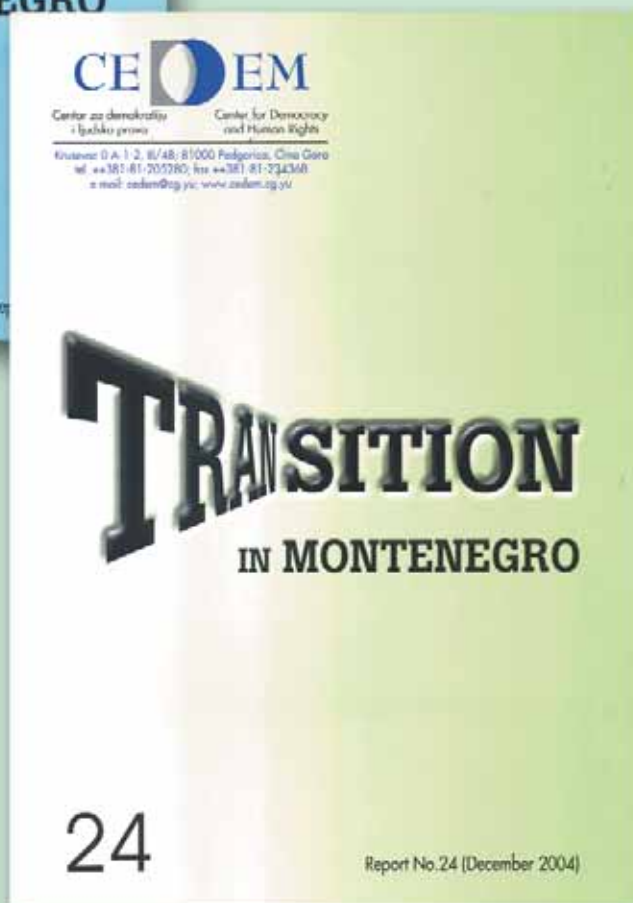


# NEWSLETTER



# CEDEM edition:





# Within the founders' grip

While editorial team is slowly transforming the program and TV managerial team is taking steps toward reduction of number of employees, Montenegrin government looks as if trying to slow down or even stop this difficult process of transformation. At the same time, a great danger is hanging upon survival of local media in Montenegro.

At the end of November, Montenegrin Radio- TV celebrated important jubilee: six decades of Radio and four decades of Television. That was an opportunity for managerial team of this public service to make a summary of the current work results and defines future steps in transformation of this public service.

We must admit that this was done in very professional and highly ethical level. On the occasion of its own jubilee, during celebration, TV has broadcasted half-hour movie about past period of Montenegrin Radio and TV. TV story will be remembered, primarily because of the fact that this media house represented itself without embellish or retouch of the past.

The movie, besides glorious beginnings and takeoff period of Montenegrin Radio and TV, also showed not so glorious part, which this media house played, at the beginning of 90s, during war destructions and Montenegrin campaign on Dubrovnik. Within this TV story there were also critical reviews of journalists, who at the time, represented the core of Montenegrin RTV news-editorial staff (Božidar Colovic, Emilo Labudovic, Perica

Dakovic), and some of them are still on payrolls within TV.

## The government against its own Television

This was, no doubt, rare example of confronting ones' own past. Just a couple of months before this event, the only Montenegrin government newspaper "Pobjeda" celebrated 60 years of its existence. Government newspaper, however, didn't have neither strength to confront its own past, nor to tackle, within special supplement dedicated to past period, the role of its journalists during period of warmongering.

Thus, unlike government owned "Pobjeda", Montenegrin Radio and Television (RTVCG) started confronting its own past and that is the first sign that RTV managerial team is ready and eager to take the road of transition of this media house into the public service.

Besides internal resistance, managerial team of RTVCG will probably have another big obstacle on this road- Montenegrin government! While editorial team is slowly transforming the program and managerial team undertaking efforts in order to reduce the number of employees, Montenegrin government appears as if trying to slow down or even stop this difficult transformation process.

