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Media News

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Development of the Media

The Lethargy of Domestic Institutions

An increasing number of international organisations are assisting and supervising the professional transformation of the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides the Independent Media Commission (IMC), which is practically some sort of ministry for radio and television, there is also the Office of the High Representative in B&H (OHR) with two important functions - the deputy in charge of the media and the department for the development of the media. The OSCE has a similar department as well, and nearly every international organisation responsible for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement has at least one person in charge of the Bosnian media; not to mention dozens of other foreign non-governmental institutions dealing with the promotion of human rights and the protection of the freedom of the press, who regularly monitor all that is happening on the media scene here. One of the round tables of the Pact for Stability in South-East Europe will be devoted to the media.

Joining this list soon, at least as it was announced, will be the "Special Assistant to Federation Ombudsmen on Media".

Everything would be all right if this great degree of international interest in the development of free and professional media in Bosnia and Herzegovina had not produced an absurd situation: an almost totally passive attitude among the domestic media, from the cantons and entities to the state and among professional journalists' associations. Apparently, the authorities in the Federation of B&H have reconciled themselves to the international community spending the next hundred years working on the development of the media for them. The majority of the federal cantons do not know what to do with their laws on information, whether to apply them or not. Only protests keep arriving from the Republika Srpska's Information Ministry in response to the decisions of the international factors. At the level of the state of B&H, this topic does not exist, since it is not within the "state's

jurisdiction". And journalists' associations, of which there are five in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have casually left it to the Independent Media Commission to be the sole judge of what is ethical and what is not in B&H radio and television.

Without aspiring to any weighty conclusions, this kind of behavior may be the result of the already familiar lethargy that has spread among many domestic factors who, in the absence of a willingness for change, were quite happy to let foreigners take over the helm completely, though perhaps not even the foreigners are fully aware that their interventive function in the media sphere can only be successful if the local authorities, domestic journalists' organisations and media institutions assume their share of the responsibility for the development of the media as soon as possible.

Monitoring: Erotel Dnevnik (Daily News) Broadcast

Regional and National Approach

From August 9th - 14th the Media Plan's analytical centre monitored the TV *Dnevnik* (daily news) broadcast of the Erotel company which has been producing its own TV programme for some months now. We consider that the insight into Erotel's journalistically most complex and politically most interesting broadcast is extremely significant, because Erotel is regarded as the television station of the B&H Croats. The intention of the employees in this media house (and probably of the top leadership in the ruling party of the B&H Croats), is for Erotel's present *Dnevnik* editorial office to become the core of the information programme on the future channel in the Croatian language on federal television. It is interesting that, although it sent in its application, Erotel has not yet received a broadcasting license from the Independent Media Commission (IMC). We were told in the IMC that although Erotel produces its own programme, its case will not be singled out from the process of forming the federal television, because some of the present frequencies Erotel is using are to be granted to the federal television. We also learned from the IMC that they are very much against Erotel's transmission of Croatian Television in B&H, which will definitely have to stop by October 1st, when the federal television is finally expected to be formed.

Erotel's main daily news broadcast is the *Dnevnik* at 19.00 hours and on the average it lasts between 20 and 25 minutes. It involves the classic type of broadcast according to the model with which we are familiar in this country - a review of the main



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headlines (lead), features and reports, agency news, sports and the weather forecast. The essential difference compared to the majority of other TV stations is the fact that Erotel's news broadcasts primarily focus on events in places with a Croat majority population, or on events that directly concern Croats or the so-called Croat national interest. It is interesting to note that the *Dnevnik* broadcast does not contain news from the world, it does not deal with events in Republika Srpska, nor in most of the Federation, not even in the Republic of Croatia. The reason, probably, is because this news broadcast is immediately followed by the transmission of Croatian Television's *Dnevnik* from Zagreb, which presents a much fuller picture of events on the global level. Nevertheless, viewed on its own, this approach reduces Erotel's informative rating and reduces the *Dnevnik* broadcast to a kind of "Herzegovina Chronicle".

