



**MEDIA PLAN, Sarajevo**

**Elections B&H '96**

# **Guide**

**for Journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

**Sarajevo, August 1996**

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We wish to thank to the editorial teams of Reuter News Agency, Oslobođenje and Dani, Sarajevo, and to the Institute for War & Peace Reporting (I.W.P.R.), London. Special thanks to the Open Society Institute, Prague, which financed this handbook.

## NOTE TO OUR READERS

I know from my own experience that journalists do not like their information "chewed" ahead of time. Although I am aware of that risk, I agreed to edit this modest volume. That is because our aim is to give you concrete information you can use, not polemics. Of course, by this time many of our foreign colleagues know Bosnia quite well. But this is a very different country than most, and some explanations that might not be necessary under normal circumstances seemed in order.

This booklet does not attempt to attack preconceptions or to change opinions about Bosnia. After you page through it, you will no doubt gather new facts and information to add to your personal archives. But we will be glad if it helps you carry out your work in Bosnia better and more efficiently.

The authors of this booklet faced a great many problems. Information for the whole country, not only for both entities but also for all parts of the Bosnian Federation, cannot be found in one place anymore. Also, information from different sources is often contradictory and produced according to different methodologies. Other information is kept secret by the authorities. These are all consequences of the war. Still, our booklet is the first attempt to bring together in one place some relevant facts about both entities.

Finally, MEDIA PLAN wishes you successful work in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope you consider these pages an introduction to our larger work, which is to help rebuild and improve the Bosnian media. We are always open to professional meetings and contacts. If you come to Sarajevo to cover the elections, we at MEDIA PLAN will be at your disposal.

Zoran Udovičić

MEDIA PLAN director

Sarajevo, August 1996

## BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA -- AS IT WAS<sup>1</sup>

### General data

Bosnia-Herzegovina has an area of 51,197 km<sup>2</sup>. It borders on Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and has a coastline of 24.5 kilometers on the Adriatic Sea. Before the war, the country was divided into 109 municipalities, with its capital in Sarajevo. Other municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants are Banja Luka, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Doboj and Prijedor. According to the 1991 census, the population of Bosnia was 4,377,033. Of these, 1,902,956 (43.48%) were Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim), 1,366,104 (31.21%) Serb and 760,852 (17.38%) Croat. There were an additional 242,682 people (5.54%) who declared themselves Yugoslav, and 104,439 (2.39%) of 25 other nationalities. The average population density was 84.4 people per square kilometer. The population was equally balanced between males and females. There were 1,203,441 households, making an average of 3.62 people per household. More than 70 percent of the population was under 40 years of age. Most of the working-age population was employed in industry, mining, agriculture, civil engineering, traffic and communications. Before the war, 1,304,868 housing units and 569,581 farms were registered in Bosnia. This demographic picture changed completely during the war.

### Language

Before the war, the standard language of Bosnia was a Jekavian dialect of Serbo-Croat. The Latin and Cyrillic alphabets were used equally. After the war, the different national groups have tried to define separate languages: Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian. The Latin alphabet is used in the Bosnian Federation and the Cyrillic alphabet in the Serb Republic.

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<sup>1</sup> \*The following publications were used in preparing this guide: Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia (section on Bosnia-Herzegovina) - published by Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod Zagreb, 1982; Monograph "Bosnia-Herzegovina" - published by IGRO "Svjetlost" and Republic Committee for Information of SR BiH; Monograph "Sarajevo" - published by the Tourist Association of Sarajevo; official data from the 1991 census - Statistics Bureau of Bosnia-Herzegovina; MEDIA PLAN data base, archives of the Oslobođenje newspaper and Dani magazine, 1992 - 1996.

## **Name**

The name Bosnia-Herzegovina refers to two historical and political territories. The names have different origins and ages. It is believed that the name Bosnia derives from a river of the same name that has its source near Sarajevo. The name Herzegovina is much younger and comes from the title held by Herceg ("Lord") Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (1435 - 1466).

## **Natural features**

Most of Bosnia is mountainous. The southern part of the Panonic depression extends to the north. Toward the south the Dinaric Alps rise in waves to over 2,000 meters above sea-level before they fall off toward the Adriatic Sea. The highest mountain is Maglić at 2,386 meters. The country's average height above sea level is 693 meters. Its climate is moderately continental in northern Bosnia, sub-mountainous and mountainous in higher regions, and Mediterranean in the lower basin of the Neretva River.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided between the watersheds of the Black and Adriatic seas. The largest number of rivers belong to the Black Sea, or Danube, watershed. Mountain rivers of high hydro-electric potential flow into the River Sava, which forms the country's northern border; into the River Drina, which divides Bosnia from Serbia in the east; and into the Bosna, the Vrbas and the Una rivers in the middle of the country. The Neretva belongs to the Adriatic watershed, as does the Trebišnjica, Zalomka and other rivers. The watershed of the Drina encompasses 19,570 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 7,200 km<sup>2</sup> belong to Bosnia. The whole watershed of the River Bosna, or 10,460 km<sup>2</sup>, lies within Bosnia.

A number of lakes are tourist attractions: the Pliva Lakes near Jajce, Lake Boračko near Konjic, the Zelengora lakes and the Glečer lakes on Mt. Treskavica. There are also some large artificial lakes: Boračko, Bilečko, Jablaničko, Peručko and others. Bosnia also abounds in mineral waters, some of which are radioactive.

Almost half of Bosnian territory (46.6%) is forested. Of this, 65% is deciduous and 35% coniferous. With 3,500 different plant species alone, Bosnia has a wealth of flora and fauna. The Perućica forest, near Foča, is said to be the largest primeval forest left in Europe. Bosnia also has two national parks: Kozara, on a mountain of the same name in northwestern Bosnia, and Sutjeska, in southeastern Bosnia.

## **Economy**

Bosnia's economy depends largely on industry and agriculture. The country also has abundant forest, water and mineral resources. Most of the pre-war gross domestic product came from industry, followed by mining, agriculture, civil engineering, transport and communications, trade, and catering and tourism. A strong base of heavy industry and energy production was built up after World War II. Bosnia has coal reserves of 3.8 billion tons and a potential hydropower output of 17 billion kW. Most electricity was produced by coal-burning plants in Tuzla, Kakanj, Gacko and other places. Besides coal, iron ore was mined in the Vareš and Ljubija basins; bauxite and lead-zinc ore near Srebrenica; and chromium, asbestos ore and rock salt near Tuzla.

## **Industry**

Before the war Bosnia had iron and steelworks in Zenica, Ilijaš and Vareš. Aluminum was produced in Mostar, alumina and ferro-alloy in Jajce. Crude oil was refined in Bosanski Brod and motor oil in Modriča. Sarajevo was a center for metal-working and machine-making. Engines were manufactured in Hrasnica, car and ball-bearings in Vogošća, planes and helicopters in Mostar, agricultural machines in Tuzla, tractors in Novi Travnik, steel constructions in Zenica, typewriters in Bugojno, tools in Trebinje, electrical products in Banja Luka, chemicals in Lukavac and Goražde, and pharmaceuticals in Sarajevo. There was an electro-chemical industry in Jajce and wood-processing in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Doboj, Zavidovići and Drvar. Cellulose and paper were produced in Banja Luka, Prijedor, Drvar and Maglaj; textiles in Mostar, Sarajevo, Brčko, Bihać, Livno and Bileća; leather and footwear in Sarajevo, Derventa, Visoko and Bugojno; tobacco products in Mostar, Banja Luka and Sarajevo. Handcrafts were also an important industry.

## **Agriculture**

A total of 2,567,000 hectares is devoted to agriculture in Bosnia. Of this, 1,060,000 ha. are tilled, 89,000 ha. are in orchards and 942,000 ha. are in pasture.

## Traffic

The most important railway lines were Šamac-Sarajevo-Mostar-Ploče, Bosanski Brod-Banja Luka-Doboj-Tuzla and Brčko-Tuzla. Bosnia had 16,869 km of roads, of which 8,121 km were paved. The main river ports were at Bosanski Novi and at the mouth of the Neretva River.

## History

The Illyrians were the oldest known inhabitants of Bosnia. They formed larger tribal communities quite early. Later they waged long battles against the Roman, who finally conquered the Illyrians at the beginning of the Common Era. They annexed the territory of today's Bosnia to the Roman province of Dalmatia. The Romans opened mines and exploited the region's mineral wealth. In time, some of the Illyrians were romanized. After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, Bosnian territory changed rulers several times. After the emperor Odoakar came the Ostrogoths, then the Byzantine empire, which ruled the region until the arrival of the Slavs. By the mid-seventh century, Slavs were the main inhabitants of the territory that would become Bosnia.