Transformation of Montenegrin RTV in public service is questionable because of such government approach,

as the funds allocated for this public service are constantly being reduced. For 2004, there were 2.590.000 euros, within Montenegrin budget, allocated for RTVCG, but at the beginning of autumn Montenegrin Government reduced that figure for one million euros.

This is not all: in the budget proposal for 2005, the amount set for RTVCG program production is 1.360.000 euros, what means further reduction (for 230 000 euros) compared to 2004, fiscal year.

"We are not just surprised but rather, we are in absolute state of shock. Optimism we had at the beginning of transformation is rapidly declining", said to Montenegrin media Rajko Cerovic, president of Montenegrin RTV Steering Committee. "I am afraid that, thanks to this kind of government position regarding RTVCG as public service, the whole process of transformation is questioned and absolutely endangered", concluded Cerovic.

Bitterness, of people who are running the Montenegrin RTV, is not unfounded. On the contrary: according to the Law on Public Radio-Diffusion Services, the government is obligated to provide, RTVCG with part of funds for "realization of citizens' rights on information, which are guaranteed by the Law and by the Constitution". We are dealing here with programs related to field of science, education, culture, and informing persons with damaged senses of vision and hearing, as well as programs in languages of national and ethnical minorities.

Reduction of funds from government budget will have dramatic reflections on evermore difficult financial situation within RTVCG- this institution is hardly managing to payoff salaries to employees, with delay, while payoffs of honorariums are late up to 90 days. It is quite obvious that with funds planned within the budget- with maximal economy measures and rationalization that is ongoing within RTVCG - it will not be able to transform the government television into quality public service.

## Misery of local public services

The situation at local level is not much better. The Law on Radio Diffusion prescribes establishment and functioning of local radio-diffusion services, which- being media at local level- must provide quality reception of radio or TV program for at least 85% of population with-

in the local community. Broadcasters of local radio-diffusion services produce, transmit, and broadcast the program and therefore they have special obligations regarding realization of common interest.

In line with their function, and having in mind the fact that they are financed by the public (from the budget, from radio-diffusion subscription, and from taxes on motor vehicles), local radio-diffusion services, besides their other functions, must offer complete picture of political life within the territory run by local government. In other words, they must provide impartiality of public service, and stick to principles defined at the level of national public service.

According to article 100 of Law on Radio-Diffusion, broadcasters make their incomes from subscription and other source defined by the Law. In general, there are eight models of making money: receiving part of radio-diffusion subscription, from part of the taxes collected on radios within motor vehicles; through production and broadcast of advertisements, production and sale of audio-visual works (shows, movies, serials); through sponsorship; with organization of concerts and other performances; from the local government budget; from other sources.

The Law defines that; eventual profit must be used exclusively for improvement of local media service quality.

It sounds optimistic, but also very unrealistic. This can be clearly seen on the example of Niksic media service. According to the plan for next year, the municipal budget will be bigger for 400 000 euros. Despite this fact, the municipal budget, for the first time, does not anticipate funds for Niksic Radio-Television. Since former Center for Informative Activity became public service, the municipality is obligated, based on contract, to finance educational and scientific program.

Nevertheless, due to late salary payoffs this media house had stop broadcasting the program at the middle of 2004. At the end of December, managerial team of RTV Niksic tried, in vain, to start working after five months of pause (strike). However, Strike Committee didn't allow the RTV Niksic director to start the program as they were infuriated with the fact that they haven't received salaries for past ten months. According to employees, government bodies- primarily state prosecutor- are the main culprits

for crises in Niksic local TV.

"Confusion within RTV Niksic is lasting to long. District prosecutor, to whom 11 criminal charges were submitted, has done nothing, nor did he rejected, those charges as unfounded. Because the program was interrupted RTV Niksic was damaged for 40 000 euros, for the period of five months" claims RTV Niksic director Miodrag Radovic.

Disputes between director and employees are continuing and RTV Niksic is slowly going down.

