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Media as a challenger of state genocide

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Abstract. The media and state leadership have a strong and inseparable link in the history of the media. In totalitarian regimes, the government finances and controls the media, in regimes with apartheid elements the government closes the media that does not like, persecutes and kills journalists. In democratic societies, state leadership and the media have a financial connection in most of the cases. This paper will address a very specific media situation, that of Montenegro in 1999. Montenegro was part of the former Yugoslavia, which was committing genocide against Kosovo Albanians. But the main media in Montenegro, starting with the public broadcaster, the radio as part of it, and the main newspapers, marked a rare case when the media does not obey the government but takes the side of people in need - Kosovar refugees who, fleeing extermination, sought refuge in Montenegro.

Keywords: **media, state leadership, Montenegro, refugees**

I. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1 Purpose of the research

The purpose of this paper is to elaborate the complex relationship between the media and government. Emphasis on the fact that, since the time when the activities of humanity are documented in an organized form, its communication with citizens / public is a specificity to which every government has paid attention. The media, with its development, has taken its place, being between the rules and the pressure of the government and the efforts to serve the public and to maintain professionalism.

Research hypothesis

Based on the developments in the regions of the former Yugoslavia in the nineties of the last century, we can see a range of patterns of media behavior. In our specific case of media behavior in Montenegro, we can hypothesize that:

Professional media, in a very difficult time, can even challenge the state apparatus, to take the side of the victims, facing the direct danger when documenting the fate of people faced with a genocide campaign.

Research questions

Has the news / media managed to challenge power and maintain professionalism?

Was a 'sui generis' case in the history of media in the region created by the Montenegrin media in 1999?

1.2 Research Samples

Sample of this paper are the following newspapers: Montenegro state television reports in the period autumn 1998-spring 1999; statements of news characters of this time, given 20 years later.

II. Media and ongoing development

2.1 The holiness of the messenger

In the tradition of many nations, the messenger is a chosen and respected man. The reporter of the past, the journalist of today, therefore, must respect the rules and principles of fair, accurate, prompt reporting without distorting the facts and without being deceived. Among Albanians, the Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini devotes two nodes (chapters) to the news. The work of journalists today is regulated by regulations but relies mostly on ethics and professionalism. Sanctioned by law.

NYE I NJIQINDEPESËDHETETETËT.

Lajmtari.

§.1200. "Lajmtari nuk bân faj, nuk xêhet.

§.1201. Lajmtar thirret aj, i cilli çon ne vend porosin e derguesit.

§.1202. Lajmtari dergohet:

- a) prei një shpije të veçanët të tietra;
- b) prei një katundi të tjetri,
- c) prej një flamuri të tjetri.

§.1203. Lajmtari bân fjalën e një shpije, të një katundi a të një flamuri.

§.1204. Lajmtari nuk e mërr pergjegjen mbi vedi as të lagja, qi e dergon, as të lagia, së cillës i dergohet; është bajsi i fjalvet të porosituna.

§.1205. Lajmtari do të jët i lirë n'udhë të vet.

§.1206. Lajmtarit nuk i xêhet per faj fiala e folun, sepsë flet n'emen t'atij, qi e dergon.

§.1207. Lajmtari është miku i derguesit e, po e gjet gjâ sà të jët në két zyre, i pritët mik derguesit.

§.1208. Me u pré lajmtari i një shpije, pretari bien në gjak me shpi, qi e dergon.

§.1209. Me u pré lajmtari i një katundi, pretari bjen në gjak me katund.

§.1210. Me u pré lajmtari i një flamuri, pretari bien në gjak me flamur, qi e dergon.

§.1211. Me u pré lajmtari permbas fjalës së një flamurit tjetër, bien në gjak flamuri me flamur.

§.1212. Me e pré lajmtarin një i katundit të tij, pretari grihet katundisht.

NYE I NJIQINDEPESËDHETENANDËT.

Kasneci.

