# POLITICAL LIFE IN MONTENEGRO IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

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**Abstract**

The theme of this work is the political life of Montenegro during the last two decades. In the given period, the Montenegrin society is going through a major political transformation and change in all aspects of social life. The aim of this paper is to analyze the socio-political changes since the introduction of multi-party system to the present day. Previous bibliography, critical and scientific reviews in order to clarify the turbulent events in the recent social and political history of the territory of Montenegro are very fragmentary. The reasons for this probably lies in the still insufficient historical distance, in actuality of the many events of that period, whose relapses and reflections have today a significant impact on the socio-political reality of the modern Montenegrin society. The paper reviewed the two hypotheses, the role and importance of one dominant political entity that exercises power for decades. The topic of this paper is the political life of Montenegro from 1990 to the present days. A particular feature of this period is the fact that one political party (Democratic Party of Socialists, hereinafter-DPS), managed to hold power until today, in conditions of party pluralism, unstable and war-affected environments, deep ideological, political, social and ethnic divisions in society and the intense international pressures.

**Keywords:** Transition, Montenegro, politics, reform, political parties.

**Öz**
**Geçiş Dönemi Karadağ'ında Siyaset**

Bu makalenin konusu, son yirmi yılda toplumsal ve sosyal yaşamın her alanında önemli bir dönüşüm ve değişim geçiren Karadağ'ın siyasi hayatıdır. Karadağ topraklarında yakın tarihe kadar fırtınalı geçen sosyal ve siyasi olayları aydınlatmak amacıyla yapılan çalışmalar, bibliyografya, ve bilimsel çalışmalar vs., kapsamlı değildir. Büyük olasılıkla bunun en temel sebeplerinden biri sürecin henüz bitmemiş olması ve halen çağdaş Karadağ toplumunu etkilemesidir. Dönemim öne çıkan en önemli özelliği Sosyalist Demokrat Parti'nin (bundan sonra DPS) çok partili siyasal hayat atmosferinde ve savaşın etkilerinin sürdüğü istikrarsız ortamda tüm ideolojik, siyasi, sosyal ve etnik kutuplaşmalar ile beraber yoğun uluslararası baskılara rağmen iktidarı elinde

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tutabilmesidir. Bu sebeple, bu çalışmada yıllardır hükümetin başında olan egemen bir siyasi varlığını rolü ve önemi mercek altına alınmakta ve çok partili sisteme geçilmesinden bu yana sosyo-politik değişiklileri analiz edilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler**: Geçiş, Karadağ, reformlar, siyasi partiler.

## Introduction

Politics is a complex and multidimensional activity and it is in unbreakable connection with the struggle for power, establishment and maintenance. The power is undeniable imposition of will on behalf of the community and the state. In the present time it is difficult to clearly delineate where information stops and where it starts persuasive activity because the informative and public activities in the modern age are often in symbiosis. Talking about a political problem, and media information about an event, regardless of the intent, have an influence on humans and to some degree this shapes their attitude toward political reality. Communication is the basis of all social and cultural processes and media changes forms of communication in various ways.[1]

Propaganda represents a kind of communication that is performed to convince the recipient of message and the ultimate goal of political propaganda is to convince individuals to participate in political activities of a certain political entity directly or indirectly, in a manner determined by the very political subject. In this way, propaganda becomes the art of political action, through a deliberate attempt to alter, control or create the attitudes of individuals or groups.[2]

The topic of this paper is the political life of Montenegro from 1990 to the present days. A particular feature of this period is the fact that one political party (Democratic Party of Socialists, hereinafter-DPS), managed to hold power until today. The aim is to verify the basic hypothesis (H1) within the concept of political propaganda activities in Montenegro and promotional practices of the universal characteristics of modern political propaganda (propaganda principles and

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[1] F. Krotz, "Mediatization: A Concept with which to Grasp Media and Societal Change", **Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences,** (edt. Lundby)*,* Peter Lang Publishing, New York 2009, pp. 21-40.

[2] H. T. Qualter, **Propaganda and Psihological Warfare,** Random House, New York 1962, pp. 27.

techniques), which primarily relates to use of mass media and other means and forms of political communication, namely, mass rallies and conventions, political agitation, and interpersonal communication.

The study tested the hypothesis two (H2) that the specificity of the political propaganda activities at the time of the newly created political pluralism in Montenegro is derived from the fact that political entities operate in an atmosphere of war environment and conditions of a substantial superiority of one political party (DPS), which emerged from the former League of Communists of Montenegro (SKCG) - which enabled the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) powerful influence in the public, i.e. the dominant impose of their ideas and attitudes.

Methods used throughout the paper are scientific description, systematization of specific promotional activities, qualitative content analysis of numerous documents and media messages, functional and structural analyzes, historical method and case study method.