Bosnia is first mentioned in records from the middle of the ninth century. Porfirogenitus mentions a large number of inhabited regions in Trebinje and Zahumlje. During the time of Duke Časlav, Bosnia was part of Raška. It emerged as a separate entity after his death in 960. The whole 12th century was marked by battles to establish and maintain the independence of this state. The first known Bosnian "ban," or governor, was Borić (c.1154-63). A Hungarian vassal, he fought against Byzantium, which conquered Bosnia in 1167 and held it until the death of Manojlo Komin in 1180. During the reign of Kulin Ban, Bosnia was already a well-organized state. Kulin Ban controlled all the territory in the upper watershed of the Bosna River. The 14th century saw Bosnia emerge as an important player in this part of the Balkans. During the reign of King Tvrtko I it became the strongest power among the southern Slavic states. The medieval state of Bosnia encompassed Raška, Dalmatia, Croatia and Primorje. During this period Bosnia and Herzegovina were united for the first time.

Medieval Bosnia became known for the widespread Bogomilian heresy which arose there. News of these teachings, which were accepted by Kulin Ban himself, was first heard in Bosnia in 1199 (recent scholars argue that the Bosnian Church was not Bogomilian, but agree that it was a distinctive church, separate from Rome). Resistance to the Roman Catholic Church from the 12th to the 14th

century reflected not only religious, but also political differences. Many old monuments survived from medieval Bosnia, including a distinctive kind of tombstone, known as a stećak. The stećaks are the most visible reminder of medieval Bosnian culture, and their development coincides geographically and chronologically with the medieval Bosnian state. Four alphabets were used in medieval Bosnia and Hum (the old name for Herzegovina): Greek, Latin, Glagolitic and Cyrillic. Glagolitic was characteristic of medieval Bosnia. The oldest Glagolitic manuscript, believed to have originated in Bosnia, is the Marijan Gospel from the 10th century. Among Cyrillic manuscripts of this kind, the oldest is the Miroslav Gospel, dating from the 12th century.

Ottoman Turks first invaded Bosnia in 1388. The Turkish Sultan Mehmed II conquered Bosnia in 1463 and executed the last Bosnian king, King Stjepan Tomašević. Exerting control over all parts of Bosnia took the Ottomans much longer. In the 15th century, the Ottomans divided Bosnia into the Bosnian, Herzegovinan and Zvornik "sanjaks," or territories. They added other sanjaks as they captured new lands. In the late 16th century, the Bosnian Pashadom was formed. It encompassed eight sanjaks and stretched from Šabac to the Adriatic Sea and across southern Slavonia. It lasted until the end of the 17th century. The Ottoman Empire established a feudal order in its conquered lands. The ethnic makeup of Bosnia, except for migrations during war or after large epidemics, did not change significantly. The population was heterogeneous with respect to religion, encompassing members of the Orthodox, Catholic and Bosnian churches, although the Bosnian Church was already in decline. People of all religions converted to Islam, influenced to a large extent by the Ottoman agrarian system. There was no forced Islamicization.

The Ottoman conquest began a long period of wars, rebellions and uprisings. A complicated social and economic picture came into focus. People of the same ethnic background and same language became divided by religion: Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism. In the 19th century these religious affiliations became the basis of national identification for Muslims, Serbs and Croats. They also represented three different cultural legacies. The Muslims inherited Turkish-Islamic culture, although with significant and creative changes. The Serbs remained tied to Byzantine and Church-Slavic traditions, while the Croats inherited Christian traditions from the West. The exodus of Jews and Arabs from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1496 added a fourth element to the mix of Bosnian culture: the Sefardic-Jewish legacy.

In the late 19th century, widespread fighting broke out in Bosnia, speeding the end of Ottoman rule. At the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Austro-Hungarian Empire received a 30-year mandate to rule Bosnia-Herzegovina. The

mandate was greeted with resistance, particularly from the Muslim population, which had fared best under Ottoman rule. The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia lasted from 1878-1918. Although part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Bosnia remained formally under the Sultan's sovereignty until the annexation of 1908. The annexation crisis culminated with Gavrilo Princip's assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo in 1914. The assassination helped set off World War I.

With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of a new Slavic state called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. A territorial government was formed that answered to the central government in Belgrade. With the St. Vitus Constitution of 1921, a new administrative organization was imposed on Bosnia that undermined its historic and political unity. In 1939, an agreement between Belgrade and Zagreb politicians (Cvetković-Maček) led to the creation of the Croatian Banat. The Banat encompassed 13 Bosnian-Herzegovinian districts and strained national tensions in Bosnia.

During World War II, Bosnia became part of the quisling Independent State of Croatia, under Italian and German dictatorships. An uprising led by Tito's Partisans swept back and forth over the entire Bosnian territory. The region was the site of the biggest battles and German offensives. The inaugural session of Bosnia's first multinational parliament was held on 25 November 1943 in Mrkonjić Grad. It affirmed the unity of Bosnian people and demanded equal status for Bosnia within the federation of post-war Yugoslavia.

The second Yugoslavia was declared by a national parliament in Jajce on 29 November 1943. The country went by different names after that, but the longest in use was Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bosnia was one of six republics in Yugoslavia. The other five were Serbia (with the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina), Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Mačedonia. Muslims (today called Bosniaks) were recognized as a distinct nationality in the new Yugoslavia. (Until then they had to declare themselves as Serbs, Croats or "undecided".) A communist regime along Soviet lines was established in Yugoslavia after World War II. In 1948 Tito broke with Stalin, after which Yugoslavia enjoyed a more or less independent position in the world. In domestic affairs it became known for its experiments in socialist self-rule. In foreign affairs it was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement.

The breakup of Yugoslavia coincided with the collapse of communism. In the face of democratic aspirations, the first multi-party elections in Yugoslavia were called in 1990. These elections took place as nationalist feelings were rising and

giving birth to movements to create larger national states, first in Serbia, then in Croatia. The elections in Bosnia in December 1990 brought three national parties into power: the Democratic Action Party (SDA), the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) and the Serb Democratic Party (SDS).

In June of 1991, Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their independence from Yugoslavia. War broke out, in which one of the main parties was the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), under the command of the Serb leadership in Belgrade. On 14 October 1991 the Bosnian Assembly adopted its own declaration of independence. Serb deputies (SDS) voted against it. A referendum was held on 1 March 1992, in which Bosnians voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence. Serbs boycotted the referendum and called for Bosnia to remain within Yugoslavia. The European Union recognized Bosnia's independence on 6 April.

That was the first day of war. Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadžić and assisted by the Yugoslav Army and paramilitary units from Serbia, launched a campaign to take over large parts of Bosnia. In mid-1993 a separate conflict broke out between Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats. An agreement in Washington brought an uneasy peace between the two former allies and created the Bosnian Federation, one of the country's two future entities.

The war seemed to leave two options for the future of Bosnia. One was the preservation of Bosnia as a single, multi-ethnic and sovereign state. The other was division along ethnic lines. After long negotiations, the parties agreed to a peace plan that seemed to endorse the former. The agreement was reached in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris. The peace agreement stopped the fighting and called for the establishment of new state structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia would consist of two separate entities: the Bosnian Federation and the Serb Republic. Dayton gave 51.4 percent of Bosnia's territory to the Federation and 48.6 to the Serb Republic.

### National structure of some cities /municipalities

(according to a census made in 1991 )

	Name	Total	Bosni - aks	Serbs	Croats	Yugo - slaves	Others
1	Banja Luka	195.692 100,00%	28.558 14,59%	106.826 54,59%	29.029 14,83%	23.656 12,09%	7.626 3,93%
2	Bijeljina	96.988 100,00%	30.229 31,17%	57.389 59,17%	492 0,51%	4.426 4,56%	4.452 4,59%
3	Brčko	87.621 100,00%	38.617 44,07%	18.128 20,68%	22.252 25,39%	5.731 6,54%	2.899 3,31%
4	Bugojno	46.889 100,00%	19.697 42,01%	8.673 18,50%	16.031 34,19%	1.561 3,33%	927 1,97%
5	Čapljina	27.882 100,00%	7.672 27,52%	3.753 13,46%	14.969 53,69%	1.047 3,76%	441 1,57%
6	Doboj	102.549 100,00%	41.164 40,14%	39.620 38,83%	13.264 12,93%	5.765 5,62%	2.536 2,48%
7	Drvar	17.126 100,00%	33 0,19%	16.608 96,98%	33 0,19%	384 2,24%	68 0,40%
8	Goražde	37.573 100,00%	26.296 69,99%	9.843 26,20%	80 0,21%	789 2,10%	565 1,50%
9	Jajce	45.007 100,00%	17.380 38,62%	8.663 19,25%	15.811 35,13%	2.496 5,55%	657 1,45%
10	Mostar	126.628 100,00%	43.856 34,63%	23.846 18,83%	43.037 33,99%	12.768 10,08%	3.121 2,46%
11	Sarajevo	527.049 100,00%	259.470 49,23%	157.143 29,52%	34.073 6,62%	56.470 10,71%	19.093 3,92%
12	Srebrenica	36.666 100,00%	27.572 75,20%	8.315 22,68%	38 0,10%	380 1,04%	361 0,98%
13	Stolac	18.681 100,00%	8.101 43,36%	3.917 20,97%	6.188 33,12%	307 1,64%	168 0,91%
14	Tuzla	131.618 100,00%	62.669 47,61%	20.271 15,40%	20.398 15,50%	21.995 16,71%	6.285 4,78%
15	Zenica	145.517 100,00%	80.359 55,22%	22.433 15,42%	22.510 15,47%	15.654 10,76%	4.561 3,13%

## SARAJEVO

Sarajevo is both the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its economic and cultural center. The city lies 520-700 meters above sea level in the valley of the Miljacka River, a tributary of the Bosna, between Mt. Trebević, Mt. Hum and Mt. Igman. It has a moderately continental climate with frequent temperature inversions. The 10 pre-war municipalities that make up Sarajevo and its suburbs cover 2,049 km<sup>2</sup>. The five urban municipalities are Old Town, Center, New Sarajevo, New Town and Ilidža. They have an area of 417 km<sup>2</sup>. The five suburban municipalities are Vogošća, Ilijas, Pale, Trnovo and Hadžići.