§.1213. Kasnec a i lajm thirret aj, i cilli hapë e lajmon urdhnat e Kretu të fisit a per derë, a prej një patalokut të caktuem prej Kreut, prej Pleqsis e prej Voglijet.

§.1214. Zyra e kasnecis është plangçore e trashiguese.

§.1215. Kasneci i fisit do t'i a derdhë zanin e ftimit mârre fisit prej Patalokut të caktuem.

§.1216. Kasnecat e katundevet do të shkojn per derë, kùr të lypen "burrë per shpi".

§.1217. Në çdo rrezik a kercnim kasneci do të gjindet gati me i dhânë "kushtrim" fisit.

§.1218. Kasneci me gjithë shpi është i perjashtëm prej ushtrijet.

§.1219. Kasneci 'nuk mûnd t'u mnjanohet punvet e zyrevet të perbashkta të katundit të vet.

§.1220. Edhë në ndollët Kasneci i xânun nder zyre të fisit a të katundit, gjindja e shpis së tij do të dalin në pûnë të katundit. (Dukagjini, 102)

2.2. Media through time - From the cave to the invisible signal

The messenger-public relationship has started initially with the public need to learn something new. Subsequently, development has been unstoppable - the public has made new demands and the messenger / media has discovered new and ongoing ways to keep this relationship alive and make itself irreplaceable in the history of communication.

The roots of conveying the message can be found in drawings in caves, in fire and smoke as a form of communication, in the special rhythms of drums or ball shooting to announce the various holidays or the time for performing religious rituals, in certain shootings with weapons to inform other settlements of a new event - mainly deaths or childbirth, to tellalls (kasnecs) heralds mainly of government decisions. The invention of the telegraph (late ninth century) changed many things. He made the old forms of message conveying unnecessary. But if the telegraph enabled the transmission of the wire-less signal over long distances, radio made another revolution in communication, followed by television, which, in addition to sound, brought the "magic boxes" of appearance. The print media was there, the slowest but safest source

of information, which experienced extraordinary development, but also experienced fluctuations and crises, as a result of technological developments.

As the internet changed everything. With the multidimensionality / convergence of the media, the future will bring us the fading of the desire to listen to the radio in the car, the necessary requirement to have the television set in our home connected to an internet network anyway. As for the newspapers with daily information, with the magic of browsing their pages, we will read them less and less.

How different the world of communication was, tells us the case of the news of the assassination of the President of the United States of America Abraham Lincoln in 1865. It took 12 days for the news to cross the Atlantic. (Lincoln assassinated, ; <https://www.thebaron.info/archives/lincoln-assassinated>)

Today, a press conference of the US President can be attended in real time, with less than a second delay, not only in Europe, but also in the farthest reaches of the world.

So, the media recognized forms of transformation, of transition from one model to another, always related to developments in society, technological developments, which influenced both the growth and change of public demand for information.

2.3. Media and Government

The relationship between the media and the government is always important, for every time and for every society that aims to have a free media, in function of a free society. It is more than important that the government creates the ground for free media, not to influence it and not to put pressure on it, as it is very important that the media, firstly, does not abuse this freedom and, secondly, opposing the government, helping it to get better.

"The media can alarm governments and open the eyes to the public about crises or neglected issues, and perhaps manage to elicit a constructive response," said researcher Philip Sieb. (Sieb, 33)

In difficult times, times of crisis or times of war, it has been proven that the media can play an irreplaceable role in exposing the atrocities that these situations bring.

"Finding evidence of war crimes is one of the tasks of the media. Speaking about this issue in May 2000, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said that "journalists have an indisputable role in exposing the atrocities and criminal behavior that caused them." Journalists, she added, are "truth-tellers whose news is our daily challenge." (Sieb, 33)

But, it is not uncommon for the media to try to get away with it, dealing with topics that are more accessible to the public. Bypassing politics. Leaving aside sometimes the mission of discovering the truth, no matter how far this is from its audience. No matter how risky it is to deal with serious topics. Important world politicians have also remarked on such an approach.

