



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR MONTENEGRO?

- comparative analysis and recommendations
for a new approach -



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INTRODUCTION

Organization, functionality and transparency of the executive branch has an overwhelming influence on the quality of political decisions, and consequently the quality of life of all citizens, via their attitude to and management of the public interest and resources.

Every country determines, in accordance with its own legal framework, the structure and organization of its executive, depending on the policy priorities and goals set by the government itself, and preferably in accordance with the real needs and possibilities.

Practices differ, and so do the results.

What kind of Government does Montenegro need? What is the role of inner cabinets, what are their advantages and disadvantages? How much do the members of the Government and advisors to the inner cabinet cost? How can we reach an effective organization of the government that is accountable to the citizens?

These were some of starting questions that motivated the team of the Centre for Civic Education's (CCE) to review the current system of organisation of the Montenegrin Government, with a focus on the inner cabinet and number of ministries, and compare them to some of the neighbouring countries, some EU member states, as well as to some third countries that for various reasons could act be role models to Montenegro.

We compared Montenegro to Serbia, Croatia, Slovakia, Germany and Iceland. The choice of these countries follows a clearly defined methodological research framework, in order to include candidate states, members of the European Union, as well as third countries. Specifically, for the purpose of comparative analysis, Serbia was selected as an EU candidate state, Croatia as the last member state that acceded to the EU, Slovakia as the country currently in charge of the EU presidency (since 1 July, 2016) and FR Germany as one of the founders of the EU, but also Iceland as a country that is not currently aspiring to join the EU, but whose size makes for a relevant comparison to Montenegro.

This analysis is part of regular activities of the CCE within the sub-programme *Accountability and Transparency of Authorities*.

MONTENEGRO

Montenegro has 647,073 inhabitants¹, and a territory of 13,812 km². Its gross domestic product (GDP) in 2015 was \$16.100, making it 102nd country in the world by GDP, ahead of other countries in the region – Bosnia and Herzegovina (\$10.500), Albania (\$11.900), and Serbia (\$13.700) – but below the EU member states in our study (Croatia \$21.600, Slovakia \$29.700, Germany \$46.900), as well as Iceland (\$46.100). The real GDP growth rate in 2015 was 4.1%². Government revenues in 2015 were \$1.56 billion, and expenditure approximately \$1.63 billion³.

The public debt of Montenegro, as of 31 December 2015, was 69.65% of GDP, up 10% since 2014. Unemployment rate was 17.6%, a slight decrease compared to 2014 when it stood at 18.5%⁴.

Montenegro does not have a Law on Government, although civil society and some political parties have long recommended adopting an act that would regulate the legal and political system. The work of the Government is regulated by Regulation on Government of Montenegro⁵.

The current Government of Montenegro was formed in December 2012, following regular parliamentary elections. It consists of 17 ministries: Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finances, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Transport and Maritime Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism, Ministry of Health, Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, Ministry for Information Society and Telecommunications, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Ministry of Science and Ministry without Portfolio.⁶

In 2015, Montenegrin Government managed a budget of EUR 2.167.341.⁷

In addition to the Prime Minister, the Government of Montenegro has six deputy prime ministers, compared to an average of two⁸ in the European Union, as well as in the region, who usually oversee the areas of interior and foreign policy, as well as economy and finance. Prior to the adoption of the *Lex specialis*, as a result of the Agreement on free and Fair Elections and the formation of a Government of Electoral Trust in May 2016, the Government had four deputy prime ministers, for: 1) political



1 The CIA World Factbook Montenegro 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mj.html>

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Statistical Office of Montenegro MONSTAT, Department of statistics of labor market, life conditions, social services and household consumption, Survey on labor force 2015, <http://www.monstat.org/cg/page.php?id=22&pageid=22>

5 Regulation on Government of Montenegro, Official Gazette Of Montenegro, No. 80/2008

6 Government of Montenegro, organization, <http://www.gov.me/organizacija>

7 Draft Law on Final Budget Account of Montenegro for 2015, http://www.gov.me/sjednice_vlade/160

8 With the exception of the case of Serbia.

system, interior and foreign policy; 2) economic policy and financial system; 3) regional development; 4) European integration. After resignation of the deputy prime minister for European integration⁹ and political agreement between the Government and the opposition about the latter's participation in the Government, the number was increased to six, although the citizens were never told what precisely were to be the duties of the three new deputy prime ministers, nor was this information posted on the Government website¹⁰.