According to the 1991 census, Sarajevo had a population of 527,049. Of these, 49.2% were Bosniak (Muslim), 29.5% Serb, 6.6% Croat, 10.7% Yugoslav and 3.9% other.

Before the war Sarajevo was the most highly developed industrial city in Bosnia. Its industries produced cars, metal frameworks, tools, electrical installations and equipment, transformer stations and air-conditioners. It had chemical, pharmaceutical, cosmetic, textile and food industries. It produced leather products and shoes, furniture, construction materials, tobacco products and handicrafts. It was an important railway and automobile junction between the Panonic Basin and the Adriatic Sea. It had an international airport at Butmir.

Despite great destruction, Sarajevo remains the cultural and educational center of Bosnia. It has a university that was founded in 1949 and has 19 schools. It has three art academies and five advanced schools; an Academy of Arts and Sciences (founded in 1966); more than 40 institutes of learning; at least 80 high and elementary schools; 12 museums; four theaters; four publishing houses; many libraries and art galleries; more than 50 newspapers and magazines; 15 radio and television stations; and four news agencies. The city has a modern university medical center and other health institutions, and a spa in Ilidža. Many of its sports facilities cannot be used, including several built for the 1984 Winter Olympics and on the surrounding mountains of Trebević, Igman and Bjelašnica. The Bosnia river, which springs from the earth at the foot of Mt. Igman, is one of the country's treasures.

Sarajevo's history is long and multi-layered. The first settlements in the area date to Neolithic times. The area remained settled throughout the time of Illyricum, the Roman Empire and the emergence of an independent Bosnia in the Middle Ages. With the arrival of the Turks, a new settlement was founded that quickly grew into a town. This was Sarajevo, whose name derives from the Turkish words "Saraj-ovasi," or "field around the ruler's palace." It was founded in 1457 by Isabey Ihsaković and built with his endowments. In the 16th century the city boomed. It became one of the most important trading centers in the Balkans. Permanently linked to the city's development is the name Gazi Husrefbey, the Turkish czar's regent for the Bosnian sanjak. The oldest library in the city, built in 1537, bears his name. Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1918) put its own stamp on the city. The assassination in Sarajevo of Archduke Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip on 28 June 1914 marked the beginning of World War I.

Sarajevo's greatest cultural and historical attraction is Baščaršija. The spirit of Ottoman Sarajevo survives here, in the heart of the old town. Gazi Husrefbey's (Bey's) Mosque, from 1531, is the largest institution of Islamic culture in this part of the world. Also in Baščaršija are Ali Pasha's Mosque (1561); the Czar's Mosque (1566); the Kuršumlija Madrasah, Bezistan and Hamam mosques; a clock-tower; an old Jewish synagogue and Orthodox Church - all of which date from the 16th century. Under Austro-Hungarian rule the city naturally expanded beyond Ottoman Sarajevo. By building a Catholic cathedral in 1889, the Habsburgs brought Sarajevo's four major religions into a close relationship. The Ferhadija Mosque, the old Jewish synagogue and the Orthodox cathedral are located in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. The proximity of these places of worship symbolizes the common heritage and co-existence of Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Jews and other peoples over the centuries.

The National Museum, founded in 1888 during Austro-Hungarian rule, is one of the oldest scientific institutions in the Balkans. A collection of 2,500 items traces Bosnia's stormy past. It includes the famous Haggada, a sacred Jewish scroll of Spanish origin dating from the 13th or 14th century.

The war in Sarajevo started on April 6 1992, a day which marks the anniversary of the city's liberation from German occupation in 1945. The devastation in the city had not been so great since the Austrian military leader Prinz Eugen von Savoyen burned the city in 1697. The Bosnian Serb army held the city under siege for 1,300 days, or three and a half years. The only link with the world during most of the war was a narrow tunnel dug under the airport runway. The Serbs fired more than a million shells at the

city. They destroyed or damaged factories and businesses; residential districts; scientific and cultural institutions, including the Town Hall; the Oriental Museum; the Parliament and Government buildings; the Oslobođenje newspaper building; the radio-television building; the main post office; the electric company headquarters; the railway station; and the Zetra sports hall.

The war transformed the population. No exact data is available, but it is believed that more than 100,000 people left the city, most of them Serbs, but also many Croats and Bosniaks. New residents took their place, mainly Bosniaks who fled or were expelled from eastern Bosnia. The Dayton agreement gave two Sarajevo municipalities, Pale and Trnovo, to the Republika Srpska. Sarajevo became the seat of a canton of the same name. It remains the capital of the Federation B&H and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## THE DEVASTATION OF WAR

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina caused death, destruction and the displacement of people on a vast scale. Millions of Bosnians fled or were expelled from their homes. Houses and whole villages were burned. Factories were looted and destroyed. Various blockades interrupted the work of companies and severed business connections. The economy collapsed.

Almost nothing was spared.

### The Human Cost

According to a 1995 report by the Bureau for Health Protection, "Health and Social Consequences of the Aggression Against Bosnia-Herzegovina," 278,800 people were killed or died in other ways, or are missing from the war. Of these, 140,800 were Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), 97,300 Serbs, 28,400 Croats and 12,300 others. In Sarajevo, 10,615 people were killed, including 1,601 children. A total of 61,136 were wounded, including 14,946 children.

In the Serb Republic (RS), associations of families of the missing and captured estimate that 50,000 people were killed there, although they acknowledge that this figure is incomplete.

In all, 6.3% of the population was killed or is missing. The greatest number of casualties occurred in 1992 and 1993, the first two years of war. In 1992 the rate of violent mortality was 60.6, or ten times the natural mortality rate.

According to a report from the Bureau of Health Protection', the war displaced 58.2% of the population. This includes 1,370,000 people, or 29.8% of the population, who were displaced to other parts of Bosnia ,and 1,250,000, or 28.4%, who became refugees in other countries. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) says that Bosnian refugees live in 63 countries.

According to the RS's Economics Institute, 1,260,000 people now live in the RS. The institute says that the RS has 300,000 refugees from the Bosnian Federation and about 90,000 from Croatia.

UNHCR says that the RS has 520,000 displaced persons, 280,000 in the western part and 240,000 in the eastern part. Humanitarian aid is received by 840,000 people.

### **Other Damage**

At a conference on Bosnia's reconstruction (Sarajevo, 16-17 March 1996), officials said that 475 villages and hamlets were burned or otherwise devastated and that 57 towns were occupied or held under siege. In 75 municipalities controlled by the Bosnian Federation in mid-1995, more than half were damaged. Of 188,758 socially-owned housing units, 110,855, or 58.7 %, were damaged. Of 637,178 privately-owned housing units, 366,295, or 57.5% were damaged. Of these, 140,857, or 20.5%, were at least 60% destroyed.

The Bosnian government has estimated the damage to housing, infrastructure and industry at more than \$80 billion. According to the RS's Economics Institute, direct and indirect damage in the RS amounts to \$14 billion.

Water supplies suffered \$668 million in damages, energy systems \$1.6 billion, transport \$8.8 billion, telecommunications \$1.9 billion, agriculture \$3.0 billion, industry \$8.5 billion, educational facilities \$915 million, housing \$4.3 billion, and cultural and sports facilities \$2.3 billion.

In forestry, a major industry in Bosnia, the damage to trees, game and forested land is estimated at \$2.6 billion. Forty thousand mature trees were cut down in Sarajevo alone. Damage to infrastructure and machinery and loss of salaries is estimated to have cost \$814 million more, for a total loss of \$3.4 billion.

It was also reported at the Sarajevo conference that 60-73% of the country's cattle range was devastated.

The destruction of the religious, historical and cultural heritage of Bosnia was widespread during the war. Two important historic urban districts were destroyed; eight other urban districts of lesser importance were badly damaged. Fifty-nine important monuments were destroyed, among them 12 medieval towns, 20 mosques, clock towers, bridges, housing facilities and public institutions. Religious facilities suffered great damage. Those damaged or destroyed included three Jewish, 20 Orthodox, 600 Catholic and 1,124 Islamic (mostly mosques). The best known cultural monuments that were damaged or destroyed were the Old Bridge in Mostar, well known mosques in Banja Luka and Foča, and the historic

centers and old market places of Sarajevo, Mostar, Počitelj, Stolac, Tešanj, Maglaj, Travnik and Gradačac.

