Similarly, since the restart of negotiations, there is additional evidence that other DPS leaders are beginning to use such arguments, including Veselin Vukotic and Miroslav Ivanisevic.
 - The LSCG reported to NDI that they definitely use the poll results to refine its message. Nevertheless, during the reporting period, the Liberals issued few "party announcements" that could be analyzed.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

¹ It is important to note that platforms are only changed in conjunction with specific elections and with party congresses.

- As a direct result of regular consultations and advice from NDI and an observation mission to Croatia, the following occurred:
 - CDT published a citizen’s guide to parliament based on comparative examples provided by NDI; and
 - In organizing the public meetings, CDT incorporated GONG’s recommendation to ask each coordinator to bring five people to the event.
- The media attention that CDT has been able to organize around citizens’ tours of parliament demonstrates lessons learned over the last year from NDI advisors on how to attract “earned media,” including organization of an “announcement event,” followed by an open invitation to the journalists to follow the process, and preparation of the “tourists” to ask interesting and relevant questions that would garner media attention.
- Based on informal consultations with NDI, AYJ effectively involved itself in the efforts to reform the media laws and adopt a journalist code of ethics. AYJ’s credibility among media experts has increased as the organization employs NDI-suggested advocacy tactics (i.e. non-confrontational with emphasis on providing knowledge and expertise).
- Through the NDI seminar for women NGO leaders, women gained a much better understanding of the strategic planning process, using the media effectively and effective networking. In the sphere of domestic violence and trafficking, a step-by-step plan for confronting the problem by educating the relevant authorities was designed (and will hopefully be implemented).
- Based on an NDI advocacy training conducted for UNDP in August 2001 for nine NGOs in the northern municipalities, seven of the NGOs received project funding from UNDP. An excerpt from an e-mail from the UNDP program associate notes the direct impact of NDI’s training on the participants:

“...I think you will find them [the project proposals] very interesting and see in them VERY CLEARLY the impact of the advocacy training. Anyway, I do hope that very soon, at least by January, stories of their work will appear in the papers. CRNVO will keep a copy of the press clippings.”

Specifically, the NGOs whose projects were funded exhibited a demonstrated understanding of fundamental advocacy techniques, including strategic planning, choice of tactics, and project planning/proposal writing.

V. EVALUATION

Women’s Seminars

The two seminars for women political party and NGO activists marked the first time NDI/Montenegro formally worked with women only as a group. The women party activists seminar launched NDI’s womens program with political parties and laid a solid foundation for

follow-up work planned with each party over the course of 2002 and beyond. The multiparty nature fostered a constructive and cooperative atmosphere among the parties, and its success makes an argument for NDI to consider doing future multiparty training events. It is apparent from verbal and written comments that the party women gained useful knowledge and skills that they plan to apply to their own work and to the development of their party.

The international trainers, participants and NDI organizers noted the extremely useful role that the local language trainers played in both seminars. Not only were they excellent trainers demonstrating full knowledge of how to engage the groups effectively, the fact that they could communicate in the local language and use real examples from their own countries contributed significantly to the overall relevance of the seminar.

Based on the evaluation forms received, the overall impression of the women in politics seminar was overwhelmingly positive. They stated that it was useful and interesting; workshops were creative and well-designed; and, the topics were relevant to the participants. The opportunity to socialize and network was also highlighted, allowing participants an opportunity to network across parties and NGOs and to think about a wider women's agenda. In contrast to usual comments in Balkan seminars, there were few complaints about lack of free time; so, although the agenda was indeed full, the participants demonstrated that the dynamism and participatory nature of the seminar was more than worth the effort.

The women NGO activists – particularly those engaged in domestic violence issues – came away from the seminar with an increased understanding of the importance of achievable objectives and detailed plans to achieve them. In the women in politics workshop, it was hard to focus the NGO leaders on one single short- to medium-term objective and, as a result, concrete results were more limited. The most concrete identifiable results that perhaps will be evident in the future are a better ability to identify the problem and its source more effectively and, less likely, the ability to work together more effectively.

“Personally, I have learned a lot and am pleased because I will be able to pass on the information to colleagues in my NGO.”
-NGO Seminar Participant

Workshops With the Parliamentary Caucuses

The December workshops for the DPS and SNP parliamentary caucuses set the stage for future results in improving their internal operation. All 19 participants were introduced to models of caucus work in other European parliaments, methods of more effectively integrating the caucus into the activities of the party, and contact with voters. For almost all participating MPs, it was their first introduction to the concept that the best voter contact is the contact done by the elected MP (and not just a regular party branch member).

NDI trainer Nick Crook's knowledge of several European systems, including the British Dutch, German, Swedish, Finnish and Spanish parliaments, was effective in demonstrating to both parties that a variety of different methods can be used for intra-party communication and voter contact. SNP, in particular, was eager to learn the voter contact methods (using questionnaires, newsletters and door-to-door contact) recommended during the session.

CDT

CDT continues to demonstrate its ability to work more independently, with less assistance from NDI staff. The October trip to Croatia allowed CDT to gain the confidence and the skills to organize its “Open Parliament” project – and consultations from NDI staff in both the third and fourth quarter enhanced and honed these skills. Organizationally, CDT is working to establish an advisory board, as recommended by NDI and GONG, and has begun to hold regular staff meetings with pre-set agendas, also observed during the GONG visit.

CDT successfully negotiated a politically divisive period during the initially planned release of its TV commercial. When the opposition decided to boycott parliament in November, CDT postponed the release of the spot and the launch of its tours to avoid promoting a legislature with only pro-independence parties. During the delay, CDT’s meetings with all opposition party leaders firmly established its credentials as nonpartisan, objective observers.

Administrative/Staff Issues

A search for the second resident representative is underway and several highly qualified candidates have been identified. NDI anticipates that the second resident representative will be deployed by early March. This representative will work primarily with party caucuses in parliament and with party headquarters staff on issues such as internal communications, party structure, and handling the media.

In the absence of second resident representative, NDI deployed a short-term advisor to assist the NDI/Montenegro Director Lisa McLean with program implementation. The short-term advisor is expected to stay until early March.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In order to demonstrate progress in all 2001 program components, several of which were delayed due to unforeseen political events, NDI requested and received a no-cost extension for its political party and nonpartisan political activism development program from January 1 through April 30, 2002.² During this time period, NDI envisions fielding three tracking polls, holding small leadership consultations with party caucuses in parliament on strengthening their outreach and communication skills, and working with parties on increasing political participation of women.

² NDI received a no-cost extension through July 31, 2002, on its regional cooperative agreement (USAID No. EE-A-00-98-00028-00), which includes programs in Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. However, NDI envisions completing program activities in Montenegro by April 30, 2002.