"The ubiquitous and sensational media is turning the foreign politics into a section of public entertainment. The intense competition to come out on top produces an obsession related to the crisis of the moment, generally presented as a moral game between good and evil and with a specific outcome, and very rarely in relation to the long-term challenges of history. As the wave of interest passes, the media shifts to another sensation.

But even when it shifts, journalists often do so in a hurry. "While the issue still needs to be reported, because the underground flow continues, and some of them the longer they remain unresolved the more difficult they become to manage," said Henry Kissinger. (Kissinger, 27)

Kissinger also notes the politics response to a news story, which could have an impact on the public.

"The reaction of the public to a news item is likely to influence, to some extent, the attitude of the policy-maker towards that news item. However, this is not a simple cause-and-effect formula; the issue is much more complex than that. The very carefully crafted and solidly constructed policy is resistant to the tide and ebb of the emotions of the moment. "While there is no impenetrable wall between news reporting and public policy." (Kissinger, 37)

On the other hand, Philip Gourevitch also notes the way in which the media broadcasts a news item and its impact on the public, correlated with the way it is presented / read.

"Images of disasters have become commonplace in the daily television fair, sensitizing the audience on the one hand and numbing it on the other, which, in part, depends on the way the news is presented. The speaker of a television network can exercise considerable power by carefully selecting the words and the tone of their transmission, which indirectly encourages the audience to pay attention and react. Or, on the other hand, the speaker may treat the event as ordinary news from the ever-increasing pile of daily news. (Gourevitch, 38)

Writing about the 1994 war in Rwanda, Philip Gourevitch remarked: "The pile of the dead of political violence is the generic subject of today's information diet, and according to generic reports all massacres are alike: the dead are innocent, the killers are monstrous, the politicians around are either minded or non-existent. With the exception of the names and the landscape, it seems as if it is the same story from any place in the world ... Stories seem to arise from nothing and, just as rapidly, they return to where they came from. (Gourevitch, 38)

"Despite budget constraints, TV stations may view news from around the world as attractive because of the visual appeal they create, even when it comes to creepy images. Humanitarian aid official Adrew Natsios noted that: the television medium is naturally drawn to events that have a striking photographic potential, characteristic of complex emergencies only when they enter the final and deadly stages of the event ... At the time the scene such are too dramatic to attract attention, the time to intervene is normally over. (Natsios, 39)

Under normal circumstances, the media is the one who helps the government, stands up to it, detects in time the abuse of power in any possible form - protects the public interest. But the circumstances of the period and space taken into consideration in this paper were quite different - a different power and a media also quite different and completely unprofessional.

The media was widely used by the government to wage special warfare since the beginning of the war in Slovenia, Croatia and, to a large extent, Bosnia and Herzegovina. But the peak of media misuse occurred in Kosovo where, in addition to the army, police and paramilitary groups, Serbia used the media as a very powerful weapon to achieve its goals.

Qualifications as terrorists for all those who were protected from Serbian aggression, such as in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially in Kosovo, were part of the daily life of the Serbian media. But to that, they produced news to the point of incredible, speaking from the professionalism perspective.

On July 27, 1998, almost all Serbian media presented the murder of an Albanian in the municipality of Istog / Istok as an act in which a father had killed his son, because he had joined the UÇK war, against his father's will.

"M. A. from the village of Lubove near Istog, last night in his house killed his son R., who returned home, after two months in the Albanian terrorist units in Drenica. R. returned home and hid his rifle, after destroying the terrorist unit around the Mitrovica-Peja road. He responded to his father's request to report to the police with slaps in the face, threatening to report him to terrorists for 'collaborating with the Serbian police'. "Immediately went to the other room, took the rifle he had with a permit as a security guard in the cooperative" Dubrava "in Vrella and then, in front of the family, killed the boy and immediately presented himself to the police", writes the Belgrade newspaper "Politika" , one day after this case. (www.politika.com)

This newspaper and most of the Serbian media, at this time, ran to give publicity to any news that went to the Serbian state and everything that is against Albanians and their international supporters.

