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Media News

Prepared by the
SAFAX News Agency Sarajevo
<http://www.mp-institu.com/>

• Journalism and Democracy • Media in Transition

No 37/38, Vol I, Sarajevo,

August 9, 1999

R T V s y s t e m

High Representative's Farewell Decisions

Three years of fruitless discussions were spent in order to arrive at some shaky legal framework for establishment of the system of public Radio and TV system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Faced with lack of good will and political responsibility on the part of Entity authorities and institutions (to be clear: political parties in power), the High Representative has, as a farewell decision at the end of his mandate, imposed a Decision on Establishment of Public RTV service for the whole country, the Law on RTV of the Federation, and ordered that through urgent procedure the transformation of Serb RTV be completed.

The responsibility for the time wasted lies upon the politicians firmly entrenched behind their irreconcilable ethnic approaches, but the international community is also to be blamed for having so long been meddling with untrustworthy local partners. Perhaps some solutions, now imposed by Carlos Westendorp, would have been better had the local experts, including those currently working in RTV houses, had their word in that. The proposal comprising four variants for establishment of public RTV, prepared by the temporary Board of Directors of the present RTV BiH, came too late.

The High Representative decided that the Federal TV broadcast on two channels. One of the channels will as a rule use Bosnian and the other will use Croatian language, but both channels will be equally accessible to all the users, while the reporters' network will have a joint basis. There will be a transfer of property between the present RTV BiH and the Federal RTV. A time limit of only 15 days was given to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Srpska to adopt the new Law on RTV, which must be brought in line with European

standards. This TV house should also drop its exclusively ethnic prefix– “srpska” (Serb) and shall carry the name of the Entity – TV of Republic of Srpska.

The newly established public information service at RTV for the entire BiH also represents a compromise between two irreconcilable approaches: one from Banja Luka - to the effect that they do not want anything in common, and the other one from Sarajevo – that the *status quo* should be maintained, i.e. that RTV BiH continue producing and broadcasting as a joint RTV house for the whole state of BH. The High Representative decided to adopt the minimum solution: the public RTV service shall produce and broadcast at least one hour of joint programme and shall represent RTV networks abroad.

It is of significance that the service relies upon “the resources and mutual interests of public networks in the two Entities”. At present moment this might prove to be a limiting factor in the development of the public service, because it is questionable how much cooperative spirit will be invested into the continuation of work by the two Entity Televisions. But if one day in future they really become professional in their conduct, open and free from present pressures, the interest for mutual cooperation in commercial and programme domains will increase.

Were the reasons of programmatic and commercial, and not exclusively of political nature, to prevail decisively in the establishment of the system of public RTV, Bosnia and Herzegovina would have been satisfied with two or maximum three public networks for broadcasting programmes, not with four or five as are its present ambitions. Before the war the TV Sarajevo broadcast on two channels and could scarcely manage to produce 20 percent of its own broadcasting programme. The rest was supplemented by a powerful JRT (Yugoslav RTV) made by seven other big Yugoslav centres and foreign production. However, the present financial and human resources in BH could probably serve to satisfy production needs of only one quality programme. It looks as if no one had given thought to this problem.

Banja Luka responded angrily to the decision of the High Representative, and the creators of the decision were close to be proclaimed *personae non grata* in the Republic of Srpska. In Sarajevo there was voiced disappointment with the decision, while some political circles and media sounded funeral march to the present RTV BiH as “the last pillar” of integral Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both reactions were politically manipulated with. There is a need to clarify certain questions arising from the decision of the High Representative, but it is high time that the experts from entire Bosnia and Herzegovina sit down together and prepare a new system of RTV, employing all available standards and rules.



Media News- all the media news of BH collected in one place.

Issued every second Monday in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. Texts by local author are published in whatever variant is appropriate to the author.

Published by **Media Plan - Safax**

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**Thanks to the Soros Open Society
Fund for BiH and Westminster
Foundation for Democracy London,
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One should welcome the announcement of the first information service in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This service, if managed professionally, could become a beginning of a new quality BH RTV, that could, together with Entity networks, widen the offered range of programmes. Maybe there will come a time when the listeners and spectators will become more sophisticated in their demands: to turn on those programmes which offer more information, entertainment – in one word, more quality. In doing that it will not be of greatest significance to them what is the name of each TV, where it is based and of what ethnic and religious background are the people employed in TV house. (Z. Udovičić)

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- You will find appended the integral text of the Decision on the Public Radio Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina

M o n i t o r i n g

Media about the Stability Pact Summit

The Monitoring Centre of the Media Plan Institute decided to monitor extensively the reporting of media throughout the region in regard to introductory steps of the Stability Pact in Sarajevo. We thought that this event, conceived as a beginning of an end to traditional antagonisms in the region, could provide an interesting opportunity to overview the ways of reporting of various national media. We focused our attention on the countries of former Yugoslavia, as well as on Albania, which, due to the Kosovo crisis, was deeply involved in tumultuous global events in this part of Europe. Two main characteristics of the reporting of the surveyed media are their qualification of the Pact as “step toward better future” which should lead the countries of the region toward European integration, putting an end to the interethnic conflicts, and their highlighting only the appearance of their own state representatives, which in some cases served to dim the very idea of the Pact. An exception to this were the state media of Serbia, which negatively reported about the Summit, giving a slant to their reporting on the Pact so as to represent it as an act of imposition of “New World Order”.

We monitored the main TV news broadcasts on 30 July and dailies from 31 July, this being sufficient to get an idea about how the public of these countries was informed about this significant event through their mainstream print and broadcast media.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Step Toward Europe

Three TV networks that in the state – **TVBiH**, **SRT** and **OBN** – allotted, as expected, a tremendous amount of time in their informational broadcasts to the Summit of the Stability Pact. TVBiH dedicated almost its entire 7.30 P.M. daily news journal, which took as long as 90 minutes, to this event. OBN covered it in a similar manner, while Srpska TV was more concise, without giving the statements of the participants of the Summit in their broadcast, as compared with TVBiH and OBN which dedicated enormous amount of time to these statements.

All three TV houses reserved their top coverage to plenary session and their rendition of the conclusions from the adopted Declaration. However, the choice of speakers who took part in the plenary session and whose statements were sound taped varied. TVBiH presented parts of the statements of Ante Jelavić and Alija Izetbegović, SRT gave only the Chair of the

European Union Marti Athisari, while OBN gave inserts of the speeches of Ante Jelavić, Marti Athisari and Joshka Fischer, Foreign Minister of Germany.

All three TV houses dedicated a considerable amount of time to the meetings of President Clinton in Sarajevo. TVBiH and OBN gave some more space to Clinton's addressing speech in the Third Gymnasium (high school) in Sarajevo, while SRT put some more emphasis on Clinton's meeting with the Orthodox Church dignitaries in Sarajevo.

TVBiH and OBN used the occasion of the establishment of the Pact to make a number of exclusive interviews with the participants of the Summit. On TVBiH spoke Jacques Chirac, President of France, Marti Athisari, President of Finland and Chair of the EU, Gerhard Schroeder, German Chancellor. On OBN appeared the Foreign Minister Robin Cook, the Commander-in-chief of NATO, Wesley Clark, as well as the Bulgarian President Stojanov and the Hungarian prime Minister Orban.