## **Economic Collapse**

Before the war, 1.1 million people were employed in Bosnia. About 280,000 are now employed in the Bosnian Federation. In the RS, according to its labor syndicate, 200,000 people are employed, but only 20,000 are thought to actually have work to do.

The war also resulted in the loss of a great deal of expertise. An estimated 10,000 experts from different sectors of the economy either died or left the country. This loss has had a profound effect on the social and economic life of the country.

Bosnia's economy depended heavily on the extraction of raw materials and on the production of energy. It also had more than 200 factories and several large companies: Šipad (wood processing), Unis (metal products) and Energoinvest (energy, industrial machinery and petrochemicals). Bosnia enjoyed a trade surplus.

During the war, 65% of enterprises were destroyed or looted. The destruction and looting were worst in the industrial zones of Sarajevo: Vogošća, Stup and Ilidža.

In energy production, hydro-electric plants with a capacity of 579 megawatts were damaged. The worst damage was at the hydroelectric plants in Salakova, Mostar, Rama and Čapljina. Transmission lines and distribution networks were also badly damaged. Of the 838 kilometers of high-tension power lines (400 kilovolts), none are working. Of 1,424 other long-distance lines (220 KV), 672 are operational. None of the 440 KV transformer stations are working. Of 101 transformer stations with 110 KV, only 18 are working.

Before the war, Bosnia produced 18 million tons of coal. Today a tenth of that is mined.

The movement of people, goods and information was nearly stopped by the war. A total of 845 kilometers of primary and regional roads are damaged, 58 bridges destroyed and 14 tunnels damaged.

Bosnia has 1,030 km of railroad, of which three-quarters is electric. The destruction of railway bridges in the north cut Bosnia off from the European railway network. Within the country, railroad transport collapsed. Almost all rolling stock was burned, destroyed or taken to other countries. Most of the communications and signal equipment was incapacitated. In the Federation, railway stations in Sarajevo, Mostar, Čapljina and Rajlovac suffered damage. It will take an estimated \$1 billion to restore the transport to the level of 1991.

Before the war, Bosnia had 750,000 telephone lines, or 15 for every 100 people. The war cut up the telecommunications network and destroyed some of its facilities. The communications system is now working at only 30% of its pre-war capacity. It is impossible to make a phone call between the RS and the Federation.

Destruction, lack of energy supplies and the unavailability of raw materials has stopped work at the largest factories in Bosnia: the steel works in Zenica, the chlorine-alkaline plant in Tuzla, the coke plant in Lukavac, the oil refinery in Bosanski Brod (the most modern in this part of Europe), the Natron paper factory in Maglaj, and the Tas Volkswagen factory in Sarajevo. Some of these factories employed several thousand people.

## RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY

The war dealt a heavy blow to Bosnia's economy. Before, Bosnia enjoyed a moderate amount of development. The war sent it to the bottom of the list of developed nations. The Bosnian people looked forward to peace partly because they believed that economic recovery would follow fast on its heels. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. The pace of reconstruction and recovery, at least during the first seven months of 1996, has lagged far behind what is needed to restore normal life anytime soon.

According to information published in July 1996 by the government's Sector for International Assistance and Reconstruction, the value of reconstruction projects that have either begun or for which the government has firm commitments is \$356.3 million. In contrast, donor countries have pledged a total of \$1.9 billion in aid for 1996 at two conferences in Brussels, in December 1995 and April 1996. According to the Bosnian government, only 10% of the promised aid had reached B&H by July 1996.

### **Priority: \$ 5 Billion**

The World Bank has said that Bosnia needs \$5.1 billion from foreign sources for the first three to four years of its reconstruction. Of this, they say the Federation needs \$3.7 billion and the RS \$1.4 billion. This amount is only eight percent of what the government estimates was the total damage from the war.

The Federation government says it will take \$8.5 billion to repair damage to and revive production in Federation industries. The World Bank has projected spending of \$400 million over three years in priority projects, or \$135 million in 1996. The federal Ministry of Energy, Mining and Industry has proposed 2,000 projects that involve loans to small and medium-sized companies. Two loan funds are already in place. One is a \$30 million fund from the World Bank. The other is a \$70 million fund from USAID. The RS Chamber of Commerce said there is interest in the RS for 2,000 projects, most involving infrastructure. It did not give details.

The Bosnian government says that it needs \$330 million urgently to revive agriculture and forestry in the Federation. It wants \$10 million to improve soil, \$40 million to rebuild economic facilities, \$100 million to buy cattle, \$49 million for machinery, \$9 million to repair veterinary stations and to buy medicines, \$16

million to equip centers for cattle breeding and crop production, \$30 million for forestry and \$76 million for other purposes. The World Bank allocated \$20 million in March 1996 for the reconstruction of farms. Sources of financing have been identified for another \$17 million, with \$13.4 million still needed. Of the total, \$32 million is intended for machinery, \$14.5 million for livestock and \$2.2 million for animal health care. The project is aimed at the private sector.

In the fall of 1996, World Bank directors will consider a forestry proposal. The Bosnian government wants a loan of \$15 million, with another \$20 million coming from other sources. The money would go toward forest management: \$8 million for environmental protection, \$5 million to repair and maintain forest roads, and \$22 million to buy and repair equipment.

The war disrupted water supplies, sewage systems and garbage disposal. Before the war, 90 percent of urban and 56 percent of rural areas had a regular water supply. To restore just these facilities, the government says, would take \$950 million. Projects to address the most urgent needs are being contemplated in 75 Federation municipalities.

Damage to electricity power facilities exceeds \$1.5 billion in the Federation. Energy production is only a fourth of its pre-war level of 4,000 GWh. The World Bank plans to make \$530 million available for energy production, or \$210 million in 1996.

Before the war, annual coal production in Bosnia was 18 million tons. Of this, 80 percent was burned in power plants. According to the government, \$295 million is needed to rebuild mines. The World Bank plans to provide \$84 million over three years, or \$36 million in 1996.

The Bosnian Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Communications says it needs \$3 billion for 693 projects in transport and telecommunications. Of these, 98 projects, costing \$520 million, involve the repair of primary and secondary roads, bridges and tunnels. The government also wants \$1.2 million to rebuild the railway system, \$320 million for telecommunications, and \$253 million for the postal service.

The World Bank is preparing a new round of projects for priority reconstruction in cooperation with the European Union, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Bosnian Government. The RS has been slow to cooperate and is usually excluded from World Bank projects. There is a plan, however, to spend \$32.8 million for the renewal of the education system

in RS, of which \$500,000 is for "preparing projects and their implementation in RS." Another \$58 million will be spent on repairing city heating systems.

The following projects are also planned: mine-clearing (\$70 million); training and public works projects for demobilized soldiers (\$63 million); repair of natural gas system (\$58.3 million), housing reconstruction and repair (\$140 million), health care (\$95 million), rehabilitation of war victims (\$30 million); and transitional assistance (\$110 million). These projects are supposed to be carried out in 1996.

The success of these projects depends primarily on whether donors who pledged money actually give it. If they do, World Bank experts say that the projects could boost the economy dramatically. They say the gross national income could rise by as much as 40 percent, from \$2.2 in 1995 to an estimated \$3.1 billion in 1996. (That would still be only one-third of the pre-war gross national income of \$8.2 billion.) Annual income per capita could increase to \$728, compared to \$524 last year (but still less than half of the pre-war income of \$1,872).

The projects could also help correct Bosnia's foreign trade deficit. Last year, exports from Bosnia were valued at \$295 million, 40 percent of imports. The World Bank estimates that exports could increase to \$608 million in 1996, about 75% of imports. Imports in 1996 are estimated to reach \$813, 10 percent more than in 1995.

### **The Biggest Problem: Unemployment**

Reports from the Bosnian Bureau of Statistics for the first half of 1996 suggest a certain optimism. Industrial production is 71.4 percent higher for the period than in 1995. And yet this is only eight percent of pre-war production. One of the most troubling consequences of low production is high unemployment. According to the Bureau, 241,366 workers were employed in the Bosnian Federation in May 1996. Of this, 188,241 worked in productive industries and 53,125 in service industries. Employment in May was only a quarter of what it was in 1991.

The Serb Republic suffers the same problem. The president of the RS Syndicate, Ćedo Volaš, said that the RS economy is working at 15% to 18% of its capacity. Employment is estimated at 200,000. About 50,000 workers are involved in direct production, but only 20,000 of them are thought to be actually working.

The average monthly salary in the Bosnian Federation in May 1996 was 15,776 Bosnian dinars, or 157 German marks. Volaš said that the average June salary in RS was 130 Yugoslav dinars, or 30 marks.

Meanwhile, the Bosnian Statistics Bureau calculated that the typical family's "food basket," consisting of 40 items needed by a family of four, cost about twice as much as the average salary. In May, a typical food basket cost 34,889 Bosnian dinars, an increase of 166 dinars over the previous month. However, salaries rose 23 percent during the period.