According to the Regulation on Government of Montenegro, the Government has an *inner cabinet*, comprised of the Prime Minister, deputy prime ministers and Secretary General of the government. Meetings of this cabinet may also, per invitation, be attended by ministers. A meeting of the Inner cabinet is called and presided over by the Prime Minister, who also coordinates the fulfilment of the policy plan and programme of the Government, discusses issues relevant to the work of the Government, plans working of sessions of the Government and coordinates the work of Government members. In addition to that, the inner cabinet may decide to deploy resources from the current budget reserve, in accordance with criteria established by the Government¹¹. However, the manner in which the budget reserve is allocated usually remains covered by a veil of secrecy, and the request for free access to information by civil society organizations have been repeatedly denied.

Furthermore, according to the Regulation on the Government of Montenegro, the Prime Minister has a cabinet that conducts professional and other activities necessary to the functioning of the Prime Minister's office. This cabinet consists of advisors, who are appointed and dismissed by the Government upon proposal of the Prime Minister. They are supervised by the chief of cabinet, who is also subject to the appointment and dismissal procedure of the Government. Their mandate ends with the cessation of the Prime Minister's mandate, by resignation or dismissal. The same applies to cabinets of the Government's deputy prime ministers, i.e. they too have the possibility to nominate the head of their cabinet.¹²

In addition to the exceptionally high number of deputy prime ministers, the Regulation on the Government of Montenegro gives members of the inner cabinet generous provisions on the appointment of advisors, which they have fully exploited. Thus the Prime Minister Milo Đukanović has 11 (previously 12) advisors responsible for policy, energy and industrial development, public relations (two), human rights, relations with citizens, and local self-government, as well as some whose area of expertise is unknown.¹³

Deputy prime ministers have between two and five advisors, with the highest number of advisors deployed by deputies for political system, interior and foreign policy, and economic policy and financial system (five each). Deputy prime minister for regional development has two advisors in his cabinet, whereas the three deputy prime ministers appointed after the establishment of the Government of Electoral Trust have not yet published the names of their advisors on the website, but unofficial information suggests that there is on average one advisor per deputy prime minister.

Montenegrin Prime Minister and six deputy prime ministers are advised by nearly 30 advisors. A rough estimate of the monthly cost of the work of Prime Minister, members of the Government (deputy prime ministers and ministers) and advisors to the inner cabinet is EUR 75.700 net (EUR124.000 gross).

⁹ Igor Lukšić, Deputy prime minister and Minister of foreign affairs and European integration resigned on 1 April 2016.

¹⁰ <http://www.gov.me/naslovna/potpredsjednici-vlade>

¹¹ *Regulation on Government of Montenegro*, Article 11, Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 80/2008

¹² Ibid.

¹³ At the 164 session of the Government of Montenegro conducted on 7 July 2016, a proposal for dismissal of advisor of the President of Government of Montenegro for foreign policy Vera Joličić Kuliš has been submitted and adopted, http://www.gov.me/sjednice_vlade/164

SERBIA

Serbia has 7.176.794 inhabitants, and territory of 77.474 km²¹⁴. Its per capita GDP in 2015 amounted to \$13.700, ranking it 116th in the world. The real GDP growth rate in 2015 was 0.7%¹⁵, government revenues \$14.91 billion, and expenditure \$16.4 billion, while the public debt reached 75% of GDP, an increase compared to the previous year (70% of GDP). Unemployment rate in 2015 was 19.3%.

