

**DELEGATION TO OBSERVE THE  
REFERENDUM IN MONTENEGRO**

**(19-22 May 2006)**

**Report by  
Mr Yelko KACIN,  
Chairman of the delegation**

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## 1. Context

On 12 January 2006, the Conference of Presidents took note that the Republic of Montenegro was among the countries accorded priority status with a view to sending a delegation to observe the referendum on ending the Union with Serbia.

By letter of 7 March 2006, the Speaker of the Parliament of Montenegro, Mr. Ranko Krivokapic, had informed the President of the European Parliament, Mr. Josep Borrell Fontelles, of his wish that the Institution should monitor the referendum process in the country.

Consequently, on 15 March 2006, the Election Coordination Group wrote to the President of the European Parliament, asking him to authorise the sending of a delegation to Montenegro to observe the state status referendum in that country, due to be held on 21 May 2006.

The Conference of Presidents, on 6 April 2006, authorised a delegation composed of 7 members, to be appointed by the political groups on the basis of the rolling d'Hondt system taking account of the non-attached Members, to observe the referendum on the possible independence of the Republic of Montenegro from the State Union with Serbia, due to be held on 21 May 2006.

Consequently, the Coordination of the Political Groups communicated to the General Directorate III of the General Secretariat that the ad hoc delegation would be made up of 3 Members of the EPP-ED Group, 2 Members of the PES Group, 1 Member of the ALDE Group and 1 Member of the IND/DEM Group.

The EPP-ED decided to designate Mr Aldis Kuskis and to give up one of its seat in favour of the Green group, while it was not able to fill its third seat; the PES decided to designate Mr. Robert Evans, while it was not able to fill its second seat ; the Greens decided to designate Mr. Milan Horacek; the IND/DEM Group was not able to appoint any Member and gave up its seat to the GUE Group, which designated Mr Erik Meijer and the ALDE designated Mr Jelko Kacin.

The European Parliament would undertake the 2006 referendum observation jointly with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe in the framework of the OSCE-ODIHR International Referendum Observation Mission.

## 2. Constituent and preparatory meeting

The ad hoc delegation held its constituent and preparatory meeting on 10 May 2006 in Brussels. The "doyen d'age" **Mr Meijer** opened the meeting and the candidature of **Mr Kacin** for the chairmanship of the ad hoc delegation was put forward.

He was subsequently elected chairperson of the ad hoc delegation.

The ad hoc delegation then heard the Ambassador of Serbia and Montenegro to the EU, **Mrs Nincic**. She said that 2006 was indeed a very difficult year for Serbia and Montenegro. Two very important matters would be faced in parallel: the status of Kosovo, which was a delicate question, domestically, for Serbia, and the future of the State Union, after the referendum to be held in Montenegro. The fact that these two issues have to be resolved at the same time as economic transition, renders the situation even more complicated. Nevertheless, Serbia and Montenegro can be relatively satisfied of its economic results: the twin track approach used by the European Commission for preparing the country for an SAA has proved effective. Serbia and Montenegro actually have 4-5 % of GDP growth and inflation is decreasing. More than 1000 medium and large enterprises have been privatised, mostly by selling them. She hoped that the country would be able to sign an SAA by the end of 2006.

Concerning the referendum on independence in Montenegro, she was positively impressed that the campaign had been conducted regularly so far and hoped that this would be the case until the end of the process. Expectations, on compliance with democratic standards were very good. She hoped that the voting would also be transparent. She expected a very little difference in the support from the pro-independents and the pro-unionists. In any event, Belgrade and Podgorica, after the results proclamation, should sit together and discuss the possible implications.

The delegation heard afterwards **Mr Sarkic**, Deputy Head of Mission of Serbia and Montenegro to the EU and Representative of the Republic of Montenegro. He was pleased to note that there was a positive atmosphere in Montenegro on the forthcoming referendum. The day before, a big rally of the pro-independentists had taken place peacefully. To present the Republic of Montenegro, he indicated that the country's surface was a little more than that of Flanders, and larger than Malta, Luxembourg and Cyprus. Montenegro had succeeded in staying away from the bloody conflicts which had affected the Western Balkans in the Nineties and had already achieved a positive economic situation. Mentioning economic statistics, he indicated that most of the privatisations had already been carried out and the investors could already find a friendly environment in the republic. Tourism was increasingly important, with Russian and EU citizens representing around 60 % of the visitors, and many others coming from Serbia.

Concerning the preparation of Montenegro for European integration, he reported on the points of criticism highlighted by the EU: administrative capacity, compliance with WTO requirements, and other political issues particularly linked to the Copenhagen EU accession criteria, but added that he was confident that such issues would be resolved soon, in the interest of everybody.

Coming to talk about the referendum, he informed members that 1132 polling stations would be operating on referendum day, from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., with a staff of 6 persons to represent the different blocks. Registered voters were around 407.000. International referendum observation would be organised by the OSCE/ODIHR with around 200 observers, and other observers would come from national appointments. Concerning the expected results, he considered that a clear result would be in the best interest of everybody; he reported that, according to polls, the 55 % in favour of independence was likely to be reached. Of course, many questions would be raised in the case of a result

between 50 and 55 % in favour of independence. The political majority in the country should then indicate the way forward which, in his opinion, would be again towards independence, during the next few months.

The delegation then had an exchange of views with a representative of the European Commission, **Mr Maragos**. He clarified that the Commission was not directly involved in the referendum process, but nevertheless it had decided to support the activity of Mr Lajcak, Personal Representative of Mr Solana for the referendum in Montenegro. The EU, especially after the adoption by the Montenegrin Parliament of the law on referendum, was very interested in the technical evaluations by the OSCE/ODIHR and was also, obviously, preparing for the "day after". It was expected that the Council would issue in the next week, conclusions in view of the holding of the referendum: these conclusions would insist on basic principles, such as that the law should be implemented, that unilateral moves should be avoided and that the referendum results should be accepted. There were only two possible results: either 55 % in favour of independence would be achieved or not. He added that, for many reasons, future relations between Serbia and Montenegro should be the best possible. On the SAA negotiations, he recalled that, in the beginning of April, the Commission had disrupted them because of unsatisfactory co-operation with the ICTY from Serbia, but if conditions for a resumption would be fulfilled rapidly, he was confident that negotiations could be concluded around the end of the year. Should Montenegro become independent, the Commission would ask the Council to approve a modification of the SAA negotiation mandate. In the case of termination of the State Union, Serbia would be the legal successor State, and also for Serbia the Commission would need a slight modification of the SAA negotiation mandate. In fact the Commission was already working on the basis of a three-track approach (one for the Union, and one for each of the republics).

Members asked questions on: 1. the date of availability of the results, on 2. who actually had the right to vote, on 3. what would be the concrete differences for citizens' life in Montenegro, if independence would be achieved, and on 4. whether opinion polls were available in Serbia.

**Mr Sarkic** answered that 1. each polling station had, on average, around 600 voters, the results of each stations would be electronically transmitted to the Referendum Central Commission, which was expected to release official results on Monday, 22, or Tuesday, 23 May, that 2. the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, who had permanent residence in Montenegro for at least two years would have the right to vote; that 3. there were historical, political and economic reasons for Montenegro's move towards independence. One could also consider that Serbia, including Kosovo, was more than 6 times larger than Montenegro; **Ambassador Nincic** answered on 4. that , at the present stage, no realistic polls could be mentioned but, it seemed that, in Serbia, the majority would support some kind of union with Montenegro, and would express reservations on the proliferation of smaller and smaller states. Having said that, she also observed that the majority of Serbian citizens would accept the referendum's results anyway. Obviously, one of the most delicate problems was that of the more than 100.000-strong community of

Montenegrins living in Serbia, who had been excluded from the referendum process and were worried about their future.

**Mr Maragos** added that, on referendum day, there was a theoretical possibility that some staff of the polling stations would refuse to accomplish administrative tasks for the record of the results. But, in such a case, the President of the Central Referendum Commission, who was an international official, would take over and proceed to the counting. He reported that, according to some estimates, voters' turn-out could reach 87 %. Concerning the remarks by Ambassador Nincic on the exclusion of some Montenegrins from the voters' lists, he said that, as the Venice Commission had stated in its opinion "on the compatibility of the existing legislation in Montenegro concerning the organisation of referendums with applicable international standards", Montenegrin voters' lists had to be maintained, being among the most accurate in the region. There was no reason why they should be changed.

The ad hoc delegation then agreed on the programme of joint briefings with the other parliamentary observers of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly and Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, as well as on a separate programme of meetings for the EP members only (Annex 1 - attached to the present report) and decided to deploy 5 teams of observers to the following destinations: Podgorica and Budva; Cetinje; Kolasin and Bjelo Polje; Ulcinj; Niksic.

### **3. Development of the mission, Friday, 19 May 2006**

#### ***Briefing programme***

The members of the ad hoc delegation arrived in Podgorica on **Friday, 19 July**, where the briefing programme, organised by the OSCE-ODIHR for parliamentarians taking part to the international referendum observation mission (from the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament), started at 17,00 in the Hotel Crna Gora.

#### ***Introductory remarks by the Head of the IROM and political analysis***

After welcoming remarks by **Prof. Yalcintas**, Vice-President of the OSCE PA, Head of the OSCE PA Delegation and Special Coordinator of the OSCE Short-term Observers, **Mr Gardetto**, Head of the Council of Europe PA Delegation, **Mr Kacin**, Head of the EP delegation and **Mr Whitmore**, Head of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe Delegation, **Ambassador Grunnet**, Head of the International Referendum Observation Mission, presented a picture of the situation in Montenegro in the months preceding the referendum. The climate had been very polarised and the

campaign intense, with a door-to-door approach. Rallies of the two blocks had been rather peaceful. He reported that the Ministry of Interior had put in place a new database for managing the voters' lists in view of the referendum and this had been a sensitive issue between the two blocks. There were still some discrepancies in the data, following a cross-check of the Central Voters Register against centralised electronic data held by the Ministry of Interior but these were manageable, in his view. He then mentioned the story of the 3 supporters of the pro-Union block, one of whom was a member of the Republican Referendum Commission, who had been put in jail on charges of involvement in cases of false registration of voters. They had been subsequently released and the RRC had been able to continue its work. Notwithstanding, discussions were still ongoing on how the ballots should be correctly voted. In concluding, Ambassador Grunnet reported that the IROM was made up of around 350 short term observers, among which 54 were the OSCE PA members, 18 the Council of Europe PA members, 5 the EP members and 27 the members of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe.

**Ambassador Badescu**, Head of the OSCE Office in Podgorica, mentioned that the Office had opened in 1999, explained what was the mandate of the Organisation in Montenegro:

- to promote the implementation of OSCE principles and commitments as well as the co-operation of the Republic of Montenegro within the OSCE framework in all three of its dimensions: human, politico-military, economic and environmental aspects of security and stability;
- to facilitate contacts, co-ordinate activities and promote information exchange with the Chairman-in-Office, OSCE institutions, OSCE field operations - particularly with those in South-Eastern Europe, as well as co-operation with international organizations and institutions;
- to establish and maintain contacts with local authorities, universities, research institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and assist in arranging events with OSCE participation;
- to perform other tasks deemed appropriate by the Chairman-in-Office or other OSCE institutions and agreed on between the Republic of Montenegro and the OSCE.

and considered that its presence was still necessary. She also referred to the activities of the Montenegrin Parliament in the field of democratisation. She observed that the referendum campaign had been conducted in an acceptable way and according to higher democratic standards, in comparison with other countries of the region. She mentioned the fact that each block was actually convinced to have the required majority.

**Mr Ristovski**, Head of the Council of Europe Office in Podgorica, reported that their Office had opened in 2000. In 2001, negotiations in the framework of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had started. He passed in review the various stages for the formation of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro and observed that there had never

been a real understanding between Serbia and Montenegro to enable the Union to function. The Council of Europe had actively monitored the Union's activities in the field of legal standards and, more recently, its Venice Commission had issued the well known opinion "on the compatibility of the existing legislation in Montenegro concerning the organisation of referendums with applicable international standards", which so much had influenced the process for the preparation of the referendum on independence in Montenegro.

### ***Domestic observers groups***

**Mr Canovic and Mrs Komar** admitted that, in order for Montenegro to achieve an agreement on the law on referendum and to improve the quality of its democratic standards, an external influence had been necessary. They also considered that the rate of 55 % in favour, set for the recognition of the possible independence of the country, had by now probably been accepted by the people. Coming to concrete recommendations to the parliamentary observers for the referendum day, they advised them to contact on the spot the long term observers of the OSCE/Odihr, who would be able to provide a fair picture of the situation, and stressed that the most important issues to be investigated were: the way the local electoral commissions took their decisions; whether confidentiality and anonymity of the vote were ensured ; whether agents in uniform were present in the polling stations; whether and how people in hospital or other institutionalised people were allowed to vote.

### ***Media representatives***

**Mr Rutovic** observed that, by now, Montenegro had a media framework comparable with that of the countries of Western Europe. Freedom of the media was being promoted. In cooperation with the EU, the Committee for media coverage of the referendum campaign had been put in place, including an equal number of representatives (6) for each block, the Unionists and the Independentists.

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After the end of the briefings, the members of the European Parliament delegation travelled to Petrovac, where the Chairman, Mr Kacin, hosted a dinner with

- Mr Raunig, Head of the Austrian Office in Podgorica
- Mr Zobel, Head of Office at the German Consulate in Podgorica
- Mrs Radovic, Representative of the British Embassy in Montenegro
- Mr Branko Lukovac, President of the Movement for an Independent Montenegro
- Mr Rakovec, General Consul of Slovenia
- Mr Anderlic, Member of the Slovene Parliament.

**Saturday, 20 May 2006**

***Referendum observation Mission Core Team***

**Ambassador Grunnet**, Head of the OSCE/Odihr ROM, recalled that members of the Republican Referendum Commission were still arguing on the way the ballots should be filled on referendum day.

Political overview and background to the referendum

**Mr Mitchell**, ROM political analyst, first presented the question asked to voters, which had been considered well drafted and unambiguous: "Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent State with full international and legal personality ?". In the course of the referendum campaign, the question and possible consequences of both answers had been explained to the citizens. For Montenegro's independence, it would be necessary that 55 % of the valid votes are cast for the option "yes", provided that the majority of the total number of registered voters has voted on the referendum. He then presented the most important political parties and leaders of the two blocks:

Pro-Independence Bloc: Party of Democratic Socialists (DPS, the ruling party led by Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA), Democratic League of Montenegro (DSCG), Liberal Party (LP), Civic Party (GS) and the Bosniak Party (BP). The main political figures of the bloc were, apart from the Prime Minister already mentioned: Mr Vujanovic, President of Montenegro, Mr Marovic, President of Serbia and Montenegro, Mr Krivokapic, Speaker of Parliament, all of them members of the DPS; Mr Zivkovic, of the Liberal Party, Mr Pavicevic, of the Civic Party and Mr Dinosa, of the Democratic Union of Albanians.

Pro-Union Bloc: it was composed of political parties that form the parliamentary opposition and mainly: Socialist People's Party (SNP, led by Predrag Bulatovic), People's Party, led by Mr Popovic, Serbian People's Party, led by Mr Mendic, on the rise, the Democratic Serbian Party (DSS), which was a small party, and the Bosniak Bloc for Unified Sandjak (a coalition of non-governmental organisations).

Mr Mitchell also provided data on the demographic composition of the Montenegrin population: according to a 2003 census, 40-42 % Montenegrins, 30 % Serbs, 12-14 % Bosniaks and Muslims, 7 % Albanians, 1 % Croats and 1 % Roma.

He reported that, concerning women's participation in politics, this was still poor: for example, only 10 members of Parliament out of 75 were women (7,5 %).

Legal and referendum framework

**Mr Chambers, IROM Deputy Head of Mission**, reported that the constitutional basis for the referendum was provided by the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (of 2003) and by the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro



(of 1992, notably art. 2 and 119), both of which required for a referendum to be held to effect any change in the state-status of the Republic. There had been, though, a dispute on possible contradiction, or divergent interpretation, of the Constitution and the law on referendum.