### I. Characteristics of the socio-political atmosphere

The power is a means of authority in politics, where the carrier of authority concretizes power and affixes it by activation of power jurisdiction. In a sociological perception of the concept of power, the most important are two meanings: "the power of the individual in relation to social groups and society, and the power of social groups in the society". C. Cupic to emphasize the difference between power and authority states that

> "Characteristic imposition of will despite the resistance, and the authority is acceptance and execution of orders and commands. For each authority (authority, lat. Auctoritas - a model, urging, affidavit, certificate, credibility, will) the most important characteristics is power. It follows that in the structure of authority, the dynamics taking place between the two elements of superiority and inferiority. The kind of relationships quality between superiority and inferiority depends on the nature of the authority, depending on whether the authority is the model or power, the order".[3]

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[3] C. Cupic, **Politika i zlo** [**Politics and Evil**], Cigoja, Belgrade 2001, pp. 112, 172, 195.

Power is the ability to influence the behavior of other members of society. The authorities must be powerful, legitimate and accepted as justified. The power is determined as retrieving obligatory decisions for all and ability to profess undeniable will. Power can press, influence and coerce, but only through the government establishes the rule.[4]

Politics as a practical activity deals with regulating the relations among people that they realized their wishes, needs and interests. Elections, as a basic prerequisite for the existence of a democratic society, are in fact the process of forming the government through the way of voting, i.e. it is a procedure that allows expressing the will of the people, so that the democratic nature of a society is reflected in the respect of procedures and processes, although this is often in the level of dispute. The previous electoral practice often shows a tendency that the creators of the electoral rules through legislation, through legal means, modify or manipulate the will of citizens.

Changing social values as a result of the shocking events, the breakup of the Yugoslav federation, civil war, hyperinflation and rising crime, has been a fertile ground for various forms of manipulative activity. The formation of political parties of different ideological orientations, the collapse of the economy and previous social values created overall confusion in the Montenegrin public because it is the easiest to manipulate those who think they are at risk or they will be potential victims of their neighbors or political opponents, so the national theme in the political discourse will be dominant, while the Montenegrin political elite as the ruling thus the opposition, it is useful. Montenegro's political legacy as one of the general characteristics had indisputable authority and the will of the ruler, whether it was personified by the secular face (the period of the church Metropolitans of the 17th to the mid 19th century), by the form of authoritarian monarch (the period of Princedom and Kingdom of half of the 19. century), or the period of communism after 1945. In the book *Montenegrin Themes,* Z. Andrijasevic gives a picture of governmental technologies

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[4] P. Jovanovic, N. Dimitrijevic, M. Popovic, **Savremeni Politički Sistemi** [**Contemporary Political Systems]**, University of Montenegro, Podgorica 1998, pp. 17, 26, 28.

and Montenegrins mentality and their relation to the authority of government in the late 19th and early 20th century.[5]

Upon coming to power, after the political changes of 1989, the new ruling Montenegrin political elite has set specific rules of the political game in an atmosphere of new-established political pluralism. Only up to that level the participation of other political parties in the elections was not brought into question, but a real possibility that another party to win the elections and take power was very small. The fact that the general feature of the political life of Montenegro in its recent history is not going to make the change of power through election. There was also accentuated hostility toward the ideological opponents as cruel and historical heritage, which left deep traces in the political culture, presenting insurmountable obstacle to consolidating a democratic order based on democracy and readiness for compromise. This treatment of institutions is characteristic for the majority of *quasi-authoritarian regime* in which the power is not there where it says in the Constitution, but where landlord of biggest power is moved, whatever it is named (the President, the Prime Minister and the like). The expert of electoral systems D. Nohlen entitles elections in authoritarian systems as "*semi competitive*" and says that they serve primarily to the stabilization of these systems, and of elections primarily expected to give: 1) the legitimacy of the existing relations of power; 2) political calm to the inside; 3) acquiring the reputation to the outside; 4) disclosure (and partial integration) of the opposition; 5) adjusting the power structure that stabilizes the system.[6]

So in Serbia and the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Slobodan Milosevic turned one, by jurisdiction only protocol function of the federal president, into a major center of power and authority when he became head of the FRY. This Milosevic's unconstitutional position was indirectly acknowledged and major international factors, accepted him as the chief negotiator on behalf of the Federal

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[5] Z. Andrijasevic, **Crnogorske Teme [Montenegrin Themes]**, IICG, Podgorica, 1998, p. 88-91. As the Prince and King Nikola loved to express his political forms by the lyrics, here it is "song" about principle of his reign Montenegrins: "In the cramp hold Montenegrins / so gently, so skillfully / and chastise and cherish/ and you will do with them everything ... "- R. Knezevic, **History of Political Culture in Montenegro,** CID, Podgorica 2007, p. 274.

[6] V. Pavicevic V **Izborni Sistem i Izbori u Crnoj Gori 1990-1996, [Electoral Systems and Elections in Montenegro 1990-1996]**, CID, Podgorica 1997, p. 24-25.