The trade and tourism sectors are recovering most quickly. The first foreign tourists are coming to places whose destruction they once watched on television -- Sarajevo and Mostar. According to the Bureau of Statistics, the number of tourists in May 1996 was 7,724, a 2.5 percent increase from April. Overnight accommodation brought in 2.5 million German marks, and other services 435,000 marks.

Domestic and foreign economists agree that the pace of economic recovery in Bosnia will depend largely on the level of foreign aid. Domestic politics remains a huge obstacle to this. The divisions in Bosnia severely limit the movement of people, goods and capital. Economic institutions that could unite the country, bringing the Bosnian Federation and the Serb Republic together, still have not been formed.

Expectations ride on the upcoming elections. The elections are supposed to create joint institutions of all kinds -- political, administrative, economic and judicial -- and in this way lead to the gradual disappearance of the divisions that now afflict the country. Only then can the international community be expected to commit itself fully to Bosnia's economic recovery.

## THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA PEACE AGREEMENT

The peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, initialled in Dayton and signed in Paris, committed all three parties (the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) to respect the others' sovereignty. A separate article states that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina recognize each other as sovereign and independent countries within their internationally recognized borders.

Croatia had already recognized Bosnia after it proclaimed its independence in 1992. The two countries had established diplomatic relations. As of August 1996, however, diplomatic relations had not been established between Bosnia and the rump Yugoslavia. Recently the two countries waived visa requirements for the other's citizens. They also agreed to open offices for economic relations and for the restoration of all forms of traffic between them.

### Constitution

An important part of the Dayton agreement was a new constitution for Bosnia. Article I affirms the continuity of Bosnia as an internationally recognized country within its present borders. (It also shortens the name of the country by dropping the words "Republic of.") According to the Constitution, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a sovereign, united and independent state made up of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb Republic. The agreement gave 51% of the territory to the Federation and 49% to the Serb Republic. The residents of both entities are considered citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sarajevo is the capital of both Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation. Most of the parts of the city and its surroundings that were under Serb control have been returned to the Federation. The municipality of Pale and part of the Trnovo municipality remain in the Serb Republic. The neighborhood of Dobrinja is divided.

The powers and responsibilities of the central government are limited. They include:

- foreign policy and trade,
- customs,
- monetary policy,

- banking,
- financial agreements with foreign institutions
- the financing of foreign debts,
- immigration, refugee policy, asylum policy,
- international and inter-entity law enforcement,
- a constitutional court
- internal and external communications,
- regulation of inter-entity transport,
- air traffic control.

The Dayton Agreement gives the central government the responsibility for other matters agreed on by the entities, such as human rights, refugees and displaced persons, and the protection of national monuments. The central government is given responsibility for measures necessary to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia. The agreement envisions still other responsibilities, such as the exploitation of energy resources, joint economic projects and the establishment of public corporations for postal and communications services, for transport and for the management of water and energy resources.

All other powers and responsibilities belong to the entities. These include defense, policing and the judiciary. The three armies that fought the war remain: the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croat Defense Council and the Army of the Serb Republic. (A federal law that has been passed in the meantime brings the two armies of the Federation under joint command.) Dayton also allows the entities to establish special relations with neighboring countries, but only insofar as the relations do not violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia. This provision refers chiefly to relations between the Federation and Croatia and between the Serb Republic and Serbia.

The Bosnian Parliamentary Assembly will be the country's central legislative branch. It will be made up of two chambers, the House of the Peoples and the House of Representatives. The House of the Peoples will have 15 members, two-thirds from the Federation (five Bosniaks and five Croats), and one-third from the Republika Srpska. The members of this house will not be elected directly. the Croat and Bosniak delegates will be chosen by the Croat and Bosniak delegates to the Federation's House of the Peoples. The Serb delegates will be chosen by the National Assembly of the Serb Republic. The House of Representatives will have 42 members, two-thirds are elected from the territory of the Federation and one-third from the Serb Republic. The representatives will be chosen in direct elections.

The leadership of both chambers will rotate among the three nationalities. All legislation must be approved by both chambers. The constitution requires consensus among the nationalities. A decision may be challenged if the deputies of one national group declare it destructive as regards the vital interests of their people.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a collective head of state made up of three members - Bosniak, Serb and Croat. The Constitution stipulates that members strive to take all decisions by consensus, but it also allows for the possibility that just two members will take a decision. In this case, the third member may declare the decision destructive of the vital interest of the people from which he was elected. The decision is then referred to the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska, or to the House of the Peoples of the Bosnian Federation. If the objection is upheld by a two-thirds vote, the decision does not take effect. Members of the presidency are elected directly from the two entities. The Bosniak and Croat members of the Presidency are elected in the Federation, the Serb member in the Serb Republic. The first term of the members will last two years. The member who has won the most votes will be the first president of the country. The succeeding terms will last four years, and all three members will rotate to the top position. Each member of the Presidency will have civilian control of the armed forces. However, neither entity is allowed to use its army against the other. The members of the presidency will name a permanent committee for military issues, of which they will be members themselves.

The Presidency will also appoint a Council of Ministers. The council will include a foreign minister, a minister for trade and others. The ministers, and their chair, must be approved by the House of Representatives. National parity is guaranteed here as well.

The judicial authority of the central government lies with the Constitutional Court. The Court is in some ways the most important institution in the new Bosnia. It must not only defend the Constitution but also settle disputes between the entities, between the state and the entities, and among the state's central institutions. The Court will consist of nine members. Four will be chosen by the House of Representatives of the Federation, and two by the Assembly of the Serb Republic. The remaining three will be appointed by the President of the European Court of Human Rights. The judges cannot be citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina or of any neighboring country.

The Central Bank will come under a kind of foreign protectorate as well. The first governing board will consist of two members from the Federation and one

from the Serb Republic. The governor will be appointed by the International Monetary Fund.

Human rights are an important part of the Constitution, and a separate annex to the Peace Agreement is devoted to them. The main institution in charge of protecting human rights is the Commission on Human Rights, made up of the Office of the Ombudsman and the Human Rights Chamber. The ombudsman is appointed by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). International representatives will be included in the chamber as well.

The peace agreement says that all incumbent authorities will remain in place until the elections. The agreement did not recognize the self-proclaimed statelet of Bosnian Croats, called the "Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna." It also stipulated that the constitutions of the Federation and the Serb Republic must concur with the Dayton constitution by 14 March 1996. Despite some changes, this has not been done. A particular problem is that the constitution of the Serb Republic still defines the RS as a "state that is sovereign in all matters, except those which are, in joint interest, determined by the Bosnian Constitution as the responsibility of its institutions." The Preamble states that the Constitution was adopted "with respect for the centuries-old struggle of the Serb people for...state independence."

### **The Military**

The cessation of hostilities, agreed to as far back as 5 October 1995, still holds in Bosnia. There have been no armed clashes. IFOR, the NATO-led peacekeeping force, has established a zone 2 km wide to divide the armies. An agreement to withdraw heavy guns, tanks and armored vehicles, and to return soldiers to their barracks or other locations determined by IFOR, has largely been respected. However, IFOR has had to intervene several times when it discovered weapons and soldiers in prohibited areas. Most violations have been committed by the Army of the Serb Republic.

All foreign troops were supposed to pull out of Bosnia, together with their weapons, by mid-January. IFOR maintains that this was done. But it is necessary to note that the Serb Republic Army (VRS) was formed using soldiers and weapons of the old Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), now simply called the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ). It is thus hard to say what is VRS and what is VJ. A similar problem exists within the Croat Defense Council, which depends heavily on the army of the Republic of Croatia. The withdrawal also applied to foreign volunteers, military experts, advisors and trainers. IFOR criticized the Bosnian government for

this decision because of the presence of military and intelligence experts from Iran after the deadline. The problem seems to have been solved.

All parties were expected to remove, dismantle or destroy mines, unexploded arsenals and other explosives, and to give IFOR information on mine fields and depots. It is nearly impossible to complete this task in a short time. Millions of mines have been planted throughout Bosnia. They are still claiming casualties among civilians and IFOR troops.

After some delay, an important agreement was signed that tries to stabilize the military situation in the region. The agreement calls for a new balance in the number of troops and quantity of weapons between the armies in Bosnia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia. The rump Yugoslavia will remain the largest military force. In accordance with population, the military forces of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia are to be in the ratio of 5:2:2. To meet the agreement, Yugoslavia will have to reduce its military force by 25 percent. Within Bosnia, the balance of forces is to be 2:1 in favor of the Federation. The goal is to establish a military balance between the three countries and also within Bosnia. The military agreement also calls for a series of measures to build trust, such as an exchange of liaison officers and information about individual armies.

IFOR's mandate expires on 14 December 1996. The mandate may be renewed by a resolution of the U.N. Security Council. A gradual withdrawal was scheduled to begin long before the deadline, but it was reported recently that IFOR would remain at its full strength until mid-December. In the meantime, individual units have been replaced with troops and weapons more suited to the current situation.