A Republican Referendum Commission (RRC) had been instituted, along with 21 Municipal Referendum Commissions and 1118 Polling Boards. The principal of equal cross-party representation had been followed, for example, the RRC had 8 members from the Pro-Independence Bloc (PIB) and 8 from the Pro-Union Bloc (PUB).

The voters register (Central Voter Register - CVR) had been considered of good quality: it was prepared on the basis of a "passive" system, whereby the names of eligible voters had been included following information provided ex officio by the Ministry of Interior and municipalities and citizens had been entitled to check their registered status and to announce possible inaccuracies. The Register therefore responded to high levels of transparency, and allowed inspection not only by the public, but also by political parties. Many complaints had nevertheless been introduced, especially from the PUB side.

He reported that, on 4 May, following political agreement between the government and representatives of the opposition, a cross-check had taken place between the Central Voter Register and a centralised electronic database held by the Ministry of Interior on citizens having permanent residence. This had allowed to deal with complaints, to add names and to withdraw other names, which contributed to resolve almost all the problematic cases.

### Campaign activities

**Mr Mracka, IROM Media Analyst**, said that Montenegrin citizens had access to information via some 21 TV Channels, 5 of them being public and 16 private, 55 Radio Channels, 16 of which public and 39 private, 1 News Agency, called "Mina", privately owned and around 100 printed media.

The Serbian television covered around 30 % of the territory of Montenegro, in particular the mountainous North.

He mentioned the provisions for the functioning of the campaign through the media. The legal framework was comprehensively governed by the Law on the referendum on State Legal Status: it provided citizens with the right to be informed in a truthful, timely and unbiased manner, under equitable terms, about the referendum process and different referendum options. The Law also required media to provide assistance to voters in making an informed choice through specific information programmes and public debates in which both referendum sides would take part. The public broadcast media were under an obligation to provide equal presentation to the different referendum options and to publish and adopt regulations on their coverage of the campaign, and all outlets did so before the launch of the campaign. The Law also appealed to all privately-owned media, as well as any foreign media available in Montenegro, to adopt a Code of Conduct that promoted fair and equal coverage of the referendum campaign.

Local NGOs had created a self-regulatory body to monitor medias' behaviour.

Mr Mracka also showed some videos with spots of the two blocks and commented on their content. The main slogan of the PIB was: "for the Montenegro we love", while the slogan of the PUB was: "there are enough of us to say no" or " Montenegro not for sale".

#### Polling procedures and observation forms

**Mr Chambers** briefly commented on some practical aspects, which would be useful to know for observers on referendum day: ballots were printed in Cyrillic, with the exception of ballots for Albanian communities, which were printed with Latin characters. He passed into review the forms to be filled by the observers, and noted that the form "B1" (Annex 2) was the most important (voting form), where, in particular, observers were supposed to note their remarks on possible unauthorised campaign material or campaign activities, polling station environment, unauthorised persons present and the voting procedure.

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Observers had, subsequently, a meeting with **Mr Vlahovic**, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He explained in detail the procedure which had led to the organisation of the state status referendum. The procedure had been long and complicated and it had brought in itself, obviously, also dramatic moments, but the stakes were high and indeed the Montenegrin citizens, as they had the sovereignty, would have to decide. He was confident that the referendum would not provoke any major disorder. Of course, no celebration would be permitted before confirmation of the official results, but referendum results would have to be accepted. Unfortunately, as it could be seen in past reports from the OSCE/ODIHR, one of the most significant problems was that Montenegrin opposition, with the exception of the People's Party, had not accepted election results.

Concerning the post-referendum period, he regretted to say that Belgrade had not accepted to sit together with the Montenegrin counterpart to discuss the various possible options. On the contrary, the Montenegrin Government had adopted a declaration on relations with Serbia after the referendum which contained a positive and friendly message.

To a question from the assistance on whether the negotiating team for the talks with Serbia in the aftermath of the referendum would be composed only of representatives of the PIB or would also involve opposition representatives, Minister Vlahovic answered that he would be in favour of opening the doors to the various political groups.

Observers had subsequently a meeting with **Ambassador Lipka**, Chairman of the Republican Referendum Commission. Speaking in Serbo-Croatian, he reminded some of the principal aspects of the referendum legal framework. Another referendum on state status, according to the law, could be repeated after three years. He specified that any claim for irregularity should be submitted in 72 hours as from the commission of the irregularity and the RRC would have to respond to all claims.

The RRC was supposed to announce the official results of the referendum not later than 15 days after. He was pleased to note that the referendum campaign had been conducted well.

Later on, observers met with senior representatives of the two blocs.

The **Pro-Independence Bloc** was represented by Mr Brajovic, of the Social Democratic Party, Mr Hasani, of the Democratic Union of Albanians, Mr Dukaj, of the Democratic Alliance of Montenegro and Mr Vujovic, of the Civic Party.

The **Pro-Union Bloc** was represented by Mr Kaludjerovic, of the Socialist People's Party, Mr Popovic, of the People's Party and Mr Rojcevic, of the Democratic Serb Party.

They drew attention to the numerous irregularities observed concerning the preparation of the voters' lists, and reported that some people had been the subject of extraordinary pressure, even in their working places. Mr Popovic stressed that pressure had in particular been used on civil servants and all those belonging to the State apparatus who were not of the same opinion as Mr Djukanovic. Montenegro had become, using Mr Popovic's words, the "private State of Milo Djukanovic". These pressures had been in violation of the Montenegrin Constitution and laws. Also in the private sector, such as in some supermarket chains and hotels, people had been apparently asked to sign a declaration accepting the fact that they would not be able to go to vote on referendum day. Mr Rojcevic added that the majority had also attempted to buy votes. Furthermore, the Ministry of Interior had refused to issue new identity cards for those who had denounced that their document had been stolen.

After the end of the briefings, the EP delegation split into five teams, as agreed in the course of the preparatory meeting, and each of them, according to the case, met the long term observers of the IROM to get a regional briefing.

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The afternoon of Saturday was spent for meetings reserved to the EP delegation only.

First meeting: **Mr Ranko Krivokapic**, President of the Parliament of Montenegro.

He was pleased to note that Montenegro had shown a high degree of political maturity, taking into account that no disorder had occurred during the referendum campaign. On the other hand, he regretted that the pro-Union Bloc, first, had accepted the rules of the game and the role of the EU, but then, was not happy with the expected outcome.

He expected the referendum to be intensively observed, both by domestic and international observers. The European Union had ensured a strong presence, which was a welcome element in his view.

The Pro-Independence Bloc had tried to maintain a low profile in the campaign if one looks at the main slogan, "for the Montenegro we love", it mainly reminds one of a tourism advertisement. They were ready to discuss with Serbia in the framework and immediately after the declaration of independence. Of course, Montenegro would ask the European Union to continue the Stabilisation and Association negotiations without

necessarily waiting for Serbia. In the course of the summer, Montenegro intended to be admitted to the OSCE <sup>1</sup>; subsequently, a new Constitution would have to be adopted, in agreement with the Council of Europe, and in particular its Venice Commission. New parliamentary elections would be called in September. There were also some theoretical proposals, to elect a constitutional assembly, which would have to undertake, in the beginning, the drafting of the new Constitution, to be delivered by November at the latest. Afterwards, the assembly would continue to function as a "normal" parliament.

From the economic point of view, Montenegro already had a very lively economy and new projects would soon come up, also in relation with future possible independence. The military navy, for example, would be converted into a tourism fleet.

Mr Krivokapic concluded on a note on the dismantling of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro: in his view, the two republics were already separate indeed, what needed now to be done was switching, together and gradually, the light of the Union off. Serbians and Montenegrins should become just part of the European society: by doing so, the timing of accession to the EU by any of the two republics would count less at last.

**Second meeting: Mr Jusuf Kalamperovic**, Minister of Interior.

The meeting was opened by the Chairman of the EP delegation, Mr Kacin, who asked the Minister questions on the accuracy of voters' lists, on the case of 30 detainees who, allegedly, would have been imposed to work on referendum day and on the general security situation in the country.

Minister Kalamperovic was confident that his Ministry would "pass the exam" of the referendum. From the point of view of public order, the situation was good so far.

Concerning the voters' lists, he said that they had been completed on 10 May last, under the control of municipalities. On the issuing of new identity cards, he informed Members that today (20 May) was the deadline to resolve all the pending cases, of course provided that applicants would fill the conditions.

Many voters had arrived and would continue to arrive also from abroad: he reported that the airport director had been given instructions to accept the landing of two more flights that day, even though, he said, he believed those flights would carry supporters of the Union.

Coming to the public order situation at the moment of announcement of the referendum results, he expressed the hope that there would not be exaggerations.

On the question of people who allegedly had been requested to work on referendum day, and even people residing in the North of Montenegro requested to go to work on the coast, he answered that the referendum day fell on a Sunday, in which day people are not supposed to work. He added that even in extreme circumstances where some people would be obliged to work that Sunday, the polling stations would remain open for 13 hours, which would allow everybody to vote, Montenegro being a small country, where one could go from anywhere to anywhere else in 2 or 3 hours.

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<sup>1</sup> This was indeed the case: Montenegro's flag was displayed together with the flags of the other OSCE participating States at the Hofburg in Vienna on 22 June 2006, when Montenegro became the OSCE's 56th participating State.

Third meeting: the **European Movement and other NGOs.**

The EP delegation met Mr Momcilo Radulovic, Secretary General of the European Movement of Montenegro, Mr Zlatko Vujovic, Executive Director of the CEMI - Monitoring Centre and Mrs Daliborka Uljarevic, Executive Director of the Centre for Civic Education.

They expressed their relative disappointment with the ongoing reform process in Montenegro ( they underlined in particular the problematic sectors of the media, corruption, law implementation, and the authoritarian approach of the Government ) and considered it urgent to install an office of the European Commission in the country, to improve the quality of communication between the EU and the Montenegrin citizens, especially in the present stage , when the country was just starting the process of European integration. They reported that the EU Institutions were working at the moment only with the Montenegrin government, which, then, distributed some funding in a highly discretionary fashion. It was therefore very important to give the local NGOs the chance to entertain direct contacts with representatives of the European Commission. They explained their work in the field of "alternative education" and their contribution to the creation of a centre for the development of NGOs in Montenegro.

To a question from members on possible co-operation with Serbian NGOs, they answered that, luckily, there was no division in the society at the level of NGOs activity and that they would try to organise, together with Serbian civil society representatives, a post-referendum debate.

In concluding, Mr Kacin asked the representatives of the European Movement to report to him their assessment of the referendum process.

Fourth meeting: **Mr Milo Djukanovic**, Prime Minister of Montenegro.

Mr Djukanovic thanked the members of the EP delegation for their efforts to help ensuring that Montenegro undergoes satisfactorily the referendum process. He recalled that 4 years had gone already, since the Belgrade Agreement, and unfortunately this time had not been used properly for European integration: on the contrary, the process, instead of accelerate, had been delayed. The State Union had proven to be a dysfunctional structure, for which reason he had considered the moment had arrived for Montenegro to take a decision. He wanted to stress that his government had co-operated with Brussels for establishing the rules in view of the referendum but that he personally considered the rate of 55 % of the votes in favour of independence, which had been set as the minimum for the result to be recognised, a dangerous precedent for European democracy.

He was pleased to note that the referendum campaign and the two days of pre-referendum silence had been on line with international standards.

Mr Djukanovic, speaking in his capacity of leader of the Pro-Independence Bloc, expressed the hope that the new Entity of Montenegro would be recognised rapidly (by the way, there was no reason for a delay in his opinion) at the international level and that Montenegro would turn itself to pursue its European and Euro-Atlantic integration future. He regretted that Serbia was presently not keen to entertain the dialogue; nevertheless, Montenegro intended to go forward and had already adopted a declaration on the

treatment of Serbian citizens. In this respect, he was confident that the new Montenegro would be the home of all its citizens, where nobody would feel as a loser.

**Mr Kacin** stressed that the EP delegation was in Montenegro precisely "to wave the European flag" and it was composed of five different political groups. He nevertheless warned the Prime Minister that more and more members of the EP were against further enlargement of the EU, and that, anyway, acceding to the EU would mean also accepting new obligations, not only receiving funds.

Coming to the referendum process, Mr Kacin was pleased that it had been conducted according to the standards, so far. This impression was shared by most of the observers.

On Serbia-Montenegro relations after the referendum, he had been pleased to hear that the Montenegrin government had put this item in its agenda. As a Slovenian, he said, he was well aware how difficult it was to entertain peaceful relations with Serbia, but Montenegro's independence will also help to send a message to the Serbian people: the message would be "Take your destiny in your own hands". Speaking in his capacity as rapporteur on Serbia and Montenegro to the committee of foreign affairs of the EP, he stressed that he wanted to help Serbian people, but, so far, this had been impossible. He still hoped that negotiations on an Association and Stabilisation Agreement could be concluded by the end of 2006. In 2007, drastic changes would intervene for the region, since Bulgaria and Romania were expected to become members of the EU. SAA negotiations would be concluded with the remaining countries of the Western Balkans, and the Council would decide on the date of start of accession negotiations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In 2008, Slovenia would chair the Council of the EU.

He called for a strong role of the European Parliament in that critical period, in particular its committee on foreign affairs, and expressed the hope that the President of the EP would visit Montenegro.

**Mr Kuskis** asked for clarifications on the alleged road works between Kolasin and Bijelo Polje, in the East of Montenegro, which would impede circulation.

Mr Djukanovic answered that on the referendum day there would be no works ongoing.

**Mr Meijer** asked what would happen if the Pro-Independence Bloc gets more than 50 but less than 55 %. Secondly, he warned Mr Djukanovic on the difficult climate in the EU in relation to possible new enlargements.

Mr Djukanovic answered to the first question that, as he had already stated, the requirement of 55 % was a risky precedent, which could provoke a conflict between legality and democracy. The EU-set 55 % rate in theory allowed the minority to become majority and viceversa. Anyway, in that case, Montenegro would certainly have to negotiate new arrangements with Serbia, but the State Union would not function either, due to lack of people's support. Even with further decentralisation, the Union would not function, and indeed, there was little space for further decentralisation ! Montenegro would also have to insist with the EU for an acceleration of the EU integration process.

In the case of positive result, on the contrary, Montenegro would immediately declare its independence.

On the second question, he was conscious of the ongoing debate on the EU limited absorption capacity, but considered that limitations should not refer to the Western Balkans. That region, in his view, had been already too long an "orphan" of the EU. Excluding the Western Balkans from the perspective of EU accession would be a disaster, both for the EU and for the countries concerned. The EU was already "paying the bill", at present, of its past absence, and this should be considered a price for integrating the Western Balkans countries.

After all, the key problem of the region remained Serbia. Serbia should at last focus on its own problems. Still, Mr Kostunica, who, to a certain extent, depended on the extreme radical nationalists, intended to say what was good for Montenegro, although, luckily, with different methods than those of Milosevic. Prolonging this situation would mean prolonging the agony of Serbia.

**Mr Kacin** concluded by saying that he found Mr Djukanovic's arguments convincing and that he would convey that message to Brussels.

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In the evening, Mr Kacin participated in a dinner for the Heads of parliamentary delegations hosted by **Ambassador Grunnet**, Head of the OSCE/Odihr ROM, in Podgorica.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Sunday, 21 May 2006 (referendum day)**

The EP delegation split itself into five teams with the following composition and destinations:

Team 1: Mr. Kacin  
(+ 1 advisor of the  
ALDE group and 1 member of staff)  
**Podgorica and Budva**

Team 2: Mr Kuskis  
(+ 1 member of staff)  
**Kolasin and Bijelo Polje**

Team 3: Mr. Meijer  
**Ulcinj**

Team 4: Mr. Evans  
(+ 1 member of staff)  
**Niksic**

Team 5: Mr Horacek  
(+ 1 member of staff)  
**Cetinje**

The EP teams observed opening of the poll stations, voting and closing of the poll stations .

The same day, at 18.00, the team of Mr Kacin had a **meeting with Ambassador Miroslav Lajcak**,  
Director general for political affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia and  
Personal  
Representative of Mr Solana for the Montenegro referendum process, in the Embassy of  
Austria, Liaison Office of Podgorica.