Although not giving customary comments, all three networks, through the introductory words of their journalists and by the choice of excerpts from the speeches of the participants of the Summit, have underlined the event as great contribution to peace and stability in the region. In that, they showed proper professionalism, especially in regard to giving timely information.

The front page of *Glas srpski* is dominated by a group photograph of the participants of the Summit and the headline "Balkans without divisions". On page 2, under the same headline, appeared a lengthy text, in which the most important parts of the adopted Declaration were quoted. The next page is also devoted to this event, containing several brief texts of news about Clinton's visit to Sarajevo and the statements of Živko Radišić, Milorad Dodik and Metropolitan Artemije from Kosovo, which all speak in laudatory terms of the signed Pact.

Another Banjaluka-based daily *Nezavisne novine*, on its front page cites what *Glas* has not even mentioned – a fact that Serbia will be put aside as long as Slobodan Milošević is in power there. The article "New era without Serbia" brings the most important facts from the Sarajevo meeting, as well as Bill Clinton's statement that "Milosević's politics is becoming a matter of past". Right next to this text there is an agency news of *BETA*, containing the identical statement given by the Prime Minister of Montenegro, Filip Vujanović. *Nezavisne novine* on its front page highlights also the statement of the prime Minister of RS, who says that the Stability Pact does not run counter to the Dayton Agreement, this being a response to certain speculations that the Pact "invalidates" the Dayton Agreement.

Sarajevo daily *Oslobodenje* dedicated first eight pages to the Summit. The front page carries a headline "Europe from Atlantic to Ural" and an article which reports on the closing of the Summit, paraphrasing the most important speeches from the meeting, starting from the Bosniak member of the Presidency, Alija Izetbegović. The front page also contains the editorial comment of the editor-in-chief, Mirko Šagolj, who strike upon the ethnic leaders in BH, taking as example the Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlić, saying that Prlić stands for the desintegration of the country. According to Šagolj, the Pact will put a barrier to such attempts. The middle pages contain the text of the adopted Declaration and a series of shorter articles which refer to events from and around the Summit.

The front page of *Dnevni avaz* carries the photographs of Tuđman and Izetbegović signing the Agreement on Borders, of Clinton with the members of the Presidency and a group photograph of the participants of the meeting. The headline "New Era of South-East" gives the gist of the main idea of the text: that the countries of the region have chosen to pursue the avenue of democracy and integration. In a regular commentary column, the author writes about the signing of the Agreement on Borders, asserting that the Agreement "overturns Tuđman's dreams of Greater Croatia, and gives a gratification to Alija Izetbegović for the policy that he had pursued for the past ten years". The texts proffers a series of

accusations against the Croatian leadership, while Tuđman is also accused of cooperating with Milošević.

Večernje novine is also completely dedicated to the Summit. The front page carries an enormous headline “A signpost is set pointing to united Europe”, a group photograph of the participants and excerpts from the speeches of Alija Izetbegović. The inside pages, 3 to 11, contain numerous texts concerning the events related to the Summit and give a presentation of the statements of various delegations and press conferences.

Slobodna Bosna is also dominated by the Summit, but the front page, beside the photographs of Clinton, Izetbegović and Tuđman, has also as many as three headlines underlined, which all speak of problems in relations between the Croatian officials and the Hague Tribunal. The inside pages, in contrast to other daily newspapers, contain rather long texts related to the Summit illustrated with large photographs, as well as short inserts with interesting news (e.g. “Lijanović’s dried meat for Clinton”).

Albanija: Benefits Drawn by Albania

The report from the Summit of the Stability Pact in Sarajevo was top news in the daily news broadcast of the **Albanian Television**. The six minutes dedicated to this events could be divided into three parts. At the very beginning there was a phone report of their own reporter from Sarajevo, who described the most important conclusions from the adopted Declaration and highlighted the speech delivered by the Albanian President Meidani and Prime Minister Maik during the Summit. Although the Albanian TV in Sarajevo had their own cameraman, the voice of the journalist was coupled with visuals produced by CNN, SKY and RAI. Their own shots, as we were told, were to be used later, upon the return of the crew to Albania. After that came two minutes about the visit of President Clinton, composed of agency news. The audio of his statement, taken over from CNN, was broadcast: “The war is over, now is the time of peace and consolidation”. At the end was given a brief overview of official meetings of the Albanian delegation during their stay in the capital of BH.

The Albanian press also dedicated much space to the Summit. Daily *Albania* printed a headline over the entire front page: “Sarajevo ends: time to change yourself” with a group photograph of the leaders gathered in Sarajevo. However, the article speaking of the event itself is as far back as eighth page; apart from the conclusions, the article puts emphasis on Clinton’s speech and invitation addressed to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to enter into democratic changes. Daily *Gazetta Shqiptare*, apart from giving significant space to the meetings of the Albanian President with Bill Clinton, analyses the conclusions from the Summit and stresses its usefulness to Albania, highlighting the full support given by the American delegation to the actual leadership of Albania.

The journal *Shekulli*, devotes as many as four pages to the Pact, voices a slight skepticism in connection with the results of the Summit in a headline “Scarce funds, few details, many promises”, concluding that “The Stability Pact is not the same as Marshall Plan after the Second World War”.

Only the opposition newspaper *Rilindja Demokratike* took a critical attitude toward the appearance of the Albanian delegation in Sarajevo, deeming that the Prime Minister and the President of Albania, due to the differences in their political standpoints, were practically in rivalry.

Macedonia: Lacking Explanation As To the Essential Idea of the Pact

The **Macedonian TV** in its 30 July journal presented a six minute information on the Stability Pact at the very beginning. MRTV had their special reporter, who reported from Sarajevo even a few days before the meeting. Combining own TV shots and videos from TV pool, the reporter put together the statements of President Gligorov, his bilateral meetings, and the most significant events from the Summit in connection with Macedonia. The standpoints of Clinton, Blaire, Chirac and the Pact Coordinator, Bodo Hombach, were presented. Particular emphasis was given to Clinton's statement: "We are not for Greater Albania or Greater Serbia, but for great Europe". The Macedonian reporter gave much space to the problems relating to the accomodation of guests in Sarajevo, as well as to the shooting that occured when the car with President Tudman was passing, while the TV spectators were given almost no explanation at all of the content of the Pact itself.

Contrary to the state TV, the private TV stations *Al*, *Telma* and *Sitel* treated the Summit as a by-event, always in the second part of their news broadcasts.

All the dailies in Macedonia published the information about the meeting of the Pact on the first page. However, only *Nova Makedonija* and *Utrinski vesnik* sent their own reporters to Sarajevo. The basic tone of the reports from Sarajevo can be grasped from the headlines: "Overcoming the tragedy of the region", "Turning point in the region", "Balkans ready to connect to Europe". All the papers abound with photographs, with predominance given to the Macedonian President and the major Western statesmen.

Slovenia: Back To the Place of Disaster

The Sarajevo gathering was top news in the daily news broadcast of **TV Slovenia**. Their own reporter packed in only three minutes the description of the conclusions from the Summit, audio record of the speech of Marti Atishari and exclusively given statement of the Slovenian President Milan Kučan. It is interesting to note that the journalist began the report by giving "minor" details, such as the protest of women from Srebrenica and the shot that was heard immediately before President Tudman was to pass through a Sarajevo street.