Situation in Budva, or in some other stations is slightly less bad. Until the new Law on Radio-Diffusion went into effect, in Montenegro we had 13 radio stations working at local level and two TV stations (TV Nikšić and TV Budva). Formally, the process of transformation of local electronic media into public services has been completed in all local governments, with exception of Ulcinj municipality. Because they breached legally prescribed obligations, Ulcinj radio station was eliminated from funds of Radio- Diffusion Agency.

During 2004, Radio-Diffusion Agency, starting from April, has been regularly paying money (as kind of help to local public services) to all 13 local radio stations. In average, that sum was some 35 000-40 000 euros monthly. Realistically, with these funds local media can hardly survive. For example: Radio Niksic received 39 000 euros per year- and that is the biggest amount. On the other side we have local station Radio Tivat , which had received only 14 500 euros. It is extremely difficult to cover all expenses (wages, and management expenses) with such small funds received from the government. This resulted in serious troubles and threat of extinction of local public service, and situation of TV studios in Budva and Nikšić is quite uncertain.

## Recommendations

· It is evident that government media in Montenegro are undergoing difficult transition process into the public services. We are dealing here with long-lasting and expensive process, which is imposing (inevitably) key role and activity of the government. With capable management and creative editorial team, these are preconditions for successful transformation of government electronic media.

· It is quite visible, within the analysis we have done so far, that government activity is the weakest link on a chain: adopted laws are being implemented very slowly, and government is reducing the funds aimed for financing Montenegrin RTV every year. Impossibility to affect the work of editorial team (editors are now much more protected from politicians' influences) seems to have affected the behavior of the government- the ruling coalition, all of a sudden, have lost any desire to invest in survival of government electronic media.

· Constant reduction of government budget (funds allocated for financing electronic public service) will have dire consequences on transformation process. The new funds are needed right now to be invested in three directions: for taking care of surplus employees, modernization of technology, and raising the salaries.

· The action of international community should be directed toward achieving these goals. If we want these territories to accept European Union standards, we need further investments in public service. Therefore, one of the key roles of international actors would be- influencing government structures in Montenegro to provide greater funds, within government budget, for electronic media.

· Besides this, organizing of donors' conference for financing the transition of government media houses, would significantly contribute to raising needed funds. Therefore, managerial team of Montenegrin RTV, should move in that direction and work together, both with government bodies and representatives of international community.

· Only in this way- creating financial support- fast and efficient transformation of government electronic media into electronic public service of benefit for Montenegrin citizens- would be possible. Recent surveys shows, that both government TV, and government Radio ratings are on the rise- those are signals illustrating that within those media houses we have both knowledge and desire for changes. It would be good if same signals would be visible at government administration but also at international community.



# CEDEM activities:

## *Seminar:*

***"Freedom of thought, conscience and religion and freedom of assembly and association - European Convention on Human Rights standards and domestic legislation and practice"***

**Herceg Novi, December 8-10, 2004**

Seminar for Montenegrin judges, attorneys and advocates regarding **"European Convention on Human Rights"** (ECHR), were organized and held by the Council of Europe, AIRE (Advice on Individual Rights) Center from London, Judicial Training Center and the CEDEM.

Different aspects of mentioned rights regarding ECHR and domestic laws and practice were discussed at the seminar.

This project has been supported by: Foundation Konrad Adenauer, European Agency for Reconstruction, Westminster Foundation for Democracy, British Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Open Society Institute.



## **CEDEM**

***"Montenegrin Police is ready to accept the implementation of Criminal Proceedings Law"***

**Danilovgrad, October, 2004.**

The final round table for members of Montenegrin Ministry of the Interior, lawyers and attorneys, organized by CEDEM and Montenegrin Ministry of the

Interior Affairs, with support of Swedish Helsinki Committee and within the project "Police and Human Rights", held in Police School in Danilovgrad.

## **CEDEM**

***Empirical Research Department***

Opinion pool results: **"Relationship regarding state issue and key social-economic problems"**, was presented on press conference on December 17, 2004 in PR Center. Research was done from 3-rd to 10-th

December, 2004. Dr Srdan Darmanovic, Head of the CEDEM and dr Veselin Pavicevic, head of the Empirical Research Department took part at the press Conference. Democratic Commission Grant, USA



Government supported the project.