The first item in the *Dnevnik* broadcast almost always consists of a broader commentary on some problem. On August 9th it referred to the extradition of Vinko Martinović Štele to The Hague. The news correspondent combined his story with statements by the defendant's attorney, Šerić, and those of the Assistant Croatian Minister of Justice, Snježana Bagić. It was an well-organised and informative item. The following day, Erotel started off the broadcast with a piece of investigative journalism and, as the presenter announced, its intention was to shed light on corruption involving the National Bank of B&H. However, in his item the journalist did not have a single interlocutor, but only the text (covered by footage of Sarajevo) offering a mixture of information and facts concerning the malpractice in this bank, and reflecting the harmfulness of this affair. On August 11th, the *Dnevnik* broadcast mainly dealt with the solar eclipse and, on August 14th, for instance, it was dominated by the religious and holiday celebrations in the parts of B&H where Croats are in the majority.

As a rule, the news broadcast also contains some news agency items covered by slides or footage relating to the event. The programme frequently contains announcements that are read out under the slides. The inclusion of these contents are not popular in modern TV journalism but in B&H, which is packed with formulated statements of protest from various political factors, this is obviously an unavoidable element. The major part of the programme consists of reports by resident or ad hoc correspondents from certain B&H towns. They deal with places or themes that are directly connected with the life of Croats. During the period that was monitored, reports were registered from Gruda, Široki Brijeg, Kreševo, Kiseljak, Sarajevo, Mostar, Busovača, Bugojno...

It is important to mention that in the monitored period, there was not a single item that could offend the national feelings of other nations in B&H, or that maintained a biased approach regarding some political problem. The presenter's approach in the broadcast was neutral and the correspondents' reports were informative. Also noticeable was the endeavor to hear different, relevant views. Thus, on August 9th an announcement was broadcast of the HVIDRA Association of War Veterans, expressing their protest over the alleged intention of the OHR to remove the Croatian emblems from the Federation. Two days later, a reaction from the OHR was broadcast. In a telephone statement, spokesman Simon Hazelock gave the OHR's stands regarding this problem.

One can make an objection about the sometimes excessive duration of a theme. For example on August 11th, almost half the programme was devoted to the solar eclipse and, on August 14th to the unveiling of a monument to Croat martyrs and the opening of the Culture Centre in Široki Brijeg. These two features are also significant because the selection of the interlocutors' statements in them exalt Croat national feeling and "Croat martyrdom". The president of the municipal council in Široki Brijeg describes the opening of the cinema and cultural centre there as a victory for "suppressed Croat culture" and the opportunity "to breathe freely on free Croat territory".

The survey of Erotel's *Dnevnik* broadcast indicates the efforts of its producers to create a professional and technically attractive programme. No technical errors were noted and the

capabilities of the majority of journalists are satisfactory. However, one could make a serious objection regarding the narrow spectrum covered by Erotel's journalists. It is unacceptable that a programme like the daily news broadcast, especially of a television that aspires to be the TV of the B&H Croats, should be exclusively regionally orientated. That kind of approach can be perceived as the endeavour only to examine "Croat problems" and to ignore everything else. Admittedly, Croatian Television's *Dnevnik* broadcast from Zagreb, which follows immediately after, has the role of an additional informative source, on which Erotel's editorial office is obviously relying. However, from the aspect of journalism, narrowing one's own informative horizons in this way is unclear, to say the least.

Media Image of Kosovo Today

The media situation in Kosovo is changing rapidly. Therefore, we asked our associate from Priština, Šaban Ilisenija, to inform the readers of News about the Media about the latest events concerning the media in Kosovo.

Gradual Renewal of the Media in Albanian Language

Before the war in Kosovo, the following newspapers were published: *Bujku* as a substitute for the banned *Rilindija*, the independent daily newspaper *Koha ditore*, founded by Veton Suroi, then the independent daily *Kosova Sot* (Kosovo Today), founded by Ruždi Kedriju, as well as the regime newspapers (at that time), *Jedinstvo* in Serbian and *Tan* in Turkish. In that period the Radio-Television programme expressed the views of official Serbian policy and was a copy of RTS.

Some ten or more days before the NATO campaign, the publication of *Koha ditore*, *Kosova Sot* and *Bujku* were banned, and so besides the ethnic cleansing offensive, in that way Kosovo was enfolded in a media blackout. RTS and its studios in Kosovo only propagated the strength of the Yugoslav army and police and concealed from its people the (bitter and grave) truth of what was happening in the field at the expense of the Albanian people.