At a time when tens of thousands of Albanians were being persecuted from their homes and were living as refugees or living in the mountains in very difficult conditions, these media gave a very big echo to a news distributed by the Russian media, regarding the departure of a part of Circassians from Kosovo.

"Russian media reported that 76 members of the Circassian minority left Kosovo and returned to the Republic of Adygea, their homeland in southern Russia. "Their ancestors moved to Kosovo in the 19th century, when it was occupied by the Turks, and lived in two villages near Pristina," wrote the newspaper "Politika", specifying that the Russian authorities would take care of them, giving them even land. (www.politika.com)

Radio and Television of Serbia, in its broadcasts, until June 10, 1999, published the image of the Serbian army barracks in Koshare, with the Serbian state flag raised near it.

But this barracks was first taken up by UÇK soldiers in early April 1999, and a few days later was bombed and destroyed by NATO aircraft. The reality was completely different, while the citizens who trusted the Serbian state television saw a completely opposite picture.

The inability of the media to work in the Albanian language and the access of the international media served the media to continue the propaganda in the open field and protected by state forces.

The time of the NATO bombing, March-June 1999, was ideal for such news.

"Serbs are distributing a poster calling on Albanians to leave Kosovo. The poster above has the seal of the Kosovo Liberation Army, and below the signature of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova ... The poster is blue. "In the old part of the city today, a "Mercedes" car was seen distributing such posters", noted the spokesman of President Rugova, Xhemal Mustafa. (Mustafa, 22)

The content of the poster was incredible, but the opportunities of reaction and denial were difficult. Although it seemed unnecessary, through telephone contacts, the Rugova Office was consulted about this news and was denied in the TVSh news on the same night, March 27, 1999.

The impossibility of verifying the news created confusion even among international organizations. Thus, the frenzy of fake news became even greater and had a direct effect on the people who still remained inside Kosovo.

"On the way back from the funeral of Bajram Kelmendi and his two sons, Serbian paramilitaries executed Dr. Fehmi Agani and journalist Baton Haxhiu. There is also talk of executing others and arresting others. The name of Agani and Baton is even mentioned by the NATO spokesman, Jamie Shea. Other names also mention other names: Idriz Ajeti, Din Mehmeti and Teki Dervishi, as well as Alush Gashi and Adnan Merovci". (Mustafa, 33)

This is news spread by unverified sources. Referring to the situation in Kosovo, the news should not be believed. Even greater crimes and horrors were happening. Thankfully the news turned out to be false. Unfortunately, weeks later, Dr. Fehmi Agani was executed by Serbian forces.

"The seven-year-old hero from Knin drove for ten full hours, all the way to Belgrade." This news was repeated by the Serbian state television for several days in a row. The news came as the Serbian army suffered a landslide and was driven out of eastern Croatia for 72 hours after bloody wars. The news about the "hero boy" was repeated when endless convoys of Serbs were coming to Belgrade. (Zogiani, 79)

The news of the signing of the capitulation agreement of the Serbian army, after 78 days of NATO bombing, was similar.

"In Kumanovo, Serbia reached an agreement to stop NATO bombing." (Zogiani, 79)

Serbian media are known for propaganda, but propaganda does not start or end with them. Wars and conflicts are a very fertile ground for propaganda. Such were the world wars of the last century.

World War I marked a turning point for scientific research in the field of communication. All because of intensified propaganda.

"For the first time in the history of mankind, propaganda was used in a condensed and systematic way. The use of this new method of communication had in itself two basic reasons. "In the beginning, the attempt of some political and economic groups to enable the outbreak of war and in a second phase (and in a much more pronounced way) the use of propaganda as a form of support for the war." (Mari, 30)

What impressed me most in the research of this time was the tremendous effectiveness of the propaganda, aimed at achieving the set goals, mostly without ever choosing the means.