Research "Political public opinion in Montenegro", was conducted from 21-th to 28-th January, 2005, on a stratified, two-phase quota sample at the level of 1000 subjects, in 9 Montenegrin municipalities. Dr Veselin Pavicevic, head of the Empirical Research Department took part at the press conference.

**Comment: Completed Opinion pool results can be found on CEDEM web-site: [www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)**

## Political public opinion in Montenegro - Januar 2005

The research was conducted on a stratified, two-phase quota sample. The project was realised in 9 Montenegrin municipalities at the level of 1000 subjects. Field research and primary data processing

has been made from January 21-28, 2005. Project "Political public opinion in Montenegro" is supported by Open Society Institute, Montenegro.

### *Attitudes towards direct election for Parliament of State Union S&M*

%	oct '04	jan '05
- That election should be organized according to Constitutional Charter	24.4	32.6
- Mandate of current Parliament should be extended until the referendum	-	6.6
- These election shouldn't be held until the faith of Montenegrin statehood is decided on referendum	33.6	30.2
- This issue should be resolved through agreement within S&M and with assistance of EU	-	8.6
- Don't know, don't assess	30.3	22.0

### *Confidence in Institutions*

%	oct '04	jan '05
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.44	3.28
S&M Army	2.76	2.56
Montenegrin President	2.55	2.56
Montenegrin Government	2.50	2.42
Montenegrin Police	2.41	2.45
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.39	2.24
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.37	2.36
Montenegrin Parliament	2.31	2.38
President of S&M	2.29	2.23
Parliament of S&M	2.14	2.01
Council of Ministries of S&M	2.11	1.97

### *Evaluate the following politicians with marks from 1 to 5: Rang of Politicians and Public persons/*

	Dec 2003	Apr 2004	Jun 2004	Avg 2004	Jan 2005
1. Milo Đukanović	2.73	2.64	2.61	2.66	2.63
2. Filip Vujanović	2.64	2.57	2.63	2.58	2.54
3. Svetozar Marović	2.58	2.52	2.65	2.49	2.35
4. Slobodan Milošević	2.25	2.27	2.26	2.20	2.28
5. Vojislav Koštunica	2.15	2.25	2.18	2.12	2.09
6. Ranko Krivokapić	2.07	2.09	2.19	2.29	2.27
7. Miodrag Živković	2.21	2.17	2.45	1.95	1.83
8. Predrag Bulatović	1.74	1.81	1.95	1.74	1.84
9. Božidar Bojović	1.73	1.78	1.97	1.86	1.88
10. Dragan Šoć	1.86	1.88	2.14	2.03	2.01
11. Vojislav Šešelj	2.09	2.07	2.18	2.12	2.11
12. Zoran Žižić	2.00	2.12	2.06	1.98	2.09
13. Nebojša Medojević	2.74	2.96	3.00	3.03	2.86
14. Andrija Mandić	1.70	1.77	1.99	1.91	2.04
15. Amfilohije Radović	2.42	2.59	2.87	2.67	2.78
16. Boris Tadić	1.99	2.17	2.27	2.45	2.24
17. Vesna Perović	-	-	-	1.60	1.66

*Are you satisfied with results of Djukanovic's Government so far?*

%	apr'04	jun'04	oct'04	jan'05
Very dissatisfied	38.2	35.8	35.9	35.0
Mostly dissatisfied	17.1	19.1	17.7	19.2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	23.9	25.1	25.3	25.2
Mostly satisfied	14.3	14.1	15.1	14.2
Very satisfied	6.4	4.2	6.0	6.4

*Should Montenegro, in your opinion, whether independent or in the state union with Serbia, be in the future:*

**1. Member of the European Union** %

	Dec 2003	Apr 2004	Jun 2004	Avg 2004	Jan 2005
1. Yes	79.5	83.4	81.2	82.4	78.9
2. No	4.7	5.4	4.6	5.5	6.1
3. No attitude	15.8	11.2	14.2	21.1	15.0