The Dayton agreement also created the International Police Task Force (IPTF), administered by the United Nations. The IPTF is a small force and is being formed slowly. Its members are unarmed. Their main role is to warn local authorities of violations of the peace agreement.

### **Refugees, freedom of movement, and arbitration**

The peace agreement guarantees the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. Property taken from them during the war must be returned, or they must be compensated for it. Almost none of this has happened. About 100,000 refugees are estimated to have returned to Bosnia since the end of the war, but most of them returned to areas where their nationality was in the majority. The end of the fighting and the drawing of a demarcation line also set off

a new wave of displacement as people left their homes and moved to regions dominated by their own nationality. In this way "ethnic cleansing" has continued even after the war.

The Dayton agreement also guarantees freedom of movement throughout the country. This too has failed. Bosniaks and Croats are prevented from visiting the Serb Republic by threats, beatings, bloodshed and even killings. Freedom of movement is limited even in regions controlled by the Croat Defense Council. It is much easier in regions controlled by the Bosnian Army.

The peace agreement called for arbitration to settle disputes left unresolved. The most contentious is the status of Brčko, a strategic port on the Sava River in northeast Bosnia and the only link between the eastern and western parts of the Serb Republic. A commission has been formed that will decide which entity Brčko is to be given to. The commission consists of one member from each entity and a representative of the OSCE. It began work on 6 August.

*(For a better insight into these issues, we recommend reading the Dayton agreement itself.)*

## REUTERS: FACTS AND FEATURES

The following text presents the unfolding of events in Bosnia - Herzegovina and former Yugoslavia as seen by journalists from Reuters news agency.

### A CHRONOLOGY OF THE CONFLICT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Here is a chronology of events in former Yugoslavia since the communist state collapsed in the late 1980s and began to disintegrate.

#### 1991

**June 25**- Croatia and Slovenia proclaim independence.

**June 27**- Yugoslav army tanks fail to crush Slovenian independence. Fighting begins in Croatia between Croats and local Serbs.

**Dec 16** - After urging from Germany, European Union agrees to recognise any Yugoslav republic that meets conditions on human rights, democracy and ethnic minorities.

**Dec 19** - Rebel Serbs declare independence in Krajina region - almost a third of Croatia.

**Dec 21** - in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most ethnically mixed of Yugoslavia's republics, the Serb minority holds unofficial referendum opposing separation from Yugoslavia: local Serb leaders proclaim new Republic, separate from Bosnia.

#### 1992

**Jan 3** - UN brokers cease-fire between Croatian government and rebel Serbs and the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) puts 14,000 peacekeeping troops into Croatia.

**March 3** - Bosnia's Moslems and Croats vote for independence in a referendum boycotted by Serbs.

**April 6** - European Union recognises Bosnia's independence; war breaks out between Bosnian government and local Serbs, who lay siege to the capital Sarajevo.

**May** - UN slaps sanctions on Serbia for backing rebel Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. Sanctions are tightened in April 1993.

**August** - Viewers world-wide shocked by television pictures of emaciated Moslem captives in Serb-run prison camps in Bosnia, one of many war atrocities which the outside world blames on Serbs.

### 1993

**January** - Heavy fighting and the bitter Serb siege of the capital Sarajevo continue. EU/UN peace efforts fail and war breaks out between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia.

**April 13** - NATO begins combat air patrols over Bosnia to enforce a UN ban on flights.

**June** - NATO offers close air support to UN troops.

### 1994

**Feb 6** - In worst attack of the war until then, shell kills 68 in a marketplace in Sarajevo sparking world-wide outrage. NATO threatens air strikes if Serbs fail to pull weapons back from around the city. They do so, bringing temporary respite.

**Feb 28** - NATO jets shoot down four Serb light attack aircraft over central Bosnia in alliance's first use of force since it was founded in 1949.

**March** - US - brokered federation agreement ends war between Moslems and Croats

**April 10** - NATO launches first air strike against Serbs, around the eastern enclave of Goražde, which lies under heavy attack. Serb forces eventually halt but keep large gains.

**Aug 4** - Serbia and Montenegro, the rump of former Yugoslavia, cut economic and political ties with Bosnian Serbs because they refuse to accept international proposals for a compromise Bosnia made up of autonomous regions.

### 1995

**January 1** - Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian government sign a four month truce, mediated by former US president Jimmy Carter. Unlike many before, it mainly holds.

**March 20** - Bosnian army, gaining strength in spite of arms embargo, launches major offensive in Northeast.

**May 1** - Croatian army captures Serb enclave of Western Slavonia in first major bid to retake its occupied territories; Krajina Serbs launch rocket attack on Zagreb in reply.

**May 26** - Serbs bombard Sarajevo. NATO jets bomb in reply and more than 350 UN peacekeepers are taken hostage by Bosnian Serbs. A single shell in northern city of Tuzla kills more than 70 people. Serbia, improving relations with the West, helps arrange hostage release; Britain and France strengthen forces in Bosnia.

**July 11** - Bosnian Serbs overrun Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave which had been declared a UN "safe area". Similar enclave at Žepa falls two weeks later. Reports emerge later of mass executions by conquering Serbs which United States say are the worst war atrocity since World War Two.

**Aug 4** - Croatia launches an offensive against Krajina capturing in days a region Serb minority held for four years.

**Aug 11** - US President Bill Clinton vetoes a congressional move to end the arms embargo on Bosnia and sends envoy Richard Holbrooke on a new peace mission.

**Aug 28** - Serb shells hit Sarajevo near main market, killing 37 and wounding 85.

**Aug 30/31** - NATO planes and UN artillery blast Serb targets in Bosnia in response to the market attack.

**Aug 30** - Bosnian Serbs give Serbian President Slobodan Milošević the authority to negotiate for them.

**Sept 14** - Bosnian Serbs agree to move weapons away from Sarajevo. NATO halts bombing.

**Sept 15** - Moslem-Croat offensive wins 4,000 square km (1,500 sq. miles) of land: tens of thousands of Serbs flee.

**Oct 5** - Clinton announces Bosnia combatants to attend talks in United States. Last-minute land grab leads to more fighting before cease-fire goes into effect on Oct 12.

**Nov 1** - US - sponsored peace talks open at air force base in Dayton, Ohio, with presidents Alija Izetbegović of Bosnia, Franjo Tuđman of Croatia and Slobodan Milošević of Serbia.

**Nov 8** - United States and Russia agree on Russian role in Bosnia peacekeeping force.

**Nov 10** - Bosnian Moslems and Croats sign agreement in Dayton to strengthen their federation and divide powers between central Bosnian government and federation authorities.

**Nov 12** - Croatian Serbs move to end four-year revolt, signing accord to hand over Eastern Slavonia to Croatia after a transitional period under international authority.

**Nov 16** - UN war crimes tribunal accuses Bosnian Serb leader Karadžić and Serb General Ratko Mladić of genocide for mass killings of Moslems after fall of Srebrenica enclave.

**Nov 21** - After intensive negotiations and heavy US pressure, a peace deal is struck at the Dayton talks.

**Nov 22** - UN suspends sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and votes for a gradual lifting of arms embargo.

**Dec 5** - NATO foreign and defence ministers meet in Brussels and endorse plans to send a 60,000 - troop force to Bosnia to police the peace agreement.

**Dec 12** - Two French airmen shot down by Bosnian Serbs in August are released from custody, clearing the way for a peace ceremony to end the Bosnian war.

**Dec 12** - Residents of Serb-held suburbs vote in referendum to reject Dayton plan, which hands their areas back to Bosnian government. International community pledges to ignore result.

**Dec 14** - Dayton peace deal signed by Izetbegović, Tuđman and Milošević before an assembly of world leaders, including Clinton, Izetbegović says: "I feel like a man who is drinking a bitter but useful medicine."

**Dec 20** - NATO commanders officially take over the Bosnia mission from United Nations, starting bold a year-long mission to cement peace by separating forces, preparing for elections and helping country's reconstruction to begin. Thousands of US troops pour into Bosnia, joining others from France, Britain and about 20 other NATO and non-NATO countries.

**Dec 27** - Serb and Moslem forces pull back from key positions around Sarajevo, meeting first military demand of Dayton treaty.

**Jan 2** - NATO hits first problem, reacting slowly to Serb abductions of Moslem civilians, a challenge to its commitment to allow free movement through Bosnia for all. In the divided city of Mostar tensions rise after shooting incidents kill a Moslem boy and a Croat policeman. EU inability to heal division undermines the Moslem-Croat federation.

**Jan 13** - Clinton visits US troops at their base in Tuzla.

**Jan 20** - Serb, Moslem and Croat forces largely meet Nato's first Bosnia-wide deadline, pulling back from former frontlines.

**Jan 31** - While Nato's military operation meets little opposition, it runs into trouble on thorny political questions of aiding war crimes investigators and arresting suspects. Crisis erupts after Bosnian government captures two senior Bosnian Serb army officials, who are later extradited to The Hague. The Bosnian Serb army withdraws co-operation with NATO.

**Feb 11** - Holbrooke, architect of the peace plan, flies into Balkans for a round of shuttle diplomacy to pressure leaders to properly implement the Dayton deal.