After the withdrawal of the armed Serbian forces from Kosovo and the arrival of KFOR and other international institutions, normal conditions were created for the renewal of the banned newspapers and the RTV programme. *Koha ditore* began to come out for the refugees in the camps in Macedonia and elsewhere, as well as the other influential daily newspaper, *Kosova Sot*. Sponsored in the first months, these two papers were distributed free of charge, and were later sold at reasonable prices. Finally, after a ten-year ban, *Rilindija* has begun to come out again, though now with a different political orientation which is closer to the radical Albanian stream.

Also published in Kosovo is the daily newspaper in Albanian *Ekspressi*, financed by Bujar Bukoši with funds collected through the years by Rugova's government in exile. In Priština and other places in Kosovo, one can buy the daily newspaper *Bota Sot* (The World Today), which expresses more radical views and whose headquarters are in Switzerland.

After the arrival of the international forces in Priština, a semi-private radio station Radio 21 began broadcasting an all day programme in Albanian and English, and the BBC and Voice of America programmes in Albanian. The British government helped to launch this radio station, and it employs the former Radio Priština staff. The director is Aferdita Saraçini-Keljmendi.

Under the supervision of the international administration, following several public protests by the workers of RTV Priština who were driven out of this institution on July 5th

1999, Radio Priština began to broadcast its programme. However, the expectations of the former workers that they would all return to their work places were not fulfilled, nor was the duration of the programme satisfactory. Namely, for a start, the relevant international authorities decided to begin one-hour radio programmes in Albanian, Serbian and Turkish, while the number of staff is limited (from 10-20 for each editorial office). After reactions from the former RTP workers and the OSCE's taking charge of the media, this organisation pledged - in a statement to the public - that the volume of the programme would be enlarged, that more workers would be returned to their posts in this institution and that the organisation would take on the responsibility of social and pension insurance for those workers who are unable to work or do not fulfill the conditions for retirement.

TV Pristine has not yet begun to function but according to some signs this will also be possible - for a start with a two-hour satellite programme - and after the destroyed technical equipment and transmitters are repaired, with its own programme. The local radio stations in Uroševac, Prizren, Đakovica, Gnjilane and Kosovska Mitrovica have also resumed working.

There is no press in the Serbian or other non-Albanian languages. The international administration - UNMIK and the OSCE have started their own FM radio programme in Albanian, Serbian and English.

Besides these media, one should add that it is possible to hear the "Kosova e lji" station (Free Kosovo) on FM, which was launched by the KLA - UČK (Šaban Hiseni).

Contacts for the most influential daily newspapers in Kosovo:

Koha Ditore - daily newspaper - publisher Veton Suroi, editor-in-chief Beton Hadži,
tel: 038 22 432, 28 488, 24 655, 26 480; fax: 038 25 540.
E-mail: redaksia@kohaditore.com

Kosova Sot - publisher Ruždi Kadriju, editor-in-chief Ibrahim Redžepi
Tel: +381 38 525 049. Editorial office in Skopje +389 91 600019

F e d e r a l R T V

From the Law to a Good Programme

One of the controversial questions that caused a long delay in the passing of the Law on radio-television of the Federation of B&H, was how to ensure the equality of the Croatian and Bosnian languages and how, generally, to guarantee the presence of the interests of the Federation's constitutive nations in the programme. Now, when the law has finally been adopted (imposed by the OHR), media experts are to transform the provisions of the law into good quality programmes with high ratings among listeners and viewers. It will depend on the experts, who will not be obstructed by politics or its advocates inside RTV, whether it is possible to make a good programme on the basis of the strict legal obligations.

The temporary legislator, the OHR, required in the law that the RTV of the FB&H is obliged to ensure "a high quality, diversified and balanced programme for the constitutive nations, together with the others, as citizens of B&H...including a concrete share of special programme contents for minority groups". This obligation means that the RTV of FB&H will have to establish a completely new, original internal organisation, examine new sources of information, establish cooperation with other producers and change the structure of its personnel. Inserting the definition "others" and "citizens of B&H", eliminates any thought of the new RTV being exclusively Bosniak or Croat. Of course, it is yet to be clarified whether the notion "others" also implies Serbs in the Federation, or whether they are treated under the

term "minority groups". Following the spirit of the law, we consider that the Serbs in the Federation belong under the term "others", which means that their culture, tradition, and the interests they achieve in the Federation of B&H, must be part of the "balance" referred to in the law. In this way, the notion "various minority groups", as is the practice elsewhere in the world, loses its exclusively ethical meaning.