**2. Member of the NATO Alliance** %

	Dec 2003	Apr 2004	Jun 2004	Avg 2004	Jan 2005
1. Yes	31.2	35.6	35.2	39.3	34.9
2. No	39.7	41.3	36.3	35.6	37.9
3. No attitude	29.1	23.1	28.5	24.1	27.2

**3. Collaboration with Hague Tribunal** %

	Jun 2004	Avg 2004	Jan 2005
1. Yes	42.3	44.5	44.8
2. No	40.0	41.7	38.3
3. No attitude	17.7	13.8	16.9

*The attitude towards Montenegrin independence*

%	apr'04	jun'04	oct'04	jan'05
For Independence	39.8	39.2	42.5	44.5
Against Independence	39.7	39.1	36.7	40.5
No attitude	20.5	21.7	21.8	15.0

*Idea of creating Union of Independent States Serbia and Montenegro*

%	okt '04	jan '05
Yes	37.1	36.6
No	40.7	42.1
Don't know, can't assess	22.2	21.3

*Membership in EU from point of view of supporters of different statehood options*

Attitude	YES		NO		Don't have opinion on issue	
	Okt 2004	Jan 2005	Okt 2004	Jan 2005	Okt 2004	Jan 2005
Independents	92.2	92.8	3.1	2.2	4.7	5.0
Unionists	79.8	71.6	8.7	10.6	11.5	17.8
Others	66.7	57.3	3.1	5.3	30.2	37.4

*Membership in NATO from point of view of supporters of different statehood options*

Attitude	YES		NO		Don't have opinion on issue	
	Okt 2004	Jan 2005	Okt 2004	Jan 2005	Okt 2004	Jan 2005
Independents	62.4	56.6	16.2	18.2	21.4	25.2
Unionists	19.9	16.5	58.9	61.2	21.3	22.3
Others	25.0	20.0	30.2	33.3	44.8	46.7

*Individual party preferences*

	Dec 2003	Apr 2004	Jun 2004	Oct 2004	Jan 2005
1. DPS	20.8	23.8	23.3	26.1	25.5
2. SNP	8.5	9.5	10.3	8.1	7.9
3. LSCG	4.7	5.6	6.5	2.0	0.9
4. SNS	2.8	1.6	2.4	2.4	3.7
5. SDP	2.3	3.3	4.0	4.2	5.3
6. SRS /V. Šešelj/	4.4	3.6	4.4	3.8	3.7
7. NS	1.8	1.8	2.2	2.6	2.3
8. NSS	1.5	1.7	1.0	0.9	1.2
9. DUA	1.0	1.3	2.0	1.6	1.8
10. DSCG	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.3
11. GP	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.6
12. LPCG	-	-	-	-	0.8
13. GZP	7.2	10.7	10.1	10.1	7.8
14. DSS	-	1.6	1.6	0.9	1.0
15. Some other party	3.6	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.0
16. Indecisive	17.3	12.1	9.9	11.2	11.0
17. Abstinent	23.2	20.4	19.3	23.3	24.2



*Collaboration with Hague Tribunal from point of view of supporters of different statehood options*

Attitude	YES		NO		Don't have opinion on issue	
	Ok 2004	Jan 2005	Ok 2004	Jan 2005	Ok 2004	Jan 2005
Independents	80.0	76.6	11.3	13.5	8.7	9.9
Unionists	11.4	12.6	79.0	71.4	9.6	16.0
Others	28.1	37.3	34.4	22.7	37.5	40.0

*Who should be Montenegrin allies in foreign politics?*

	Non	Little	Very much	Completely	No opinion	No response
1. EU	7.9	18.9	25.1	24.3	5.5	18.3
2. SAD	29.5	19.1	14.8	9.6	7.0	20.0
3. RUSSIA	21.4	26.0	15.3	8.5	8.7	20.1

*18.4% of interviewees think that Montenegro shouldn't rely on nobody especially in area of foreign politics*

**NGO NETWORK "AKCIJA" - Evaluative campaign 2004.**

Second phase of opinion pool on consumers protection in Montenegro, reform of local government and implementation of new Law on Arms considering champagne "Reforms for healthy society" Akcija was