**Feb 14** - Italy says it will host US - sponsored crisis summit of Balkan presidents starting on February 17 to win a public re-affirmation of their commitment to the peace process.

<b>A CHRONOLOGY OF YUGOSLAVIA PEACE EFFORTS</b>
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The US - led peace initiative that will bring together the foreign ministers of rump Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia for talks in Geneva next week, is the latest in a long series of peace efforts for former Yugoslavia. Wars started tearing federal Yugoslavia apart after the secession of Croatia and Slovenia in 1991. Serbs have been fighting Bosnians since Bosnia declared independence in 1992. The following is a chronology of earlier, failed peace efforts.

### 1992

**April 6** - European Community recognises Bosnia as independent. Fighting erupts in Sarajevo as the siege begins.

**Jul 17** - Leaders of the three warring factions in Bosnia sign in London the first in a series of abortive cease-fires.

**Aug 28** - London peace talks end with Serbs refusing to hand all heavy weapons to the United Nations. Serbs keep their guns.

**Sept 3** - International conference, chaired by Cyrus Vance for the UN and Lord Owen for the EC opens in Geneva.

**Oct 28** - International mediators propose a new-style Bosnian state with central government and 10 autonomous regions.

### 1993

**Jan 4** - Bosnian Croats sign Vance-Owen peace package because it awards Croats all territory sought on battlefield. But Moslems and Serbs refuse and peace process is suspended.

**April** - Full-blown Croat-Moslem war erupts in central and Southwest Bosnia.

**April 3** - Bosnian Serb parliament rejects maps drafted in the Vance-Owen peace plan.

**April 17** - UN Security Council agrees to tighten sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro if Bosnian Serbs do not accept the peace plan by April.

April 26 - Serb parliament rejects plan and sanctions come into effect.

**May 6** - Bosnian Serb parliament rejects Vance-Owen plan and decides to put it to a referendum.

**May 16** - Bosnian Serb referendum, dismissed by mediators as a sham, votes by 96 per cent to reject the peace plan.

**June 12** - A fresh round of talks begins, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović under pressure to accept ethnic partition.

**June 17** - Owen says Vance-Owen plan is dead, saying war has gone too far for honourable solution.

**July 27** - Final-push peace talks open in Geneva, where Serbs and Croats express support for mediator's proposal to create a new "union" of three ethnic mini-states.

**July 30** - Izetbegović agrees to constitutional proposals for "union", pending parliament's approval. Talks turn to maps.

**Sept 29** - Bosnian Moslem parliament rejects proposed peace deal, demanding the return of land and access to the Adriatic.

**Dec 21** - Croatian President Franjo Tuđman says Serbs and Croats have agreed on a new Bosnian map which would satisfy Moslem demands for a third of the territory of Bosnia.

## 1994

**Jan 19** - Yugoslavia and Croatia agree to normalise ties. Bosnian Serbs and Croats sign a similar pact. Talks between Serbs, Moslems and Croats on peace in Bosnia achieve nothing.

**Feb 9** - UN - Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose brokers cease-fire in Sarajevo and an end to a Serb artillery siege of the Bosnian capital. Serbs withdraw heavy weaponry to avert punitive NATO air strikes.

**Feb 20** - Serbs comply with ultimatum to pull back heavy weapons from Sarajevo or face NATO air strikes.

**Feb 23** - Bosnian Croat and Moslem forces agree on a general cease-fire under UN auspices in Zagreb.

**March 18** - Tuđman and Izetbegović sign agreement of a federation confederally linked to Croatia.

**April 28** - "Contact group" of US, Russia, Britain, France and Germany meets factions on a new peace plan.

**June 8** - Month-long cease-fire agreed as a prelude to negotiated settlement. The truce is violated repeatedly.

**July 5** - Contact group foreign ministers agree on peace plan dividing Bosnia roughly in half.

**July 10** - Group of Seven leaders endorse the plan at Naples summit.

**July 12** - Tattered Bosnia truce extended for another month.

**July 13** - British and French foreign ministers visit Bosnia to push for an agreement to peace plan. Moslems say yes, Serbs refuse to give backing.

**July 16** - Bosnian Serbs indicate they will reject the plan.

**July 18** - Bosnian Serb and joint Moslem- Croat assemblies meet to debate peace plan, one day ahead of deadline for response set by the big powers.

**Jul 21** - International peace efforts suffer major setback when Serbs reject the latest peace plan and the Moslem-led government says it has withdrawn its acceptance of the deal.

**Aug 4** - Serbia and Montenegro sever economic and political ties with the Serbs in neighbouring Bosnia because of their refusal to accept an international peace plan.

**Aug 5** - NATO planes hit Serb heavy weapons violating exclusion zone around Sarajevo after Serbs remove arms from a UN weapons depot.

**Sep 14** - Croatian and Bosnian Moslem leaders pledge to start building a federation.

**Sep 22** - NATO planes hit a Serb tank inside the 20 km (12-mile) exclusion zone around Sarajevo, after Bosnian Serbs attack French UN peacekeepers.

**Sep 24** - Major powers ease sanctions on rump Yugoslavia for its military blockade of Bosnian Serbs.

**Oct 24** - The Moslem-led Bosnian Army launches offensive aimed at breaking out of an enclave in the Northwest, pushing back Serb forces.

**Oct 29** - Bosnian government troops launch a powerful assault on the Bosnian Serb army near Sarajevo.

**Nov 3** - Bosnian Croats seize control of the central town of Kupres after a combined Croat-Moslem assault.

**Nov 11** - President Clinton orders an end to US participation in enforcing the arms embargo on the Bosnian government, to the dismay of European allies.

**Nov 19** - United Nations Security Council grants NATO new powers to hit targets in Croatia used by Serb nationalists for attacks on the Moslem-held town of Bihać.

## 1995

**March 20** - Bosnian army, gaining strength in spite of arms embargo, launches a major offensive in Northeast.

**May 1** - Croatian army storms across truce lines to capture Serb enclave of Western Slavonia; Krajina Serbs rocket Zagreb.

**May 26** - NATO air strikes touch off crisis in which more than 350 UN peacekeepers are taken hostage by Bosnian Serbs. Serbia, improving relations with the West and hoping for release from economic sanctions, helps to arrange the hostages' release; Britain and France decide to strengthen forces in Bosnia with new Rapid Reaction Force nominally under UN control.

**Mid-June** - Bosnian government offensive outside Sarajevo which peters out within days.

**July 11** - Bosnian Serbs overrun Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave which had been declared a "safe area" by United Nations; similar enclave at Žepa falls two weeks later.

**Aug 1** - NATO threatens big air strikes if four remaining "safe areas" are attacked. Control over air strikes transferred from UN envoy to military bosses and streamlined, making them easier to order.

**Aug 4** - Croatian Serbs flow into Serb-held parts of Bosnia and into Serbia, Bosnian Serbs respond by expelling Bosnian Croats and Moslems from Banja Luka area into Croatia.

**Aug 13** - National Security Adviser Anthony Lake takes a new US peace initiative to Sochi for talks with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, who has a plan for a Balkans conference in Moscow. Details of Lake's plan are kept under wraps.

**Aug 14** - Izetbegović rules out any territorial swap surrendering UN - declared "safe area" of Goražde, after newspaper reports suggest that is part of US plan.

**Aug 15** - Russia upset by the military part of new US Bosnia initiative.

**Aug 16** - US negotiating team led by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and Robert Frasure present new US peace initiative to Croatian President Franjo Tuđman. Holbrooke denies Bosnia would be asked to give up Goražde.

**Aug 17** - Bosnians refuse to meet EU envoy Carl Bildt, saying his peace process is dead. Bildt has already fallen foul of neighbouring Croatia for criticising its rout of separatist Serbs from Krajina region.

**Aug 18** - Izetbegović issues a 12-point peace plan close to 1994 Contact Group plan.

**Aug 19** - Blow to US peace plan as three envoys, including Frasure, die on way to Sarajevo when their car crashes on a dangerous road over Mount Igman.

**Aug 23** - UN's Rapid Reaction Force on Mount Igman outside Sarajevo turns its biggest 155 mm guns on Serbs.

**Aug 25** - British peacekeepers begin scheduled withdrawal from "safe area" of Goražde, leaving its 65,000 inhabitants to an uncertain future, after attack by "renegade" Bosnian troops.

**Aug 28** - More than 30 people killed and dozens wounded when a shell slams into crowded street near Sarajevo's central market. Holbrooke meets Izetbegović in Paris to restart peace process interrupted by deaths of US negotiating team members outside Sarajevo. He says Bosnian Serbs face an "unpleasant future" unless they compromise. Silajdžić proposes to Bosnian parliament that the peace process be suspended until obligations of NATO are clarified.

**Aug 29** - UN blames Bosnian Serbs for firing shell, after Bosnian Serb parliament abruptly changes its tactics and welcomes the latest US peace proposals.