Ambassador Lajcak explained the most important steps taken during the preparation of the referendum and the various possible options depending on the outcome of the referendum. In his view, it was extremely important that the EU Institutions give a common interpretation of the events and the results.

Mr Kacin expressed his concern regarding the formula proposed for the referendum, especially because it had not been discussed in depth across the various EU Institutions and because of the general situation in the region of the Western Balkans. He also stressed that the EU should focus on the post-referendum stage, to help Montenegro to face internal confrontation and to head towards democracy in such a way that nobody would feel a loser. He also considered that the EU should help Serbia in this particularly difficult period.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Heads of the Parliamentary Institutions met with the IROM Head and other OSCE representatives in Podgorica on Sunday and Monday for first debriefing. They also discussed the text of the press release and statement of preliminary findings of the IROM to be published on Monday, the 22nd of May 2006.

## **Monday, 22 May 2006**

### ***Debriefing of the EP observers***



### **Team 1 - Podgorica and Budva**

Mr Kacin reported that , in the polling stations he had visited, the referendum had been conducted in a very calm atmosphere, respecting democratic standards and without emotional outbursts or other tensions between the two blocks. There were some isolated cases of procedural irregularities, such as a ballot box not properly sealed, but these would not change the generally positive assessment.

### **Team 2 - Kolasin and Bijelo Polje**

Mr Kuskis travelled to Kolasin, a locality in the North East, on 20 May in order to be able to observe the opening of a polling station. Kolasin and the surrounding region was considered a stronghold of the unionists. If any incidents were to happen during referendum day, they were likely to happen there.

He first observed the opening of a polling station in the central square of Kolasin. Despite the fact that a considerable queue of people had formed already before 8, the opening took place in an orderly and correct fashion. No tension and no disagreement were noted.

He then proceeded to Bijelo Polje, a locality with a strong independentist movement in an overwhelmingly unionist area. During the day the delegation covered a total of 12 stations, many in extremely rural areas (one of them was located in the sitting room of a private house). No irregularities were spotted. Polling officers seemed to know well the rules and applied them correctly, the voting environment was positive (with no attempt to influence the vote) and relations between representatives of the two blocks (present in all stations observed) were correct. These impressions were confirmed at a meeting with Mr Onnon Van der Wind, OSCE/ODHIR Long-term Observer for the Bijelo Polje region.

Mr Kuskis finally followed the closing and counting procedure in polling station 1 in Kolasin. The closing of the station took place at the convened time. During the counting there were no attempts to disrupt or muddle the proceedings. Despite the fact that the vote there was overwhelmingly (over 60%) in favour of Montenegro remaining in the State Union, the result was accepted by all representatives present. The banning of the use of mobile phones was generally respected.

It should be remarked, however, that at around 10.00 pm, at a time when the central municipal committee was busy collecting the polling data, the streets were taken by pro-independentist people who, following a custom which is common in the Balkans, celebrated their alleged victory by shooting, shouting and chanting.

It should be remarked that Mr Kuskis also tried to liaise with the EU Monitoring Mission who were also present in the area (this was announced by a representative of the EUMM at the briefing in Podgorica). However, his request for an informal meeting was declined on the grounds that the EUMM was a Council operation which reported directly to the SG/HR, Mr Solana.

### **Team 3 - Ulcinj**

Mr Meijer visited 9 polling stations, 4 in the urban territory of Ulcinj and 5 in the rural surroundings:

- nr. 30, Bratstvo-Jedinstvo (in town)
- nr., 8, Bratica (village near town)
- nr. 7, Krute Ulcinjske (village)
- nr. 28, Dječji Vrtić Solidarnost (in town)
- nr. 3. Stara Uljara (in town)
- nr. 4, Centar za Kulturu (in town)
- nr. 22, Donja Klenza (village far from town)
- nr. 12, Pistula (village)
- nr. 11, Zoganje (village)

During his stay polling station 8 was visited by an American OSCE-observer too.

2. Although the overwhelming majority (about 90%) in the municipality of Ulcinj voted in favour of independence, there was no tension, pressure or intimidation which could prevent that the minority felt free to express their vote against.

3. In the big polling station where he started and observed the counting, everything happened in good harmony between the 4 'PIB' members and 4 'PUB' members. At the start of the counting the initiative was immediately given to the predicted minority which opposed independence, and this counting was correctly repeated when there seemed to be 1 vote less than the registered number (this final count was conform to the registered number). Also in the other polling stations everything was performed very correctly, even more than experienced in local and national elections in some EP member states .

4. The only problem in all polling stations was 'family voting'. This took place especially in the case of old women who were accompanied by their husbands or their children, and particularly in the case of women dressed in traditional Islamic clothes. The members of all polling station considered this to be allowed by the electoral law, although Mr Meijer was informed that it was not the case

### **Team 4 - Niksic**

Mr Evans reported that during Referendum Day the atmosphere in Niksic, the seat of Milo Djukanovic, Prime Minister of Montenegro, was calm and orderly, although there was a certain amount of celebration when Mr Djukanovic himself arrived in the main street at around midday. It was generally evident that there was little antagonism between the Pro-Unionist and the Pro-Independence voters, as several groups socialising together were formed of members belonging to both blocks.

In the polling stations observed in the town and outlying areas, voting procedures were carried out without any problems. The committees overseeing the operation were well

informed of their task and undertook it efficiently, including for those who were not physically able to come to vote. No intimidation or other incidents were witnessed either inside or outside the polling stations.

### **Team 5 - Cetinje**

Mr Horacek had been observing 9 polling stations in the area of Cetinje and surroundings. It is worthy to be noted that Cetinje, a stronghold of the independentists on the occasion of the referendum, is the old capital of Montenegro and residence of previous King Nikola. It is still the heart of Montenegro when it comes to cultural heritage and is also considered as the religious centre of Montenegro, being the previous residence of Prince Bishop Njegosh and being the current residence of the Serbian Orthodox Church's Head. Cetinje is highly homogeneous from an ethnic and religious point of view, with a large majority of Orthodox Montenegrins. Since the transfer of the capital in Podgorica, Cetinje has witnessed a severe depression of its economy and suffers from a high level of unemployment.

Relations between the two blocks were rather tense during the campaign, with unionists accusing the pro-independence representatives to prevent access to the voters' lists, to buy votes and intimidate people, and casualties such as physical fights.

Nevertheless, on referendum day, in the polling stations visited, which were mostly located in rural areas, at the exception of 2 or 3 of them, operations were conducted regularly, in a remarkably calm and ordered atmosphere. Inter-action between the staff of the polling stations, who, of course, represented both blocks, were correct and peaceful.

Opening and closing, in the two concerned polling stations, had happened perfectly on time, as well as the preparatory operations before the start of the vote in the morning and the counting and results recording in the evening.

Only very few cases of family voting had been observed, especially in rural areas, for the assistance of old women. Local observers were very often present in the polling stations visited.

During the afternoon of referendum day, the streets of Cetinje were taken by pro-independentist people who, following a custom which is common in the Balkans, celebrated their alleged victory. Cars parades were observed, with many Montenegrin flags waved.

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### **IROM press conference**

The Head of the OSCE/ODIHR ROM held a joint press conference with the Heads of the parliamentary delegations at 13.00. The declarations released at that occasion are included in the Press Release of the IROM of 22 May 2006 (Annex 3).

## European Parliament

### AD HOC DELEGATION FOR OBSERVATION OF THE REFERENDUM IN MONTENEGRO

**19- 22 May 2006**

#### **Programme**

Mobile contact number of the secretariat: +32 (0) 496.599.469

#### **Friday, 19 May**

During the afternoon, arrival of the MEPs and staff in Podgorica

All briefings will be held in the *Hotel Crna Gora, Bulevar Svetog Petra Cetinjskog Podgorica Centre, tel: 081 443 443*

- 17.00 Welcome by heads/representatives of all delegations
- 17.15 Welcome and political analysis By the Head of ROM, Head of OSCE Office in Podgorica, Head of CoE Office in Podgorica and Head of EUMM
- 18.00 Domestic observer groups - Marko Canovic CDT and Zlatko Vujovic CEMI
- 18.30 Media representatives - key public and private electronic and print media
- Transfer to **Hotel Rivijera**  
**85300 Petrovac**  
**Tel: +381.(0)86.422.100**  
**Fax: +381.(0)86.461.314**
- 20.30 Dinner hosted by the Chairman of the Delegation
- with :
- Podgorica Mr Raunig, Head of the Austrian Office in Podgorica  
Mr Zobel, Head of Office at the German Consulate in
- Montenegro Mrs Radovic, Representative of the British Embassy in
- an Independent Montenegro Mr Branko Lukovac, President of the Movement for
- Mr Rakovec, General Consul of Slovenia  
Mr Anderlic, Member of the Slovene Parliament  
*Venue: Restaurant in the Hotel Rivijera*

#### **Saturday, 20 May**

08.15	Departure from the hotel		
09.00	Team,	Analytical briefing by representatives of the Mission Core including media monitoring results, forms and logistical briefing	
10.30	Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Miodrag Vlahovic		
11.00	Chairman of the Republican Referendum Commission, Ambassador Lipka		
11.45	Senior representatives of the Pro-Independence Bloc		
13.00	Senior representatives of the Pro-Union Bloc		
14.15	Team	Regional briefings with ROM long-term observers (meeting with drivers and interpreters)	or Core

Separate programme for the EP delegation:

*at the end of OSCE/ODIHR briefings, meetings with:*

15.30	Mr Ranko Krivokapic, Speaker of the Parliament Venue: Government Villa
16.15	Mr Jusuf Kalamperovic, Minister of Interior Venue: Government Villa
17.00	the European Movement of Montenegro and other NGOs Venue: 36, Njegoseva Street, 1st floor, Podgorica
18.00	Mr Milo Djukanovic, Prime Minister of Montenegro, Venue: Government Villa

Transfer to Petrovac of the delegation (for those to be deployed as observers in Kolasin and Bijelo Polje, departure to Kolasin)

**Sunday, 21 May**

<i>time set in order to reach destination around one hour before the opening of the polling stations (8.00 a.m.)</i>	Departure of the observers to  destinations : Podgorica, Budva, Kolasin, Bijelo Polje, Niksic, Cetinje and Ulcinj
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Team 1:	Mr Kacin, Chairperson of the EP delegation
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Mr Stokelj, Director, EP secretariat  
Mr Glasberg, ALDE advisor  
Mrs Brooks, Mr Kacin's assistant

Team 2:

Destination: Kolasin and Bijelo Polje  
(spending the nights of 20 and 21 May in Kolasin)

Mr Meijer, MEP  
Mr Roovers, Mr Meijer's assistant

Team 4:

Destination: Niksic

Mr Horacek, MEP  
Mrs Mazzi Zissis, EP secretariat

18.00

Meeting with Ambassador Miroslav Lajcak,  
Director general for political affairs  
at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia and Personal  
Representative of Mr Solana for the Montenegro referendum  
process;

21.00

Polling stations will close and the teams will observe the counting before returning to the hotel

## 09.45

Hheads of Delegations Meeting

13.00

## Press conference

13.45

Departure of the EP delegation

# Referendum Observation Mission – Montenegro 2006 – VOTING FORM B (1)

Team number

   
Form Number  
(internal use only)
   
**A: Polling Station Identification**

Municipality

Polling Station

   
The Polling Board Chairperson is ☐ Male ☐ FemaleThe Polling Station is ☐ Urban ☐ Rural**B: Time in Polling Station** (24-hour clock)

Arrival Time (hh:mm)

  :  

Departure Time (hh:mm)

  :  
**C: Voters List**Total Number of Registered  
Voters at Polling Station
   
So far, how many voters  
have voted?
   
**D: Outside the Polling Station**

01. Are campaign materials present / visible outside the polling station?  
02. Are campaign activities taking place in the vicinity of the polling station?  
03. Is the polling station accessible for persons with disabilities?

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**E: Polling Station Environment and Atmosphere**

04. Are campaign materials present / visible inside the polling station?  
05. Did you observe any form of intimidation inside or outside the polling station?  
06. Did you observe any attempt to influence voters on how to vote?  
07. Was there any tension inside the polling station during the voting?  
08. Were you given full access to the polling station?  
09. Did you receive the necessary information from Polling Board officials?

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**F: Unauthorised Persons**

10. Are any unauthorised persons present? If 'YES' to Q10, who?  
☐ Police ☐ Authorities ☐ Other

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**G: Domestic Observers**

11. Are domestic observers present?

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**H: Election Materials**

12. Were all necessary election materials present? If 'NO' to Q12, what was missing?  
☐ Voter Register ☐ Record of Work ☐ Ballot Box ☐ Ink or Lamp  
☐ Book of Electors ☐ Polling Booths/Screens ☐ Ballot Papers ☐ Other

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**I: Procedures – Possible Irregularities**

13. Was the secrecy of the vote ensured?  
14. Did you observe voters being handed more than one ballot? (multiple voting)  
15. Did you observe voters receiving ballots for other voters? (proxy voting)  
16. Did you observe voters voting in groups? (family voting)  
17. Did you observe voters using pre-marked ballots? (carousel voting)  
18. Did you observe the same person "assisting" numerous voters  
19. Was anyone denied the right to vote for inappropriate reasons?  
20. Was the process seriously hampered by overcrowding or disorganisation?  
21. Were the procedures for checking and applying indelible/invisible ink being followed?  
22. Was every voter asked to provide photographic ID before being allowed to vote?  
23. Was the ballot box sealed properly?

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**J: Official Complaints**

24. Has the Polling Board received any official complaints?

Y	N	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**K: Evaluation**

(5: Very Good; 4: Good; 3: Average; 2: Poor; 1: Very Poor)

25. How do you rate the PB members' understanding of voting procedures?  
26. How do you rate most voters understanding of voting procedures?

5	4	3	2	1	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

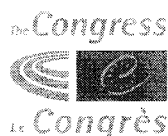
**L: Overall Assessment**

(4: Very Good; 3: Good; 2: Poor; 1: Very Poor)

27. How do you rate the conduct of voting at this polling station?

4	3	2	1	NK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A Comments Form Is Also Available For Extra Observations



# INTERNATIONAL REFERENDUM OBSERVATION MISSION

## PRESS RELEASE

### Referendum overall in line with international standards

PODGORICA, 22 May 2006 – The referendum on the future state-status of the Republic of Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro) on 21 May was conducted overall in line with OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and other international standards for democratic electoral processes. It provided the voters a genuine opportunity to decide the future status through a process of direct democracy, concluded the International Referendum Observation Mission in a statement released in Podgorica today.

The mission deployed some 365 observers from 35 countries.

“In a demonstration of direct democracy, the people of Montenegro conducted a genuine and transparent referendum, and should be congratulated for their constructive approach in making this historic decision,” said Professor Nevzat Yalcintas Head of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation, appointed by the OSCE Chairman-in-Office as the Special Co-ordinator for the OSCE short-term observers.

Jean-Charles Gardetto, Head of the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, said: “The high turnout showed the importance given by the people of Montenegro in deciding their future by democratic and peaceful means. They expressed their free will in a fully democratic and civil manner, something they can be proud of and that sets an example for the region. The Assembly stands ready to accompany Montenegro on the path its people have chosen.”

Jelko Kacin, leader of the delegation of the European Parliament, added: “We were very positively impressed by the regularity and efficiency of the referendum process. We encourage all the citizens of Montenegro to work together for a bright, common future; their future lies in European integration and in this respect, they all are to be seen as winners. Serbia and Montenegro should closely co-operate for mutual recognition of the referendum results, for a consensual decision on the further steps and for a rapid resumption of the Stabilization and Association agreement negotiations, on the basis of each Republic’s own merits.”

Keith Whitmore, who led a delegation from the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, said: “The Congress was joined for the first time by members of the Committee of the Regions. We commend the smooth and peaceful running of this historic referendum; however, a number of important issues need to be addressed such as the under-representation of women in polling boards and accessibility to polling stations for the elderly and disabled. We will continue working with authorities furthering democracy at local level in line with the European Charter of Local Self-Government.”