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PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

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Representatives club of Peoples party

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Representatives club of Serbian Peoples party

Representatives club of Albanian parties

The Parliament Working bodies (personal structure)

LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

1. OUR ID CARD

Center for democratic transition is a nongovernmental organization established in August 2000, with a goal to positively influence and further improve the beginning of democratic processes in Montenegro. This organization gathers mainly young people who try to promote norms and standards accepted in the developed democracies. Of course, we support not only the application of the legal and democratic infrastructure in order to have fair and honest elections; but we also support further improvement of Human Rights, rights of the national minorities, transparency of the processes of the privatization and involvement with the vast number of citizens in establishing their full political and civic rights.

Center for Democratic Transition recently realized a project of "Monitoring of the Parliamentary elections", in order to make a democratic atmosphere of elections, where the citizen's will would be completely respected. The project contained monitoring of election activities at the election day, cooperation to political parties, which competed in election competition, and also to Republic election Commission. In this project, we also realized medium campaign and the parallel vote counting (PVT method) too, which made it possible for us to have the projection of the preliminary results only three hours after the ending of election process.

In our work so far we monitored the process of the Local elections of 2000 in Podgorica and Herceg Novi, the Federal Elections, which the State body in Montenegro considered illegitimate, held in September last year, as well as the last Parliamentary elections in Serbia. All of our observations and analyses were publicly announced and their results were introduced to the relevant domestic and foreign institutions and representatives.

CDT is also a member of International uniform net of NGO's called ENEMO.

2. ABOUT THE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM

CDT plans to realize a project that is related to transparency of the work of state institutions (national and municipal) and to increase citizen's participation within the Parliament.

There is a lot of criticism of the Parliament. Many of the members of Parliament have little or no connection with citizens, who selected them. The public hasn't quality information about the proposal of act or Parliamentary activities. Some of these activities are put into effect with a lack of transparency.

CDT's hope is that through this program that Members of Parliament will start to respond to citizen's requests and communicate to them. We believe that citizen's requests will make the work of the Parliament more effective and opened. It is CDT's hope that its activists, with the other NGO make the public more influential to these processes and in that way improve and advance the Parliamentary activities.

To this end, CDT proposes to open the Parliament to NGO and citizen input by:

- 1) Increasing the transparency of the Parliament
- 2) Increasing citizen involvement
- 3) Getting expert and NGO's input in proposed laws
- 4) Monitoring Municipal Parliaments

These are the goals of this project, too.

1) Increasing Transparency in the Legislative Process

This part of the program is perhaps the most important for creating transparency in the legislative process in Montenegro. It is necessary for draft laws to be made public in advance of their passage, for the Parliamentary agenda to be made public before plenary sessions, for parliamentary committee sessions to be opened to all interested groups and for experts to be involved advocacy in three directions:

1. Publication and public availability of draft laws before their introduction to Parliament,
2. The law proposer and the committees of the Parliament would convene public discussion on draft laws with interested groups of citizens before final passage in plenary session,
3. Publication and public availability of Parliament's committee and plenary agenda before parliamentary sessions.

CDT will advocate for realization of these goals, and we will put on the website relevant information regarding upcoming proposals, laws and debates. Additionally, NGO's and interested individuals will also be made aware of what is taking place in Parliament by getting a weekly email/fax update.

2) Increasing Citizen Involvement

One of the goals of this program is to inform the citizens about the work of Parliament. The program will be organized to demystify the work of Parliament and have people become familiar with its process.

To this end CDT plans to:

1. Designing Parliament tours for students, organizations, and other interested people, and specially emphasizing the committee's activities and contacts to members of the Parliaments.
2. Training of our activists to conduct the tours
3. Preparing material which would be distributed to visitors, explaining the parliamentary operating.

3) Experts and NGO Input into Proposed Laws

In addition to citizen involvement, CDT will also encourage the work of the different area experts to take part in Parliament and the committees. The idea was to include interested groups and individuals in the creation of legislation on through making them aware of the committees proposals and current legislation.

4) Monitoring of the Municipal Parliaments

This program also includes monitoring the Municipal Parliaments. Temporary staff will be hired to do this for the short period that these Parliaments are in session. The staff for this will be recruited from the pool of students and young people who were active in monitoring activities of our organization. Each of the Municipal Monitors will be trained and asked to

report on a weekly basis the workings of the Municipality to be included in the weekly email.

***HISTORY OF MONTENEGRIN
PARLAMENTARISM***

1. MONTENEGRIN PARLIAMENTS AND THEIR PRESIDENTS TILL 1918

In Montenegro, during the history, till the Constitution in 1905, were periodically convoked of national Parliaments, as a national Montenegrin meeting or a chief's meeting, where the most important national and state questions were solved. National Parliaments or meetings took part in 1796., 1798., 1803., 1830., 1831., 1852., 1855., 1868., 1876. and 1879.

Metropolitan Petar Petrovic the 1st, after passing a Legal Code in 1798, formed administrative organs, and also Administrative courts of Montenegro and the hills.

Petar Petrovic the 2nd, Njegosh, begoning his rule, reorganized this organ, calling it Administrative senate of Montenegro and the hills. Besides the rulers, Senate was the highest administrative organ in Montenegro, and it had administration, courts and particulary legislative control. Number the senators, voted among the most respectable Montenegrins, wasn't

permanent. At the beginning of the rule of Njegosh, there were sixteen senators.

The first president of the Senate was IVAN VUKOTIC, from Podgorica by origin, who came from Russia.

The Senate was suspended in 1879, when the State Council was established, as a law advisory organ of the Duke, ministries as Administrative organs and a Supreme court. A president of the State Council was commander BOZO PETROVIC.

After the war 1876 – 1878, Montenegrin territory was more than doubled. Towns of Niksic, Kolasin, Spuz, and Podgorica were liberated, Bar and Ulcinj too, so that Montenegro got the part of the Adriatic coast.

Late XIX early XX century was the time when important legislative activity was developed. The common law was replaced by the written laws. Among the created laws, specially emphasized was the General property legal code of Principality of Montenegro, written by dr Valtazar Bogisic, translated into many languages and can serve as an extraordinary example of the harmony established between the tradition and contemporary times.

At the time legations of Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, England, Italy, Serbia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece and Germany were opened at Cetinje.

Many of interior and exterior factors made the duke Nikola to create the Constitution of Principality of Montenegro. In St Luka's Day Proclamation directed to the people he says: "When a man is a member of a enlightened humanity, he has to be a free citizen, too. For that we will use the examples of peoples more enlightend and more progresive than we are, and whatever that experience prove to be better in their political life than in our patriarchal regime, we will slowly apply in our practicec.