Republic of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and formally recognizing his status of chief of the FRY delegation during peace negotiations in Dayton in November-December 1995. Moreover, Milosevic has formally signed the Dayton Peace agreement in Paris, February 1996. Neither the formal president of the FRY, nor the president of the federal government did not have any role or have ever appeared in any negotiations on these issues.[7] Also in Montenegro, since 1998 the center of power is shifting, where there is also a leading figure of DPS Milo Djukanovic. Speaking to Radio Free Europe, Montenegrin Prime Minister M. Djukanovic gave his picture of technology governing and Montenegrin mentality inclined to create a kind of cult of personality:

> *"Learning the Montenegrin mentality for 47 years, I'll tell you my experience, which I can hardly objectify: Montenegrins were building cult of personality, while at the same time very selfish and pragmatic, were tailor-making system of their own needs, because it has always been easier to them to come to the Lord to solve their problem, then to torment with offices and institutions.*"[8]

So, here we can recognize propaganda principle of personalization of politics, i.e. identification of specific policy with specific politician, bringing in an unbreakable bond of a certain political program with a very specific personality. Charismatic parties characterized by the tendency of individuals to be close to the charismatic leader. Where ex-communist parties were not defeated, but continue to control economic and political power, they have all the conditions to draw attention to the mail institutional programs, socio-economic changes, to co-opt potential opposition by selective material incentives in the executive; control over the state apparatus and large public companies, allowing them to achieve these goals and re-establish patronage network.[9] Thus, the Montenegrin society was and remained in a certain semi-authoritarian mold and the best way of fixing this mold is that he government to

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[7] S. Darmanovic, **Demokratske Tranzicije u Južnoj i JugoIstočnoj Evropi [Democratic Transitions in South and South-East Europe]**, FPN, Podgorica 2002, p. 182.
[8] **Vijesti,** 14.10. 2009.
[9] S. Orlovic, **Moć i političke Partije [Political Parties and Power],** JUPN / Cigoja, Belgrade 2002, p. 81.

develope a kind of cult of personality which is being built based on the charisma of leaders, center of power, whose attitudes and views become acceptable prior to the most.

Montenegrin tribal society has largely accepted authority as a real and urgent need in order to make the stronger state cohesion, and the character of leader and ruler as inviolable. However, there were often historical examples of movement in the extreme, in cringe, creating a cult of personality, and thus the moral decay in the battle for the favor of government, which eventually becomes a model and matrix. A binding for one person (or more generally the principle of personalization of politics), not primarily for the idea or program indicates a lack of emancipation and critical thinking, as well as undeveloped mature social and political consciousness of citizens. The political culture of real socialist societies was rudiment and underdeveloped, traditional and parochial, and it resulted in a dominant authoritarian orientation and authoritarian structure of personality.[10] Thus, during election campaigns in most parties in Montenegro, instead of concrete programs and targets figured party leaders in the foreground, whose trying to attract voters from different social classes with their charisma and promises. Consistency of political choice is not restricted to the class to which a person belongs, so the connection between social status and voting affection is not absolute.[11] Typical is the tendency that the attitude of the leader establishes as sacrosanct will of one man, and then he is not a democratic leader anymore, but a man who becomes the master of destinies, and the deputies in parliament are only "party soldiers". Since the breakup of Yugoslavia parties have mutually measured by program, but also by the leaders as holders of different conceptions, and to citizens were important, besides attention for party programs, how persuasive and eloquent were leader, with his charisma and ability to respond to the opponent's attack in public, etc. Parties were trying to shape public opinion, taking account of what is

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[10] R. Knezevic, **Istorija Političke Kulture u Crnoj Gori [History of Political Culture in Montenegro],** CID, Podgorica 2007, p. 136.
[11] G. Milas, "Razlozi Nedosljednosti: Tko i Zašto Mijenja Glasačku Odluku?" ["The Reasons for the Inconsistencies: Who and why Changing the Voting Decision"]. **Social Research**, vol. IX (2000), 4/5 (48/49); p. 474.

popular and in the "trend", which ideas and goals would have a better pass, were accepted as positive, progressive, "in", etc.

The ex-communist party should be counted among those parties that have their roots in the old regime, it is understood that they inherited the major part of former communist assets, memberships and leadership. DPS took over the property of Savez Komunista Crne Gore (SKCG) (the League of Communists) and since the unchanged managing set of the ruling Communist Party has become the leadership of transformed party, it can be concluded that the DPS was the successor of SKCG. Assessment of continuity with the earlier ruling Communist Party is true also for Socijalisticka Narodna Partija Crne Gore (SNPCG) (Socialist People's Party), although this party later formed in 1998. The case of SNP is unique because it is a party that seceded from DPS in mid-1997, but its core staff, as same as DPS, were individuals who belonged to the management structures of SKCG until 1990, although during the secession of the DPS, SNPCG not received a piece of property of DPS, but in this case priority is in the personnel not the property dimension of organizational continuity.[12]

For most people the introduction of multiparty system was a novelty because for the first time a certain alternative, in the form of new ideologically diverse political subjects, appeared to the Communist Party. Initially, the opposition parties were small with underdeveloped infrastructure and a small number of municipal boards. Such opposition parties had opposed to themselves a large ruling party, which was backed by a state-party apparatus and its influence felt in all spheres of society. Technology of ruling in multiparty Montenegro during the '90s could be characterized as a monopoly of the powerful DPS, which based on the achievements of the Communist Party, logistics infrastructure and property, imposed its rules of the political game. Thus, political-propaganda activity took place in the newly-created conditions of pluralism, economic crisis and the war environment. Populism manifested by political meetings, debates, rallies, rhetoric and discourse laden national charge. Stressing on political opponents in an atmosphere of hard monopoly of the few media these were