*Do you think it is necessary to pass Consumers' Protection Law, as soon as possible?*

Attitudes	%
Yes, that is a very important law	71.6
No, there are more important laws	20.5
Don't know, can't assess	7.9

*What is, in your opinion, the most efficient way for citizens' engagement in the performance of public works at local level?*

Attitudes	%
- Participation at citizens' meetings	16.3
- Collecting signatures for petitions in order to solve some problem	20.4
- Starting civic initiatives	27.6
- Voting in local elections and referendums	20.8
- Don't know, can't assess	14.8

*The Law determines deadlines for legalization of guns, which citizens can possess, i.e. deadlines for return of guns that citizens can't possess. Are you familiar with these deadlines?*

	%
- Yes, I know for sure	20.4
- I have heard about these deadlines, but I don't know when they expire	56.7
- Without answer	22.7

conducted in January, 15-20.2005. The research was conducted on a stratified, two-phase quota sample at the level of 1013 subjects, in 9 Montenegrin municipalities.

*Information level about the Gun Law*

	Sep 2004	Jan 2005
Informed	93.6	96.2
Uninformed	6.4	3.8

*Positions about campaigns success*

Campaigns	...because the consumer is the law!	What concerns your municipality	Respect the law ne don't carry guns
Positions		concerns you	
Very successful	3.9	2.8	10.1
Mostly successful	13.8	10.9	34.7
Neither successful or unsuccessful	26.2	23.3	21.8
Mostly unsuccessful	9.2	10.8	5.8
Very unsuccessful	3.6	5.1	3.4
Can't evaluate	16.4	18.5	18.7
Not familiar with the campaign	26.8	28.3	4.7

*Do you think that similar actions, regarding informing the citizens about important social issues and ways in which those issues should be regulated, should be organized during year 2005?*

Position	%
- Yes, because even the previous actions produced some results	55.7
- I am not familiar with previous actions, but such activities are highly desirable and useful	24.3
- No, I am in principle against such actions	3.2
- Don't know, don't have opinion on that	16.8

## International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part:

**Srdan Darmanovic**  
**Decembar,18-19,2004., Beograd**

Took part at Politichologist's Meeting organized by Association for political sciences of Serbia and

Montenegro and Faculty of political sciences from Belgrade. Key problems, dilemmas and perspectives of contemporary parliamentary and par lament democracy were discussed at meeting.

## We were visited by...

**Troy E. Pederson** - U.S. Department of State, S&M Desk

**Rita Naseniece** - Media Officer, OSCE

**Luc Veyri** -Attache de cooperation et d'action culturelle, Centre culturel francais de Podgorica

**Kim Oltred and Sandra Nilsson** - Ulof Palme Center, Sweden

**Bernhard Lamers** - Director of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung office in S&M

**Ambeyi Ligabo** - Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to freedom of opinion and Expression, OHCHR

**Hoyt Brian Jee** - USA Consul in Montenegro

**Sezana Naydenova** - Bulgarian Consul General in Montenegro

**Branko Rakovec** - Slovenian Consul in Montenegro

**Mauricio Massari** - Head of OESCE- Mission to S&M

**Paraschiva Badescu** - Head of OSCE Mission, Office in Podgorica

**Dominique Arnaud** - Second Advisor, French Embassy in Belgrade

**Amb. Gregor Zore** - Head of Operations, Geneva Center for the democratic control of armed forces (DCAF)

**Goran Miletic** - Swedish Helsinki Committee, Belgrade office for S&M

**Lisa McLean** - National Democratic Institute

**Massimiliano Caprari** -Head of EU Monitoring Mission in Montenegro

**Alan Mattern** - Senior Advisor, USAID

**Peter Stepanek** - ORT Advisor

**Thomas Jackson**- representative of NGO Safer World from London

**Representatives of OSCE**

**Milburn Line** - Program Officer, Club de Madrid

**Journalist of daily Republika**

**Jornalists of State Television of Serbia**

**Journalists from Austria**

[www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)