“It has been a positive experience to follow the active and largely peaceful campaign and to see it culminate in the high turnout yesterday. Both sides have shown a political maturity which bodes well for the future of Montenegro”, concluded Jorgen Grunnet, who heads the long-term Observation Mission from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

Election day was calm, with more than 96% of observers characterizing the vote positively. Some procedural problems were identified with the application of ink on voters’ fingers, as well as a number of instances of group voting and of voters taking photographs of their marked ballot papers. Observers assessed the count and tabulation of votes positively. In two isolated instances, observers reported suspicious activities that may have indicated vote-buying schemes.

The campaign was competitive although there were instances of negative campaigning. The Republican Referendum Commission operated in a transparent manner and both referendum options displayed a commitment to participate in its administration. There was active involvement of civil society, particularly domestic observers.

Access to media was afforded to both options although some partiality was noted, mainly in print media. All in all, media provided voters with diverse views and enabled them to make informed choices. There was no direct campaigning in the media during the pre-referendum silence period, but many instances of indirect support of independence were noted.

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**INTERNATIONAL REFERENDUM OBSERVATION MISSION**  
**Referendum on State-Status, Republic of Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro)**  
**21 May 2006**

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**STATEMENT OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS**

**Podgorica, 22 May 2006** – Following invitations to observe the 21 May 2006 referendum on state-status, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) deployed a Referendum Observation Mission (ROM) in the Republic of Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro) on 28 March 2006. For observation of referendum day, the OSCE/ODIHR ROM joined efforts with the observers of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CLRAE) and the European Parliament (EP) to form an International Referendum Observation Mission (IROM).

Professor Nevzat Yalçınbaş (Turkey), member of the Parliament of Turkey, Head of the OSCE PA delegation, was appointed by the OSCE Chairman-in-Office as the Special Coordinator of the OSCE's Short-Term Observation Mission. Mr Jean-Charles Gardetto (Monaco), Member of the Parliament of Monaco, led the Delegation of the PACE. Mr. Jelko Kacin (Slovenia), Member of the European Parliament, led the Delegation of the European Parliament (EP). Mr. Keith Whitmore (United Kingdom) led the delegation of CLRAE. Mr Jørgen Grunnet (Denmark) heads the OSCE/ODIHR ROM.

The IROM assessed compliance of the referendum process with OSCE commitments, Council of Europe commitments, other international standards for democratic electoral processes, and domestic legislation. This statement of preliminary findings and conclusions is delivered prior to publication of the official referendum results by the Republic Referendum Commission (RRC) and the expiry of the legal deadline for hearing possible appeals. The OSCE/ODIHR ROM will remain in Montenegro to continue the observation of this process. The OSCE/ODIHR will publish a comprehensive final report approximately two months after completion of the process.

<b>Preliminary Conclusions</b>
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The 21 May referendum provided a genuine opportunity for Montenegrin voters to decide their future state-status through a process of direct democracy, ensuring this issue could be resolved in a peaceful and legitimate manner. Overall, the referendum was conducted in line with OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and other international standards for democratic electoral processes. Voter turnout exceeded 86 per cent, reflecting high voter interest in the referendum.

The competitive pre-referendum environment was marked by an active and generally peaceful campaign. Both referendum options respected the right of the other to express an opinion, although there were a number of instances of negative campaigning. There were no reports of restrictions on fundamental civil and political rights.

Broadcast and print media provided voters with diverse views and enabled them to make informed choices between distinct alternatives. The public broadcast media offered equal free airtime to both referendum options. The public TVCGI gave overall equal access to both campaigns but favoured to an extent pro-independence views in news coverage. Print media often showed partiality for either pro-independence or pro-union campaigns, and occasionally published inflammatory newsreports. Although there was no direct campaigning in the media during the pre-referendum silence period, the IROM noted many instances of indirect support of independence.

The legal framework for the referendum largely meets international standards for electoral processes. The 2006 special referendum law was a result of the consensus that followed political party negotiations in

early 2006, and was able to maintain cross-party political support for its full implementation, including on contentious issues such as the majority requirement for the decision to be made. The referendum question was clear.

The voter register in Montenegro is overall accurate. The remarkable transparency afforded to political parties to inspect the voter register increased cross-party confidence in the accuracy of voter lists and addressed many complaints that had been submitted. A total of 484,718 voters were registered, an increase of some 26,000 compared with previous elections.

Equal participation by both sides in the referendum administration, as well as the role played by an independent chairperson of the RRC, strengthened confidence amongst political actors in the process. The RRC and the 21 Municipal Referendum Commissions generally functioned well and provided full access to their meetings for observers and media. However, there were frequent delays in decision-making resulting from repeated voting along partisan lines, although a notably more consensual and professional approach was taken in the later stages of the process. The transparency of the referendum was significantly strengthened by an active participation of civil society groups and domestic non-partisan observers.

Over fifty complaints were submitted to the RRC and/or to the public prosecutors before the referendum-day. Some 20 were related to alleged pressure on employees to deliver the vote in favour of independence or to not vote, and vote-buying; some 15 are still pending resolution. In general, the complaints resolution and appeals process worked effectively.

More than 96 per cent of the IROM observation reports characterized the polling day proceedings as “very good” or “good”. There were isolated cases of procedural irregularities that indicate that Polling Board members in all municipalities would benefit from further training. There were two instances – in Pljevlja and Berane – where international observers reported suspicious activities that may indicate vote-buying schemes on the part of the Pro-Independence Bloc.

The IROM calls on both pro-independent and pro-union parties and their supporters to maintain a constructive approach during the post-referendum period. The organizations represented on IROM stand ready to continue their support for the efforts of Montenegrin authorities, political parties and civil society to further improve electoral practices in Montenegro.

## **Preliminary Findings**

### **Referendum Context**

The 21 May referendum on the future state-status of the Republic of Montenegro provided a genuine opportunity for the citizens of Montenegro to decide whether their country should be an independent state or remain in the State Union with Serbia. The question of independence has long characterised – and polarised – the political landscape in Montenegro and thus it is notable that there has been wide, cross-party support to the issue being resolved legitimately and with certainty through a referendum.

The State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was established in 2002 by the “Belgrade Agreement” that placed *inter alia* a three-year moratorium on the holding of any referendum on independence by either member of the State Union. Following the expiry of that moratorium, the Government of Montenegro indicated its intention to hold this referendum. A lack of consensus between political actors on the conditions for the conduct of the referendum led to the participation of the European Union (EU) Special Envoy, Ambassador Miroslav Lajcak, in negotiations to reach an agreement.

A framework on the conditions for the referendum was agreed in February 2006, with a compromise found on the particularly contentious issue of what majority would be required to decide on the state-status. For the current referendum to be considered as having been passed, 55 per cent of the valid votes had to be cast for the “yes” option, and a voter turnout had to be over 50 per cent of the total number of registered voters.

The Pro-Independence Bloc (PIB) was composed of the ruling Party of Democratic Socialists (DPS), led by Prime Minister Milo Djukanović, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA), the Democratic League of Montenegro (DSCG), the Liberal Party (LP), the Civic Party (GS) and the Bosniak Party (BP). The Pro-Union Bloc (PUB) was made up of political parties that form the parliamentary opposition, and were led by the Socialist People's Party (SNP) of Mr. Predrag Bulatović, the People's Party (NS), the Serbian People's Party (SNS) and the Democratic Serbian Party (DSS). The PUB also included a newly established coalition of Bosniak non-governmental organizations.

The referendum was given a further political impetus by the fact that parliamentary elections, as well as a number of key municipal elections, are scheduled for October 2006.

### **Legal Framework**

The basis for the holding of the 21 May referendum was provided by the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003), the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro (1992) and a *lex specialis* – the Law on the Referendum on State Legal Status (LRSLs) which was adopted by the Parliament of Montenegro on 1 March, 2006, following the extensive consultations between the two sides of the referendum issue. In areas not covered by the LRSLs, provisions from a series of other laws apply, including the Law on Referendums (2001), the Law on the Election of Councillors and Representatives (2000, as amended) and the Law on Voter Registers (2000). In general, the legal framework for the referendum respects fundamental civil and political rights and meets international standards for electoral processes.

The LRSLs contained many provisions that ensured cross-party participation in the referendum and enabled both sides to compete with each other on a generally equal basis. These provisions included equal representation on referendum administration bodies, the allocation of equal amounts of public funds for each side's campaign, a restriction on the role of public bodies or the use of state resources in support of a campaign, and a requirement for Montenegrin media to be informative, objective and neutral.

The referendum question – *Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent state with full international and legal personality?* – was clear, ensuring that all voters were able to express their choice without ambiguity.

### **Referendum Administration**

The referendum was conducted by a three-tiered administration: the RRC, 21 municipal referendum commissions (MRCs) and 1,118 polling boards (PBs). The 16 members of the RRC, ten members of each MRC and six members of each PB were equally distributed between the two blocs, strengthening confidence amongst political actors in the impartiality of the referendum administration. As agreed during the negotiations on the conduct of the referendum, an independent person – Dr. Frantisek Lipka from Slovakia – was appointed by Parliament to chair the RRC with the right to use a casting vote in the case of a tied decision between RRC members. Two innovative parliamentary committees – one to monitor media and the other to monitor campaign financing – were also established, with equal representation from each bloc, to assess compliance with legal requirements.

The RRC operated in an open and transparent manner and provided full access to its meetings for observers and media as well as establishing a website. The RRC and MRCs met frequently and generally functioned well, taking the required decisions on all major issues relating to procedures and administrative arrangements, although some key decisions – for example, relating to the marking of valid ballots – were taken at a late stage in the process. Indeed, frequent delays in the work of the RRC were caused by prolonged, often unnecessary debates, although its members adopted a notably more consensual and professional approach in the two weeks preceding referendum day. In most cases, however, the RRC members chose to vote along partisan lines rather than on the merits of substantive issues and, despite occasions of consensus, there were many instances where the RRC Chairman was required to use his casting vote. In general, the referendum administration could have considered the need for voter education on polling procedures as well as training of polling board members.

Both sides displayed a continued commitment to actively participate in the referendum administration at every level, however, there were three instances of temporary boycotts from the referendum administrative bodies. The PUB representatives withdrew from one RRC meeting in protest against the arrest of one of its appointees to the RRC and detention of other activists on charges of unauthorised submission of voter registration applications, but returned immediately upon their release. There were also short-term boycotts by the PUB representatives on the parliamentary media committee and on the Niksic MRC because of alleged complaints but, in both instances, the members returned upon the resolution of the issues.

### **Voter Registration**

The legal framework provided the same right of suffrage for the referendum as for presidential and parliamentary elections in Montenegro i.e. for those aged over 18 years who are citizens of Montenegro and have held permanent residency in Montenegro for 24 months. Serbian citizens with permanent residence in Montenegro for the same period, or Montenegrin citizens temporarily resident elsewhere were also eligible to vote.

As with elections, for this referendum, members of the public could inspect the voter register and request additions or other changes. A total of 484,718 voters were registered to take part in the referendum, a significant increase in the number of registered voters from previous elections. Around 26,000 names of registered voters were added to the Central Voter Register (CVR) after the public inspection period and appeals to the Administrative Court, reflecting the level of public interest in the referendum.

As with previous elections in Montenegro, the quality of the CVR was frequently challenged by the political parties within the PUB, who alleged that inaccuracies in the data of registered voters would adversely and deliberately affect their supporters or otherwise benefit the PIB vote. In a political agreement that reflected the remarkable transparency of the voter registration process in Montenegro, experts from the two blocs were able to undertake a cross-check of the CVR against electronic data on citizens held by the Ministry of Interior. The cross-check identified around 5,400 eligible voters who were not on the voter register, and their names were added to the CVR. The cross-checking exercise addressed many of the PUB criticisms against the CVR and, more widely, had a notably beneficial impact on the atmosphere of the referendum process, especially between the opposing members of the RRC.

### **Campaign Environment**

The pre-referendum environment was marked by an active and generally peaceful campaign that ensured voters across the country were well-informed of the views of both sides of the referendum question. Each side respected the right of the other to express an opinion, although there were a number of instances of negative campaigning, including the use of invective personal attacks against opponents and the defacing of billboards.

There were no reports of restrictions on the fundamental civil and political rights associated with a proper campaign, including the freedoms of assembly, association and expression. Campaign activity by both blocs tended to focus on door-to-door canvassing, complemented by extensive and well-planned media advertising campaigns that ran for over four weeks. While the PUB held many small- or medium-sized rallies in most municipalities, the PIB held fewer but larger-scale events. The campaign capacities of both sides were significantly strengthened by the equal allocation of public funds that provided a balance of opportunities for campaigning, including access to advertising, however, the total amount of money spent on campaigns is expected to be much higher. In a noteworthy improvement from previous election campaigns, the leaders of both blocs took part in two TV duels, giving voters an opportunity to directly compare their arguments.

There were numerous occasions where the Montenegrin government has participated in the referendum process, especially through the issuing of policy declarations for a post-independence Montenegro. One of these declarations was widely circulated in a letter to citizens by the Prime Minister in an official envelope, blurring any distinction between the Government and the "Yes" campaign. In general, the authorities have

largely displayed support to the pro-independence campaign, but there was not excessive Government interference to unduly influence the outcome of the referendum.

National minorities were also active in the campaign, but mostly within their own communities. During the campaign period, the Assembly adopted a new law on national minorities, *inter alia*, increasing minority representation in the Assembly. The timing of the passage was described by the opposition parties as manipulation of the referendum process to secure minority vote for the independence option. Notably, one minority party was explicit in their linkage of support for the Pro-Independence Bloc with the passage of the law.

Despite the commendable efforts of some women activists in political parties in both blocs, the campaign at the national and local level was notable for the absence of women in senior positions.

### **Media Coverage**

There was extensive media coverage of the referendum, reflecting the thriving media environment in Montenegro, which has a wide availability of broadcast and print media operating within a reformed legislative and licensing framework. The OSCE/ODIHR ROM conducted qualitative and quantitative analyses of media coverage since 3 April. The TV outlets monitored during primetime (18:00-24:00) were: TVCG1, TVCG2, Elmag, IN, MBC, Montena, Pink M and Serbian public TV channel RTS. Newspapers monitored were the Montenegro-based dailies *Dan*, *Pobjeda*, *Republika*, *Vijesti* and the Serbian daily *Vecernje Novosti*.

Access to the media was afforded to both referendum options through news coverage, free airtime, television debates and paid advertisements, providing citizens with full information on the different platforms and opinions upon which they could make their choice.

All significant Montenegro-based media and some of the Serbia-based media outlets available in Montenegro signed a Code of Conduct for media in the pre-referendum period, in which they agreed to provide fair and balanced coverage of referendum issues. Public TVCG1 dedicated 17 per cent of all their primetime broadcasts to referendum issues; in contrast, Serbian public TV RTS provided just two per cent.

Overall, the public TVCG1 media complied with their legal requirement to provide equal access to both referendum options to free airtime and to provide balanced information on the referendum process. Almost two-thirds of the referendum-related news public TVCG1 was dedicated to neutral or technical issues, however, the remaining part favoured pro-independence views with over three times as much airtime as the pro-union views. To a large degree, this imbalance was caused as news reports on the activities of members of the government and other senior state officials invariably also provided opportunities for them to discuss their pro-independence views. Similarly imbalanced coverage in favour of the pro-independence campaign was seen on private IN TV and, to a lesser degree, with TV Montena and MBC. TV Elmag displayed a balanced approach in its news coverage but tended to favour pro-Union opinions in other programmes. The coverage provided on RTS and Serbian current-affairs programmes broadcast on TV Pink M was in favour of State Union.

The print media provided an even greater level of coverage on the referendum but, in contrast, most newspapers showed clear bias to one of the referendum options. While state-owned *Pobjeda* and the private *Republika* were in favour of the pro-independence option, *Dan* demonstrated strong support to the Pro-Union Bloc. Although Serbian daily *Vecernje Novosti* showed some bias in favour of the State Union, and *Vijesti* favoured independence views, both newspapers were mostly balanced. Apart from some articles with inflammatory language published in some Serbian media and at times in *Dan*, the campaign coverage in the print media – as with the broadcast media – was fair and calm.

The parliamentary committee for monitoring the campaign in the media had limited competencies and committee members tended to vote along partisan lines but, overall, it provided a useful forum for media complaints to be raised and discussed. In total, the committee reviewed 373 articles and TV programmes.