Nevertheless, the obligation that one of the two envisaged radio or TV channels "as a rule uses the Croatian, and the other, as a rule, uses the Bosnian language" leads to the reality of Dayton. It is fortunate that the people, who live in the Federation of B&H, in any case like in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have no problem understanding all the languages that are spoken in it.

The question is whether and when the federal RTV will be able to fill the two envisaged channels with an attractive programme, especially productions from the Federation (at least a quarter), which it is obliged to do as a public radio and television. The law prescribes that the two channels must have complementary programmes that extend the programme offer, meaning programmes of different genres and contents. Good interpreters of the law will quickly draw the conclusion that it will be impossible to fill in the time with repeats of programmes that have already been broadcast on one of the channels (which is customary practice with poorly developed televisions), nor would it be possible to broadcast the same programme on both channels, only in two different local languages. Perhaps the so-called Croat component of this RTV will wish to introduce more programmes of Croatian Television from Zagreb in the channel that is "mainly in the Croatian language", while the Bosniak component will wish to do so from the so-called Bosniak cantons, but that is a separate topic in itself.

In the endeavour to gain a national, linguistically exclusive channel, those who wanted this now have the almost unattainable task of broadcasting 20 or more hours of programme daily for which much more money is required than can be accumulated from subscription fees, advertising or budget subsidies.

E t h i c s a n d t h e C u l t u r e o f C o m m u n i c a t i o n (1)

In its next issues, *Media News* will publish a large number of articles on ethics and the culture of communication by the world's well-known authors, as well as experts who are authorities on the media situation in the countries in transition and south-eastern Europe. We shall try to publish a large number of practical examples of the violation of ethical standards and codes and reactions to them. Everything we publish will serve as practice for students who attend Media Plan's School of Journalism in Sarajevo.

Today we shall start with the topic "How codes of professional ethics came into being". It consists of one of the introductory texts from the instructive book "The Ethics of Journalism" by Dr. Stjepan Malović, Dr. Sherry Ricchiardi and Gordana Vilović (biblioteka Press/Izvori, Zagreb 1998). The authors are well-known journalists and media experts, and most of the examples the book deals with were analysed in the journalist workshops of the Croatian Journalists' Society.

How Codes Came Into Being

The Ethical Rules of the Profession

Constantly and increasingly faced with ethical dilemmas in their work, like people in other professions, journalists began to write down some general rules they wished to abide by in performing their professional assignments.

Practice was unpredictable and sometimes brought disastrous results. The profession had to find answers to obvious questions and dilemmas. Numerous professional associations very often devoted the major part of their activities to matters of ethics as an essential problem of the media profession.

It is precisely with those characteristics of journalism that media theoreticians are occupied with. The mass media are a product, they are on a market that accepts or rejects them and, at the same time, poses high professional standards that other professions do not encounter in such a manner.

"Journalists are in an awkward position: in the newspapers they work for wages and the product does not depend on them, but on the publishers. But journalists are not workers like those in a shoe factory, they bear responsibility for their product which must be in accord with the ethical standards of the profession, with which the shoe producer is not concerned," writes the French mass media theoretician Pierre Sorlin. He is not the only one to deal with the controversies of the media profession. In an article published in the magazine *Mass Media and Society*, Jay G. Blumer states that "the duality of the journalists' profession, which is completely exposed to the influence of the market, yet follows the strict ethical and moral postulates in the code of professional journalism, is not the only specific feature. Not only do market laws affect journalists, but also politicians and other power-brokers 'who wish to sell their ideas'."

Croatian journalists have first hand experience of the new element Blumer introduces: politicians and other power-brokers directly or indirectly influence the mass media and set the rules of the game for which journalists, nevertheless, ultimately bear responsibility.

Work experience in the controlled media is very bitter and can eloquently confirm Blumer's view; from telephone calls to specify what will be published and how, to decisions on the fate of certain newspapers or radio and TV stations.

By the nature of their profession, journalists wish to inform the public about what is really happening, warn it of irregularities in order to eliminate them and call those who are working against the general well-being to account...