The elections for the National Parliament happened in November 14.(27.), 1905. The number of 62 representatives were selected directly, and 14 representatives came to the Parliament after their position (viril representatives). As well, as there was no political party, the winner of the elections were those who had personal and family's merits, but also those who's brotherhood and tribe were more numerous. A considerable number of young and educated people was selected.

The National Parliament was unicameral. As a national representative was allowed to be selected, only a Montenegrin citizen, permanently living in Montenegro and who turn 30. The mandate of the national representatives was for four years, and the National Parliament were completely resumed, after the mandate expiration or after the suspending, before the expiration.

For every session, National Parliament selected the president by secret vote.

The Duke could convoked the National Parliament.

The Duke could suspend the National Parliament, but the State could not function without the Parliament more then six months.

According to the Constitution and the Law of election of national representatives, next elections happened in Septembar 27, 1906. The elections were democratic. As a president of the National Parliament, was elected SAKO PETROVIC. The first session of the Parliament was in October 31, 1906.

There in the Parliament was established a National representative's club, which was a base for creating of the People's party, which was the first political party in Montenegro.

The President of the Parliament, voivode Sako Petrovic, was chosen as a president of the club.

The Parliament's mandate was 1906 – 1909, but it was suspended in July 9, 1907.

The next elections were in October 31, 1907. The People's party didn't compete.

The National Parliament was convoked in November 21, 1907. At next session, that happened in November 27, the Parliament verified the mandate. Eminent lawyer LABUD GOJNIC was chosen as the President of the Parliament.

An engineer, MARKO DJUKANOVIC was chosen as a president at the session that took place in December 14, 1908, and his reappointment was in December 1, 1909.

A lawyer MILO DOZIC was chosen for the President of the National Parliament in December 1, 1910.

The parliamentary work for 1907 – 1911 period, was adjourned in February 12, 1911.

The new convocation elections took place in September 27, 1911. the first previous meeting of newly appointed Montenegrin National Parliament took place in December 1, 1911. At the second previous meeting for a president of the Parliament was chosen JOVAN PLAMENAC, who had already been minister of education and internal affairs, and after that the president of the government in exile, regent and leader of the Christmas rebellion.

Even though the National Parliament was established for the period from 1911 to 1914, because of the Balkans wars the 1912 was the last year it convoked.

The Parliament was suspended by the king Nikola's ukase in October 25, 1913., and Parliamentary elections for period 1914 – 1917 were scheduled in 11.01.1914.

The first previous meeting of the Montenegrin National Parliament, established in January 11, 1914, took place in January 28. At the second meeting the Credentials committee report was adapted and the President of the Parliament was chosen that was Milo Dozic.

On the occasion of the Austria – Hungary's declaration of war against Serbia, Montenegrin National Parliament met, having an extraordinary session 1.08.1914. In August the 6th, 1914 Montenegro declared war against Austria – Hungary.

During the war, Montenegrin National Parliament didn't meet, till December 25, 1915, when in already critical situation for Montenegro, the Parliament convoked an extraordinary session. At the secret meeting, in December 26, the Government asked for a freedom of action. However, there was voted nonconfidence in government was convoked in January the 2nd, 1916.

At the session of January the 4th, 1916, the Parliament adapted the resolution where was emphasized ready to persevere in "fighting to final victory we're never had doubts about". The same day, the Montenegrin National Parliament was suspended, without repeated meeting because of the occupation of Montenegro.

At November 1918, took place well-known Parliamentary of Podgorica, where were some decisions made about the detronization of Montenegrin dynasty of Petrovic and also decisions about the annex of Montenegro to Serbia, into one state – Yugoslav kingdom, under the Serbia dynasty of Karadjordjevic.

2. MONTENEGRIN PARLIAMENTS AND THEIR PRESIDENTS AFTER 1918

The first elections in Montenegro after the WW2 took place in November the 3rd 1946, when the constituent assembly was selected, which in December 31, 1946. brought the Constitution of the National Republic of Montenegro, and after that continued the mandate as a National Parliament till the next elections in 1950.

Till the Constituent assembly elections, the function of people's representative organ (Parliament), was performed by National Parliament NRM contained by the councillors of ZAVNO of Montenegro and Boka, organized in Kolasin in November 1943. During the July 1944, ZAVNO reorganized to Montenegrin Antifascist Parliament of National Liberation (CASNO).

In April 1945 CASNO was reorganized to Montenegrin National Parliament, and in February 1946 this passed to National Parliament of NRM.

After the WW2 till the parliamentary elections in April 2001, Montenegro had 18 Parliamentary elections, and from 1963 to 1967, a half of the number of representatives was selected every second year (1965 and 1967).

1) Mandates (sessions) of Montenegrin Parliaments after the World War 2

1. till November 1946

Montenegrin National Parliament – National Parliament NRM

2. November 1946 – October 1950

- A Constituent Assembly of People (unicameral)
3. November 1950 – November 1953
The National Parliament (unicameral)
 4. December 1953 – March 1958
The National Parliament (bicameral)
 5. April 1958 – June 1963
The National Parliament (bicameral)
 6. June 1963 – April 1969
Parliament of Social Republic of Montenegro; every second year (1965. and 1967.) was the election of a half of the number of representatives.
 7. May 1969 – April 1974
The Parliament of SRM
 8. May 1974 – April 1978
The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)
 9. May 1978 – April 1982
The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)
 10. May 1982 – April 1986
The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)
 11. May 1986 – June 1989
The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)
 12. June 1989 – December 1990
The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)
 13. December 1990 – December 1992
The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)
 14. January 1993 – November 1996
The Parliament of MR (unicameral - multiparty)
 15. November 1996 – May 1998

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

16.June 1998 – April 2001

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

17.May 2001

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

2) The Presidents of Montenegrin Parliaments after the World War 2

MILOS RASOVIC

April the 15st, 1945 – November the 20st 1946

(Montenegrin National Parliament – People's Parliament)

Since November 21, 1946 till December 31, 1946

(president of the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly)

Since January the 1st – president of the Presidium of the National Parliament of NRM

PETAR KOMNENIC

Since November the 20th, 1946 till December 31, 1946

(president of the Constituent Assembly)

Since January 1947 till January 1949

(president of the National Parliament of NRM)

DJURO CAGOROVIC

January 21st, 1949 – November 6st, 1950

(National Parliament of NRM)

Reappointed in November the 6th, 1950 – February the 4th, 1953

(National Parliament of NRM)

NIKOLA KOVACEVIC

November 1950 – February the 4st, 1953

(president of the Presidium of the National Parliament of NRM)