Daily *Delo*, devotes the complete top part of the front page to the Pact. The title goes: "Balkans finally on the road of peace and stability" and the article gives the main points from the meeting, expressing hope that more prosperous times are awaiting the region. The regular column "Theme of the day" is also devoted to the Pact, where the author, under the title "Return to Sarajevo" writes about USA and Europe coming back to the "place of disaster" (city where First World War started) and about the necessity that finally once for all be removed the "causes of evil" in Balkans. The inside pages of the paper contain for major part the texts which quote numerous statements of the Summit participants and which emphasise the fact that Serbia will remain outside all until the moment when there is change in its leadership.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Serbia: The Summit of the Leaders of the Aggressors' Alliance

News on the Summit came in the 18th minute of the daily news broadcast of **TV Serbia**. The report took 2 minutes, throughout with continuous interpretation of the presenter. The live shots came after several introductory comments. The camera focused on Clinton and Allbright at first, then circled around the conference table, after which a group photograph of

the participants was shown, to give place to the general overview of the conference hall and end with the shots of flags placed in front of Zetra hall.

In the comments given, the Summit was represented as a “meeting of the leaders of the aggressors’ alliance and participants from the region”. This was followed by “quotes from the Western media” to the sense that the “Pact has neither the power nor obligatory character” and that “it is difficult to speak of uniting with Europe if the main country of the region is missing”. The Stability Pact was all the time being cited as “the so-called Pact”. The basic point made was that it was about a blackmail that created an obligation upon the countries of the region to behave in accordance with the wishes of Washington, something that Yugoslavia could not consent to and therefore its official representatives were not present in Sarajevo.

The next 5 minutes of the daily news broadcast were indirectly linked with the Sarajevo Summit. That is to say that the comments of London papers *Independent* and *Guardian* referring to the absence of Yugoslavia and pretentious plans were quoted, as well as those of the Bulgarian paper *Duma* which referred to the event as “Pact for sycophants”. The comments are accompanied with the photographs of the title pages of these papers. Then there was a photograph of Zetra, in parallel with the news that at that time the terrorist Bin Laden stayed in Sarajevo. After that the news presenter read the full text of the commentary of next morning’s issue of *Borba* under the title “The meeting in Sarajevo is a holiday of hypocrisy”. In this spirit the Summit took altogether 7 minutes in the key daily news broadcast.

Next day, on 31st of July, the dailies gave to a certain extent more attention to the Sarajevo meeting. *Borba*, at the key place on its front page, gives a commentary (in three columns) written by the General Director of the company, Živorad Đorđević, under the title “Sarajevo farce”. The Summit is portrayed as a “gang of leaders of the so-called new world order, escorted by the leaders of already humiliated and deranged balkanic states and a handful of vassals and eavesdroppers from Yugoslavia”, and its purpose is to serve as cover “to the Americans and their Euro-satellites for cruel ruins in Balkans, for all the humiliation of Croats, muslims, Serbs in Bosnia, Slovenians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Macedonians, made through introduction of human rights and forcing of democracy”.

Politika devotes to the Summit slightly more than one quarter of the fourth page, without giving any photographs. It takes over from Tanjug their compilation from the texts of media abroad under the title “The Summit in Sarajevo is waste of time”. There are also three inserted texts, also from Tanjug: “Many statesmen and much photographing around”, “Bin Laden in the vicinity of Clinton, Blaire...” and assessments of diplomats from Brussels (“Parade without cause”). These texts, of course, represent a negative selection, in other word only the texts which negatively or somewhat skeptically describe the Summit are highlighted.

The independent paper *Danas* is undoubtedly the one to devote the major part of its space to the Summit. The front page article signed by guest author Drago Božinović (Beta Agency exclusively for *Danas*) bears a title “West determined to tame Balkans” and a subtitle “A message was sent to Serbia that door is open for it, but that it must work much on its democratisation, while President Milošević was designated as the main person to blame for FRY not finding its place in the Pact.” The text comments on the presence of Đukanović, Avramović and Metropolitan Artemije. On the whole page 2, the paper gives the integral text of the Declaration, with inserted text (carrying Clinton’s photograph) in which Beta’s news is given, containing long passages from the speech of the American President (under heading: “People of Serbia should be helped”).

On its front page, *Blic* gives a large group photograph of the participants under which it says: “No help while Milošević is still in power”. A good part of the third page is dedicated to the Summit. There is also a statement of Milo Đukanović: “There is no stability and development of the region without FRY, and there is no stability in Yugoslavia without democratisation of Serbia”. Along with the photograph of Clinton and Stepashin, the paper gives excerpts from foreign press.

Glas javnosti on its front page refers the reader to the report on the fourth page, which is almost entirely dedicated to the Summit. The article is not signed and bears a title “Travel Europe...”. The subtitle “Serbia is not included in the programme of development, with message sent that this will continue to be so as long as it is led by Milošević” indicates what is the content of the article, which gives the main points from the speeches of some of the participants and certain parts of the Declaration.

Montenegro: Emphasizing Montenegrin Democracy

The **TV of Montenegro** in its 7:30 P.M. daily news broadcast introduces the Summit in Sarajevo with a statement that the participants have given support to the democratic processes in Montenegro. Then follows, as first piece of information, a five minute report on President Đukanović’s press conference in Sarajevo, and an overview of his protocol activities. After that follows a four minute block of information in which the course of the Summit is described and parts of the adopted Declaration quoted. Emphasis is put on the stand that only after the democratisation in the region as a whole will the conditions be created for participation of the region in European integration. President Clinton’s stand that Serbia with Milošević at its head cannot count on economic assistance nor is integration into the world realisable is also cited.

Pobjeda, state newspaper of Montenegro, on its first page informs primarily about the activities of President Đukanović under the big heading “Montenegro knows its way”. emphasizing President’s words of praise for democracy in Montenegro. The articles devoted to the Summit dominate the inside pages of the paper, where the integral text of the Declaration is also published.

Vijesti, a journal which also shows preference to the ruling coalition, on its first page elaborates on the fate of Slobodan Milošević, emphasizing that Milošević will be denied every kind of assistance. The paper also brings the speculations from English press about Milošević voluntarily appearing before the Hague Tribunal. This paper too gives the text of Sarajevo Declaration.

The youngest Montenegrine journal *Dan*, close to federal government circles, shows its attitude toward the Summit through the title “Waste of time”. It speaks of the Summit in negative terms, characterising it as a continuation of pressure upon Yugoslavia.

Croatia: Fearing New Yugoslavia

Croatian TV announced the Summit of the Pact for Stability of South-East Europe in the very first minute of its central daily news broadcast at 7:30 P.M. on 30 July, together with a short information on the signed Agreement on Borders between Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The report took 9 minutes and it was divided into two thematic blocks. In the first part accent was put on the participation of the President Franjo Tuđman at the Summit in Sarajevo, in chronological order. This TV broadcast his statement given after the closing of the solemn part of the session, showing the original shots. The first part of the report combined the interpretation of the news announcer and the report of the HTV journalist with a part of brief authentic statements of Tuđman.

In the second part of the report, HTV laid stress on the session of the Pact for Stability in South-East Europe itself, underlining its significance for the countries taking part in it. Those parts of statements of the Chair of the summit Martti Ahtisaari, member of the Presidency Alija Izetbegović and Bill Clinton were broadcast which expressed satisfaction with the

agreement reached and emphasized its significance and goals. There was a short coverage of Clinton's visits to the Orthodox church and to Gymnasium in Sarajevo.