The Government of Serbia¹⁶, formed in April 2014, has 18 ministries: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure, Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications, Ministry of Public Administration and Local Self-Government, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture and Environmental Protection, Ministry of Mining and Energy, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Culture and the Media, Ministry without portfolio responsible for European integration, Ministry without portfolio responsible for emergency situations¹⁷.

In 2015, Government of Serbia managed a budget of 924.328 billion dinars or EUR 8.253.416.¹⁸

The National Assembly of Serbia adopted a Law on Government in 2014, according to which the Government of Serbia consists of the Prime Minister, one or more deputy prime ministers and line ministers, as well as ministers without portfolio. The number of deputy prime ministers is set by the National Assembly for each mandate of the Government, upon proposal of the candidate for Prime Minister. The Prime Minister one deputy to replace him in case of absence or inability to work and who in that case may wield the full powers of the Prime Minister, except those to appoint or dismiss a member of the Government¹⁹. The Law on Government of Serbia does not specify the composition of the inner cabinet of the Government.

The current Prime Minister of Serbia has four deputy prime ministers who are also line ministers in the inner cabinet: first deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs, deputy prime minister and minister of construction, transport and infrastructure, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, tourism and telecommunications and deputy prime minister and minister for public administration and local self-government.



¹⁴ Number of inhabitants and size of territory of Serbia were calculated without Kosovo. The CIA World Factbook Serbia 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ri.html>

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The last Government of Serbia was formed in April 2014, and dismissed in March 2016. Elections were held on 24 April 2016, and until 20 July 2016 the new Government has not yet been formed.

¹⁷ *Decision on Selection of Government of Serbia*. Official Gazette of Serbia No. 55/05, 71/05 – correction 101/07, 65/08, 16/11, 68/12-US, 72/12 and 44/14, http://www.media.srbija.gov.rs/medsrp/dokumenti/odluka_o_izboru_vlade2014.pdf

¹⁸ *Law on Budget of Serbia*, www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/documents/4598-14.pdf

¹⁹ *Law on Government*, article 10 and 13 A, http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_vladi.html

The Law on Government of Serbia also offers the possibility of appointing a cabinet of the Prime Minister, as well as cabinets of deputy prime ministers, within which they may appoint the necessary advisors. The cabinets are led by heads of cabinets, appointed and dismissed by the Prime Minister, i.e. by deputy prime ministers. According to publicly available data, the Prime Minister of Serbia has appointed eight advisors to perform various professional and other activities in the areas of foreign policy, economy and media, but there is no information on the responsibilities of each individual advisor. In addition to this, certain international experts and statement have occasionally been mentioned as advisors of the Prime Minister of Serbia²⁰.

As for the deputy prime ministers, no official information is publicly available on the composition of their cabinets, except in cases of the deputy prime minister and minister of trade, tourism and telecommunications (two), and deputy prime minister and minister for political administration and local self-government (three).

CROATIA

Croatia has 4.464.844 inhabitants and a territory of 56.594 km².²¹ Croatia's per capita GDP in 2015 amounted to \$21.600, making it 83rd richest country world, ahead of all countries of the region. Its real GDP growth rate in 2015 was 1.6%, which is a significant progress in comparison to previous years (-0.4% -2014, -1.1%-2013)²². Budget revenues in 2015 amounted to \$20.49 billion, while budget expenditure was 22.91 billion²³. In 2015, Croatia's public debt reached 89.5% of GDP, up from 85.1% in 2014. In 2015, unemployment rate in Croatia was 19.3%, i.e. somewhat lower than in 2014 (20.3%)²⁴.