February the 4th, 1953 – December the 15th, 1953

(president of the National Parliament of NRM)

BLAZO JOVANOVIC

December the 15, 1953 – April the 11, 1958

(National Parliament of NRM)

Reappointed in April 1958 – July 12th, 1962

(National Parliament of NRM)

FILIP BAJKOVIC

July 12, 1962 – June 25, 1963

(Parliament of NRM)

ANDRO MUGOSA

June 25, 1963 – May 5, 1967

(Parliament of SRM)

VELJKO MILATOVIC

May the 5th, 1967 – May the 7th, 1969

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in May the 7th, 1969 – October the 6th, 1969

(Parliament of SRM)

VIDOJE ZARKOVIC

October the 6th, 1969 – May the 6th, 1974

(Parliament of SRM)

BUDISLAV SOSKIC

May the 6th, 1974 – April 28th, 1978

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in April 28, 1978 – August the 13th, 1979 (died)

RADIVOJE BRAJOVIC

October the 31, 1979 – May the 7, 1982

(Parliament of SRM)

MILUTIN TANJEVIC

May the 7, 1982 – May the 6, 1983

(Parliament of SRM)

OMER KURPEJOVIC

May the 6, 1983 – May the 7, 1984

(Parliament of SRM)

CEDOMIR DJURANOVIC

May the 7, 1984 – May the 7, 1985

(Parliament of SRM)

MARKO MATKOVIC

May the 7, 1985 – May the 6, 1986

VELISAV VUKSANOVIC

May the 6, 1986 – January the 13, 1989 (resigned)

(Parliament of SRM)

DRAGAN RADONJIC

Uly the 12, 1989 – December 27, 1990

RISTO VUKCEVIC

December the 27, 1990 – January the 15, 1993

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in January the 15, 1993 – October 1994 (died)

(Parliament of SRM)

SVETOZAR MAROVIC

December the 12, 1994 – November the 18, 1996

(Parliament of Montenegro)

Reappointed in November the 18, 1996 – June the 15, 1998

(Parliament of Montenegro)

Reappointed in June the 15, 1998 – May the 24, 2001

(Parliament of Montenegro)

VESNA PEROVIC

Since June the 7, 2001

(Parliament of Montenegro)

COMPETENCE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PARLIAMENT

I COMPETENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT

Competence of the Parliament as a legislative body is determined by the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro.

In accordance with article 81. of the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro, the Parliament:

- 1) Adopts the Constitution,
- 2) Enacts laws, other regulations and general acts,
- 3) Enacts the development plan of Montenegro, budget and annual balance sheet,
- 4) Determines principles for the organization of public administration;
- 5) Ratifies international treaties within jurisdiction of the Republic;
- 6) Announces a Republic referendum;
- 7) Floats public loans and decides on entering into indebtedness of Montenegro;
- 8) Elects and dismisses the Prime Minister and members of the Government, President and judges of the Constitutional Court, president and judges of all the courts of law;
- 9) Appoints and dismisses the Public Prosecutor and other officials;
- 10) Grants amnesty for criminal offences prescribed by the Republic law;
- 11) Performs other duties as prescribed by the Constitution.

II INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The Parliament has a president, one or more vice-presidents, working bodies, commissions and boards and representative clubs.

1. President and Vice- president of the Parliament

1) President of the Parliament

- Convenes the Parliament in sessions and presides over the sessions
- Ensures observance of Rules of Procedure of the Parliament
- Takes care of organization of work of the Parliament and initiates improvement of that work,
- Ensures the prompt and coordinated work of all working bodies of the Parliament,
- Signs the acts of Parliament, with the exception of laws,
- Performs other tasks laid down in the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro.

The number of the Vice-Presidents is determined by the Parliament at the time of their election. They assist the President of the Parliament in carrying out the tasks within his competence. If the President of the Parliament is temporarily prevented from attending to his duties, he is replaced by the Vice-President of his own choice.

2) *Election and dismissal of the President and the Vice-Presidents of the Parliament*

A candidate for the President of the Parliament may be nominated by at least 10 representatives. A representative can be engaged in nomination of only one candidate. The proposal contains the first and the last name of the candidate, short biography, party membership and justification. The President is, as a rule, elected by public vote. If there is more than one candidate, election is carried out by secret ballot.

Nomination and election of the Vice-Presidents of the Parliament is carried out in the same way as the election of the President of the Parliament.

When entering the duty the President and the Vice-President of the Parliament make the following solemn affirmation before the Parliament:

»I affirm that I shall perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously, in accordance with the Constitution and the law»

The function of the President, respectively Vice-President is terminated before expiry of the period for which he or she has been elected by a resignation or dismissal.

2. Working bodies of the Parliament

1) Establishment and composition

For the purposes of examining and debating on the matters within the competence of the Parliament, making proposals of acts and carrying out other tasks within the competence of the Parliament, commissions and boards are set up as standing working bodies of the Parliament. The Parliament may, by a special decision, establish other standing and temporary working bodies.

A working body has a chairman and a certain number of members, which are selected from amongst the representatives. The composition of the working body corresponds to allocation of seats between parties in the Parliament. The Parliament may elect into some working bodies scientists and experts as consultants that do not have the right to decision-making.

The chairman and members of a working body are elected for the period of four years.

The working body works in sittings. The Chairman of the working body convenes the working body in sitting, proposes the agenda, and presides over the sitting. He is obliged to convene the sitting of the working body if the President of the Parliament asks him to do so, or if one third of the members of the working body propose so, stating the issues that are to be

included in the agenda. The Chairman of a working body organizes the work of the working body.

The working body works in sitting which is attended by the majority of the members of the working body, and decides by the majority of the present members. The representatives of the proposer of an act that is being examined in the sitting are also present in the sitting. Representatives of the Government, if invited, may participate in the work of the working body, without right to decision – making.

In carrying out the tasks within its competence the working body may, through its chairman, ask a governmental body to provide data and information important for its work.