Although there was no direct campaigning in the media during the pre-referendum silence period, the ROM noted many instances of indirect support of independence such as airing PIB campaign songs on TVCG and portraying the word “DA” (Yes) in wide range of media outlets. A large picture from a PIB campaign rally was published on the front page in *Vijesti* two days before the referendum.

### **Resolution of Complaints**

Over fifty complaints relating to the referendum process were formally submitted to the RRC and/or to the public prosecutors. The majority of these complaints, almost all of them submitted on behalf of the PUB, alleged problems with voter registration and included allegations of interference by public officials in the registration process, which is a criminal act. In general, the complaints resolution and appeals process worked effectively in addressing the complaints.

Through its Working Body on Complaints, the RRC reviewed all complaints, but was usually unable to resolve them within the prescribed deadline of 72 hours, and decisions were mainly taken on the casting vote of the RRC Chairman. Where complaints alleged possible criminal acts, the RRC forwarded them to the public prosecutor. On issues related to voter registration, the complaints were forwarded to the Ministry of Justice, which supervises the maintenance of the CVR. Almost all complaints relating to the voter register were resolved or withdrawn following the cross-check of the CVR against the Ministry of Interior database.

Six PUB activists, including a member of the RRC, were detained on charges of unauthorised submission of applications in the name of persons seeking to be added to the CVR. The initial decision of an investigative judge to order two of the activists to be detained for 30 days – a decision overturned following the intervention of the state prosecutor – was disproportionate to the alleged offence.

There were numerous allegations and complaints of ‘vote-buying’ and other types of bribery or coercion against voters, especially of undue pressure placed on public employees to vote in favour of independence. Some 20 such complaints were supported by written statements of the voters concerned and forwarded to the prosecutor for investigation. Several of these complaints were rejected due to lack of substantiating evidence; 15 cases are still pending. In one high-profile case, three persons, including two PIB activists, were convicted of attempting to bribe or coerce a voter to vote for independence or not to vote and sentenced to imprisonment for periods of up to ten months.

### **Referendum Day**

Voter turnout was high at an estimated 86 per cent, reflecting the level of voter interest in the referendum. A generally calm atmosphere was reported. More than 96 per cent of the observation reports of the IROM characterized the polling day proceedings as “very good” or “good”. There were isolated cases of procedural irregularities such as ballot boxes not properly sealed in 4 per cent of polling stations visited that indicate that Polling Board members in all municipalities would benefit from further training. In Plav, the Ministry of Interior issued a small number of identification documents to enable some persons without valid documents to vote.

There were two instances – in Pljevlja and Berane – where international observers reported suspicious activities that may indicate vote-buying schemes on the part of the Pro-Independence Bloc. A number of instances were also observed of voters taking photographs of their marked ballot papers.

Measures to safeguard the integrity of voting were implemented largely in accordance with the legal requirements. Problems were identified with the application of ink before confirmation of a voter’s eligibility (13 per cent). Group voting was high, occurring at 9 per cent of polling stations observed. Also, access to polling stations for people with disabilities was noted as difficult in 31 per cent of observations.

IROM observers also evaluated the vote count in positive terms with only 2 per cent characterizing the process as “poor”. In most cases observed, procedures to safeguard the integrity of the count were implemented properly but the copies of results were not displayed immediately at some 40 per cent of polling stations. The tabulation process at the MRCs generally proceeded smoothly.

## **Domestic Observation**

A number of domestic non-partisan observer organizations, especially the Centre for Election Monitoring (CEMI) and the Centre for Democratic Transition (CDT), undertook comprehensive, long-term observation of the referendum process, extensive coverage of polling stations on polling day, quick count and partial vote tabulation. Domestic non-partisan observers were present in over 86 per cent of polling stations visited by IROM. Active participation of civil society strengthened the transparency of the referendum process.

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*This statement is also available in the local language.  
However, the English language version remains the only official document.*

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## **Mission Information and Acknowledgements**

The OSCE/ODIHR Referendum Observation Mission (ROM) opened in Podgorica on 28 March 2006 with 30 experts and long-term observers deployed in the capital and 6 regional centres. On referendum day, 365 short-term observers from 35 OSCE participating States, including 54 from the OSCE PA, 18 from the PACE, 12 from the European Parliament and 14 from the CLRAE, were deployed within the International Referendum Observation Mission (IROM). The IROM observed the polling and vote count in over 938 polling stations (84 per cent of all polling stations) throughout the country, and were present in all 21 municipal referendum commissions to observe the tabulation of results.

The OSCE/ODIHR ROM is grateful to the authorities, the Republican Referendum Commission, political parties and civil society of the Republic of Montenegro/Serbia and Montenegro for their co-operation. The ROM also wishes to express its appreciation to the OSCE Mission in Serbia and Montenegro, its Office in Podgorica, and the resident diplomatic missions of OSCE participating States and international organisations for their support.

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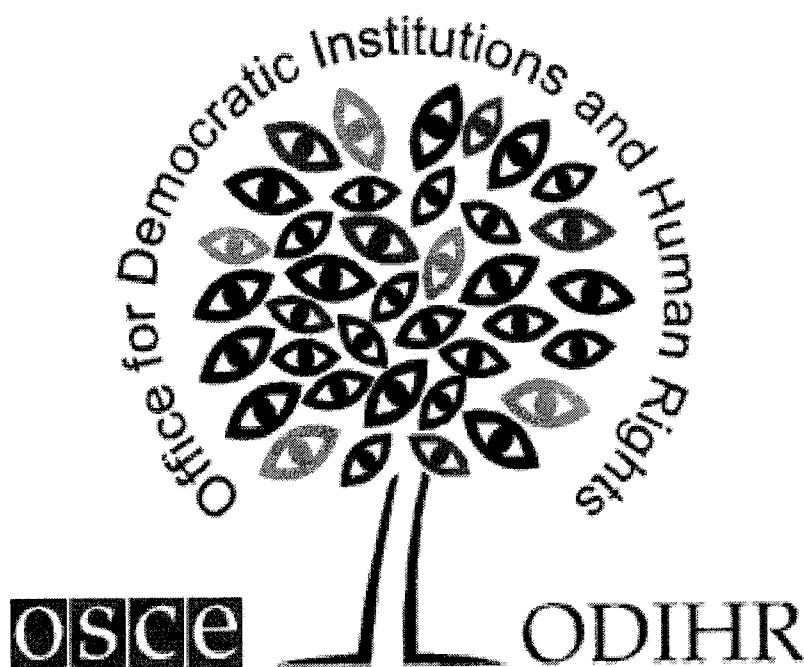
Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

## REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO

### REFERENDUM ON STATE-STATUS

21 May 2006

#### OSCE/ODIHR Referendum Observation Mission Final Report



Warsaw  
4 August 2006

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**REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO**  
**REFERENDUM ON STATE-STATUS**  
**21 May 2006**

**OSCE/ODIHR Referendum Observation Mission**  
**Final Report<sup>1</sup>**

**I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The 21 May 2006 referendum on the state-status of the Republic of Montenegro provided its citizens with a genuine opportunity to determine the future course of Montenegro as an independent state. This was achieved through a referendum process that ensured this long-standing issue could be determined peacefully, with legitimacy and certainty. Overall, the referendum was conducted in line with OSCE and other international standards related to democratic electoral processes.

The legal framework for the referendum provided a solid basis for the conduct of a referendum that respected fundamental democratic rights and, in general, met with international standards for electoral processes that apply to the holding of referenda. The 2006 special referendum law was the result of a consensus that followed political party negotiations in early 2006, and was able to maintain cross-party political support for its full implementation, including on contentious issues such as the majority requirement for the decision to be made. In a number of key areas, the special referendum law demonstrated an improvement to the wider legislative framework that govern elections in Montenegro and could serve as a model for forthcoming elections in Montenegro, as well as for any future referendums.

Throughout the referendum process, the Republican Referendum Commission (RRC) and the 21 Municipal Referendum Commissions functioned well and operated in a fully transparent manner. Equal participation by both sides in the referendum commissions, as well as the effective role played by an independent chairperson of the RRC, strengthened confidence amongst political actors in the referendum administration. Although RRC members tended to vote along partisan lines, many of the key decisions in the preparatory phase of the referendum were taken with consensus. On referendum day, there was a notable level of cooperation amongst polling board members from different sides. However, in the post-referendum period, a notably less harmonious approach was taken by members of the RRC.

The quality and accuracy of the voter registration in Montenegro are of a high standard, although practical shortcomings exist. A total of 484,718 voters were registered for the referendum, with over 21,000 names added to the voter register during the public inspection period. As with previous elections, the voter registration process was challenged by opposition political parties. However, significant transparency afforded the inspection of relevant data on the eligibility of citizens to vote. This increased cross-party confidence in the accuracy of voter lists, and addressed many of the complaints that had been submitted.

The competitive pre-referendum environment was marked by an active and generally peaceful campaign that ensured that voters across the country were well-informed of both

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<sup>1</sup> During the preparation of this report, the authorities of Montenegro scheduled the parliamentary and municipal elections for 10 September 2006.

viewpoints reflected by the referendum question. While both referendum options utilized extensive and well-planned media advertising campaigns and rallies, campaign activity tended to focus on door-to-door canvassing. The quality of the campaign benefited from a number of televised debates between political leaders and significant public funding. Both referendum options respected the right of the other to express an opinion, although there were a number of instances of negative campaigning and government involvement in the campaign of the pro-independence option. There were no reports of restrictions on fundamental civil and political rights.

Broadcast and print media provided voters with diverse views and enabled them to make informed choices between distinct alternatives. An effective regulatory framework for the campaign period contributed towards more balanced opportunities for equal coverage, with the public broadcast media offering equal free airtime to both referendum options. The public TVCG1 gave overall equal access to both campaigns but favoured to an extent pro-independence views in news coverage. Print media often showed partiality for either pro-independence or pro-union campaigns, and occasionally published inflammatory news-reports. Although there was no direct campaigning in the media during the pre-referendum silence period, many instances of indirect support of independence were noted.

Over fifty complaints were submitted to the RRC and/or to the public prosecutors before the referendum-day. Most complaints related to alleged problems with the voter register but some 20 claimed criminal acts, including pressure on employees, to vote in favour of independence or to not vote. One high-profile conviction resulted in the imprisonment of pro-independence activists for vote-buying activities. In general, the complaints resolution and appeals process worked effectively; however, during the post-referendum period the procedures proved to be more problematic. The transparency of the referendum was significantly strengthened by an active participation of civil society groups and domestic non-partisan observers.

Voter turnout on 21 May was at 86.5 per cent, reflecting high voter interest in the referendum. Polling on referendum day proceeded smoothly, with a generally calm atmosphere. International observers characterized the polling day proceedings as “very good” or “good” in more than 96 per cent of observation reports. The procedures for the counting of votes and tabulation of results were assessed in a similarly positive manner. Isolated cases of procedural irregularities were noted and in two instances, there were circumstances that indicated vote-buying schemes. Following the announcement of preliminary results, some 210 complaints were submitted by the pro-union bloc, the majority of which related to the voter register. All complaints were dismissed by the RRC using the casting vote of its chairperson.

Final results were announced on 31 May. With 55.5 per cent of valid votes being cast in favour of independence, the referendum was passed. The Montenegrin parliament acknowledged the decision of the referendum on 3 June and declared Montenegro to be independent.

The OSCE/ODIHR stands ready to continue its support for the efforts of Montenegrin authorities, political parties and civil society to further improve electoral practices in Montenegro.

## II. INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Following invitations to observe the 21 May 2006 referendum on state-status, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) deployed a Referendum Observation Mission (ROM) in the Republic of Montenegro on 28 March 2006. The OSCE/ODIHR ROM, headed by Mr. Jørgen Grunnet (Denmark), consisted of 29 experts and long-term observers (LTOs) based in Podgorica and six other regional centres covering all 21 municipalities in Montenegro. The OSCE/ODIHR ROM closed operations on 2 June following the announcement of final results on 31 May.

For observation of referendum day, the OSCE/ODIHR ROM joined efforts with the observer delegations of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CLRAE) and the European Parliament (EP) to form an International Referendum Observation Mission (IROM). Professor Nevzat Yalçıntaş (Turkey), Head of the OSCE PA delegation, was appointed by the OSCE Chairman-in-Office as Special Coordinator to lead the Short-Term OSCE Observer Mission. On referendum day, 365 short-term observers from 35 OSCE participating States, including 54 from the OSCE PA, 18 from the PACE, 12 from the European Parliament and 14 from the CLRAE, were deployed within the IROM.

The OSCE/ODIHR ROM assessed compliance of the referendum process with OSCE commitments and other international standards for democratic electoral processes, and domestic legislation. This final report follows a statement of preliminary findings and conclusions which was released at a press conference on 22 May 2006, and is available on the OSCE/ODIHR website ([www.osce.org/odihr](http://www.osce.org/odihr)), as are the reports of the previous observations missions deployed by the OSCE/ODIHR since 1997.

The OSCE/ODIHR ROM is grateful to the authorities, the Republican Referendum Commission, political parties and civil society of the Republic of Montenegro for their co-operation. The ROM also wishes to express its appreciation to the OSCE Mission in Serbia and Montenegro, its Office in Montenegro, and the resident diplomatic missions of OSCE participating States and international organisations for their support.

## III. REFERENDUM CONTEXT

The 21 May 2006 referendum on the state-status of the Republic of Montenegro addressed the long-standing issue as to whether Montenegro should be an independent state or remain in the State Union with Serbia. The referendum provided an opportunity for the citizens of Montenegro to determine the future of their state's status through a genuine exercise in direct democracy that ensured the decision on independence was taken peacefully and with legitimacy and certainty.

The State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was established in 2002 by the "Belgrade Agreement" as the successor state to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Constitutional Charter of the State Union placed *inter alia* a three-year moratorium on the holding of any referendum on independence by either member of the State Union. Following the expiry of that moratorium, the Government of Montenegro indicated its intention to hold a referendum

for Montenegro to leave the State Union and to become an independent state with full international and legal personality.

The political landscape in Montenegro has long been characterised by deep polarisation on the issue of independence versus union with Serbia, that was reflected in the differences between political parties. The independence of Montenegro had been the key platform of the ruling Party of Democratic Socialists (DPS) and its coalition partners in recent elections. The parliamentary opposition, led by the Socialist Peoples' Party (SNP), strongly opposed independence. To some extent, political opinions on independence also echoed the diverse demographic composition of the approximately 670,000 members of the Montenegrin population<sup>2</sup>.

Such divisions were reflected in a lack of consensus between political actors on the conditions for the conduct of a referendum on state-status. To address this impasse, the European Union (EU) High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Mr. Javier Solana, appointed a Special Envoy, Ambassador Miroslav Lajcak (Slovakia), to lead negotiations on reaching an agreement. A framework on the conditions for the referendum was agreed in February 2006, with compromises being found on all contentious issues, including the majority requirements for the referendum to pass, and politically balanced referendum administration led by an independent chairperson. It was notable that there was wide, cross-party support to the agreed framework for the referendum throughout the campaign period.

The legal framework for the referendum provided for two separate blocs to campaign on the referendum question. The pro-independence bloc (PIB) was composed of the ruling DPS, led by Prime Minister Milo Djukanović, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA), the Democratic League of Montenegro (DSCG), the Liberal Party (LP), the Civic Party (GS) and the Bosniak Party (BP). The Pro-Union Bloc (PUB) was made up of political parties that form the parliamentary opposition, and were led by the SNP of Mr. Predrag Bulatović, the People's Party (NS), the Serbian People's Party (SNS) and the Democratic Serbian Party (DSS). The PUB also included a newly established coalition of Bosniak non-governmental organizations. The referendum was given a further political impetus by the fact that parliamentary elections, as well as a number of key municipal elections, were foreseen for autumn of 2006.

#### **IV. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE REFERENDUM**

##### **A. APPLICABLE LEGISLATION**

The constitutional basis for the referendum was provided by the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003) and the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro (1992), both of which required for a referendum to be held to effect any change in the state-status of the Republic. The 1992 Constitution (Articles 2 and 119) contained provisions where there could have been different interpretations on whether a decision by a referendum to change state-status was immediately binding or still required the approval of parliament.