Government of Croatia, formed in January 2016, consists of 20 ministries²⁵: Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Social Policy and Youth, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Crafts, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Construction and Physical Planning, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Pension System, Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport and Infrastructure, Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, Ministry of Regional Development and EU funds, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Environmental and Nature Protection, Ministry of Public Administration and Ministry of Veterans' Affairs.²⁶



²⁰ Austrian statesman Alfred Gusenbauer, Italian statesman Franco Frattini, former Prime Minister of the UK Tony Blair and the former IMF official Dominique Strauss Kahn. More information at:

<http://www.srbijadanas.net/tajni-savetnici-aleksandra-vucica-ne-zna-se-ko-su-savetnici-premijera-i-koliko-ih-tacno-ima>, <http://www.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Srbija/510235/Kontrovezni-savetnici-srpske-vlade-Bler-i-Stros-Kan-napustili-Vucica>

²¹ The CIA World Factbook Croatia 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/hr.html>

²² The CIA World Factbook Croatia 2016. More information: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/hr.html>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Government of Republic of Croatia is currently in the technical mandate as the snap elections have been scheduled for 11 September 2016.

²⁶ Government of Republic of Croatia – members of the Government. For more information: <https://vlada.gov.hr/ministries-and-government-bodies/16139>

In 2015 the Croatian Government managed a budget of 108.191.230 kunas or EUR14.444.757²⁷.

The Croatian Parliament adopted the Law on Government of Republic of Croatia in October 2014. According to the Law, the Government is comprised of the Prime Minister, one or more deputies and ministers. If the Government has more deputy prime ministers, the Prime Minister may appoint one as the first deputy. The Law also prescribes that the inner cabinet of the Government should consist of the Prime Minister and deputy prime ministers, and that its meetings should be chaired by the Prime Minister, and in case of absence or unavailability by the deputy he or she appoints. Other members of the Government may also be invited to the meetings of the Inner cabinet, as well as other persons nominated by the Prime Minister. The current Government, which is in its technical mandate, had two deputy prime ministers.

The Law on the Government of Croatia offers the Prime Minister the possibility to appoint special advisors or to establish councils and appoint members to these councils for the purpose of assessing the state of affairs, developing strategic development plans and analyses, prepare proposals and coordinate implementation of individual projects in the Government programme, as well as for other issues of current or occasional nature that are of relevance to the work of the Prime Minister. Individual members of the Government may also, with consent of the Prime Minister, appoint a special advisor under conditions stipulated by the Law.²⁸

In practice, the right to appoint special advisor has been used by the Prime Minister and one of his deputies. According to media archives, the Croatian Prime Minister appointed one advisor for foreign policy, but there is no official information on the total number of advisors. One deputy prime minister appointed five special advisors who provided professional or other assistance in the areas of social activities, national security, general affairs, economy and business²⁹. No information is available on any advisors possibly appointed by the second deputy.

ICELAND

Iceland has 331.918 inhabitants, on a territory of 103.000 km².³⁰ The per capita GDP of Iceland was \$46.100 in 2015, making it the 30th wealthiest country in the world, far above the countries of the Western Balkans and many EU members, but still below Germany (\$46.900). The real GDP growth rate of Iceland was 4% in 2015, a significant economic progress compared to previous years when that growth rate was 2% (2014). Government revenues in 2015 were \$6.914 billion, and expenditure \$6.885 billion. The public debt in 2015 was 81.9% of GDP, significantly lower than in 2013 (85.4%). The unemployment rate was 3.8% in 2015, somewhat higher than in 2014 when the unemployment rate was 3.6%³¹.



²⁷ State budget of Republic of Croatia for 2015: <http://www.mfin.hr/hr/drzavni-proracun-2015-godina>

²⁸ Law on Government of Croatia 2014, <http://www.zakon.hr/z/170/Zakon-o-Vladi-Republike-Hrvatske>

²⁹ <http://hr.n1info.com/a108090/Vijesti/Tko-su-Karamarkovi-savjetnici-na-placi-od-8000-kuna.html>, <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/otkrivamo-karamarko-ima-pet-posebnih-savjetnika-tri-na-placi-od-8-tisuca-kuna---428462.html>

³⁰ The CIA World Factbook Iceland 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ic.html>

³¹ Ibid.

The Government of Iceland, formed in May 2013, consists of 9 ministries: Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Ministry of Industry and Trade, Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior and Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources.³²

In 2015, the Icelandic Government managed a budget of 664.5 billion of Icelandic kronas or EUR 4.962.658.700³³.