At the end of this part of the report the news announcer denied the information that had been given by the Reuters, saying that it was not true that President Tuđman was shot at during his arrival.

After the central daily news broadcast, in a special broadcast that took 45 minutes, HTV gave a whole number of statements issued by high state officials participating at the meeting in Sarajevo along with information on the events, including the press conference of the Croatian President Franjo Tuđman.

Vjesnik from Zagreb published at a central place in the journal an editorial comment by its editor Nenad Ivanković "The Pact of Opportunities and Doubts", in which the latter warned of the possibility that within the Pact some sub-regional structures like West Balkans be created. On page 2 *Vjesnik* gives the statements of Clinton, Jelavić, Puljić, Komarica, as well as Tuđman's statement that neo-Yugoslav or neo-Yalta integrations are unacceptable for Croatia. HINA's and *Vjesnik*'s reporters lay stress on the signed Agreement on Borders between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Novi list from Rijeka brings a big headline: "Neo-Yugoslav associations unacceptable for Croatia" together with a portrait of Franjo Tuđman, and below, a group portrait of the Summit participants with a caption "Inalterable borders – opportunity for cooperation". The leading title of the text on page 2: "Tuđman waited four minutes for Izetbegović to come and sign the Agreement" is supplemented with a photograph of Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović taken after they have signed the agreement. Along with that, there are statements of Đukanović, Tuđman's speech from the meeting and report from Tuđman's press conference published under the title: "Louise Arbour – one of the amateurs from the Hague". On the same page, given in negative, there is a text about the shot, but not at President Tuđman, fired by a soldier of SFOR. On page 3 there is a text about the Declaration, under the title "Inalterable borders – opportunity for cooperation", Bill Clinton's speech and a mini-interview with Metropolitan Artemije.

Večernji list, together with picture of Tuđman and Izetbegović, gives introductory title "We do not want to enter into any new Yugoslavia, nor do we want any new Yalta". In a short column "Summit from behind stage", *Večernji list* writes about angry Sarajevan black marketeers and about a profitable night for thousand Sarajevo taxi drivers. The emphasis of articles in the paper is put upon fencing off any neo-Yugoslav associations.

Jutarnji list announces on its front page that the Stability Pact was signed, giving a big headline (together with photograph of the participants): "Tuđman: Croatia does not want to enter into neo-Yugoslav frameworks". On page 2 and 3 there are detailed reports given about the events in Sarajevo, including the statements of Clinton, Đukanović, Puljić, Komarica, and information on Izetbegović being late four minutes. The text on "Incident in Sniper Alley", as well as information from London paper *The Independent*, are given in negative. Along with these, there is a text "An invitation to Yugoslavia to get rid of Milošević". *Jutarnji list* too, through its headline, emphasized its reserve against neo-Yugoslavism.

On the front page of *Slobodna Dalmacija* the leading headline is "Štela in the Hague within seven days", and below it there is a group photograph of the participants of the Summit with a caption "Pact for Peace and Stability". On pages 2 and 3 *Slobodna Dalmacija* emphasizes that a historical Summit has just ended, while the report from the meeting is supplemented with texts in frames about the first investments, rumours about the shot and confirmation of the shot, and about the role of Serbia. The text under the title "Croatia on the other side of Una, Martin Brod in BH" informs about the Agreement on Borders signed between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the report from Tuđman's press conference, under the title "We have done everything in our power to defend Bosnia" is given

in great length and detail. The statements of foreign diplomats and politicians were not given any particular emphasis, except in the main article about the Summit.

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J o u r n a l i s m B e t w e e n R i g h t s a n d R e s p o n s i b i l i t i e s

Decriminalization of Libel and Defamation

Finally, after months of announcing, by the decision of the High Representative Carlos Westendorp, the acts of defamation and libel have been decriminalized. (Chapter XX, Criminal Acts against Honor and Reputation, Libel - Article 213, and defamation - Article 214, Criminal Code of B&H Federation, Official Gazette FB&H No. 43/98). This decision is effective immediately. It is necessary to emphasize that Independent Media Commission (IMC) is currently working with OSCE Media Affairs Department on drafting the Freedom of Information legislation

Thus far prevailing approach to libel and defamation as to criminal acts has presented a serious threat to the freedom of information, notably suffocating investigative journalism. These new legal solutions will deal with this matter through civil suits, meaning that a journalist will not be sent to prison, but fined in stead. The essential news is that the plaintiff will have to prove that a journalist or editorial staff have committed an act of defamation or libel. This is an American legal legacy, born in the famous case *New York Times vs. Sullivan* (1964), when the Supreme Court of the United States made four fundamental changes in legal principles:

* The Protection of Editorial Advertising ;

- The First Amendment and Libel *Per Se* ;
- The Partial Protection of False Statements , and
- The Plaintiff Must Prove Actual Malice .

Media News will dedicate special attention to development of this extremely sensitive and significant legal matter. In this issue we bring a feature by our associate Helen Darbishire, an expert in media legislation, who is currently engaged as the Media Law Program Manager, Open Society Institute, Budapest. Her article addresses the current European trends in dealing with defamation law.

Defamation Law – European Trends

(by Helen Darbishire, Media Law Program Manager, Open Society Institute, Budapest)

In 1998 the Bulgarian Constitutional Court had to consider a challenge to Bulgaria's criminal defamation law. The Court examined whether criminal defamation law is unconstitutional and ruled that it is not. The Court noted that many western European countries including France, Germany and Sweden have criminal defamation laws. It can be added that many countries in central and eastern Europe also have such legislation.

How does this fit with the decision of the office of the High Representative to suspend prison sentences for defamation and to require that civil defamation legislation is introduced by the year's end?

The question of whether or not defamation should be decriminalized is currently a hot debate in many countries in central and eastern Europe. The reason that so many people are opposed to criminal defamation laws is that these laws are regularly abused in order to protect politicians and governments and to suppress media freedom. It may be, therefore, that the arguments for abolishing such legislation are stronger in central and eastern Europe. But it is more important to examine the way in which defamation laws (civil and criminal) actually work in the established democracies. It is necessary therefore to look at how legislation is interpreted by the courts and applied in practice.

With criminal legislation the most important thing to note is that prison sentences are almost never handed down. In western Europe journalists simply don't go to prison for defamatory articles or broadcasts. The general approach is that prison sentences for such a "speech crime" are always disproportionate. Courts take into account not only the penalty for the given offence, but also the possible "chilling effect" that such a penalty will have on future freedom of expression. If journalists fear prison sentences for what they write, they will be likely to self-censor and therefore the free flow of information and ideas will be hindered.

The same consideration has to be made when courts are establishing the levels of fines or awards for damages in a defamation case. If the amount of money which a media enterprise has to pay is such that it is likely to bankrupt the newspaper, radio or television station, then clearly it is not only the defamatory speech which is being punished but all future expression by that media. It is interesting to note that countries which have exclusively civil defamation law can also have the highest awards. The most notorious of these is the UK where awards often run into hundreds of thousands of dollars – far above the norm in continental Europe. It is interesting to note that in central and eastern Europe, the one country which has only civil defamation law, Slovakia, has had the same problem of excessively high awards (up to \$250,000) which pose a serious threat to media freedom. By contrast, in other western European countries, the sanction of a fine handed down under criminal law is often a nominal sum – an upper limit of about 60,000 FF or \$ 10,000 in France. Often the penalty is linked to the income of the defendant (as in Germany or Portugal for example). Awards for damages can also be nominal and alternative mechanisms for redressing wrongs such as a right of correction or reply are sometimes preferred.