2) Commissions and boards of the Parliament

Working bodies of the Parliament can be organized as commissions and boards, as follows:

- a) Commission for Election and Appointment
- b) Commission for Term of Office and Immunity,
- c) Commission for Monitoring of Openness and Transparency of the Privatization Process
- d) Board for Constitutional Matters,
- e) Legislative Board,
- f) Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration
- g) Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment
- h) Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare,
- i) Board for International Relations,
- j) Board for Human Rights and Freedoms
- k) Board for Control of work of the National Security Service

In addition to the above-mentioned, the Commission for Investigation of the Assertions Made in the Zagreb Newspaper «Nacional» (National) on the tobacco affair has been set up as a temporary working body (I)

3) Competence of commissions and boards

Commission for Election and Appointment:

- Submits to the Parliament a proposal for election, appointments and dismissals, except proposals which, in accordance with the Constitution and the law, are submitted by other proposers
- Proposes regulations which regulate matters regarding exercise of rights and duties of the representatives and officials who are elected or appointed by the Parliament and passes closer regulations for their execution
- Determines the proposal for the providing of resources in the budget of the Republic for the work of the Parliament and its services and ensures the proper use of such resources
- Passes individual acts on matters regarding the status of representatives and officials who are elected or appointed by the Parliament
- Gives assent to the Act on Systematization of working posts to the Service Department of the Parliament,
- Upon proposition of the Secretary General of the Parliament, appoints persons to the Service Department of the Parliament on posts determined by the Act on Systematization and performs tasks in relation to the Service Department of the Parliament and to civil servants in the Service Department that, in relation to governmental bodies and civil servants in these bodies, are performed by the Government,
- Determines remunerations and awards to scientists and experts for engagement in working bodies of the Parliament
- Performs other tasks prescribed by the law and other regulations

The Commission for Election and Appointment has a chairman and eleven members.

Commission for Term of Office and Immunity examines:

-the reasons for termination of a representative's term of office and submits the report on that issue to the Parliament together with a proposal for filling of a vacant representative position; the report of the Republic Election Commission on filling of a vacant representative position; issues of application or deprivation of immunity of representatives and other issues concerning rights which are related to term of office and immunity of representatives.

The Commission for Term of Office and Immunity has a chairman and four members.

Commission for Monitoring Openness and Transparency of the Privatization Process

- 1) The Commission monitors the realization of openness and transparency of the privatization by:
 - Informing the public on the privatization process and procedures,
 - Examining complaints of the participants in the privatization process concerning breaches of the principles of openness and transparency
 - Monitoring annual privatization plans brought by the Government
 - Monitoring work of the Privatization Council
 - Examining the information provided by the stakeholders of the privatization process
 - Proposing regulations and alterations in regulations by which the principles of openness and transparency are realized and the procedure and process of privatization are improved
 - Initiating a debate in the Parliament regarding issues of openness and transparency of the privatization
 - Giving recommendations to governmental bodies - stakeholders of the privatization process regarding the provision of openness and transparency in the privatization process
 - Pointing out the breaches of the principles of openness and transparency
 - Initiating and proposing the instigation of proceedings of responsibility of institutions and individuals for the breaches of openness and transparency of the privatization

The Commission, at least once a year, submits a report on the openness and transparency of the privatization process to the Parliament.

The Commission has a chairman and nine members.

- d) **Board for Constitutional Matters** examines a motion for alteration of the Constitution, determines the text of the draft and

proposal of the amendment to the Constitution examines the modifications of the Constitution of FRY which are carried out by the consent of the member- republics and examines principal questions regarding the application of the Constitution.

The Board for Constitutional matters has a chairman and twelve members.

e) Legislative board examines:

- Proposals of laws and other acts being enacted by the Parliament from the aspect of their harmonization to the Constitution and legal system, as well as regarding their legal processing
- Proposals for rendering the authentic interpretation of laws
- Acts on the instigation of proceedings for the evaluation of constitutionality of laws or constitutionality and lawfulness of other regulations
- Takes care of uniform legislative methodology as well as uniform legal- technical processing of the acts enacted by the Parliament
- Determines proposals for the authentic interpretation of laws
- Determines the refined text of a law or other regulation, if it is authorized by the law, respectively other regulation, to do so.

The Legislative Board has a chairman and eight members.

f) Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Establishment, organization and competences of governmental bodies and proceedings before those bodies
- Defense and security,
- Local Self- government System
- National symbols, use of national symbols and national holidays
- Republic citizenship,
- Election system and referendum,
- Territorial organization of the Republic
- Organization and status of the Administrative Capital and Cultural Capital
- Exercising of the special rights of minorities and ethnical groups
- Press and other means of public information

- Criminal and other offences, liability and sanctions, amnesty, pardon and legal aid

The Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration has a chairman and 8 members.

g) Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of the Environment examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Property and property relations
- Natural wealth,
- Economy and entrepreneurship
- Agriculture, forestry, waterpower engineering,
- Tourism, commerce
- Development plan of the Republic and environmental planning, residential area and building sites
- Stocks,
- Budget of the Republic and balance sheet
- Financing of state functions, taxes and other duties,
- Proprietary – legal and contractual relations
- Public loans, indebtedness of the Republic, banks, insurance of propriety and persons
- Games of chance
- Protection and development of the environment, nature and natural wealth, protection from dangerous and damaging substances, protection from other sources that endanger the environment

The Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment has a chairman and eighth members.

h) Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Preschool, elementary and secondary education
- University education
- Science, culture, art, sport, physical and technical culture
- Protection of scientific, cultural, art and historical values
- Health protection, protection of invalids, mothers and children
- Marriage, family, employment, labor and rights of employees

The Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare has a chairman and eight members.

i) Board for International Relations examines international treaties which are ratified by the Parliament and other acts and matters in this area that are within the competence of the Parliament.

The Board for International Relations has a chairman and six members.

j) Board for Human Rights and Freedoms examines proposals of laws and other regulations relative to the way of realization of human rights and freedoms and examines principal and individual issues in the field of realization, promotion and protection of human rights and freedoms.

The Board for human rights and freedoms has a chairman and six members.

k) Board for Control of Work of the National Security Service examines the realization of rights and freedoms of a man and citizen guaranteed by the Constitution in the work of the National Security Service, proposals of laws and other acts important for the realization of the Board's functions in regard to national security. This Board is among others entitled to request from competent governmental bodies, organs and services the imparting of information and submitting of reports on the application of methods and means of the National Security Service when it estimates that rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution are endangered by them, as well as global information on financial expenditures for the National Security Service, examines individual issues regarding eventual violations of freedoms and rights in the work of the National Security Service and other matters within the competence of the Parliament.

The Board for Control of work of the National Security Service has a chairman and 10 members.

l) Commission for Investigation of the Assertions Made in the Zagreb Newspaper «Nacional» (National) on the Tobacco Affair (established on the 31st July 2001), temporary working body

-the Commission has the duty to determine the facts, circumstances and important elements of the assertions made in the text published in the

Zagreb newspaper “Nacional”, with the title “The main mafia boss of the Balkans” and other texts published in the same newspaper,

-in carrying out the entrusted task the Commission is obliged to:

- cooperate with competent governmental bodies and directors of Montenegrin enterprises which have been marked in the above-mentioned texts as participants in the activities of transit and smuggling of cigarettes,
- realize direct cooperation and communication with international organizations for combat against organized crime and
- submit a report to the Parliament within 90 days.