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[12] V. Goati, **Partije u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori u političkoj borbi od 1990 do 2000** [**Parties of Serbia and Montenegro in the political struggles from 1990 to 2000**], Conteco, Podgorica 2000, p. 64.

just some of the general guidelines of the state. DPS, before the SPS in Serbia, tried a formal division of ministerial chair in the government with other parties while maintaining all the key portfolios in the government. It was more a gesture of goodwill toward the opposition then a real need because the DPS had, after the second parliamentary elections in January 1992, absolute power with 46 of the 85 seats in the Parliament. It was of course the desire of the authorities to present themselves to domestic and international public as democratic in the mood for consensus and dialogue.

In the period of multiparty politics, the citizens of Montenegro have repeatedly elected president of the republic: 1992, 1997, 2002, 2003, 2008 and 2013. After the first multiparty elections in 1990 three more times, until 2000, elections were held to the Parliament of Montenegro: in 1992, 1996 and 1998. After the October changes in Serbia, Montenegro held parliamentary elections: in 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009 and 2012. DPS won dominantly all electoral competition for the Montenegrin Parliament. As a result, it cannot boast any political party in post-communist countries of Southeast Europe. The following table presents the parliamentary election victory of DPS, from 1990 (still under the name of the League of Communists) until elections of 2009.

**Table 1. Parliamentary Election in Montenegro on Period 1990-2009**

| Elections and year of performing | Registered electors | Voted (%) | Percentage of given votes to DPS/SK CG | Percentage of won mandates in Parliament |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Parliamentary −1990 | 402.905 | 75,8 % | 56,2 % (SKCG) | 66,4 % |
| 2. Parliamentary −1992 | 429.047 | 68,9 % | 43,8 % | 54,1 % |
| 3. Parliamentary −1996 | 449.824 | 66,9 % | 51,2% | 63,4 % |
| 4. Parliamentary −1998 | 457.633 | 76,0 % | 49,5 % (soalition with SDP, NS) | 53,8 % |
| 5. Parliamentary −2001 | 447.673 | 79,3 % | 42,4 % (soalition with SDP) | 46,1 % |

| 6. Parliamentary −2002 | 455.791 | 77,5 % | 47,3 % (soalition with SDP) | 52,0 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Parliamentary −2006 | 484.430 | 71,4 % | 48,6 % (soalition with SDP) | 50,6 % |
| 8. Parliamentary −2009 | 498.305 | 66,2 % | 51,02 % (soalition with SDP, BS i HGI) | 58,0 % |

**Source:** The table is made on the basis of final election results, data from various authors, **Elections and the Electoral Legislation in Montenegro 1990-2006,** CEMI, Podgorica 2007, and the website www.snp.co.me

During the period of 1990-1998, the Montenegrin Parliament convened more frequently than former Federal Parliament and the National Parliament of Serbia, although the work of the Montenegrin Parliament was not particularly intense. Between 1990 and 1994, the Parliament of Montenegro had the average annual sessions for less than a month. This could be considered insufficient, since it was the initial phase of parliamentarianism. After examining the operation of the highest representative body of the Republic, it could easily be noted that in this work dominated government, while opposition and deputies, as individuals, were in the background. That is illustrated by data from 253 laws that were passed from 1990 to 1994, the government proposed 251, opposition party proposed only one. The assessment of insufficient intensive activities of the Montenegrin Parliament is not valid for 1997 and 1998 because of the split in the ruling DPS (spring 1997) that the focus of political life moved to Parliament.[13] Montenegrin parliament during the 1990s was used as a kind of arena for confrontation attitudes of the authorities and the opposition. Transmission of parliamentary session by radio and television went in favor of the representatives of the parties who are thus used the parliamentary rostrum for a free form of presentation and promotion of their ideas and opinions in the form of presentations and replicas.

Political pluralism, established in 1990s, brought a number of innovations in the political life and society of Montenegro. Although the elections were held on the

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[13] V. Goati, **Izbori u Jugoslaviji 1990-2000 [Elections in Yugoslavia 1990-2000],** CESID, Belgrade 2001, p. 131.

basis of competition of different (and conflicting) political options and candidates, they actually did not bring a real possibility of changing the party in power. Of course, it was not expected from a well-organized political institution as it was the League of Communists that after nearly half a century of monopoly position and influence in the political and social life, to let the power to someone else. Although under pressure for the introduction of party pluralism, SKCG still refused to let the decades-long monopoly of power gets out of its hand, imitating still in public the successful "formula" of the previous system. Thus, "free of bureaucrats" in January 1989, the League of Communists of Montenegro "*smoothly*" won the first multiparty elections in Montenegro, held that year (83 of the total of 125 seats in the Parliament of Montenegro). Renaming to the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) in the middle of 1991, as indicated, had not worse outcome in the public, as shown on the next elections in 1992. Resting on the heritable infrastructure, controlling radio and television, the only daily newspaper in the republic *Pobjeda*, skillfully manipulating with national issue, but also strive that national passions did not get out of control, the government in Montenegro has managed much longer to maintain than other ex-communist elites in the Balkans. Advantages were small territory and population of Montenegro, as well as keeping "middle line and measure" in many key political issues.