Iceland does not have a special law on Government. Article 15 of the Constitution of Iceland stipulates that the Prime Minister appoints and dismisses ministers. Additionally, the Prime Minister determines the number of ministers and their jurisdiction³⁴.

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia has 5.445.027 inhabitants, and a territory of 49.035 km².³⁵ Its per capita GDP \$29.700 in 2015, making it 62nd in the world.

The Slovak GDP grew 3.6% in real terms in 2015, a significant progress compared to the previous year (2.5% - 2014)³⁶. Slovak Government revenues in 2015 were \$16.23 billion, while expenditure was \$18.17 billion. Meanwhile the public debt of Slovakia reached 52.5% of GDP, a decrease compared to 2014 (53.5% of GDP). The unemployment rate was 10.6%, an improvement on 2014 when it was 12.3%³⁷.



The Government of Slovakia, formed in March 2016, has 13 ministries: Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Health.³⁸

Slovakia does not have a Law on Government that would define the status of the inner cabinet of the Prime Minister and deputy prime ministers. Instead, the Statute on Government Office of Republic

³² Government Offices of Iceland – current government, <http://www.government.is/government/>

³³ Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, *Treasury Budget Proposal 2015*, <https://www.ministryoffinance.is/Frontpage-fjr/nr/18444>

³⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Iceland, <http://www.government.is/constitution/>

³⁵ The CIA World Factbook Slovakia 2016. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lo.html>

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Government Office of the Slovak Republic 2016 – Members of Government, <http://www.vlada.gov.sk/members-of-the-government/>

of Slovakia defines the jurisdiction and the functioning of the Government's Office, principles of internal organization and relations between the Government and state administration bodies and other legal entities in accordance with the law and other general regulations³⁹.

The inner cabinet of the Government of Slovakia consists of the Prime Minister and one deputy prime minister, who among other functions is also responsible for the areas of investment and information society⁴⁰.

The former Prime Minister appointed 12 advisors⁴¹ who performed professional and other services for the executive, in areas of macro-economy and strategy, economic and social policy, energy, health, education, science, culture, foreign affairs and justice.⁴²

GERMANY

Germany has 80.854.408 inhabitants, and a territory of 357.022 km².⁴³ The per capita GDP of Germany in 2015 amounted to \$46.900, making it 28th wealthiest country in the world, far above most European Union members and countries of the Western Balkans. Its GDP grew by 1.5%, in 2015, which is somewhat lower compared to 2014 (1.6%)⁴⁴. The revenues of the government were \$1.115 billion in 2015, the expenditure \$1.484 billion. Germany's public debt stood at 71.7% of GDP in 2015, a decrease compared to the previous year (74.3% of GDP). The unemployment rate was 4.8%, i.e. somewhat lower than in 2014 (5%).⁴⁵

Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, formed in December 2013, consists of 14 ministries: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure, Ministry for the Environment,



³⁹ Statute of the Government Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://www.vlada.gov.sk/statute-of-the-government-office-of-the-slovak-republic/>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The number of advisors relates to the previous cabinet of the Prime Minister of Slovakia (2012-2016) who also had a council.

⁴² The Slovak Spectator, *Prime Minister Fico appoints a council of advisors*, 2012, last access on 07/07/2016, <http://spectator.sme.sk/c/20043942/prime-minister-fico-appoints-a-council-of-advisors.html>

⁴³ The CIA World Factbook Germany 2016. For more information: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-fact-book/geos/gm.html>

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety, Ministry of Education and Research, Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development⁴⁶.

FR Germany does not have a law on Government, but its jurisdiction is defined by the so called Basic Law, i.e. the Constitution.

The inner cabinet of the Government of FR Germany consists of a chancellor and one deputy chancellor, who is at the same time the federal minister for economic affairs and energy.