The Commission has a chairman and six members.

1. Clubs of representatives

Clubs of representatives are formed in the Parliament. A club of representatives consists of at least two representatives, and a representative can be member of only one club of representatives. The club is as a rule formed on the first session of the Parliament, by submitting a list of the club’s members signed by every member of the club to the President of the Parliament.

2. Decision making

The Parliament decides if the sitting is attended by more than half of the total number of representatives, and the decisions are made by a majority of votes of the representatives present, if not provided otherwise by the Constitution, and it is provided that the Parliament decides, by a majority of votes of the total number of representatives, on laws which regulate the manner in which the freedoms and rights are exercised, the electoral system, material obligations of the citizens and national symbols; on the dismissal of the President of the Republic; on the election of the Government and the vote of confidence to the Government; on the announcement of a referendum; on the shortening of the term of office and on its Rules of Procedure.

3. Acts of the Parliament

The Parliament enacts laws, gives authentic interpretation of laws, passes development plans of the Republic, the budget and balance sheet of the

budget, declarations, resolutions, decisions, recommendations and conclusions on matters within its jurisdiction.

4. Dissolution of the Parliament

The Parliament is dissolved if it fails to elect the Government within 60 days from the day on which the President of the Republic proposes a candidate for the Prime Minister.

The Parliament may not be dissolved during the state of war, an imminent threat of war or a state of emergency.

If the Parliament ceases to perform its duties as prescribed by the Constitution for a considerable period of time, the Government may, after hearing the opinion of the President of the Parliament and of the presidents of clubs of representatives of the Parliament, dissolve the Parliament.

The Government is not entitled to dissolve the Parliament if a procedure for the vote of non-confidence to the Government has been instigated.

The President of the Republic prescribes by decree the dissolution of the Parliament and sets a date for the election of the new Parliament.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS

The Parliament sits in regular and extraordinary sessions, and while on session it works in sittings. Regular sessions are held two times a year, and extraordinary sessions are held only when the Parliament is not on a regular session.

1. Regular session

The first session of the Parliament commences on the first working day of March and lasts until the end of July.

The second session of the Parliament commences on the first working day of October and lasts until the end of December.

The Parliament is convened in a sitting of a regular session by the President of the Parliament. The Government and one third of representatives are entitled to submit a motion to convene the Parliament.

Convocation of the Parliament in a sitting contains the day on which the sitting is to be held, the time of the commencement of the work, and proposal of the agenda. The convocation is to be sent to the representatives at least 15 days prior to the date fixed for the sitting to be held on.

Material proposed for the agenda of the sitting, if not delivered earlier, is delivered together with the convocation.

The President of the Parliament may in extremely urgent cases convene the Parliament in a sitting within a period shorter than 15 days, and propose the agenda on the very sitting.

2. Extraordinary session

The Parliament is convened in extraordinary sessions upon request of at least one third of the total number of representatives, the President of the Republic, and the Prime Minister.

Extraordinary sessions may be held only in the interval between the first working day of January and the last working day of February and between the first working day of August and the last working day of September.

A submitter of the request for an extraordinary session sets the date that the sitting is to be held on and the agenda, which is not to be altered in the course of the sitting. The submitter of the request for extraordinary session may not request the convening of the Parliament in a period of time shorter than 15 days, counting from the day the request had been submitted, and for the agenda he may set only proposals of acts that he had prepared himself.

Exceptionally, the President of the Republic is entitled to request convening of the Parliament in extraordinary sessions in a period shorter than 15 days.

The President of the Parliament shall convene the Parliament in extraordinary sessions at a time fixed by the submitter of the request for extraordinary session.

**INTERPELLATION, OPENNESS OF
WORK AND
ANNEX TO THE RULES OF PROCEDURE
OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC MONTENEGRO**

1. Procedure for submitting an interpellation

At least one quarter of the representatives may submit an interpellation for the discussion of certain political issues concerning work

of the Government. The interpellation is submitted in writing to the President of the Parliament. The President immediately sends it to the representatives and to the Government.

The Government may examine the interpellation and submit to the Parliament a written report with its opinion and attitudes regarding the interpellation within 30 days. The President of the Parliament sends the report of the Government to the representatives.

The interpellation is put on the agenda of the first Parliament sitting following deliverance of the Government's report. If the Government hasn't submitted the report, the interpellation is put on the agenda of the sitting following the expiry of the period for submitting of the report.

The debate on the interpellation can be completed by reaching conclusions on issues initiated by the interpellation, or it may be completed without a decision. The motion for vote of non-confidence to the Government may be submitted on completion of the interpellation debate.

Representatives who have submitted the interpellation can withdraw it before the debate is completed, respectively prior to deciding on the interpellation. If during the debate some representatives withdraw from the interpellation, so that the number of representatives who submitted it decreases under the quarter, the interpellation will be deemed to be withdrawn.

2. Openness of the Parliament's work

The work of the Parliament is public. The Parliament and its working bodies shall exclude public from its work when the acts and materials marked as national secret are being examined and discussed.

Proposals of acts and other materials being examined in the Parliament and its working bodies, reports of the working bodies are to be placed at the disposal of journalists, except when by the general act on handling material in the Parliament, which is considered a national secret or

is confidential, it is not provided otherwise. The Secretary General of the Parliament takes care of the openness.

RTV of Montenegro, as a rule, directly broadcasts sittings of the Parliament. From the day of calling until completion of elections for representatives in the Parliament and representatives for the Chamber of Citizens in the Federal Parliament, RTV Montenegro shall not broadcast the course of the Parliament sitting.

3. The list of words not to be used in the Parliament

(Annex to the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro)

In the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro, when talking about concrete natural or legal persons one cannot use words, expressions and their synonyms which insult human honor and dignity, particularly:

- Liar,
- Traitor,
- Spy,
- Thief,
- Murderer,
- Criminal,
- Maniac,
- Ruffian,
- Idiot,
- Fool,
- Coward,
- Poltroon,
- Fake,
- Insane,
- Mafia man

ANNEX

(Personal composition of the representative clubs, boards and commissions, after the April 2001 elections)

The Parliament consists of 77 representatives of political parties and coalitions of political parties, which gained mandates on the extraordinary parliamentary elections in April 2001, as follows:

- 1) “Victory is of Montenegro” – democratic coalition Milo Djukanovic (which consists of the Democratic Party of Socialists – 30 representatives and the Social – Democratic Party - 6 representatives)
- 2) Coalition “Together for Yugoslavia “ (which consists of the Socialist People’s Party – 19 representatives, People’s Party- 11 representatives and the Serbian People’s Party – 3 representatives 1),
- 3) Liberal Alliance of Montenegro – 6 representatives,
- 4) Democratic Union of Albanians – 1 representative
- 5) Democratic Alliance in Montenegro-1 representative.