When Bosnian legislators are considering new defamation laws they should therefore ensure that possible fines are not so high as to threaten journalistic inquiry in just the same way that terms of imprisonment can.

In addition legislators and judges must ensure that the way in which defamation cases are heard in the courts ensures full protection for media freedom. In the first instance, there must be sufficiently strong requirements of proof that the article or programme was in fact defamatory, that it did indeed damage a persons reputation. The burden of proof should not be entirely on the journalist or media enterprise to show that the article was not defamatory.

In addition, the courts should pay close attention to the very strong body of jurisprudence from the European Court of Human Rights in this area. This jurisprudence along with western European standards establishes that other defences than truth are permitted in defamation cases. For example, the journalist can present the defence of "good faith", arguing that he or she had carried out research in line with the highest professional standards and sincerely believed that the facts contained in the article were indeed true. In addition a defendant must not be required by courts to prove the truth of value judgements, statements reflecting public opinion or allegations based on rumours or the statements of others. Satire and 'fair comment' in response to provocative remarks are also strongly protected forms of expression.

Last but not least, a distinction must be made between private individuals and public figures. Private individuals are entitled to much stronger protection of reputation than are those who walk on the public stage, notably politicians. The politician must accept much greater scrutiny into his or her private life, and much greater criticism than must a private person. This principle is still often inverted in the countries of central and eastern Europe where then non-democratic tradition has left a legacy of greater protection of public figures. If Bosnia is to move rapidly towards democracy, the establishing the democratic standards in the area of defamation law would be a significant step forward.

Dilemmas (2)

Are Spokespersons Also Journalists?

In the last edition of *Media News*, at the end of the article titled “Are Spokespersons Journalists” we invited all interested to share their views. The dilemma was a result of increasing manipulation with the public by spokespersons. This led to the question whether they are also obliged to adhere to journalist codes.

In this issue, we bring two opinions.

Branko Peric: We Should Not Be Annoyed by Jamie Shea ¹

A spokesperson is not a journalist. We could even go further than that, proving that their work has as many elements of propaganda as of journalism.

A spokesperson performs the function of a mediator between politicians in power and the public. He addresses the public with a political goal. His objective is to show the ruling politics in a good light in order to remain in power. He has no obligation to inform the public beyond whatever the politician considers to be in his interest. Never has a spokesperson presented in public true facts that might compromise or jeopardize survival of the politician on whose behalf he acts. Manipulation is an integral part of such political logic, and a spokesperson is the master of manipulation.

A spokesperson is a public worker. Public workers, as to best common knowledge, do not have a code that would bound them to telling complete truth in their public appearances.

It is true that, in accordance with Freedom of Information Codes that exist in some countries, the government has to release the facts in its possession to the public. However, such obligation is effective only when there is a request by an interested person. According to the same laws, the facts of national security interest can be withheld.

If propaganda is an integral part of national security strategy worldwide, then spokespersons of defense ministries and military associations have a mission to tell untrue information and deliberately deceive the public.

This is why journalists should not be especially annoyed by Jamie Shea.

(Branko Peric is a President of Independent Association of Journalists of Republic Srpska)

¹ Jamie Shea - NATO Spokesman

Marc Capelle: Two Different Professions

Regarding this question, i.e. drawing a parallel between professions of spokesperson and journalist, it is obvious that spokespersons are not journalists and vice-versa. A spokesperson, the way a spokesperson should be, is paid to speak for the institution he presents. Thus, he necessarily releases information, but also opinions, comments, that are in the function of interests of the institution he works for. He can also decide to withhold certain information. Usually, a journalist does not present anybody. He observes, asks questions, tells about what he has seen, read or heard. This is the expected minimum when it comes to journalists. The fact that the two professions seem to be similar only leads to a hasty conclusion, as these two professions are essentially different, notably from the aspect of deontology.

It seems to me, therefore, that it would be of no use to search for some connecting or common traits between these two professions. Otherwise, all those who tend to play the role of a spokesperson (for instance, of a minister) in the morning, and that of an independent journalist in the afternoon, will face a great confusion. They will have difficulties making out the difference between spokesperson and journalist as professions.

(Marc Capelle is a Director of International Affairs within the Senior Journalist School in Lille, France)

A n a l y s i s

***START BIH* -- Market Survival Means Success**

Beginning of October last year, the local market was introduced with a new printed medium of an unusual and inspiring title - "START OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA". The very logo design suggests the pro-Bosnia orientation of this magazine (a yellow triangle, even before the BHTV green one turned yellow too), with an impressum that reads: "An Information and Entertainment Magazine" (readable only under magnifying glass), which is basically a wrong practice abandoned long ago in the modern world of printed media. A wise design of a recognizable magazine logo, indicating recognizable contents, would have been enough. Older generations remember the Zagreb "Start", an authentic magazine regardless its "shocking" centerfolds, printed in excellent color and on a high quality paper. Except for a part of the title and frequency of publication, *START BiH* has almost nothing in common with its former semi-namesake from Zagreb.

Ever since its third edition, *START BiH* has been issued fortnightly, although the first edition impressum read: "The Magazine is issued every fifteen days", the numbers on the first two editions indicated this was a monthly magazine.

Bosnian Economist

All circumstances of such comparison taken into consideration, based on the first 20 editions (practically 21, as the last one was a double issue), *START BiH* could be dubbed a Bosnian *Economist*, judging by its selection, approach and treatment of topics. The prevailing topics are current ones in economy, society, and politics, ranging from reconstruction, return of refugees, privatization, banking, acute problems of senior citizens, women in politics, role of media, corruption, all the way through drug abuse and prostitution.

Start also offers a range of light read: stories, features, movie reports, music, show-biz, cartoons, computers, informatics and similar topics (Cyberspace), fashion, sports, astrology, horoscope, crosswords. The magazine also keeps the pace with trends in the sphere of mass-pathologies (graffiti, tattooing, body-piercing, etc.). A special space is reserved for movies (several features in each edition). An illustration for this is the text by our associate, Mr. Midhat Ajanovic, "White Cat Black Conscience" (Ed. No. 7), on the latest Kusturica's movie "Black Cat White Cat", which retains both the elements of movie review and up-to-date social comment. The essence of this pregnant piece is presented in the subtitle that, paraphrased, reads that "the Serb director" Kusturica, with its latest movie, has outdone "the Bosnian director" Kusturica who made "Father on Business Trip".

Good Headlines

The headlines, normally the drawback of BH newspapers, are evidently the strong point of *START BiH*. They are worded with care and humor, often in the form of national proverbs and sayings ("Scouring a Dead Horse" - a music review in Ed. 16), or "The Turks are celebrating while Europe is weeping" (Ed. 9, on Ocalan's arrest), or "Will Srebrenica become our Jasenovac?" (Ed. 13). Now, whether nicely worded headings fall onto fertile ground or not, could be a research subject. However, there have been some episodes of bad taste, such as "Pretty Buildings Pretty Flame", all garnished with pictures of buildings caught in flame in Belgrade (Ed. 14), or lack of inventiveness such as "Better Pact than War" (Double Issue 20-21), regardless the fact that this was the generally accepted credo of the Stability Pact.