Of course, this does not suit the politicians: they want obedient journalism, spokesmen not reporters, promoters of their policies instead of objective analysts of the political scene...

"There is a constant potential conflict between the media and those who have political and economic power," says one of the world's most renowned mass media theoreticians and a professor at the University of Amsterdam, Denis MacQuail, in his article "Mass Media in the Public Interest: Towards a Framework of Norms for Media Performance". So, it was necessary to define some clear, recognisable, ethical principles to assist journalists in their work and defend them from external pressure, forcing them to do what, essentially, is not their job.

What are ethics? Ethics are defined as the attempt to determine what is correct. And journalistic ethics or the ethics of journalism?

"Journalistic ethics... norms, guidelines, rules and codes should be established to guide journalists, but not to force them to be more humane," say the American theoreticians Hiebert, Ungurait and Bohn in the magazine *Mass Media VI*.

The frequently mentioned Dennis MacQuail, Professor of the University of Amsterdam and one of the best known theoreticians of mass communications, defined journalistic ethics in the following terms:

- truth and accuracy
- impartiality and honesty
- respect for individuality and privacy

- independence from particular interests
- responsibility towards society and the public good
- respect for the law
- morals, decency and good taste.

Journalism began to apply certain ethical rules, or codes, very early, which serve journalists as guidelines in their work. There are various forms of written norms, behaviour and respect for ethical norms. The Croatian Journalists' Association also has its Codex, and there is the Ethics Council of the Croatian Journalists' Association that should react to every violation: in Article 16 of the Codex of Honour of Croatian Journalists, it says:

"A journalist should protect an individual's privacy from unjustified and sensational revelations to the public. Special attention and responsibility is required in reporting on disasters, family tragedies, diseases, children and minors..."

How do journalists define their ethical principles, themselves? A.M. Rosenthal, former executive editor of *The New York Times*, resolutely expressed his ethical convictions which were applied by generations of journalists of that renowned daily newspaper: "I believe the duty of every journalist and editor is to achieve as high a degree of objectivity as possible, although I know that completely objective journalism is impossible, because every text is written by a human being.

I believe that a journalist will forget his feelings the moment he sits down at the typewriter and begins writing his article, no matter what his feelings are about his topic.

I believe that personal considerations will be excluded during the writing of journalistic texts.

I believe that we shall avoid offensive expressions just as we shall avoid anonymous accusations against individuals and institutions.

I believe every accused person or institution will immediately have the right to respond.

I believe that we do not use newspapers to tie people to the pillar of shame only because we journalists possess that power.

I believe that presenting both sides is not simply playing around, but the essence of responsible journalism."

On paper, in other words, normatively, things are more or less clear. Problems arise when we should professionally act. What to present, and what to keep concealed from the public? If we do not publish something, and our rivals do, have we turned out to be ethical fools?

But, what journalists must bear in mind is whether they have threatened anyone's human rights with their article, radio or TV programme. Every journalist must re-examine his activities anew, every day, and establish his ethical criteria anew on each example. Thus, the abuse of human rights and violation of ethical principles will be reduced to the least possible measure. And the re-examination of one's own ethical norms can be done best if journalists become acquainted with practice in the foreign media and analyse how their journalist colleagues have respected the ethical rules.

How can journalists respond to these pressures? Is it at all possible to resist them? The answers are well-known to journalists who live in that rift and, on the one hand, must satisfy the demands of their employers, and on the other, their professional, ethical and moral principles.

There is a whole series of accusations against journalists and the profession of journalism. It is not unusual for them to be accused of sensationalism, disrespect for individuality and privacy, provoking intolerance, the wanton defamation of individuals without proper evidence, the publication of unconfirmed information, hunting for easy ways

to increase circulation regardless of the truth of information and suchlike. The media in Croatia, in particular, were accused of provoking and stirring up national and religious hatred, inciting to massacre and even genocide. At the same time, we are witnesses of the profession of journalism being the conscience of modern society, that journalists are people who fight for the truth, who warn of irregularities, intolerance and crime.