The representatives are organized by parties in seven clubs of representatives, which on the day of conclusion of this guide are as follows:

1. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SOCIALISTS

1. Željko Avramovic
2. MA.Predrag Boškovic
3. Branko Cosovic
4. dr Asim Dizdarevic
5. Nada Drobnjak
6. Miloje Drobnjak
7. Goran Đukanovic
8. Vojin Đukanovic
9. Aleksandar Đurišić
- 10.Miraš Đurovic
- 11.dr Ljubica-Beba Džakovic
- 12.Olivera Franovic
- 13.Zarija Franovic
- 14.Nikola Gegaj
- 15.Dragan Kujovic

- 16.dr Hajran Kalac
- 17.Ivan Kalezic
- 18.Rajko Kovacevic
- 19.Igor Lukšic
- 20.Svetozar Marovic
- 21.dr Vuk Minic
- 22.dr Miomir Mugoša
- 23.Radivoje Nikcevic
- 24.dr Miodrag-Bobo Radunovic
- 25.dr Zvonko Vukovic
- 26.Luid Ljubo Škrelja
- 27.Husnija Šabovic
- 28.Miodrag Vukovic
- 29.Stanko Zlokovic
- 30.Aleksandar Žuric

2. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. dr Predrag Andelic
2. Radenko Boškovic
3. Zoran Boškovic
4. mr Srda Božovic
5. Branko Bujic
6. Predrag Bulatovic
7. Dragiša Dožic
8. Šcepan Dragovic
9. Vujadin Đuricanin
10. dr Dragan Koprivica
11. Miljan Lauševic
12. Božidar Milovic
13. Radoje Radulovic
14. Srdan Raicevic
15. Marinko Rmuš
16. Radomir Đukic
17. Vuksan Simonovic
18. Momcilo Vucetic
19. MA. Zoran Žizic

3. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. Pavle Cukic
2. Predrag Drecun
3. Budimir Dubak
4. Savo Đurdevac
5. Vojin Lazarevic
6. dr Lola Nikcevic
7. Predrag Popovic
8. Milenko Šarac
9. Dragan Šoc
10. Dejan Vucicevic
11. Cedomir Vracar

4. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1. Borislav Banovic
2. Miodrag Ilickovic
3. Ranko Krivokapic
4. Rifat Rastoder
5. Ervin Spahic
6. dr Milica Vuksanovic

5. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LIBERAL ALLIANCE

1. Slavko Perovic
2. Vesna Perovic
3. Miroslav Vickovic
4. Dejan Vucinic
5. mr Mirjana Kuljak
6. Miodrag Živkovic

6. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. Goran Danilovic
2. Andrija Mandic
3. Novak Radulovic

7. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALBANIAN PARTIES

1. Mehmet Bardhi
2. Ferhat Dinoša

8. WORKING BODIES OF THE PARLIAMENT

BOARD FOR CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

1. Vesna Perovic, chairman(LAM)
2. Svetozar Marovic (DPS)
3. Miodrag Vukovic (DPS)
4. Ivan Kalezic (DPS)
5. Husnija Šabovic (DPS)
6. mr Zoran Žižic (SPP)
7. mr Srda Božovic (SPP)
8. Vuksan Simonovic (SPP)
9. Representative of the People's Party
10. Milenko Šarac (PS)
11. Ranko Krivokapic (SDP)
12. Novak Radulovic (SPP)
13. Mehmet Bardhi (DA)

LEGISLATIVE BOARD

1. Ivan Kalezic, chairman (DPS)
2. Miodrag Vukovic (DPS)
3. Luid Ljubo Škrelja (DPS)
4. Husnija Šabovic (DPS)

5. Marinko Rmuš (SPP)
6. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
7. Representative of the People's Party
8. Miodrag Ilickovic (SDP)
9. Miroslav Vickovic (LAM)

**BOARD FOR POLITICAL SYSTEM, JUDICIARY AND
ADMINISTRATION**

1. Igor Lukšic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Miodrag Radunovic (DPS)
3. dr Zvonko Vukovic (DPS)
4. Nada Drobnjak (DPS)
5. Srdan Raicevic (SPP)
6. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
7. Savo Đurdevac (PP)
8. Miodrag Ilickovic (SDP)
9. Miodrag Živkovic (LAM)

***i. BOARD FOR ECONOMY, FINANCE AND PROTECTION OF
ENVIRONMENT***

1. Vojin Đukanovic, chairman (DPS)
2. Ma. Predrag Boškovic (DPS)
3. Miraš Đurovic (DPS)
4. Aleksandar Žuric (DPS)
5. Momcilo Vucetic (SPP)
6. Dragiša Dožic (SPP)
7. Predrag Drecun (PP)
8. mr Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)
9. Ervin Spahic (SDP)

**BOARD FOR EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE, HEALTH AND
SOCIAL WELFARE**

1. PhD. Asim Dizdarevic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Vuk Minic (DPS)
3. dr Ljubica Džakovic (DPS)
4. Olivera Franovic (DPS)
5. dr Dragan Koprivica (SPP)
6. dr Predrag Andelic (SPP)
7. Pavle Cukic (PP)
8. Borislav Banovic (SDP)
9. Ma. Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Svetozar Marovic, chairman (DPS)
2. Igor Lukšic (DPS)
3. Vuksan Simonovic (SPP)
4. dr Dragan Koprivica (SPP)
5. Predrag Drecun (PP)
6. Slavko Perovic (LAM)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

BOARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

1. Ranko Krivokapic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Hajran Kalac (DPS)
3. Goran Đukanovic (DPS)
4. Miljan Lauševic (SPP)
5. Radoje Radulovic (SPP)
6. dr Lola Nikcevic (PP)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

BOARD FOR CONTROL OF WORK OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE

1. Miodrag Živkovic, chairman (LAM)
2. Željko Avramovic (DPS)

3. dr Miomir Mugoša (DPS)
4. Miloje Drobnjak (DPS)
5. Branko Cosovic (DPS)
6. Zoran Boškovic (SPP)
7. Branko Bujic (SPP)
8. Radoje Radulovic (SPP)
9. Predrag Popovic (PP)
10. Budimir Dubak (PP)
11. Borislav Banovic (SDP)