In Montenegro 21 political party worked in 1990, and at the end of 1992 that number increased to 27 so that one party came to less than 15,000 eligible voters.[14] Thus, the diversity and fragmentation of the newly formed opposition that was not enough "managed" without the necessary logistics and infrastructure, served to the DPS in the process of governance. Also, numerous conflicts within the opposition have greatly facilitated the establishment of governmental technologies of DPS. DPS had from the beginning, by the accusations of the opposition, enormous amounts of means compared to the other participants in the political and electoral process. Political discourse was therefore based on a relation: the ruling monopolistic DPS not

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[14] S.Vukadinović, **Nova politička strategija: Transformacija partija I političkog sistema u Crnoj Gori [The New Political Strategy: The Transformation of the Party and Political System in Montenegro],** Pokret / Pobjeda, Podgorica 1994, p. 111.

really favored the opposition, therewith the opposition was deeply polarized around the main identity and the political rift which were Serbianism vs Montenegrinism, a common state with Serbia (Unionists) and the idea of the independence of Montenegro (Independents).

In the initial period of the multiparty system, the Montenegrin authorities as the main political opponent recognized the Alliance of reform forces of Yugoslavia in Montenegro. Later, the Liberal Union of Montenegro was one of the main targets of government sting. It was sought by the media in the public form a negative attitude toward a part of the opposition and to discredit it morally. At the time of the war in the environment and growing national tensions in Montenegro, this was an easy way to demonstrate political opponents as traitors. Elite in power is therefore used every opportunity in the first years of political pluralism to discredit and minimize importance of political opponents. Also the few, controlled media were in the function of political struggle, in accordance with the functional and utilitarian logic.[15]

Skillfully balancing with a kind of dichotomy of Serbianism and Montenegrinism, the political elite in Montenegro has sought to present itself as a guarantor of peace and stability. In a battle with the opposition, the DPS has formally taken a position of ideological and political center, but in fact, it was an ally of the unionist and SPS in Serbia. However, DPS has never been part of Milosevic's ruling party in Serbia (SPS), and it could dominate only through loyal elite in Montenegro, which was formally federal equal partner with Serbia per the constitution of 1974 and under the Constitution of the FRY in 1992. However, this loyalty had various stages and some inner tension that culminated in the conflict in 1997.

Forming of coalition the "National unity" in 1996, marked a turning point in relations of opposition parties in Montenegro. It was a sign of their willingness to cooperate that has not existed in the early 90s. At the time of the first elections in 1990 and second in 1992, Montenegro came not only to frequent frictions between the leaderships of Liberalni Savez Crne Gore (LSCG) and Narodna Stranka (NS), but also to physical conflicts between their supporters "in the field". Great conflicted charge

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[15] A. R. White, "From Codes of Ethics to Publics Cultural Truth. A Systemic Communiccation View of Ethics", **European Journal of Communication,** vol. IV, 1995, p. 443.

between NS and LSCG in the beginning of pluralistic period resulted primarily from their uncompromising programmatic political platform. To such different programmatic political platform tied, so to speak naturally, ethnically distinct groups of supporters: to NS members of the Montenegrin and Serbian nationality and to LSCG members of national minorities (Muslims, Albanians), which certainly contributed to sharpen inter-party conflict. However, during and after working together, the government formed in 1993, in which also participated representatives from the opposition, have begun soften relations between them and during 1996 were crowned by coalition: National Unity. Explanation of convincing election victory of the ruling DPS in elections at the end of 1996, should take into account traditionally broad support that this party had in the electorate of Montenegro, as well as the ability of DPS, that has managed to present the Montenegrin public that end of the war in the Former Yugoslav Republics and abolition of UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, were the results of their peaceful politics. On the outcome of that federal elections in Montenegro influenced certainly the preeminent position of the DPS in the official media. In addition, the number of constituencies was "adapted to" ruling DPS under the influence those who has been amended federal law about constituencies. With that amendments adopted shortly before the elections, despite the resistance of the opposition parties, the number of constituencies in Montenegro increased from one to seven. Proportional electoral system, which was established at the beginning of the multiparty system in Montenegro, has never changed, but before each election the number of constituencies was changed, which had a significant impact on the electoral system and the election results. Thus, in the first elections for the Parliament of Montenegro in 1990 were 20 constituencies (which was at that time the number of municipalities in Montenegro); for the next elections, in December 1992, established a system more favorable for the opposition, with Montenegro as a single electoral district; before the elections in 1996, DPS has with a sudden maneuver in the Assembly, without the knowledge and consent of the opposition, again changed the number of constituencies from one to fourteen.[16] Also, use of so-called *Dont formula*

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[16] V.Goati. **Izbori u Jugoslaviji [Elections in Yugoslavia 1990-2000],** CESID, Belgrade 2001.

went into the hands of the authorities. *Dont formula*, which was used for the distribution of parliamentary seats in Montenegro, meant that the votes of parties that have not crossed the threshold mostly been "given" to the strongest party, and hence so overwhelming difference in favor of the DPS, versus "more than half result", that Montenegrin opposition sharply criticized constantly.