The Monitor's Eye

Ghettoisation Between the Lines

The magazine *Lijljan* (No.43, August 9th-16th, this year) published an interview with the member of the Sarajevo group *Macbeth* (Igor Ražnatović, alias Hadži Hamza Ražnatović), that played the music during Clinton's visit to the Third Gymnasium in Sarajevo. For a young man to be a convert is no novelty (let us recall Cat Stevens, later Jusuf Islam and others) , but the way in which this feature/interview was arranged editorially is indicative, and the sub-heading is particularly irritating: **"I would like the whole of Sarajevo to bow down in prayer."** The controversial sub-heading was in fact part of Ražnatović's statement which, word for word, was: "I would like the whole of Sarajevo to turn to Allah's side, to bown down in prayer, because this city has deserved it, with the help of Allah." The youthful Ražnatović need not have a sense for politics, but it is unacceptable that the responsible people in *Ljiljan*, including the journalist who conducted the interview (Jasmina Tabaković), are not aware of the destructiveness of such a printed statement.

Immediately after the music-making, in his inspired speech, President Clinton will be particularly remembered for one detail, where, in illustrating the necessary polyphony of Sarajevo voices, he underlined that this was a place where people lived and worked together, "a place where Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics and Jews were free to worship God as they chose. That is the Sarajevo I want the world to know about."

NEWS

Political Marketing on the Electronic Media

At the beginning of August, the head of the OSCE mission in B&H, Robert Berry presented the draft of a Permanent Election Law made by a group of foreign and domestic experts under the guidance of the international community.

Article 17 of the draft also regulates the behaviour of the media during a pre-election campaign. The novelty in relation to the solution for the previous elections is that paid political marketing is permitted on private electronic media, while this is still forbidden on the public media. The rule was obviously changed due to strong pressure from local TV and radio stations, embittered last year by the OSCE's decision that they could not earn money from political advertisements. The public electronic media are obliged to provide airtime to all the registered parties for the presentation of their party policies 45 days before the elections.

This draft does not contain regulations regarding the printed press.

Link Between RTV B&H and RTV Montenegro?

The general directors of RTV B&H and RTV Montenegro, Miro Purivatra and Goran Rakočević signed a Protocol on setting up a link between Podgorica and Sarajevo. The link will ensure permanent communication and a programme exchange, which will be the first renewal of connections of this kind, following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

With the development of this link, it was said in RTV B&H, Podgorica will acquire a direct link with Banja Luka, through Sarajevo.

However, in a statement for the Serb media, the director of RTV Srpska, Anđelko Kozomara, said this kind of link should be set up through the transmitter on Leotar near Trebinje, which belongs to SRT, and that neither he nor anyone else from this station was consulted. He also said that his station would not agree to this sort of link that, in his words, was "a cheap way to score political points."

The Formation of a Public RTV Service

At a press conference in Sarajevo, on August 17th, the spokesman for the OHR's Department for the Media, Daniel De Luce declared that the decision of the High Representative for B&H on the reconstruction of the system of public broadcasting represented the foundation for establishing a constitutional solution for radio and television at the state level.

"The earlier state of affairs was untenable, in other words, control over one's own media space, so there was no other choice but to impose a law in order to finally set up a new RTV system," De Luce stressed at the press conference.

"In the next few months, we can expect the signal of the federal television programmes, while more time will be needed for setting up the public RTV Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina," underlined the spokesman for the OHR's Media Department. He also announced that problems were expected from the leading political parties regarding the implementation of this decision, but that pressure would continue to be exerted on them so that this decision would be carried out in full. According to him, the members of the Presidency of B&H pledged to present a list soon with the names of the people who should be appointed to the administrative board of the Public RTV Service.

C o r r e c t i o n

Slon 24 hours "Live" on Internet

In the last edition of *News about the Media*, the article "Electronic Publishing in B&H" carried news that the web site of Radio Slon from Tuzla, which advertises itself as the first station whose programme can be followed "live" on the Internet, only had the slide of this radio station and that it was not possible to follow its programme *on line*. However, this data was incorrect. The associate of Media Plan who worked on this article, had the old address of Radio Slon which he had received from this radio station previously. That address is still present on the net and corresponds to the mentioned description. However, Radio Slon has a new address: www.slon.tuzla.net on which it is possible to follow this radio station's

programme in full. We apologise to Radio Slon for this error and invite readers to visit this extremely interesting web site on the Internet. ■

On the Threshold of a New Century

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

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