The German chancellor has five advisors who supply professional services in the areas of foreign and security policy, international development policy, economic policy and European affairs.⁴⁷ It is unknown whether the deputy chancellor has formed a cabinet of advisors.

⁴⁶ The Federal Government of Germany 2016 – Cabinet, https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/EN/FederalGovernment/Cabinet/_node.html

⁴⁷ https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Anlagen/druckversion-organigramm-bkamt.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=10

COMPARATIVE REVIEW

Country name	Number of inhabitants	Budget for 2015	Number of deputy prime ministers	Number of ministries	Law on Government
Montenegro	647.073	\$1.56 billion	6	17	-
Serbia	7.176.794	\$14.91 billion	4	18	-
Croatia	4.464.844	\$22.91 billion	2	20	-
Iceland	331.918	\$6.914 billion	0	9	-
Slovakia	5.445.027	\$16.23 billion	1	13	-
Germany	80.854.408	\$1.115 billion	1	14	-



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A NEW MODEL OF MONTENEGRIN GOVERNMENT

- » Official information on the Government members and advisors to the inner cabinet of the Government of Montenegro is among the most transparent in comparison to other countries analyzed here, but the Government of Montenegro should further strengthen its transparency by making available information on its decisions, as well as on the way it spends and manages state resources.
- » Montenegrin Government is large and cumbersome, and does not comply with the principle of efficiency and economy. Our recommendation is that the Government should be made smaller, more compact and more effective.
- » The Government of Montenegro should not be a place to “house” coalition partners or „balance“ party cadres, but a modern, efficient, and results-oriented citizens’ service.
- » It is necessary to significantly change the organizational structure of ministries within the Government of Montenegro and reduce their number from the current 17 to an optimal 10 ministries. Specifically, in accordance with the current internal and foreign policy priorities, we recommend that the Government of Montenegro should have the following ministries;
 - » *Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs*
 - » *Ministry of Interior*
 - » *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration*
 - » *Ministry of Defence*
 - » *Ministry of Justice*
 - » *Ministry of Health*
 - » *Ministry of Education, Science and Sports*
 - » *Ministry of Culture and Media*
 - » *Ministry of Sustainable Development, Agriculture and Tourism*
 - » *Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare*
- » There is no need for the special ministries such as the Ministry for human and minority rights, which could be a directorate within the Ministry of Justice); transport and maritime affairs (potentially a directorate in the Ministry of Sustainable development, Agriculture and Tourism); information society and telecommunications (alternatively a directorate in the Ministry for Sustainable Development, Agriculture and Tourism); and it should be possible to merge the portfolios dedicated to economy and finances, as well as those on sustainable development, agriculture and tourism, and finally education, science and sport.
- » All public officials, including members of the Government and their advisors, are paid from the budget, i.e. by the money of the citizens of Montenegro. Unnecessary multiplication of ministries and deployment of an army of advisors in the inner cabinet sends the message that the Government holds party interest above the public interest.
- » Bearing in mind the Montenegrin context, it is necessary to adopt the Law on Government as soon as possible, in order to complete the normative framework on the legal and political

system. This includes creating an adequate structure of the inner cabinet, with a number of deputy prime ministers not exceeding two, instead of the current record of six. If more than one deputy prime minister is appointed, the Law on Government of Montenegro should also define the status of the first deputy prime minister to replace the Prime Minister with full authority in case of the latter's absence or unavailability. Furthermore, the Law on Government of Montenegro should stipulate a special obligation for one of the deputy prime ministers to attend sessions of the Parliament of Montenegro, in view of the constitutional obligation of the executive to implement the laws and other regulations adopted by the Parliament of Montenegro. Finally, the Law on Government should more closely regulate the composition of ministers who implement the programme and policy of the Government.

- » Political parties should, within their election programmes, clearly indicate the form and structure of organization of the Government they are hoping to form after the elections. The citizens could thus have full information from all political subjects, as well as a means of judging where the principle of finding systemic solutions has been replaced by staffing compromises between parties, and identifying those responsible for such bartering and the potential waste of public resources.

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