The theory of *START BiH* being a well-informed magazine is best illustrated by the anticipating manner and style of the text titled "Pact for Changes" (Ed. 16), written long before the conference in Cologne.

Regular interviews leave more than positive impression. The credit goes first to good selection of interviewees, but also to meaningful questions the journalists ask. Particularly interesting was the interview with Mr. James Lyon, Director of International Crisis Group (ICG), at this moment, beyond any doubt, the most esteemed and best informed international institution in BiH.

Half-plagiarism is a widely spread phenomenon, not just here, but worldwide. It is hard to prove it, and law-suits sometimes stretch for years, all of this discouraging potential plaintiffs. If a medium exists in an environment without state of law, as it is the case here, then even the risk of pure plagiarism remains minimal. In this relation, the commentary "Cover Pages" stands as a problematic one, as it strikingly resembles the "Cover Page" in NIN from Belgrade. All editions of *START BiH* issued thus far have had 68 pages that, by the way, have not been cut evenly which again reveals a subtle touch of negligence.

One overall study has found that the approximate rate of text and photos, illustrations, cartoons, vignettes, etc. is 50:50.

The magazine regularly brings 8 - 10 pages of ads (mostly polychromatic), or 12 - 14 percent, which is below European as well as world standards, but way ahead BH average. The run of *START BiH* significantly varies: from six to 11 thousand. Director and Editor General, Mr. Dario Novalic says: "The sale of the magazine is relatively poor (remission from 30 to 50 percent, depending on topics and printing), but considering that we entered this project without any kind of promotion due to lack of funds, we are satisfied!" The magazine announces a promotion campaign for this fall, as well as redesigning of the magazine, graphical improvements, and rejuvenation of the editorial staff. The magazine has made its appearance on Internet just recently, which is why there are still no information on visits to the web-site.

The overall disadvantageous environment considered, notably when it comes to printed media, just surviving on such even rudimentary media market presents a real success.

(D. Babic)

I N T E R N E T

Electronic Publishing in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Professional conduct of media is essentially interrelated with media development and general culture of communication. Because of that, considerable resources were invested into education of journalists and technical equipment, all for the purpose of improving quality of the press and TV and radio programmes.

We will try to figure out what effect did these investments have upon the use of information technology in journalism by describing and analysing the Web editions of BH media. The research was conducted during April and May 1999 and focused on quantitative and qualitative analysis with an aim to highlight the good and bad sides in the presentation of BH media on the Web.

Some media in the Republic of Srpska have stopped publishing their Web editions although they continued appearing in conventional form. The reason for this was stricter selection on the part of donors who had provided support and who ceased stimulating unsuccessful media projects, which led to extinction of certain publications during 1998 and 1999 .

TV Stations

Out of 76 TV stations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 13 of them have Web editions. By looking at the list of these one can easily see that local television stations which tend to expand outside the area of their operation dominate the scene. However, just a glance at their Web pages can tell us that they are not yet up to Internet. To clarify, the role of new media is to combine sound, picture and text and thus to come close to television, or, adding interactivity and hypermediatisation, to approach the Internet. But the Web editions of these TV stations do not justify their existence even as traditional media. That is to say that only three RTV stations give possibility of listening to their radio programmes. The other contend themselves with just having information about them on the Web. It is interesting to note that they give news in textual form, only two of them give overviews of their programmes, and three of them give price lists for commercials, possess archives with broadcasts arranged by dates and links to other Web pages.

Radio Stations

In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are actively present 206 radio stations, and 24 of them are present on the Web. Using Real Audio, 14 of them broadcast their messages on Internet also. Although simple re-broadcasting of radio programmes does not by itself mean that new media are being used, the possibility of listening to radio broadcasts of other radio stations is their highest achievement, provided only by three radio stations. However, even if we do not

ask for more than these Web pages, thinking that we can access other media through them, we will be disappointed, since on some pages we can hear news 20 days old or read press news 2 weeks old. For major part they do not contain information on the date of their updating so we do not know how old is the information we are using. We can not find out how important are they to their users for, although they have counters of visitors, these are not meaningful to us since they give no information about when they have started counting visitors.

The radio station Slon (Elephant) from Tuzla was advertised as one and only radio station the programme of which can be directly followed by using Internet. However, if we want to hear them we get only the title page without links and without Real Audio. Radio Zid (Wall)-Internet Radio is registered and active in Sarajevo. Although it has its Web page, listening to the radio programme and reading Zid newspaper is possible only through unregistered page which is edited abroad [Domovina (Homeland) Net].

For refugees from BH there have been established abroad radio stations with Web pages by means of which other mass media from homeland can also be used. The most significant among them is the Web page of Domovina Net (Homeland Net), which enables listening to several radio stations and reading some press.

PRESS

Dailies

When analysing traditional newspapers we see that photographs are used in graphic sense both as decorative and functional part of a piece of information. This means that in press sufficient attention is being given to photography as an element of visual complement to a piece of information. When comparing the number of articles in which text is illustrated with a photograph with the total number of articles published in the dailies *Dnevni avaz* and *Večernje novine* (according to the analyses of the monitoring group of Media Plan) we immediately see that a half of the texts have pictorial illustration. This means that in press photographs are treated as significant part of written journalism. Therefore it is astonishing that Web pages of these dailies do not contain a single photograph. They mainly contain series of texts from printed editions. The only one that differs is *Oslobođenje*, European edition, the web pages of which are more attractive and also enable searching for archived texts by key words. On the opposite side stands the Sarajevo edition of *Oslobođenje*, which provides only scarce outdated information.

Magazines, Weeklies, Periodicals

If we analyse Web pages of 22 BH magazines, we can see what is the attitude of editorial policy makers toward users.

Typical organisation of Web pages of BH newspapers can be seen on the example of weekly *Svijet*, which gives an abridged version of its texts from the paper editions. Otherwise, the characteristic feature of the majority of these editions is that their title pages are legible, visually well laid out, and link to texts. They are modestly presented, without elaborate, space-consuming pictures and illustrations. Going to next pages the quality of presentation significantly diminishes. The pages are difficult to follow, the texts are too long, and it is not possible to discern what is essential and what is less important. The guiding announcements to texts are uniformly laid out, although the texts presented are not of same order of importance. The texts are impersonal, without bearing the mark of author's hand, they are lengthy and jammed with details, and this is something that is not only inappropriate for Internet but for paper edition as well.

An example on positive side is certainly *Auto moto revija* which contains interactive contents illustrated with photographs and advertisements. This magazine communicates with its users through subscriber forms and forms for submission of comments and remarks. The editorial staff of the magazine also edits a TV broadcast *Autovizija* <http://www.pkpa.com.ba/autovizija/index.html> whose Web pages contain an overview of broadcasts.

Overall Analysis

As in the design making of BH press for Web presentation there are no differences in terms of frequency of issues and topics treated, all 28 titles have been jointly analysed. We analysed the relation between the visual appearance, sound and text, possibility of searching for topics by using key words, counter of visitors, links to other Web pages, existence of archives of issues, regular updating as compared with traditional forms of edition and, finally, overall impression in regard to attractiveness and clarity of presentation. It is very telling that none of the analysed Web pages provides sound, while only 4 Web pages give photographs. Only 12 papers have archived issues, while only 5 enable searching by key words. 17 of them have links to other Web pages. General impression can be summarised as follows: eight of them have failing grade, seven of them got mark 2, seven also mark 3, five of them got mark 4 and only one of them was marked as excellent.