"Lies of all kinds were used by all warring parties to achieve their goals. "The truth, at least when it was present, was manipulated in these messages in such a way that almost the entire flow of communication in this period was conditioned by the interests of different political parties." (Mari, 30)

Researchers studied the effects of propaganda in World War I, between the pros and cons of its use.

Both sides agreed that these effects "proved the theory that the media was an extremely powerful persuasive tool; people or rather the masses were considered vulnerable and powerless against the effects of large-scale communication. "These measures were passively subject to propaganda messages." (Mari, 30)

According to researchers, the strength of these messages was seen as unbearable. Based on this, as a theoretical model it was named as "cartridge theory" or "needle theory under the skin".

This theory was based on the following premises:

- The media audience is made up of an indeterminate mass of individuals;
- Messages are persuasive factors with immediate direct and very powerful capabilities;
- People are completely unprotected from the messages addressed to them. (Mari, 30)

Hiding true information, even for a while, does not belong only to countries with totalitarian systems. In times of war, armies and governments allow only information that suits them to be accessible to the public - glorifying results and minimizing losses.

One of the most popular cases is the news spread to the public during the Vietnam War.

Lindon Johnson succeeded the assassinated President John F. Kennedy. Once in power, he wanted to substantiate his suspicions about what was happening in the Vietnam War, where the U.S. military was involved. Sent there the Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara. At a news conference at Tan Son Nhut Airport, he "expressed great optimism" and recounted the successes of the US military and its South Vietnam allies. (Kovaç, 46) "When he landed at Andrews Air Force Base the next day, he held another conference, where he repeated the same things. "Then he flew by helicopter to the White House ... and the world did not hear anything about his reporting to the President." (Kovaç, 46)

The New York Times and the Washington Post, eight years later, published secret documents known as the Pentagon Papers, which presented the truth that the American leadership knew about the Vietnam War. It was the opposite of what McNamara had said at press conferences. "What would have happened if the truth had come to light in 1963 and not in 1971," asked Benjamin Bradle, executive director of the Washington Post, twenty years later. (Kovaç, 46)

III. Montenegro sui-generis media and refugees from Kosovo

In 1998, and especially in 1999, when genocide was committed in Kosovo by Milosevic forces, around one million Kosovo residents were forced to flee the country and seek refuge in neighboring countries. Over 100,000 of them found shelter and rescue in Montenegro.

In addition to the political specifics, this case is one of the most special cases of the way the Montenegrin media treated these refugees. Montenegro was part of the former Yugoslavia, whose state media were entirely at the service of genocidal policy, also a special case but to be dealt with in another case.

The Montenegrin media, with very few exceptions, maintained their professionalism in reporting on the plight of refugees. Simple but for the time being it was a very bold and dangerous move for the media executives and for the journalists and cameramen of these media.

Former Editor-in-Chief of Montenegrin Television Velibor Covic demonstrates the approach taken by Montenegrin state television in the refugee case.

Journalists and filmmakers of my television stayed every day in the border municipalities (Rozhaja, Plava, Berane, Ulcinj, Tuz), where the convoys of refugees continued to arrive. Newcomers from Kosovo brought authentic stories of terror and crime. The stories of ordinary citizens illustrated the situation in Kosovo much better than all the communications coming from the offices of military and political bodies. "All the refugees, whether Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Roma ..., after arriving in Montenegro, without fear showed their views on the situation in Kosovo", says Covic. (Covic, 144)

In addition, all footage of refugee testimonies was broadcast on international television.

Covic shows the new orientation of television, but also coping with pressure.