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<sup>2</sup> According to the 2003 census, Montenegro consists of around 40 per cent Montenegrins, 30 per cent Serbs, 14 per cent Bosniaks and Muslims, 7 per cent Albanians, 1 per cent Croats and 1 per cent Roma.

The framework for the referendum was established by a *lex specialis*, the Law on the Referendum on State Legal Status (LRSLs), which was adopted by the Parliament of Montenegro on 1 March 2006 following the extensive consultations between the two sides of the referendum issue. In areas not covered by the LRSLs, provisions from a series of other laws applied, including the Law on Referendums (2001), the Law on the Election of Councillors and Representatives ('the Election Law') (2000, as amended) and the Law on Voter Registers (2000), as well as relevant decisions of the Constitutional Court and the Republican Referendum Commission (RRC).

## **B. ASSESSMENT OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

The special legal framework for the referendum on state-status provided a solid basis for the conduct of a referendum process that respected fundamental democratic rights and, in general, met international standards for electoral processes that apply to the holding of referenda. However, for forthcoming elections in Montenegro, as well as for any future referenda, there remain a number of key areas where legislation can be improved.

The LRSLs placed two criteria for a decision in favour of the independence to be considered as valid. The minimum turnout requirement that at least 50 per cent of registered voters participate in the referendum, and the qualified majority requirement that 55 per cent of valid votes needed to be cast for the 'yes' option. Such referendum conditions reflected the political consensus within Montenegro that a decision for independence warranted a greater degree of support than a simple majority vote. From a political perspective, the '55 per cent' requirement also meant that the outcome of the referendum could not be considered as a foregone conclusion, thus discouraging boycotts. While the LRSLs did not directly address whether the referendum would have a binding effect, a legal challenge that the referendum would still require the approval of parliament was dismissed by the Constitutional Court shortly before the referendum.<sup>3</sup>

Overall, however, the LRSLs addressed the significant issues surrounding the conduct of the referendum and effectively regulated the establishment of the referendum administration bodies, the financing of campaign expenses, the conduct of the campaign, its coverage by the media and the rights of observer groups. In a number of key areas, the LRSLs demonstrated an improvement to the wider legislative frameworks that govern elections in Montenegro by containing many provisions that guaranteed cross-party participation in the referendum process and enabled both sides to compete with each other on a generally equal basis. These included equal representation on referendum administration bodies from both sides of the referendum, the allocation of equal amounts of public funds for each campaign and a requirement for the Montenegrin media to be informative, objective and neutral. There were also explicit restrictions on the role of public officials or state bodies or the use of public resources in support of either side's campaign. The referendum question placed by the LRSLs was clear and ensured that all voters were able to express their choice without ambiguity.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The claim, submitted to the Constitutional Court by the Movement for the Preservation of the State-Union, asserted that the LRSLs contravened Article 119 of the Constitution. This provision could be interpreted as requiring a two-thirds majority vote of parliament, as well as a referendum vote, for a change in state-status to be valid. In contrast, Article 2 of the Constitution specifically states that "any change in the status...shall be decided only by citizens in a referendum". The Court held that Article 2 prevailed.

<sup>4</sup> The stipulated question was "Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent state with full international and legal personality?" (LRSLs Art.5)

Nevertheless, there were shortcomings in the legal framework for the referendum. Although the complaints and appeals procedures established by the 2000 Election Law are generally satisfactory, they provide unrealistic timeframes and unclear deadlines for the submission and resolution of disputes relating to the referendum process. This proved particularly problematic during the post-referendum phase.

The polling procedures, also outlined in the 2000 Election Law, contain a number of mandatory reasons for the dissolution of a polling board and the holding of repeated voting. Although in fact there was no instance where a polling board was dissolved or where repeat voting was required, the Election Law provides too many possibilities for such events to take place; indeed, many of the stipulated reasons are minor (e.g. the presence of campaign material within 50 metres of a polling station) and all could be more effectively addressed through other means rather than obliging the immediate dissolution of a polling board. Furthermore, there is also no legal provision to allow for a formal recounting of votes if a discrepancy in the results is identified. The 2001 Law on Referendums applied a restrictive method on how a ballot paper should be marked, requiring an option to be circled, which potentially could have invalidated ballot papers even in cases where the intention of a voter was otherwise clear.

Although the provisions of the LRSLs were only applicable to the referendum on state-status, many of the measures it contained could be incorporated into electoral legislation in order to improve the conduct of electoral processes, including any future referenda, in Montenegro.<sup>5</sup> In particular, there should be a review of the legal framework for the composition of election administration bodies, the transparency of campaign finance and the conduct of the campaign and media. Moreover, there remain a number of shortcomings in the 2000 Election Law that relate specifically to parliamentary and municipal elections that have not been addressed by the Montenegrin authorities.<sup>6</sup>

## **V. ADMINISTRATION OF THE REFERENDUM**

### **A. STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE REFERENDUM ADMINISTRATION**

The referendum was conducted by a three-tiered administration established by the LRSLs: the RRC, 21 municipal referendum commissions (MRCs) and 1,118 polling boards (PBs). This *ad hoc* structure for the referendum was similar to that which is used for the administration of elections in Montenegro. As agreed during the negotiations on the conduct of the referendum and in accordance with the LRSLs, the 16 members of the RRC, ten

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<sup>5</sup> Many of the measures adopted by the LRSLs had previously been identified as recommendations in the final reports of OSCE/ODIHR election observation missions in Montenegro (see OSCE/ODIHR final reports on the May 2001 parliamentary elections, the May 2002 municipal elections, the October 2002 early parliamentary elections and the May 2003 presidential election) as well as assessments on referendum legislation (see 2001 assessments of the Law on Referendums and the draft Laws on Referendums).

<sup>6</sup> Key recommendations contained in the OSCE/ODIHR final reports on the 2001 and 2002 parliamentary elections and the 2002 municipal elections that have not yet been addressed by the Montenegrin authorities relate to (a) the distribution and ownership of elected mandates (b) the rights of independent candidates (c) a guarantee for political plurality in the permanent composition of election administration bodies (d) a clearer definition of the rights and duties of members of election administration bodies (e) the allocation of assembly seats to be calculated in relation to the total number of valid votes cast.



members of each MRC and six members of each PB were equally shared between the two blocs. The LRSLS also prescribed methods for ensuring that there was an equal distribution of the chairpersons for MRCs and PBs between the two sides.

Ensuring such a balanced representation strengthened confidence amongst political actors in the impartiality of the referendum administration at every level. This was reinforced by the appointment of an independent RRC chairperson with the right to use a casting vote in the case of a tied decision between RRC members.<sup>7</sup>

In a further innovation to address potentially contentious issues, two *ad hoc* parliamentary committees – one to monitor media and the other to monitor campaign financing – were established with equal representation from each bloc. Both committees played a useful role in assessing and reporting on compliance by blocs and media outlets with their legal requirements.

## **B. ASSESSMENT OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE REFERENDUM**

The RRC and MRCs met frequently and operated in an open and transparent manner throughout the process, providing full access to their meetings for observers and media. The RRC generally functioned well, taking the required decisions on all major issues relating to procedures and administrative arrangements. However, some key decisions (e.g. the method for the marking of valid ballots) were taken at a late stage in the process, while other delays were caused by prolonged and often unnecessary debates between RRC members that tended to focus along partisan lines.

Most of the important decisions of the RRC during the pre-referendum period were taken by consensus. Both sides displayed a continued commitment throughout the process to actively participate in the referendum administration at every level. In particular, RRC members were observed to adopt a notably more professional and consensual approach to their work in the two weeks preceding referendum day following an agreement to allow a wider cross-check of voter registration data.

However, the RRC also needed to take decisions that had been referred to the Commission following tied vote at the MRC level where there was no casting vote; for example, when in Danilovgrad, MRC members could not agree on the location of some polling stations. Furthermore, there were three instances of temporary boycotts, while a much less harmonious approach was taken by RRC members in the post-referendum period.<sup>8</sup> In general, boycotts would have been regarded as an ineffective tactic as the LRSLS provided that all referendum administration bodies could take decisions with a 50 per cent quorum and so could function legally even with the representatives of just one of the two sides being present.

The RRC adopted rules of procedure for its meetings and provided draft regulations for MRCs to adopt. However, there were inadequately defined rights and duties for RRC and

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<sup>7</sup> An independent person, Dr. Frantisek Lipka from Slovakia, was appointed as RRC chairperson by Parliament with all-party consensus on 16 March 2006. He was supported by two independent technical advisers.

<sup>8</sup> Prior to the referendum day, PUB representatives on the RRC withdrew from one meeting in protest against the arrest of one its appointees to the RRC and detention of other activists on charges of unauthorised submission of voter registration applications, but returned immediately upon their release. There were also short-term boycotts by the PUB representatives on the parliamentary media committee and on the Niksic MRC.

MRC members. Concern was expressed at the lack of guidelines for the professional behaviour for members of the referendum administration, many of whom continued to participate in partisan or personal activities that created potential conflicts of interest to their public role. Referendum officials were not provided with sufficient professional or technical training on their work and, in particular, the training provided to PB members was inconsistent and could have been substantially improved in its quality. In contrast to best international practice, there was no legal requirement for the RRC or any other neutral body to provide voter education initiatives to promote public awareness on citizens' rights related to suffrage and the procedures for polling.

Some concern was expressed over whether the issue of the method for marking valid ballots – by which an option needed to be 'circled' – would create problems for polling boards to determine the validity of a ballot paper. A decision by the RRC on 17 May tried to address this issue by giving broad guidelines on what constituted a valid mark. The decision also instructed that those ballot papers, the validity of which could not be determined, should be classified by PBs as 'questionable ballots' to be checked by MRCs. Such a classification was not provided for in law and required last-minute changes to the instructions on counting procedures issued to PB and MRC members and other stakeholders.

Overall, the work of the referendum administration, while successful, highlighted the need to reform the administrative structures for elections and referendums in Montenegro, including a need for a professional secretariat that has technical expertise in administering all aspects of the electoral process.

## **VI. VOTER REGISTRATION**

### **A. THE RIGHT TO VOTE**

The right to vote in the referendum was afforded by the LRSLS to those voters who normally enjoy suffrage for presidential and parliamentary elections in Montenegro: an eligible voter was one aged over 18 years, who held Montenegrin citizenship and who had been permanently resident in Montenegro for a period of at least 24 months. By law, these qualifications meant that an eligible voter also included any Serbian citizen with a permanent residence in Montenegro for the same period, as well as a Montenegrin citizen who was temporarily resident in Serbia or abroad but who had retained a registered permanent residence at an address in Montenegro.

There are estimated to be several hundred thousand Montenegrins who are registered as permanently resident in Serbia but they were not eligible to vote in the referendum. Although this exclusion was criticised by pro-union activists, it would have created a wholly different electorate for the referendum compared to elections for republic institutions in Montenegro and would have included persons who otherwise held the right to vote in Serbian elections.

A total of 484,718 voters were registered to take part in the referendum, a significant increase in the number of registered voters from previous elections. In a reflection of the major public interest in the referendum, more than 16,000 names of registered voters were added to the Central Voter Register (CVR) during the public inspection period between 3 March and 25 April. Around 5,400 more names of registered voters were then added during a 10-day period when appeals to be added to the CVR could be made to the Administrative Court.

## **B. ASSESSMENT OF VOTER REGISTRATION PROCEDURES**

The registration of voters in Montenegro is a passive system, whereby the names of eligible voters are included based on information provided *ex officio* by the Ministry of Interior (MI) and municipalities and citizens are entitled to check their registered status to announce possible inaccuracies. The 2000 Law on Voter Registers provides for high levels of transparency to the voter registration process, enabling members of the public as well as political parties to inspect voter registration data and to request additions or other changes if they were needed. However, access is generally provided only through electronic data records and transparency could be even further strengthened if the voter register was published in printed formats and made available or displayed at convenient public locations.

Political parties were also provided with the opportunity to inspect the paper records of the MI at the municipal level in order to cross-check the eligibility of registered voters. As with previous elections in Montenegro, the quality of the CVR was routinely challenged by the political parties within PUB, who alleged a series of inaccuracies in the data of registered voters which they claimed would adversely and deliberately affect their supporters or otherwise benefit the PIB.

On 4 May, following a notable political agreement between the government and representatives of the opposition, a cross-check took place between the CVR and a centralised electronic database held by the MI on permanent residence.<sup>9</sup> The cross-check, performed by technical experts from both blocs, identified around 5,500 eligible voters who were not on the register and some 6,800 entries of names not existing in the MI database. The names added to the CVR by the Administrative Court appeared to resolve almost all of these problem cases. The cross-checking exercise directly addressed many of the PUB criticisms against the CVR and, more widely, had a notably beneficial impact on the atmosphere of the referendum process, especially between the opposing members of the RRC.

The voter registration process in Montenegro can be considered to have a considerable level of accuracy, although practical shortcomings exist. The procedures that must be followed by voters seeking to prove their eligibility to be included on the CVR, or for removing deceased persons, are unclear and inconsistent between different municipalities. Similarly, the procedures for citizens to keep the MI informed of changes in their residence status, which is crucial data for an accurate CVR, are often cumbersome and prone to delay.

## **VII. CAMPAIGN AND PRE-REFERENDUM ENVIRONMENT**

The pre-referendum environment was marked by an active and generally peaceful campaign that ensured voters across the country were well-informed of the views of both referendum campaigns. Each side respected the right of the other to express an opinion, although there were a number of instances of negative campaigning, including the use of invective personal attacks against opponents, the defacing of billboards and inflammatory graffiti.

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<sup>9</sup> The database of permanent residence has been not formally established and the MI publicly acknowledged that it should not necessarily be considered as an accurate or comprehensive record. Access to the database had been demanded by the political parties within PUB for several years.

There were no reports of restrictions on the fundamental civil and political rights associated with a proper campaign, including the freedoms of assembly, association and expression. Campaign activity by both blocs tended to focus on door-to-door canvassing. This technique was acknowledged as being the key part of the political campaign by all major parties. Door-to-door campaigning began immediately after the passage of the referendum law, and was reportedly used to assess the accuracy of the voter list, and to identify voter's needs, as well as the voting intentions.

Both referendum campaigns utilized extensive and well-planned media advertising that ran for over four weeks. Clear campaign platforms emerged, with both sides claiming their victory would accelerate Montenegro's integration into the European Union. This issue took on special significance after the EU suspended negotiations on a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with the State Union in the middle of the campaign because of a failure by the Government of Serbia to arrest persons indicted by the International Criminal Court. The PUB highlighted the social, economic and cultural benefits of continued union with Serbia. The PIB campaign focused on endorsements by ordinary citizens as well as well-known personalities from the field of sports, entertainment and culture. Extensive use was made of images of famous areas of natural beauty as well as historical references. The PUB campaign made use of both historical references and markedly youth-oriented imagery but some pro-union activists made explicit efforts to linking a "No" vote with the defeat of the incumbent government including highly negative personal attacks against the Prime Minister.

While the PUB held many small- or medium-sized rallies in most municipalities, the PIB held five large-scale events. The campaign capacities of both sides were significantly strengthened by the equal allocation of €1,000,000 each in public funds that provided a balance of opportunities for campaigning, including access to advertising. The total amount of money spent on campaigns appeared to have been much higher. In general, the mechanisms for accounting either side's income and expenditure for the campaign failed to guarantee sufficient transparency. The ad hoc parliamentary committee of campaign financing delayed the release of public funds to the two blocs for their campaigns for over three weeks until it adopted its rules of procedure on 3 April but there was no complaint that this adversely affected the start-up of either side's campaign.

In a noteworthy improvement from previous election campaigns, the leaders of both blocs met in two TV debates, giving voters an opportunity to directly compare their arguments. Furthermore, key figures in both blocs took part in a series of weekly debates on both state-funded and private television channels, providing the public with a range of perspectives on the state-status issue.

The Montenegrin government participated in the referendum process on a number of occasions, especially through the issuing of policy declarations for a post-independence Montenegro. One of these declarations was widely circulated in a letter to citizens by the Prime Minister in an official envelope. This exercise blurred the distinction between the Government and the "Yes" campaign. In general, the authorities largely displayed support to the pro-independence campaign, but there was not excessive Government interference in the campaign. Overall, the legal requirements of campaigning contained in the LRSLS were respected by all actors involved in the campaign.