## II. The Political Elite - From Allies of S. Milosevic to Favorite of the West Countries

After the split in the top of the DPS 1997, wing of the party led by M. Djukanovic was forced to accept as allies the largest part of yesterday's political opponents. Thus, the formation of a broad bloc in the coalition "For Better Life" prevailed over the rivals who later were personified by the Socialist People's Party (SNP). It was inevitable that under the influence of the new coalition partners changed perceptions and attitudes, primarily with regard to national issues and statehood, and political culture. Since then unique DPS 1997 and the *Agreement the authorities and the opposition* in September of the same year began actively working on the improvement of voter lists. The biggest problem with voter lists occurred during the presidential elections in October 1997 when the period between the two rounds of elections were made tens of thousands of changes. Also it was happened that a large number of citizens had not the right to vote because of the numerous irregularities that occurred in the voter lists, because due to the inefficiency their data were either incomplete or did not agree with the data in personal documents. The system was chaotic and that left enough space for speculation about possible irregularities, and led to doubts about the results of future elections.

New political opponents of the government after the split in the ruling party have become yesterday's members of DPS, who founded the Socialist National Party (SNP), have begun a fierce political campaign. The new political picture demanded new dominant ideas and attitudes. Until then, for the space of Montenegro unseen political war and the public are placed numerous allegations and rumors which heated up the atmosphere. Differentiating by the lines for Yugoslavia "with" and "without" an alternative, passed to matters of the church, language and ethnic divisions. The

organization of activities during the election campaign could be roughly presented as follows: on the state and municipal levels electoral staffs were formed and for certain parts of the municipality, local centers, and urban zones, determined coordinators, whose job was to control the work of party activists, were responsible for a specific village, building or block of buildings, etc… This hierarchy has characterized primarily large and organized political entities (like DPS and SNP).

DPS is therefore the only former Communist Party, which is more than two decades after the Berlin Wall fell continuously from power. From the "pro-Yugoslav Communists" within the Yugoslav federation across the state union with Serbia, they have transformed into "pro-independence" oriented liberal democrats who won the independence of Montenegro in 2006. Thanks to the decision to resist Milosevic, Montenegro has gained great favor with the international community (with accompanying "connivance" because of certain measures taken at the national level) and a sort of status of "a striking force" against the undemocratic regime in Serbia (persecuted Belgrade media have registered in Podgorica, and opponents of the regime whose security was endangered in Belgrade, found refuge in the "pro-European Republic").

After the split in the party in 1997, managing to impose and to present, not only to domestic but also the international public as the leading democratic force in the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, thus gaining sympathy and support of important international factors, the DPS became a powerful machine with an extremely disciplined electorate and well-organized party and propaganda infrastructure, which is proved by maintaining over two decades in power, unprecedented in the ex-communist countries. After Milosevic's enthronization in late 2000, DPS went one step further in changing the legitimacy of government, moving to the position of realistic independentism, confederalism embodied in an alliance called the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. Soon after arrived a period of open independentism and adopted a platform of referendum for independence. After the referendum of 2006, DPS governed Montenegro based on the legitimacy of the creator of an independent state and on the platform of Euro-Atlantic integration and reform. This ability for periodic updates of basis of legitimacy, but without losing

support, points to another important factor which is expressed pragmatism and realism in the treatment of the most difficult political issues. Then, there is certainly a factor of leadership, because the party leader since 1997- M. Djukanovic – is a constant winner. The winners are, as reasonable by itself, especially worshiped in that part of the audience that they represent, i.e. that they "play for", so it is not surprising that the leader of DPS reached charismatic popularity among supporters of his policies. Election victories of DPS were certainly contributed by clientelistic intervention in significant parts of the electorate. As the ruling party, in the transitional period, much more partnership and political, then liberal and regulated capitalism, it is in its disposal, to manage, if necessary, and manipulate with the state budget for electoral purposes, and the use of various material resources coming from alliance of political structures and emerging class of Balkan "transition" businessmen. Successful and pragmatic foreign politics has made the Montenegrin authorities very acceptable partner in the eyes of the major international actors, and a successful foreign policy in the Balkans has always been a reliable support and a significant factor in long-term rule. To this should be added the aforementioned technology of ruling with "middle course", winning minority voters by model of affirmative action and others. Some of the features of the technology of governance in Montenegro could therefore be reduced to:

• The monopoly over state resources and institutions and their control (finance, police, judiciary, education and university),

• The control and monopoly over the media (public and " independent" media)

• Pragmatism at the ideological and political changes in line with the mainstream of the global movements (liberal democracy, Euro-Atlantism), which received the status of favorite and support of relevant international factors

• Well organized and elaborate party infrastructure inherited from the Communist Party,

• A relatively small territory and the electorate that is much easier to control (where almost "everyone knows everybody")

• Clientelism, a firm connection of power, state structures and big capital,

• Holding the kind of moderate "middle course", where the majority of the other political options seem extreme and whose possible adoption will "led to instability",

• Disunity and fragmentation of the opposition which, in relation to the DPS, looks "immature", "non-grown", "not sufficiently capable to cope with the weight of government", etc.,

• A unique "aversion" of Montenegrin voters to change government as historic heritage.