For the first time after the wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the war in Kosovo, Montenegrin Television took a decisive step away from the so-called "war-mongering journalist" and respected professional standards. "All the efforts of Milosevic's military intelligence staffs to spread

ethnic intolerance, primarily against Albanians, through the Montenegrin television program, did not reach the Montenegrin national television screen," he said. (Covic, 144)

The special and professional approach is evidenced by the general care in the news and in conveying messages to the public.

"During the war in Kosovo, through the screen of Montenegro Television, no message of hatred was transmitted against minority peoples or religions in Montenegro. This was possible, even in an environment; when Montenegro, as part of Yugoslavia, was selectively bombed; when about 24,000 superiors and soldiers loyal to Milosevic were stationed on its territory; "When about 100 thousand refugees from Kosovo were staying in Montenegro", emphasizes Covic. (Covic, 144)

And indeed, if Belgrade television was fully put at the service of politics and propagated that "Albanians are fleeing the Kosovo Liberation Army and NATO, Montenegro television, in a completely professional approach, went one step further.

"In these conditions", - says the former editor Covic, - "on my initiative, the new informative show "Lajmet" was promoted, which had correspondents in Prishtina, Skopje, Tirana and in all cities in Montenegro where Albanians lived. "

In the same media background, in the same media mission, in addition to the Montenegro Television, were also the Montenegro daily newspapers: "Vijesti", "Pobjeda", the weekly "Monitor" and "Književni list", as well as the radio "Antena M". Only a few titles from these media, which we publish in the Monograph, best illustrate both the professionalism and the editorial attitude of these media.

The media scene in Montenegro at the time had another side. In this media space, two channels of Radio Television of Serbia also broadcasted programs, with all the inherited characteristics of inciting war.

The war hysteria against the Albanians, and against the Montenegro government, which refused to get involved in ethnic cleansing operations, was strongly promoted by "YU Info" television, founded by Mirjana Markovic. On the side of Milosevic's propaganda machine were several daily newspapers in Montenegro.

3.1. An unusual content

Newspapers in Montenegro echoed the statements of the political leadership of this country, which did not submit to the dictates of Belgrade.

Montenegro's state television and major newspapers carried messages from Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic for several days, creating a welcoming climate for Kosovar refugees.

"I call on all Montenegrin citizens to preserve dignity and peace in these difficult times... reason, peace and harmony are our greatest protection and promise for the future," said Djukanovic a day after NATO started bombing. (TV Montenegro, 26 mars 1999)

A day later, the media reported his statement: "The international community's confrontation with Milosevic does not justify an innocent life lost." ("Press", 27 mars 1999)

Statements about refugees also appeared in the media.

"Kosovo is on fire and if it continues to expand, I am afraid that refugees will have no place to return," he said. (TV Montenegro, 27 mars 1999)

In a statement to US television station CNN, Djukanovic said that "Montenegro will take care of every unfortunate person who seeks refuge from the war in Montenegro". (CNN, 28 mars 1999)

"Albanians are leaving Kosovo because of the violence that is taking place there. Today in Montenegro we have about 100 thousand refugees. "Montenegrin state authorities will maintain peace and provide security for refugees," he added on March 29. (TV Montenegro, 29 mars 1999)

At the start of the bombing week, the media issued a statement reinforcing Montenegro's intention to come to the aid of refugees at all costs.

"Even if someone were to endanger the peace, there would be no army or paramilitary force that could defeat the people's desire to preserve tradition and honor." (Associated Press, 30.03.1999)

At the end of the war in Kosovo, Djukanovic praised the work of the state he led.

"The way Montenegro coped with this difficult time, in which the state and its people found themselves, is an unprecedented example in the sensational Balkan history." ("Press", 9 June 1999)

The media in Montenegro also covered the statements of international state leaders, which were related to the refugees and the situation in Montenegro in general, during the NATO bombing.

"We must commend Montenegro's commitment to refugees. Montenegro should not enter in a conflict. I assured President Djukanovic that NATO would adhere militarily to its relationship with Montenegro. "I also conveyed this to the Secretary General of NATO, Mr. Solana", declared the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder, during the meeting with the President of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic, in Bonn. (RTV Montenegro, 12 May 1999)

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright also spoke about the report that NATO had kept on Montenegro.