News Agencies

In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are 11 agencies active, of which 4 have Web pages. The characteristic which is common to all of them is that they do not serve their purpose. There is no proper balance established between commercial and non-commercial services. The non-commercial services are to direct the users toward subscriber services.

The agency SAFAX was the first to comprehend the significance of being presented on the Internet (1996), yet however its pages have seen no improvement meantime. ONASA and FLASH Banja Luka possess archives and search by key words. Web pages of the BH PRESS agency are characterised by attractive design, texts are illustrated with photographs, they contain photo-archives, photo service and links to numerous Web pages, this being of great importance for users.

E-Zine

The way e-zine is designed tells a lot about the quality of BH Web. Namely, out of four altogether, we can give a failing grade to three of them. In support of such statement we can describe e-zine *Sarajevo Cult*. It is a weekly magazine dealing exclusively with analyses of cultural events in Sarajevo, in four languages (three European languages and Bosnian). As the magazine does not have an archive of its issues, we analysed just the issue which contained texts on cultural events during “Sarajevo Winter” manifestation. It is absurd that texts addressed through Internet to users all over the world, describe theatre performances, concerts and fine arts exhibitions, in densely packed rows of characters, without a single photograph, picture or note of music. The page has neither a counter of visitors nor any link.

In contrast to this magazine, there is magazine *Read Me*, webzine for information technologies and news, which represents a step toward a proper Internet publication. It is updated daily, has links within text, enables search by key words and possesses links to numerous Web pages.

Updatedness of Information on Web Pages

When searching for updated information the users of Internet are burdened with numerous pages containing outdated data. This problem is particularly important when they do not have the necessary data. A vivid example of this is the magazine Sport NK Borac (Sports Football Club "Borac") which does not give the date of creation of page and information about the magazine, but has only the emblem of the football club "Borac" and contact for webmasters through e-mail.

Bošnjački topiraci, a newspaper of the Association of Bosniaks in New York City, does not contain information on the date of its updating, so that the user can not know since when is the information.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the previous years, which was very interesting from the media point of view, will stay recorded and easily accessible to Internet users owing to on-line magazines created by journalist Jim Barlett out of his own texts published in the best-selling world newspapers.

Globalization of Media Space

Bosnia and Herzegovina as turbulent country located on strategically highly interesting spot of Europe is an ideal place for involvement of political, military and humanitarian potentials of significant world countries. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are more than 40,000 foreigners and a huge number of displaced persons. "Radio 27", TV Pool, Project "Zajedno" (Together), OBN, Radio FERN and Phono Service RENS are electronic networks, established or supported by international organisations. All of them have Web pages.

OBN and RENS clearly show disregard for usefulness of their Web pages. For example, the OBN station gives a possibility of choice between versions in English and Bosnian language.

But if you decide to use the version in Bosnian language as result you get a message "Click here to return to the page from which you came". RENS web page provides text which is unappealing from the aesthetic point of view, with only general information about itself. The FERN Web page is also designed in a way which disregards the Internet rules. It is characteristic that none of these networks has links to the pages of members of their networks, although this should be the purpose of their existence.

Networks for Re-Broadcasting of Programmes

Several foreign radio and TV stations which broadcast programmes in the languages of the peoples inhabiting BH and former Yugoslavia have been intensively developing their networks in BH. Local TV and Radio transmitters serve to transmit their broadcasts. It is Radio Deutsche Welle, Radio Slobodna Europa (Radio Free Europe) RFE/RL and BBC that have such networks and stations on Internet.

AIM, network of agencies, which has its editorial offices in all the countries in crisis is significant for the development of the overall media area in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the web we can see web page The Truth about the Balkans. It does not belong to registered media, but it shows the efforts of an individual who wants to do something useful on the domestic Web. Its significance lies in the fact that it enables listening and watching

programmes of TV and Radio stations 24 hours a day; it also contains a selection of texts from the press which is updated daily.

Conclusion

The general impression regarding the quality of BH media presence on the Internet is not affirmative. However, the presence on the Internet is huge. Some media made their Web pages as early as 1996, which is something to be appreciated since the state of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had ended just one year before. Obviously, that their network editions represent an end in itself, and information which they give is mainly used by persons displaced from BH.

We have become accustomed to the fact that there is prevailing opinion on the Web that Internet is same as any traditional media. Therefore, it is not surprising that BH media, even radio and TV stations, mainly use text on the Web. But even in regard to text itself, none of the analysed media does respect the limitations which the screen imposes to reading.

There is also a puzzling phenomenon of Web pages of extinct media still being maintained on the net.

Many Web editions do not have basic information on the media itself nor the date of their updating. Even if we select only the active media, their links very often lead us to dead media or to their old pages. How dangerous can incomplete information be for a user in regard to the reliability of data can be shown on the example of Glas srpski (Voice of Srpska), a daily from Banja Luka. When we click its address we get a page of the newspaper on which there is nothing new happening, although it is well known that the newspaper itself is being published daily. On the page there are texts dated 22 April, but without a year.

When we analyse the types of authors of Web presentations (webmasters) we see that pages are made by editorial staff themselves, individuals signing their own personal names and names of private firms. Some webmasters are authors of several media Web pages. As an example, we can take the stations of TV FS-3, NTV Hayat and the magazine Ljiljan which are created by same webmaster. We can guess that this job is not taken seriously and that webmasters use it for their self-promotion. An example of this is the web page of GRAD-CITY Radio in which a webmaster advertises himself under the name of Zvrk. Some pages are created by webmasters from abroad, like Most-Mostar (Sweden) and Press Bulletin Međugorje (New York). As for registered firms, Unicorn from Sarajevo surely deserves special attention.

It is well known that renowned and expensive tools are not enough to make a quality web presentation. Yet however, we should stress the fact here that the web page which had best quality among pages observed in this analysis (Auto-moto revija) was created by a multimedia tool Author. As for other tools, the most frequently used are Microsoft Front Page 3.0 and Front Page Express 2.0.

It is not possible to determine with certainty to what extent are the BH media being visited, since on the major part of pages we can not find the information when did the counter started counting visitors. The figures read on counters on the day of analysis ranged from 35 on Radio-Television Lukavac to 15,280,502 on Press Bulletin in Međugorje.

We could say that a sufficient number of BH media is present on the Web. For creation of web pages, famous and widely accepted tools are used. But obviously this is not enough.

(The analysis has been made by Mrs. Marija Putica, Centre for Journalist Studies, University of Mostar)

TV Subscriptions Along With Electric Power Bills

B&H *Elektprivreda* and B&H RTV have signed an agreement by which the citizens of B&H along with August electric power bills will be delivered B&H RTV subscription bills as well. The payments will be carried out in seven of the B&H Federation cantons covered by B&H *Elektprivreda*. In practical terms, this means that the new subscriptions will have to be paid only by those citizens who live in the majority Bosniac Federation cantons. The cantons with majority Croat population are electric power supplied, and charged for its services by *Elektrosistem*, Herceg-Bosnia.