BOARD FOR EQUALITY OF SEXES

1. Nada Drobnjak, chairman (DPS)
2. dr Ljubica Džakovic (DPS)
3. Olivera Franovic (DPS)
4. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
5. Miljan Lauševic (SPP)
6. Vesna Perovic (LAM)
7. mr Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)
8. dr Milica Vuksanovic (SDP)
9. dr Lola Nikcevic (PP)
10. Goran Danilovic (SPP)
11. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

COMMISSION FOR ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT

1. Radivoje Nikcevic, chairman (DPS)
2. Ivan Kalezic (DPS)
3. Aleksandar Đurišić (DPS)
4. Rajko Kovacevic (DPS)
5. Luid Ljubo Škrelja (DPS)
6. dr Milica Vuksanovic (SDP)
7. Šcepan Dragovic (SPP)
8. Branko Bujic (SPP)
9. Vujadin Đuricanin (SPP)
10. Savo Đurdevac (PP)
11. Dejan Vucicevic (PP)

12. Andrija Mandić (SPP)
13. Dejan Vučinić (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR THE TERM OF OFFICE AND IMMUNITY

1. Aleksandar Đurišić, chairman (DPS)
2. Željko Avramović (DPS)
3. Miljan Laušević (SPP)
4. Dejan Vučević (PP)
5. Miroslav Vicković (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR MONITORING OF OPENNESS AND TRANSPARENCY OF THE PRIVATIZATION PROCESS

1. Momčilo Vučetić, chairman (SPP)
2. Stanko Zloković (DPS)
3. Miraš Đurović (DPS)
4. Nikola Gegaj (DPS)
5. mr Predrag Bošković (DPS)
6. Šćepan Dragović (SPP)
7. Savo Đurđević (PP)
8. Andrija Mandić (SPP)
9. Ervin Spahić (SDP)
10. MA. Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS ABOUT THE ASSERTIONS MADE IN THE ZAGREB NEWSPAPER “NACIONAL”

1. Vuksan Simonović, chairman (SPP)
2. Radivoje Nikčević (DPS)
3. Predrag Popović (PP)
4. Borislav Banović (SDP)
5. Miroslav Vicković (LAM)
6. Novak Radulović (SPP)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

The following materials have been used for the elaboration of the “Parliamentary Guide”

1. The Constitution of the Republic Montenegro
2. The Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro
3. The Rules of Procedure of the Government of Republic Montenegro
4. Montenegrin constitutions, organization and composition of the bodies of authority, representatives and ministers from 1946 to 1998 – by the author Slobodan Dragovic
5. Web site of the Parliament of Montenegro, www.skupstina.cg.yu

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*HOW A BILL
BECOMES A LAW*

- ovo je tekst za poster -

Pursuant to article 85 of the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro, the right to introduce a law have the Government, a representative and at least 6.000 voters. In the greatest number of cases that right is exercised by the Government as a body of executive authority that lays down and conducts internal and foreign policy.

The procedure of law enactment is initiated by submitting a bill by the authorized proposer.

The bill is submitted in the form in which a law is enacted and it must be justified, and the justification contains: the constitutional basis for the law enactment, reasons for the enactment, explanation of fundamental legal institutes and assessment of the resources for its execution.

a) Bill drafting procedure if the proposer is the Government:

The competent ministry prepares a draft bill and sends it to the Government on examination and determination of the proposal. If the Government deems a public discussion to be necessary, it prescribes the program of the discussion, determines the competent body and terms in which the discussion is to take place, which cannot be shorter than 15 days.

During the preparation of the draft law, the competent ministry is obliged to entail the opinion in writing from the Republic Secretariat for Legislature on harmonization of that draft bill to the Constitution and legal system as a whole; the opinion of the Ministry of Justice for the provisions regulating sanctions, special administrative procedure and contraventions procedure. The opinion of the Ministry of Finance is also necessary for the

provisions of the draft bill that propose the provision of the resources from the budget.

The period for deliverance of the above-mentioned opinions cannot be shorter than seven days, if the regulation is not being enacted summarily. Proposed solutions are harmonized to the opinions of the Republic Secretariat for Legislature, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Finance. If the competent Ministry doesn't accept the given opinions and attitudes, disputed matters are solved by the Vice- President of the Government or by a governmental Commission.

The Government examines the draft in sitting and determines the bill and submits it to the Parliament on examination and adoption.

b) Procedure with the bill in the Parliament:

The President of the Parliament delivers the bill to all the representatives, competent working bodies and the Government, if the Government is not the proposer of the law. The bill cannot be placed on the agenda of the parliamentary sitting before expiry of a period of 15 days counting from the day of its delivery to the representatives. If the bill creates obligations for the budget of the Republic Montenegro, it is also examined by the working body competent for the budget (The Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment).

The competent working body submits the report to the Parliament in which it proposes adoption of the bill as a whole, with amendments or non-adoption. Examination of the bill on the parliamentary sitting may be carried out at earliest five days after the day on which the report of the competent working body was sent to the representatives, respectively the Parliament.

A proposal seeking to amend the bill is submitted in the form of an amendment in writing and it must be justified. The amendment is submitted at latest two days prior to commencement of the sitting on which the bill is being examined and it is delivered to the President of the Parliament.

The amendment to the bill is sent to representatives and the Government as well as competent working body, if that working body is not the submitter of the amendment. The competent working body is obliged to examine the amendments lodged on the bill before the parliamentary sitting and to propose to the Parliament which ones to adopt, and which ones to reject.

On the parliamentary sitting during examination of the bill, at most two representatives of proposer of the bill may participate, if the proposer is the Government or 6.000 voters

Discussion in principle and detailed discussion are conducted in the parliamentary sitting.

The discussion in principle comprises the discussion about the constitutional framework, reasons for enactment of the law, consequences which will originate for citizens, enterprises and other subjects and assessment of the resources from the budget for execution of the law. Having completed the discussion in principle the Parliament decides whether the law is adopted in principle or not.

When the bill has been adopted in principle, the Parliament moves to the detailed discussion and decides on the amendments. When moving to the detailed discussion, the Parliament decides whether to discuss the law by articles, chapters or other parts.

If the bill contains the provisions a retroactive effect is proposed for, the Parliament shall separately decide whether there is a public interest for the retroactive effect.

The Parliament decides about the amendments in accordance to the sequence of articles of the bill which the amendments seek to amend.

After completion of the discussion the Parliament takes up vote on the bill as a whole.

The law enacted by the Parliament is delivered to the President of the Republic for the promulgation, so that it could be published and enter into force. The President of the Republic promulgates the law by a decree, within

seven days from the day of its adoption. The President of the Republic may, within seven days from the day of adoption, request that the Parliament decide on the law again.

The President of the Republic is obliged to promulgate law that has been adopted for a second time.