Explanation of consecutive electoral victories of the DPS still represents a challenge for research, especially considering that the victory accomplished and the standard of living of citizens in the 90's continuously decreased (especially in the first half of the decade), due to the atmosphere of surrounding war, bombings, crime and the grey market. Part of the explanation might be sought in the fact that at the center of political controversy in elections dominated questions of national and state identity, while economic issues were pushed into the background. In such circumstances, voters expressed support to "national" policy of government, at the same time accepting the burden of economic difficulties as "price" and following leitmotif of that policy.

### III. Political Propaganda and Political Marketing

Technology of governing of overnight converted communist leaders to nationalists, "defenders of national interests", "fathers of motherland" and "Voždove"(Leaders), added up to the harsh crackdown with all potential opponents, using various forms to discredit them, pasting labels "traitor of national interests", "foreign mercenaries", abuse of various sports fan groups, using insiders in opposition parties to divide them in moments when they become too dangerous to the existing regime or uncooperative, using emotionally strong nationalist statement in order to gain voters and others.

Montenegro didn't represent exception in the whole jumble of ideas, policies and turbulent events on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. However, its specificity lay in a smaller space and a smaller population, which nevertheless represented crucial

parameters for easier placement and inducing the desired ideas and policy options. Without the great tradition of political pluralism, in the atmosphere of collapse of the economy, awakened nationalism, war environment, "War for Peace" (Dubrovnik and Herzegovinian battlefield), a multi-party life represented a real collage of ideas and policies. War atmosphere had many advantages for the government, such as reducing criticism, strengthening the might of the executive power, reducing and relativizing the power and influence of Parliament, and any criticism of government was characterized as hostile. There were carried out homogenization and mobilization of the nation with the aim to support government policies through accentuation of national identity, with all other identity minimized. The legitimacy of its own policies, achieved mainly through the creation of images on the "us" and "other" as the complete oppositions by the production of the atmosphere of vulnerability, xenophobia, fear, media hate.

Placing the political ideas, programs, policies and attitudes in the public, in the first stage of the multi-party system, were done through a rough populism, mass manifestations of political support, the square and streets as personifications of awakened democracy and openness. Later, mimicking the global trends, the placement of political attitudes has taken more perfidious and modern forms. Thus, political marketing which up to then added up to the presentation of program, ideas and candidates at party conferences and promotions, with time been overtaken by marketing in the media through advertising spots and the like.

The majority of party meetings characterized emphasizing of the party and national symbols, flags, and frantically exclamations to the leader and the party leadership. There were not rare examples of using some kind of propaganda techniques of "emotional sandwich" - organizing of musical happenings or *Gusle* (traditional musical instrument) evenings before and after the party promotions, which should primarily attract a greater number of citizens, and also leave a positive impression and act on the emotions of attendants which affixed their positive attitude.

Using populism in the tribunes and rallies, copying from the communist period other agitation techniques on the field, accenting party flags and emblems as "trademark", political parties have sought to act by propaganda on the Montenegrin

electorate at that time. Also, the multi-party Montenegrin parliament represented excellent "field" for gaining political support, because sessions of assembly were directly followed and aired on national television, thus facilitating expressions of political attitudes. The media scene began to develop since 1997 and profiled based on the "use and satisfaction", modeled on the more developed regions. Through the open forms of promotional activity, through propaganda of participation in the purpose of considering the audience as passive subjects, propaganda of agitation, using the principle of needs, technique of emotions transfer, the frequent repetition of ideas and attitudes and techniques of reward and punishment, transfer and others, exercised a powerful influence on public opinion and voters.

### Conclusive Considerations

In response to the hypothesis in the paper, it could be generally concluded that within the concept of political-propaganda activity in Montenegro during the period of social transition and through a promotional practices, recognized some of the universal characteristics of modern political propaganda, which principally was related to the use of mass media and other means and forms of political communication: mass rallies and conventions, political agitation, and interpersonal communication with potential electorate.

Several used propaganda techniques and principles, depending on the period, were more significant and dominant (first of all it refers to the influence of emotions, manipulating with conformism of the voters), associated with certain modifications in accordance with mentality of environment and space where they manifested. Widely used principle of simplifying the image of the world, creation of the enemy figure and finding the culprit (labeling: traitors of national interests, criminals, robbers, foreign mercenaries and others), personalization of politics (binding political agenda with name and charisma of the leader), the separation of identity and image, segmentation of audience and stratification of propaganda (the creation of regional, national and status separation and the activity on the target groups: pensioners, youth, labor); with the use of techniques of direct and indirect promotion, transfer techniques (linking political programs or leaders with positive or negative categories, institutions or

personalities from history or public life), techniques of reward and punishment (the fear manipulation, vulnerability, conformism, financial status, etc.), represents predominantly used propaganda principles and techniques. Named techniques and principles are not an inheritance, but were used as a universal persuasive "skills and knowledge", with some "local" modification in accordance with the needs of the moment.