Co-operation between BH Press and Xinhua

News agencies BH Press and Xinhua from China have signed in Sarajevo an agreement on the exchange of their general services. On the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, Xinhua has its correspondent offices in Belgrade and Zagreb. The events in B&H have been covered from these centres as well. The users of the two agencies' services from now on will have a complete picture on the situation in the two countries.

Media Plan School in Montenegro

The Media Plan Institute from Sarajevo and non-governmental organisation *Alter Modus* from Podgorica (Montenegro) have signed an agreement on co-operation in establishing a system of permanent education of journalists and other media staff in Montenegro. The first training of journalists is envisaged to start in October this year. A project on the opening of a school for practical training of journalists, like the one currently existent in Sarajevo, will be created as well. This represents the first joint project within the framework of the Communication Network for Free and Professional Journalism in southeastern Europe, established this summer.

Conference on RTV Networks

The Institute for Media Law from Ljubljana, which is one of the founders of the Communication network, announced that the Conference on RTV networks would be held next spring. The Institute's experts possess important experience pertaining to the ownership transition of media and establishment of a legal basis for public and commercial radio-television. In most of the countries of southeastern Europe, as well as some other countries undergoing post-communist transition, these issues have not been solved yet either partly or completely. Due to this, in the Slovenian Institute they hope that the exchange of information will be very useful.

SOS telephone in Banja Luka – 213 442

The Media Plan Centre in Banja Luka introduced an SOS telephone for journalists who think that their rights and freedoms have been imperilled. The journalists who have been

physically or verbally assaulted while carrying out their duties, the ones who have been pressured or repressed due to their writings, or those otherwise hampered in their free and independent professional work, can seek advice and help in person, or calling 213 442. On each individual case, depending on its character, journalists' associations in the RS, the International Federation of Journalists, as well as local non-governmental organisation *Lex International* will be informed. This project is supported by the Winston Federation for Democracy, Washington. The Media Plan Centre in Banja Luka moved to new offices located at 41 Grčka Street (in the rear of the Bosnia Hotel). Their telephone/fax is 213 442.

On the Threshold of a New Century

 Listen with your ears!  Look with your eyes!  Think with your head!

Council of Media Plan Institute

Prof. Dr. Muhamed Nuhic, Hamza Baksic (Sarajevo); Perica Vucinic (Banja Luka); M.S. Lenart Setinc (Ljubljana); Prof. Dr. Mario Plenkovic (Zagreb); M.S. Loius de la Ronciere (Paris); M.S. Aleksandar Todorovic (Montreaux); Prof. Dr. Slavo Kukic (Mostar), Prof.Dr. Miroljub Radojkovic (Beograd)■

Decision on the Public Radio Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Part 1 - RINCIPLES

Article 1

The Public Radio-Television Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter. PBS BiH) is hereby established as a public company engaged in radio and television broadcasting to the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 2

The PBS BiH shall produce and broadcast a minimum of at least one hour of current affairs programming per day on radio and television, focusing on the activities and information related to the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and inter-Entity issues, among which a unified news service serving the whole country.

Article 3

The principle of equality of the three languages and the two alphabets of the constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall apply to PBS BiH programming. The PBS BiH shall also facilitate access to its programming of persons belonging to minority national groups other than the three constituent peoples, and other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 4

The PBS BiH shall represent Bosnia and Herzegovina in international broadcast organizations, and shall apply for membership in the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).

Article 5

The PBS BiH shall lead coordination among public broadcasters on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina on issues of mutual interest, including programming and technical development. In particular, the PBS BiH shall arrange for the purchase of broadcast rights for foreign programs, oversee the Eurovision exchange of news and sport programming through a unique technical point and organize any appropriate joint coverage of events of significant local and international events.

Article 6

The PBS BiH shall cooperate with the Commission on Public Corporations and with other public broadcasters in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a view to establish a joint management of public broadcasting facilities over the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Article 7

The composition of the administration and editorial management of the PBS BiH shall be generally representative of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and include persons belonging to minority national groups other than the three constituent peoples, and other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Part II - TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 8

Until finally established by a Law of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the PBS BiH shall function according to the transitional arrangements detailed in this Section.

During the transitional period, the organs of the PBS BiH shall consist of the Founding Committee, the Advisory Council for Programming and the Executive Committee of the Founding Committee.

Article 9

There shall be a Founding Board of nine members, as the main decision-making body of PBS BiH. The Members of the Founding Board shall be nominated as follows.

The High Representative shall directly appoint six members of the Founding Board. Three of them - which shall not be citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina or its neighboring countries - shall consist of one representative of the Office of the High Representative, one representative of the European Broadcasting Union, and one international Supervisor with media expertise. The three other Members shall be citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina - one from each constituent people - and hold relevant professional or commercial experience.

The High Representative shall appoint three more Members of the Founding Board upon nomination by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one from each constituent people. Within 30 days of the entry into force of this Decision, each Member of the Presidency shall offer nominations of candidates with appropriate professional or commercial expertise, who shall hold no elective or appointed political office.

Article 10

The Founding Board shall be presided over by the International Supervisor who, in consultation with the Members, shall establish the agenda. In making decisions, the Founding Board shall proceed as follows:

- (1) The minimum quorum for any decision to be taken by the Founding Board consists of five Members, including the International Supervisor and at least one Member from each constituent people.
- (2) Every effort shall be made by the Members of the Founding Board to take all decisions by consensus. If consensus cannot be reached, the International Supervisor might call for a vote by qualified majority to take place. A qualified majority consists of a majority of all Members present and voting, which includes the vote of the International Supervisor.

Article 11

There shall be an Advisory Council for Programming, as a consultative organ assisting the Founding Board in ensuring that its programming production and coordination activities are in compliance with the letter and spirit of the GFAP and the best international practice.

The Advisory Council for Programming shall consist of 15 persons to be nominated by the High Representative in consultation with the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The composition of the Advisory Council for Programming shall reflect party pluralism and the diversity of civil society in BiH.

All recommendations of the Advisory Council for Programming, including the election of its President, shall be taken by a simple majority vote, provided that dissenting members can request their dissent to be conveyed to the Founding Board in writing as a part of the recommendation

Article 12

- (1) There shall be an Executive Committee of the Founding Board, as the organ in charge of executing the decisions of the Founding Board and maintaining contacts with the Advisory Council for Programming.
- (2) The Executive Committee of the Founding Board shall consist of the International Supervisor and of the three Members from Bosnia and Herzegovina which are directly nominated by the High Representative.
- (3) The International Supervisor shall direct the work of the Executive Committee of the Founding Board distributing task among and taking all decisions in consultation with the other Members of the same organ.

Article 13

The members of the transitional organs of the PBS BiH shall have a mandate of six months, within which the following obligations shall be fulfilled:

- (1) Not later than 15 days from becoming operational, the Founding Board shall determine a budget, appoint management and other staff to fulfill the stated mission of PBS BiH. The Founding Board shall have the power to dismiss existing RTV BiH staff as necessary.
- (2) Not later than 30 days from its establishment, the Founding Board shall adopt an interim Charter upholding the principles of editorial independence, financial transparency and ethnic and religious tolerance, in accordance with the highest international standards.
- (3) Not later than 1 January 2000, the Executive Committee of the Founding Board shall submit to the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina a draft Law on the Public Radio-Television Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina approved by the Founding Board and prepared in consultation with international experts. The draft Law shall respect the principles set down in the first Part of this Decision. ■