"We have limited the bombings in Montenegro because we appreciate the Montenegrin president's commitment to maintaining peace and the lives of tens of thousands of refugees," Albright said. (RTV Montenegro, 15 May 1999)

"We have acted a little in Montenegro, out of respect for President Djukanovic and what he is doing. This is respect for the people of Montenegro. "Montenegro has refused to get involved in ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and this is a capital for the future of Montenegro", said meanwhile the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair. (RTV Montenegro, 3 April 1999)

Meanwhile, the foreign ministers of the United States, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France, in a joint statement, stated: "We support the efforts of the President of Montenegro, who received a large number of refugees from Kosovo and who helped when they needed to. "At the same time, we warn Belgrade not to try to weaken the democratic government in Montenegro, because that would have very serious consequences." (RTV Montenegro)

Almost all the content of the written press, but also the visual one, is related to the fate of the refugees who came from Kosovo.

A combination of titles with political messages and those with a reflection of the refugee situation creates a mosaic of the general situation in Montenegro, created by the arrival in this country of over 100 thousand persecuted Albanians.

These are some of the headlines in the media, which deal directly with the fate of refugees, but also with developments in Kosovo:

"Montenegro needs more help for refugees"; "The international community must help Montenegro"; "All food reserves for refugees have been used up"; "Tragic balance of the war: for six weeks 1200 dead and 875 thousand refugees"; "Over 1200 refugees from Kosovo arrived in Berane"; "UNHCR for refugees from Kosovo: about 905 thousand people have left"; "Four thousand five hundred people are settled in the 'Neptune' camp"; "Ulcinj - donors are hard to find"; "Empty Red Cross depots - on the verge of disaster"; "Bodies in water wells in Drenica, 13 bodies in Gjilan"; "Refugees forced to flee by rail, between the minefield"; "From the shooting in the refugee column in Rozhaja - six dead"; "We still do not know why the reservists shot at the refugee column"; "Dragisha Burzan: This is a crime, the Army must hand over the perpetrators of the murders"; "Commander of the Second Army: We shot at terrorists"; "Residents opened the doors of houses"; "Former neighbors meet in Rozhaje"; "There are no more seats in the factory halls"; "The army allows only children and women to cross the border"; "Refugees will return to NATO escort"; "All refugees will return" ...

Likewise, a number of political headlines from political developments clearly show the orientation of the Montenegrin media on the right side of the war in Kosovo:

"More and more people in Serbia are becoming aware of the futility of this war"; "From hour to hour we fight with those who want to endanger Montenegro"; "We will defend Montenegro"; "The army is blocking Montenegro from all sides"; "This is not the time for a referendum"; "NATO is preparing a ground intervention in Kosovo"; "Milosevic responsible for army and police crimes in Kosovo"; "NATO will probably enter Kosovo even without Milosevic's permission"; "Police forces ready to defend Montenegro"; "The army is trying to impose itself as a parallel form of power" ...

IV. Conclusions: Professionalism versus genocide

The media, in different periods of its development, has maintained an inseparable relationship with the government. Has received and given, in a relationship loses subtle. But what is remembered and has taken place in the history books of journalism are the cases when the media has been put in the service of the truth. She has often kept her eyes open when politics, for one reason or another, pretends not to see what is happening on the ground and has only reacted when the media has publicly exposed the situation on the ground, forcing the government to react. The lives saved from that moment must certainly be attributed to the media.

The paper brings many such cases.

In conclusion, analyzing the professional approach of the media in Montenegro, during the war in Kosovo, we can conclude that the appropriate answers were given to the research questions and that: the news / media has managed to challenge the government and maintain its professionalism; and that the Montenegrin media in 1999 created a sui generis case in the history of the media in the region and beyond.

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