Special hypothesis was concerned with the kind of political "phenomenon", atypical for most ex-communist states – that former Montenegrin Communist Party, after decades of political monopoly continue to rule (in the changed political circumstances) decades after the collapse of the communist system. Acting on several tracks of diverse electorate, trying to present themselves as the only possible solution and choice at a time, keeping manly of "golden middle" and medium political course, one party emerged from the League of Communists of Montenegro (simple renaming of the DPS), using the already existing infrastructure and monopoly over the media, holding the state resources in propagating the party's program, became a respectable and dominant political entity. DPS has, based on the system of monopolies inherited from single-party period and efficient building party infrastructure, created extremely strong party organization, a kind of political "machinery" to win election. Managing, after a split in the party in 1997, to present not only domestic but primarily foreign public as the leading democratic force in the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, thus gaining sympathy and support of important international factors, DPS has become a powerful organization with an extremely disciplined and stable electorate and well-organized party and propaganda infrastructure, which is proved by maintaining over two decades in power, unprecedented in the ex-communist countries. Of course, its advantage was disunited and disputed opposition, often immature to time with claims that all elections in Montenegro were "staged and the results were known in advance". Advantages of the DPS would basically be reduced to the following:

• Maximum utilization of resources and its benefits as the strongest and the ruling party in Montenegro

• Minimizing own weaknesses (the legacy of communism, compromised stuff, linking with the economic and social difficulties in the country, linking the war in former Yugoslavia, smuggling and corruption, personal conflicts)

• Maximum exploitation of the all potential weaknesses of the opposition (Leadership: opposition government in some municipalities and its temptations; ideological segment, bad program development and poorly organized party infrastructure, apparent abstruseness and inconsistency in policy; intra-party conflicts and rivalries; personal conflicts and leadership vanities; political inexperience, lack of training professional, incompetence and inexperience of staff; conceptual stereotypes of revenge and retaliation if they eventually win power; stereotype of non-patriotism and betrayal of national interests, etc.)

• Maximizing the impact of certain organizations, associations (other political parties, various local political organizations; veterans' organizations, "pro-government" NGO organizations etc.), whose activities went on hand in government policies or to the minimization of some parts of the opposition;

• Maximizing the effects of international activities, support and assistance; Tight control of the media and manipulating them in the creation and transferring of the desired policy

• A unique symbiosis in many segments of the party and the state, or at least the lack of clear boundaries. Party activities of DPS were realized through:

➢ Parliamentary work of the deputies and councilors of the ruling DPS;

➢ Organized activities of membership in the government and public enterprises and institutions;

➢ Persuasive engagement of the membership through state bodies and the work of party activists on the field ("from home to home").

On the other hand, a perception has often imposed about the advantages and benefits of the fact to be the opposition in Montenegro. Political experience tells us that since the introduction of multiparty, primarily many medium and smaller opposition parties, have had undoubted benefits of the opposition status. Thanks to "privilege" of being in opposition, they were very sharp critics of the government, meeting "on knife" every its move and thereby were not required to have solid

arguments, weight and level of responsibility like DPS had, as the holder of power. This, of course, hasn't obstructed them to occasionally enter into the same government when it was "necessary" (and profitable) to be constructive and helpful "pan on the scale". This primarily refers to the People's Party (in the period 1998 - 2000), the Liberal Union (2001- 2002) and SDP (1998 - present). Also, the practice of some sort of manipulation of ethnic and religious corps of the electorate is quite interesting. Thus, the two dominant Albanian parties (DUA and DS) imposed themselves as the protectors of the interests of the Albanian minority in Montenegro; SNS, DSS, NS and a more other small parties considered each for itself that it was "primary and most Serbian". On the other hand, a number of parties with Muslim and Bosnians prefix did not have much impact on their "corps" because the extremely greatest part of this corpus is mainly composed of supporters of the SDP and DPS (but until 1997 they mostly supported SDA in the beginning, then LSCG and SDP).

The Government was preparing the ground for the implementation of certain political concepts and ideas and tried to form public consciousness thanks to which these ideas would have been supported and accepted. With manipulation it has really sought to create images of reality that looked like it is reality. The desired vista was created, that daily strongly and persistently was aggressively induced in the public by the media, becoming on that way common and imposing as a valid benchmark. Thereat every criticism of thus designed reality associated with a potential risk for the state, fundamental national interests, stability and security of society. A certain drawback of this work is maybe in extension and historical presentation of facts - but extremely complex events that are handled by this topic, have imposed the need to be explained in this work the broader social context in which occurred persuasive activities of political subjects in Montenegro, and that through a kind of political history of a turbulent time review the political propaganda and its characteristics. The aim was to present a highly complex and turbulent epoch through which Montenegrin society passed (in an atmosphere of global fractures, war environment and bombings, nationalism of all kinds, economic collapse, diametrically opposing objectives of the ruling elite created in the short term) through a prism and form of political and

promotional activities. We hope that this work will represent a certain contribution and stimulation for further detailed scientific understanding of the period.

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