## VIII. MEDIA COVERAGE

### A. MEDIA LANDSCAPE

Montenegrin citizens, especially those residing in the urban and coastal areas, have access to information from a wide range of media outlets. There are four Montenegro-based daily newspapers and over 70 television and radio channels, including some 20 which function as public broadcasters. Since 2002, an improved media framework has been introduced, which has ensured broadcasters require a proper license and are supervised by the state Broadcasting Agency. Overall, despite the thriving nature of the media landscape, there remain ongoing challenges to strengthen technical resources and improve the quality and professionalism of journalism. The national public broadcaster, RTCG, was often criticised by political parties within the PUB for an alleged lack of impartiality.

### B. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The legal framework for the coverage of the referendum campaign in the media was comprehensively governed by LRSLS. It provided citizens with the right to be informed in a truthful, timely and unbiased manner, under equitable terms, about the referendum process and different referendum options. The LRSLS also required media to provide assistance to voters in making an informed choice through specific information programs and public debates in which both referendum campaigns would take part. The public broadcast media were under an obligation to provide equal presentation to the different referendum options and to publish and adopt regulations on their coverage of the campaign, and all outlets did so before the launch of campaign activities.

The LRSLS also appealed to all privately-owned media, as well as any foreign media available in Montenegro, to adopt a Code of Conduct that promoted fair and equal coverage of the referendum campaign. A Code of Conduct was prepared by a civil society group, the Association of the Independent Electronic Media of Montenegro, and committed its signatories to respecting principles of independence, impartiality, fairness and balance in the coverage of the referendum campaign. The Code of Conduct was signed by all significant Montenegrin media outlets, including all public broadcasters, as did about one third of Serbian media outlets available in Montenegro, including the public broadcaster RTS and three daily newspapers.

The ad hoc parliamentary committee on monitoring the media coverage of the referendum was established on 15 March. The LRSLS provided the committee with the power to receive complaints of non-compliance with legal requirements and, where proven, to issue warnings which media outlets were obliged to publish. Significantly, the committee provided a useful forum for discussions on media related issues and granted both representatives from both blocs an opportunity to articulate their concerns and perception of the campaign developments in the media. In all but one of the 373 cases it reviewed, the representatives from both blocs voted along partisan lines.<sup>10</sup> The work of the committee was temporarily suspended for seven days following a disagreement that led to a boycott by PUB representatives.

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<sup>10</sup> There was consensus between the committee members on a complaint against the publicly-funded newspaper *Pobjeda* which contained offensive language in a headline.

## C. MEDIA MONITORING

From 3 April 2006 to the start of the campaign silence period on 19 May, the OSCE/ODIHR ROM conducted qualitative and quantitative analyses of primetime broadcasts (18:00 till 24:00) on the two public television channels (TVCG1 and TVCG2) as well as six private TV channels available in large parts of Montenegro (Elmag, IN, MBC, Montena, Pink M) as well as Serbian public TV channel RTS. Four daily Montenegro-based newspapers (*Dan*, *Pobjeda*, *Republika*, and *Vijesti*) as well as the Serbian daily *Vecernje Novosti* were also monitored.

All media outlets provided coverage on the campaign and on the issue of the future status of Montenegro, while access to the media was afforded to both referendum campaigns through news coverage, free airtime and paid advertisements. The media provided voters with a real opportunity to receive full information on the different platforms and opinions upon which they could make their choice in the referendum. However, no media carried adequate levels of voter education.

The public broadcast media produced a series of special free-of-charge programmes, which featured the platforms of both sides of the referendum. Monitoring of the media output during the referendum campaign indicated that TVCG1 dedicated over 17 per cent of its primetime coverage to referendum issues. In contrast, only 2 per cent of the airtime on RTS and TVCG2 was given to the referendum.

Total referendum-related coverage in prime-time broadcasts (18:00 – 24:00) of 8 monitored TV channels

TV Channels	RTCG 1	RTCG2	Elmag	IN	Montena	MBC	Pink	RTS
Referendum coverage (primetime broadcasts)	17%	2%	5%	14%	11%	15%	6%	2%

In general, the public broadcast media complied with their legal requirement to provide equal access to both referendum options for free airtime and to provide balanced information on the referendum process. Over two-thirds of the referendum related news on public TVCG was dedicated to covering neutral or technical issues. However, there was an imbalance in the remaining news coverage, with 24 per cent of airtime being provided to pro-independence views compared to 8 per cent for pro-union viewpoints. To a large degree, this imbalance was caused as news reports on the activities of members of the government and other senior state officials invariably also provided opportunities for them to discuss their pro-independence views.

Coverage of referendum issues in the primetime newscasts of monitored TV channels<sup>11</sup>

	RTCG1	RTCG2	Elmag	IN	MBC	Montena	RTS
Pro-Independence	24%	20%	26%	38%	40%	34%	12%
Neutral	68%	70%	55%	51%	47%	51%	61%
Pro-Union	8%	10%	19%	11%	13%	15%	27%

Similar reasons for imbalanced news coverage that favoured the pro-independence campaign was seen on the private channels IN, Montena and MBC. TV Elmag displayed a balanced approach in its news coverage but tended to favour pro-Union opinions in other programmes.

<sup>11</sup> TV Pink M did not air news programs.

The coverage provided on RTS and Serbian programmes broadcast on TV Pink M was rather more limited in time but favoured the state-union. During the campaign a number of TV channels, including TVCG, Montena and IN aired music clips that strongly reiterated the theme of Montenegrin sovereignty.

The print media provided an even greater level of coverage on the referendum but, in contrast, most newspapers showed clear bias to one of the referendum options. While *Republika* and to an extent the state-controlled *Pobjeda* showed bias in favour of the pro-independence option, *Dan* demonstrated clear bias to the Pro-Union Bloc. Although the Serbian daily *Vecernje Novosti* dedicated more space in favour of the state-union, and *Vijesti* favoured independence views especially at the end of campaign period, both newspapers were mostly balanced in their coverage of the referendum options in comparison with other three monitored newspapers.

Coverage of referendum issues in the monitored newspapers

	<i>Dan</i>	<i>Pobjeda</i>	<i>Republika</i>	<i>Vecernje Novosti</i>	<i>Vijesti</i>
Pro-Independence	9%	40%	45%	16%	37%
Neutral	43%	46%	50%	47%	47%
Pro-Union	48%	14%	5%	37%	16%

The media were obliged to provide participants of the referendum campaign with equal prices for paid campaigning and advertising. Paid advertisements were launched in the media on 10 April. The pro-independence campaign used significantly more television advertising – over two thirds of all paid advertisements on the monitored TV channels were for PIB. In contrast, the PUB focused its paid advertising campaign in the print media.

Apart from a few articles with inflammatory language published in some Serbian media and at times in *Dan*, the campaign coverage in the print media – as with the broadcast media – was fair and calm. In the post-referendum period, *Dan* published the names of persons it alleged were responsible for violations of the law even though it undertook no attempt to verify the truth of allegations.

No direct campaigning was monitored in the media during the pre-referendum silence period, but instances were noted of indirect support for the pro-independence campaign. *Vijesti* published a front-page picture of a PIB campaign rally on the first day of the campaign silence period.

## IX. RESOLUTION OF PRE-REFERENDUM COMPLAINTS

### A. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS

The LRSLS (Art. 32) provided specific powers to the RRC to address complaints related to the misuse of state resources or public office. The procedures for submitting other complaints on the referendum process that alleged violations of the law or for lodging an appeal against a decision of an administrative body were governed by the 2000 Election Law and other administrative or civil legislation. Allegations of criminal acts could be referred for investigation to the police or the public prosecutor. Criminal charges against alleged violators could also be brought directly by an aggrieved citizen.

It is notable that a significantly higher number of formal complaints were submitted during the pre-referendum period than in previous elections, including allegations of criminal behaviour. In general, the available mechanisms provided a satisfactory framework for resolving disputes within the referendum administration. However, there remain shortcomings in the procedures by which complaints related to other authorities can be resolved within an appropriate timeframe, in particular on issues related to the voter register, which is supervised by the Ministry of Justice.

## **B. PRE-REFERENDUM COMPLAINTS**

Over fifty complaints relating to the pre-referendum period were formally submitted to the RRC and/or to the public prosecutors. The majority of these complaints, almost all of them were submitted on behalf of the PUB, alleged problems with voter registration and included allegations of interference by public officials in the registration process. Almost all complaints relating to the voter register were resolved or withdrawn following the cross-check of the CVR against the Ministry of Interior database. No complaint on CVR was submitted in the two-week period that followed the cross-checking exercise on 4 May.

In general, the complaints resolution and appeals process, including the court system, worked effectively in addressing the complaints. Through its Working Body on Complaints, the RRC reviewed all complaints, but was usually unable to resolve them within the prescribed deadline of 72 hours, and decisions were mainly taken on the casting vote of the RRC Chairman.

On issues related to voter registration, the complaints were forwarded to the Ministry of Justice, which supervises the maintenance of the CVR. Where complaints alleged possible criminal acts, the RRC forwarded them to the public prosecutor. There were numerous allegations and complaints of 'vote-buying' and other types of bribery or coercion against voters, especially of undue pressure placed on public employees to vote in favour of independence. Some 20 such complaints were supported by written statements of the voters concerned and forwarded to the prosecutor for investigation. In one high-profile case, three persons, including two PIB activists, were convicted of attempting to bribe or coerce a voter to vote for independence or not to vote and sentenced to imprisonment for periods of up to ten months.

In a separate development, six PUB activists, including a member of the RRC, were detained on charges of unauthorised submission of applications in the name of persons seeking to be added to the CVR. The initial decision of an investigative judge to order two of the activists to be detained for 30 days – a decision overturned following the intervention of the state prosecutor – seemed disproportionate to the alleged offence. At the time of the closure of the Referendum Observation Mission, this case was still pending judicial resolution. In three other cases, PUB representatives brought criminal charges against MI and municipal officials alleging deliberate registration of ineligible voters and deregistration of eligible voters. Regrettably, the Montenegrin authorities did not publish a Code of Conduct for the behaviour of public servants, including police officers, during the referendum period.



## **X. PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE REFERENDUM**

Political parties representing national minorities or members of minority communities in mainstream parties played an active role in the campaign, but mostly within their own communities. However, representatives of some Bosniak and Albanian parties did take a prominent role in public rallies. The profile of minorities in the media campaign, however, remained low. An analysis of the representation of minorities during a segment on state television dedicated to media events of the two referendum options indicated that national minority representatives appeared in approximately 14 per cent of PIB press conferences and only 2 per cent of equivalent PUB events.

During the campaign period, the Montenegrin parliament adopted a new law on national minorities, *inter alia*, establishing a mechanism which increases guaranteed parliamentary representation for national minorities in future elections. This significant legislation had been under discussion for almost three years, but was finally debated by parliament shortly before the referendum vote. The timing of the passage was criticised by the political parties within PUB and one civil society group as manipulation to secure minority vote for the pro-independence option. Notably, two minority parties were explicit in linking their offer of support to the PIB campaign with the passage of the law.

Representatives of national minorities were represented on the RRC, but otherwise only on other levels of the referendum administration where their communities were concentrated. The provision of bilingual referendum materials – in Serbian/Montenegrin and Albanian – was only made available in the specially designated polling stations and not in all areas where Albanian is spoken by the local community.

## **XI. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE REFERENDUM**

Despite the commendable efforts of some women activists in political parties in both blocs, the campaign at the national and local level was notable for the absence of women in senior positions. The media profile of women demonstrated a more complex picture, with images of women fully utilized by both blocs in their advertising campaign but fewer instances of women playing a role at media events for either bloc.

The signing of a declaration on gender equality, specifically aiming to increase women's representation in local and republic level parliaments, by all political party leaders (all of whom are male) during the campaign was greeted by women political party activists as a success in terms of their lobbying efforts. However, there was considerable scepticism that it will be fully implemented.

The representation of women in the RRC and MRCs was low and was particularly poor in rural and minority areas but notably higher in the coastal municipalities of Tivat and Kotor. Two of the RRC members and four MRC chairpersons were women. There were no women PB members in over 36 per cent of the polling stations visited by international observers, while only 14 per cent of polling stations had more than 2 women PB members. A woman was PB chairperson in just 12 per cent of polling stations visited.

## **XII. DOMESTIC NON-PARTISAN OBSERVERS**

Montenegro has a well-established civil society including a number of organisations – such as the Centre for Election Monitoring (CEMI) and the Centre for Democratic Transition (CDT) – that have extensive experience in non-partisan election observation. Such active public participation, with domestic observer groups undertaking comprehensive, long-term observation of the referendum process, extensive coverage of polling stations on polling day, quick count and partial vote tabulation, strengthened the transparency and public credibility of the referendum process. Domestic non-partisan observers were present in over 86 per cent of polling stations visited by international observers.

## **XIII. POLLING ON REFERENDUM DAY – 21 MAY 2006**

### **A. OVERVIEW**

Polling on referendum day proceeded smoothly. A generally calm atmosphere was reported and there was a high voter turnout of 86.4 per cent, reflecting the level of voter interest in the referendum.

International observers visited 959 (86 per cent) of the polling stations in all 21 municipalities in Montenegro, with over 1,130 separate observations of voting at polling stations, 130 openings and 105 reports on close and counts. In most cases, international observers accompanied PB members for the transfer of materials at the MRCs. Designated international observer teams were present in all 21 MRCs during the tabulation process. A few instances of homebound voting were also observed.

The equal representation of activists from both sides of the referendum as PB members ensured that there was full transparency and participation in the polling process. There was no recorded instance of a boycott by PB members and international observers reported that there was a generally close cooperation between PB members at all times.

### **B. POLLING PROCEDURES**

Polling was positively evaluated by international observers, with 96.6 per cent of polling stations visited being assessed as “good” or “very good”. In only 3.3 per cent of visits was polling considered as “poor” and there was just one assessment of a polling station as “very poor”. There were similarly positive reports on the opening procedures.

Measures to safeguard the integrity of voting were implemented largely in accordance with the legal requirements. Yet, despite the overall positive picture, there were a number of observations, some isolated, where procedural flaws occurred that, in some cases, may have led to the dissolution of a polling station. For example, of the polling stations visited by international observers:

- in 4 per cent, the ballot box was observed not to be sealed properly;
- in 2 per cent, unauthorised persons were observed to be interfering in the polling process;
- in 9 per cent, international observers identified group voting;

- in 5 per cent, voters were observed marking their ballot papers outside of a polling booth;
- in 3 per cent, campaign materials were present near to the polling station;
- in 13 per cent, indelible ink was being applied incorrectly or at the wrong time, e.g. before identifying a voter was included in the voter register, causing possible disenfranchisement if the voter was not included and had to vote in another polling station.

A requirement for a voter to hand their ballot paper to a PB member after marking it, so that a control coupon can be removed, was observed to allow an opportunity for the choice of the voter to be revealed. There was also criticism that the quality of the ballot paper and the positioning of polling booths allowed PB members to identify the choice of the voter. Procedural irregularities were also observed with home-bound voting. However, international observers noted that very few complaints were lodged at PBs on referendum day.

Access to polling stations for people with disabilities was noted as difficult in 31 per cent of the polling stations visited.

International observers were made aware of a number of allegations that 'vote-buying' was taking place on referendum day. Although no direct observation of such activity was recorded, there were instances when international observers in Berane and Pljevlja identified circumstances that may have been consistent with vote-buying. On four separate occasions, international observers saw voters photographing their ballot papers with mobile-phone cameras, which may also have indicated vote-buying.

### **C. COUNTING OF VOTES**

The procedures for the closing of polling stations and the counting of votes were also evaluated positively; in 85 per cent of polling stations attended by international observers, the closing and counting process was assessed to be "very good" or "good", as "average" in 14 per cent and in just one case there was an assessment of "poor". An impressive degree of cooperation between polling board members was noted during the closing and count process and in particular over taking decisions on the validity of ballot papers; there were very few instances of so-called 'questionable ballots', the validity of which could not be determined. However, international observers considered there to be "tension or unrest" in 7 per cent and disputes between PB members in 6 per cent of polling stations.

Overall, international observers considered that there was a rushed approach to important steps during the counting of votes, which resulted in some shortcomings in following procedures, especially in the completion of protocol forms. In particular, a number of reconciliation checks that were required to be conducted prior to the opening of the ballot box, were sometimes missed; in 20 per cent of observations, the PB failed to perform the basic check of counting the number of voters who were recorded as having voted. In four cases, there was a 100 per cent turnout and the polling station was closed and counting begun before the prescribed time of 21:00.

In a significant breach of procedures that compromised full transparency in the results process, international observers recorded that in 42 per cent of cases, the protocol of results

was not immediately displayed at the polling station. Moreover, there were a number of instances where copies of the protocol were not provided to every PB member.

#### **D. TABULATION OF RESULTS**

The OSCE/ODIHR ROM observer teams present at MRCs evaluated the tabulation process positively. MRCs were generally found to be functioning effectively and efficiently with a good understanding of the procedures. The aggregation of results was generally unproblematic and most MRCs were able to submit aggregated results speedily and well within the prescribed timeframe. However, in some municipalities there was an inconsistent, and occasionally confusing, approach to dealing with discrepancies contained in the PB protocol of results. In Podgorica, in circumstances which indicated an attempt at political obstruction to the process, the MRC was unable to reach a decision on the protocols of results from 39 polling stations that contained discrepancies; in most of these cases, the discrepancies were minor and did not relate to the results of voting. The results in the 39 polling stations were approved by the RRC after verification of the protocols.

#### **XIV. RESOLUTION OF POST-REFERENDUM COMPLAINTS**

After the announcement of preliminary results, the political parties within PUB submitted some 210 complaints against the polling process. The complaints were submitted to eleven MRCs and, in all but eight cases, the MRCs could not decide on the complaints because of a 'tied-vote' and were referred directly to the RRC for resolution.<sup>12</sup>

The deadline for the submission of a complaint was 72 hours from the act or omission being complained against. In practice, for complaints against the polling process, this provided an uncertain deadline as it was not always clear against what alleged action the complaint was being made. The deadline for the resolution of a complaint was 24 hours from its submission. While it is important to have certainty that complaints should be resolved promptly, such a compressed timeframe created unrealistic pressure on the MRCs and RRC to address post-referendum complaints properly.

The vast majority of the post-referendum complaints referred to problems with the CVR and, in particular, the inclusion of a large number names of persons who, the PUB claimed, were ineligible to vote as they were resident in Serbia or other countries. The PUB representatives asserted that PBs should not have allowed such persons to vote. Although a considerable number of expatriate Montenegrin citizens did vote in the referendum, there was no substantiating evidence provided that they did not meet the criteria for voter eligibility, such as whether they had not maintained an address of registered permanent residence in Montenegro for at least 24 months. Moreover, the formal decision to include the named persons in the CVR had occurred on 11 May and had not been challenged earlier. As such, these cases did not constitute any polling irregularity; indeed, PB members were obliged to allow a voter to vote if their name was included in the CVR.

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The complaints filed by MRC were: Podgorica (51); Bar (29); Budva (24); Plav (27); Rozaje (15); Berane (10); Ulcinj (6); Niksic (4); Cetinje (3); Danilovgrad (1); Pljevlja (1). The complaints rejected by the MRCs were: Cetinje (3); Berane (4); Niksic (1). All others were tied and referred directly to the RRC.

A smaller number of complaints referred to specific polling irregularities, including isolated instances of a person who voted twice and persons who voted on behalf of other persons. These are breaches of the criminal law and were referred by the RRC to the public prosecutor for investigation. However, the RRC assessed that the number of violations were small and unable to impact on the accuracy of the results.

The RRC rejected all complaints with the casting vote of the RRC chairperson. No decision of the RRC was appealed to the Constitutional Court by the deadline of the 30 May (i.e. within 24 hours of the final RRC decision on complaints as stipulated by the Law on the Constitutional Court). It should be noted that a number of PUB political leaders have repeatedly expressed their lack of confidence in the impartiality of the judges in the Constitutional Court.

## **XV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS AND POST-REFERENDUM DEVELOPMENTS**

The speedy publication by the RRC of preliminary and final results of the referendum strengthened transparency and public confidence in the results process. Partial preliminary results on the referendum, that excluded the delayed aggregated results from the 39 polling stations in Podgorica, were announced by the RRC chairperson on 22 May. In accordance with the timeframe stipulated by the LRSLS, full preliminary results were announced by the RRC on 23 May. Following the resolution of the complaints and appeals process on 30 May, the final results of the referendum were approved by the RRC at its session on 31 May using the casting vote of the RRC chairperson. There were only minor changes to the preliminary results.

The official final results showed that the referendum on state-status had been approved by 55.5 per cent of the valid votes that had been cast and that 86.5 per cent of registered voters had participated.<sup>13</sup> Both criteria for the decision in favour of independence to be considered as valid had thus been met.

The RRC chairperson formally submitted a report on the official results of the referendum on state-status at a special session of parliament on 3 June 2006. Parliament voted to acknowledge that the results of the referendum meant that Montenegro was an independent state that would seek full international and legal personality.

In marked contrast to the wide, cross-party support that had been given to the referendum process during the negotiations on the conduct for the referendum and that was also displayed by the full engagement by both sides throughout the campaign period, the representatives of the PUB on the RRC were extremely critical of the referendum process after the announcement of the results. PUB representatives on the RRC did not sign the minutes of the 31 May session where the final results were approved and members of parliament from political parties within PUB did not attend the parliamentary session on 3 June.

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<sup>13</sup> Final results by municipality are annexed below.

## **XVI. RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following recommendations on improving the electoral processes in Montenegro, many of which reiterate recommendations of past OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Missions, are offered for consideration and possible implementation by the Montenegrin authorities and political parties. According to best practices, election legislation should not be changed during an election process. These recommendations should therefore be adopted through the legislative process after the 10 September parliamentary elections. However, some of these recommendations could be addressed in a form of REC regulations before the forthcoming elections.

### **A. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO ELECTORAL PROCESS**

1. The following improvements to the legal framework for electoral processes introduced by the LRSLS could be considered:
  - (i) Provisions that seek to ensure a balanced political representation on referendum or electoral administration bodies;
  - (ii) Provisions that prevent the abuse of office or restrict the role that can be played by a state or public official, including elected officials and police officers, in taking part in a political campaign;
  - (iii) Provisions that establish transparency for funding sources in political campaigns, including the establishment of a parliamentary committee to monitor campaign financing;
  - (iv) Provisions that establish a clear framework for the role of the media in its coverage of a political campaign, including the professional obligations of media outlets and the establishment of a parliamentary committee to monitor media coverage of the campaign with powers to issue warnings to media for non-compliance with legal requirements.

### **B. ADMINISTRATION OF REFERENDUMS AND ELECTIONS**

2. The rights and duties of all members of the responsible commission for elections and referendums should be clearly defined, including a Code of Conduct that outlines minimum standards of professional behaviour to ensure objectivity and to avoid conflicts of interest.
3. The responsible commission for elections and referendums should ensure that training is provided for election officials at all levels.
4. Parliament should delegate responsibility to a public body, preferably the responsible commission for elections and referendums, for providing neutral voter education during an election or a referendum. Voter education should include a focus on voter registration, polling procedures and the wider protection of a citizen's rights of suffrage.
5. Consideration should be given to amending the legal framework to address the circumstances where, in the case of an even number of members on a responsible commission for elections or referendums, there is a tied vote.

## **C. VOTER REGISTERS**

6. Provisional and final versions of the central voter register should be displayed or made available in printed form during the period for public inspection at convenient locations, including municipal and community centres. The list of registered voters for each polling station should be displayed at the polling station ahead of polling day.
7. The Ministry of Justice should provide consistent guidelines to municipalities for the documentation required by a citizen to prove their eligibility as a voter and for the removal of deceased persons as voters.
8. The 2000 Law on Voter Registers should be amended:
  - (i) to reflect the decision of the Constitutional Court restricting applications to amend the central voter register without the clear authority of the voter concerned;
  - (ii) to clarify the rights of inspection by political parties and citizens of other data held by state agencies.

## **D. COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS PROCEDURES**

9. The Election Law should be revised to provide fixed deadlines for the submission of complaints relating to the polling process at polling stations, for example 48 hours from the close of voting.
10. Consideration should be given to providing clearer and more effective means for resolving complaints against public bodies, such as a municipality or a government ministry, for its actions or omissions during an electoral process.
11. The public prosecutor should publish clear guidelines on the procedures by which complaints alleging criminal acts will be investigated during an electoral process.

## **E. CAMPAIGNING AND MEDIA**

12. The separation of state, municipal and political activities should be strictly enforced. A Code of Conduct for state or public employees, including police officers, during campaign periods, should be developed and publicised.
13. The media should be consistent in separating the activities of representatives of incumbent officials from the campaign activities they pursue as politicians. The media should not give privileged treatment to public authorities and figures during campaigns.
14. The media should continue to abide by a Code of Conduct during political campaigns and, in particular, to follow professional standards and avoid deliberate misinterpretation.
15. Regulations on the campaign silence period should be better defined, including what may constitute a breach of the prohibition on campaigning as well as outlining the possible sanctions against violators.

16. All sides in a referendum and all political parties and candidates in an electoral process should explicitly condemn vote-buying or attempted vote-buying and similar activities.

#### **F. POLLING PROCEDURES**

17. The grounds for the dissolution of polling boards, annulment of results and holding of repeated voting should be reviewed and limited only to serious violations.
18. Provision should be made to allow for the recounting of ballots by PBs to address possible discrepancies identified in the counting of votes. Municipal commissions should be provided with clear guidelines on how to address discrepancies identified in the protocols of results.
19. Training on voting and counting procedures should be provided for all PB members using consistent training materials and formats. Such training should ensure that procedural errors, such as the incorrect application of ink, are avoided and that key requirements, such as the immediate display of results, are universally followed.
20. Clearer forms for the protocol of results should be developed.
21. The requirement that a voter must hand their marked ballot paper to a PB member to remove a control coupon should be reviewed. The current procedure jeopardise the secrecy of the ballot.
22. Provision should be made for circumstances where a voter spoils their ballot paper.
23. The use of bilingual polling materials should not be limited only to specially designated polling stations but extended to all areas where Albanian or other minority languages or scripts may be used by a significant part of the local population.
24. The requirement for ballot papers to be marked only with a circle should be changed. All ballot papers that indicate the clear intention of the voter should be considered as valid.
25. Polling stations should be easily accessible to all voters.

#### **G. ROLE OF WOMEN IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES**

26. Political parties, civil society and state authorities should undertake a sustained programme to implement their commitments to improve the representation of women in parliament and municipal assemblies, as well as administrators of electoral processes.



**ANNEX A: FINAL RESULTS OF THE 21 MAY 2006 REFERENDUM ON STATE-STATUS**

Municipality	Number of Registered Voters	Voters Who Voted		Valid Votes for 'Yes'		Valid Votes for 'No'	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Andrijevica	4,369	3,928	89.91	1,084	27.74	2,824	72.26
Bar	32,255	26,382	81.79	16,640	63.67	9,496	36.33
Berane	28,342	24,051	84.86	11,268	47.17	12,618	52.83
Bijelo Polje	40,110	35,051	87.39	19,405	55.69	15,437	44.31
Budva	12,797	11,199	87.51	5,915	53.32	5,179	46.68
Danilovgrad	11,784	10,669	90.54	5,671	53.71	4,887	46.29
Žabljak	3,407	3,096	90.87	1,188	38.67	1,884	61.33
Kolasin	7,405	6,820	92.10	2,852	42.22	3,903	57.78
Kotor	17,778	14,897	83.79	8,200	55.70	6,523	44.30
Mojkovac	7,645	6,923	90.56	3,016	43.93	3,849	56.07
Nikšić	56,461	50,737	89.86	26,434	52.63	23,790	47.37
Plav	12,662	8,941	70.61	7,016	78.92	1,874	21.08
Plužine	3,329	2,959	88.89	716	24.30	2,230	75.70
Pljevlja	27,882	25,268	90.62	9,115	36.28	16,009	63.72
Podgorica	129,083	113,915	88.25	60,626	53.67	52,345	46.33
Rožaje	19,646	15,239	77.57	13,835	91.33	1,314	8.67
Tivat	10,776	8,800	81.66	4,916	56.45	3,793	43.55
Ulcinj	17,117	13,985	81.70	12,256	88.50	1,592	11.50
Herceg Novi	24,487	20,220	82.57	7,741	38.66	12,284	61.34
Cetinje	15,077	13,538	89.79	11,532	86.38	1,818	13.62
Šavnik	2,306	2,123	92.06	906	43.08	1,197	56.92
Voters in Prison		495		379	77.82	108	22.18
<b>Total for Montenegro</b>	<b>484,718</b>	<b>419,236</b>	<b>86.49</b>	<b>230,711</b>	<b>55.50</b>	<b>184,954</b>	<b>44.50</b>

## ABOUT THE OSCE/ODIHR

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) is the OSCE's principal institution to assist participating States "to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to abide by the rule of law, to promote principles of democracy and (...) to build, strengthen and protect democratic institutions, as well as promote tolerance throughout society" (1992 Helsinki Document).

The ODIHR, based in Warsaw, Poland, was created as the Office for Free Elections at the 1990 Paris Summit and started operating in May 1991. One year later, the name of the Office was changed to reflect an expanded mandate to include human rights and democratization. Today it employs over 100 staff.

The ODIHR is the lead agency in Europe in the field of **election observation**. It co-ordinates and organizes the deployment of thousands of observers every year to assess whether elections in the OSCE area are in line with national legislation and international standards. Its unique methodology provides an in-depth insight into all elements of an electoral process. Through assistance projects, the ODIHR helps participating States to improve their electoral framework.

The Office's **democratization** activities include the following thematic areas: rule of law, legislative support, democratic governance, migration and freedom of movement, and gender equality. The ODIHR implements a number of targeted assistance programmes annually, seeking both to facilitate and enhance State compliance with OSCE commitments and to develop democratic structures.

The ODIHR monitors participating States' compliance with OSCE human dimension commitments, and assists with improving the protection of **human rights**. It also organizes several meetings every year to review the implementation of OSCE human dimension commitments by participating States.

Within the field of **tolerance** and **non-discrimination**, the ODIHR provides support to the participating States in implementing their OSCE commitments and in strengthening their response to hate crimes and incidents of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance. The ODIHR's activities related to tolerance and non-discrimination are focused on the following areas: legislation; law enforcement training; monitoring, reporting on, and following up on responses to hate-motivated crimes and incidents; as well as educational activities to promote tolerance, respect, and mutual understanding.

The ODIHR provides advice to participating States on their policies on **Roma and Sinti**. It promotes capacity-building and networking among Roma and Sinti communities, and encourages the participation of Roma and Sinti representatives in policy-making bodies. The Office also acts as a clearing-house for the exchange of information on Roma and Sinti issues among national and international actors.

All ODIHR activities are carried out in close co-ordination and co-operation with OSCE participating States, OSCE institutions and field operations, as well as with other international organizations.

More information is available on the ODIHR website ([www.osce.org/odihhr](http://www.osce.org/odihhr)).

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

## AD HOC DELEGATION FOR REFERENDUM OBSERVATION IN MONTENEGRO

**19 - 22 May 2006**

### LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

**Members of the European Parliament in alphabetical order:**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Group</b>	<b>Country</b>
Mr Jelko KACIN Chairman	ALDE	Slovenia
Mr Robert EVANS	PES	UK
Mr Milan HORÁČEK	Verts/ALE	Germany
Mr Aldis KUŠKIS	EPP-ED	Latvia
Mr Erik MEIJER	GUE/NGL	Netherlands

Abbreviations:

EPP-ED	Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group) and European Democrats
PES	Group of the Party of European Socialists
Alde	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Greens/EFA	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
GUE/NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left

**Secretariat of the Delegation:**

Mr Ciril STOKELJ	Director, Directorate B of DG External Policies of the EU
Ms Sabina MAZZI ZISSIS	Administrator, Head of Secretariat
Mr Silvio GONZATO	Administrator, AFET Secretariat
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Mr Rune GLASBERG	ALDE Advisor
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