**Aug 30** - NATO launches massive dawn air-strikes on Bosnian Serb targets around Sarajevo. Izetbegović says military strikes could lead to end of war in former Yugoslavia. Milošević announces Bosnian Serbs have given him veto over terms of any peace deal.

**Aug 31** - Holbrooke says: "road now seems open to serious, substantive negotiations". Russia backs off earlier condemnation of NATO raids, with foreign ministry source saying Bosnian Serbs have only themselves to blame.

**Sept 1** - Air-strikes are suspended after more than 800 sorties to give Bosnian Serbs a chance to respond to NATO demands to pull big guns back from Sarajevo and open roads. Holbrooke arranges first face-to-face peace talks between the Bosnian, Croatian and Yugoslavian foreign ministers, scheduled to take place in Geneva next week.

**Sept 2** - Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladić leaves talks after 13 hours without giving UN commander General Bernard Janvier categorical assurances that the siege of Sarajevo would be lifted. NATO jets remain on standby.

<b>WORST SHELLING INCIDENTS IN BOSNIAN WAR</b>
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The bread queue, the water queue, the soccer game, the snow slope, the marketplace: these are the grimmest milestones in the 40 blood-soaked months of Bosnia's war. The following is a chronology of shelling incidents which inflicted especially heavy tolls.

**May 27, 1992** - Twenty killed and 70 wounded in mortar attack on bread queue, first of a series of atrocities and first Serb claim, greeted with widespread revulsion, that Bosnian troops fired at own people in effort to provoke a NATO intervention. Daily death tolls were consistently high in

ensuing months. Total casualty figures in Sarajevo were over 10,000 dead and 50,000 injured by mid - 1995.

**Jan 15, 1993** - Mortar explodes among people queueing for water at a Sarajevo brewery standpipe, killing eight.

**May 30, 1993** - Sixteen Sarajevans die in an intense Serb artillery bombardment of densely populated city neighbourhoods.

**June 1, 1993** - Two mortar bombs land in a city car park where young men are playing soccer, killing 15 and wounding 100.

**June 12, 1993** - Twelve civilians die in mortar attack on residents queueing for water in a suburb where Serbs have shut off normal main supplies.

**July 22, 1993** - Sarajevo weathers one of worst 24 - hour bombardments since war began as 3,777 shells pummel city. At least 10 civilians killed and scores wounded.

**Nov 9, 1993** - Mortar bomb lands just outside Sarajevo school, killing nine children and a teacher.

**Jan 22, 1994** - Mortar bomb falls among children playing on snow slope, killing six and wounding 35 in attack blamed by UN on Serbs.

**Feb 5, 1994** - Mortar bomb hits crowded central market, killing 68 people and wounding around 200 in Sarajevo's worst single atrocity of war. In response NATO issues ultimatum to Serbs to pull back heavy weapons or face air strikes.

**May 7, 1995** - Nine people blown up by single mortar blast near mouth of makeshift tunnel in Sarajevo suburb of Butmir. UN considers air strikes but backs down.

**May 21-23, 1995** - Heavy shelling of Sarajevo leads UN to issue Bosnian Serbs with ultimatum to pull back big guns. Serbs refuse and air strikes follow.

**May 25, 1995** - Shell hits packed cafe terrace in central Bosnian city of Tuzla, wiping out 71 lives in the worst single attack of the war.

**Aug 28, 1995** - More than 30 people killed and dozens wounded when shell slams into a crowded street near Sarajevo's central market. UN weighs a possible military response.

#### **NATO USES MASSIVE FORCE IN BOSNIA FOR FIRST TIME**

NATO air raids on Bosnian Serb positions around Sarajevo on Wednesday were the 10th time the Western alliance has used force in the Bosnian conflict. But it was the first time that NATO has used its military muscle on a massive scale. US Lieutenant-Colonel Janis Witt told Cable New Network (CNN) television that more than 60 NATO planes from bases

in Italy and carriers in the Adriatic were involved in the operation. The following is a chronology of Nato's military role in Bosnia:

**July 1992** - NATO agrees to use naval force in Adriatic to review compliance with UN sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro, which make up the rump Yugoslav state. The following year, the naval force is given powers to enforce the sanctions.

**October 1992** - NATO agrees to use surveillance aircraft to monitor UN ban on military flights over Bosnia.

**April 1993** - NATO begins combat patrols with fighters over Bosnia to enforce compliance with UN ban on flights, in "Operation Deny Flight".

**June 1993** - NATO offers close air support to UN troops and other personnel in Bosnia if they are attacked and request air strikes.

**August 1993** - NATO threatens air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces attacking Sarajevo.

**January 1994** - NATO summit meeting in Brussels confirms all previous decisions and says it is ready to use air strikes to help reopen Tuzla airport for aid flights if necessary.

**February 1994** - NATO gives Serbs 10 days to withdraw heavy weapons from around Sarajevo or hand them over to UN control, otherwise they will face air strikes. The Serbs comply. US fighters, part of the NATO force, shoot down four Serb light attack aircraft that had violated the UN ban on flights over Bosnia. It is Nato's first combat action since it was founded in 1949 to counter Soviet military power in Europe.

**April 1994** - NATO launches two air strikes against Serb forces around Goražde to protect UN personnel, the first allied attacks on ground targets. NATO says it will use air strikes to protect all six UN - designated "safe areas" in Bosnia and gives the Serbs a deadline to withdraw from Goražde. They comply and there are no strikes.

**August 1994** - NATO planes hit Serb heavy weapons violating exclusion zone around Sarajevo after Serbs remove arms from a UN weapons depot.

**September 1994** - Two British Jaguar bombers and a US Fairchild A-10 ground attack a French armoured vehicle with rocket-propelled grenades, wounding a French soldier.

**November 19, 1994** - United Nations Security Council grant NATO new powers to hit targets in Croatia used by Serb nationalists for attacks on the Moslem-held town of Bihać.

**November 20, 1994** - NATO launches raid on the Udbina airfield in Serb-held Croatia but calls it off because of bad weather.

**November 21, 1994** - NATO launches major attack on Udbina airfield.

**November 22, 1994** - Two British jets are fired upon over Bosnia. Neither is hit.

**November 23, 1994** - NATO aircraft attack Serb surface-to-air missile sites around Bosanska Krupa and Otoka in Northwest Bosnia and in the area of Dvor, a town on the edge of the Bosnian Bihać pocket, in retaliation for attack on British jets.

**May 25, 1995** - NATO jets destroy ammunition dumps near the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale in a show of force ordered by UN peacekeepers after Serb forces ignored an ultimatum to surrender heavy guns. Bosnian Serb forces respond by taking several hundred peacekeepers hostage, chaining some to likely targets as human shields against further air attacks. The hostages were freed in June and a new, mainly British and French force was organised to give the UN mission more armed strength on the ground. But UN control over heavy weapons around Sarajevo and other enclaves was not restored.

**July 11, 1995** - UN calls in NATO air strikes to defend Dutch peacekeepers under pressure by Bosnian Serb forces attacking the eastern enclave of Srebrenica.

**Aug 30, 1995** - Waves of NATO warplanes strike Bosnian Serb positions near Sarajevo in retaliation for a Serb mortar attack on the city two days earlier which killed 37 civilians. NATO sources say the raids are the start of a series of airstrikes.

## RESULTS OF THE 1990 ELECTIONS

The first multi-party elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina were held on 18 November 1990.

At the time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of six republics in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). Its population consisted of Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs, Croats and other nationalities that lived in Yugoslavia. A wave of democratisation was sweeping the country. The ruling Communist party (Communist Union of Yugoslavia/Bosnia-Herzegovina) was allowing new parties to spring up. The fall of communism was in sight. But nationalism was growing up in its place. The nationalist policies that were taking over in Serbia and Croatia inflamed nationalist feelings in Bosnia. As a result, Muslims, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia almost all voted for nationalist parties in the 1990 elections.

The Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the party of Bosniak (Muslim) people won the most votes - 33%. It was followed by the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) with 26.15%, the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) with 16.15%, the Union of Communists - Social Democrat Party (today SDP) alone with 8.5%, the League of Reform Forces (today UBSD) with 8.5%, the Union of Communists - SDP together with Democrat Party of Socialists (today GDS) with 3% , the Union of Socialist Youth - Democratic Party (today Liberal Party) together with the ecological movement "The Greens" with 1.5%, the Muslim Bosniak Organization (MBO) with 1.5%, Democrat Party of Socialists alone with 0.75% and the League of Reform Forces together with Democratic Party of Mostar with 0.75%.

The Citizens Council of the Bosnian Assembly was filled proportionally. Two elections were held for the Municipal Council, which greatly benefited the nationalist parties. Their candidates won a landslide victory, taking 84% of the vote. The three nationalist parties became partners in sharing power, notwithstanding their considerable differences.

The Bosnian Presidency was a collective head of state with seven members: two from each national group and one representing the "others". These were the election results: Fikret Abdić got 33.25% and Alija Izetbegović 27.96% (Bosniaks), Ejup Ganić had 22.57% (Yugoslav), Biljana Plavšić got 18.24% and Nikola Koljević 17.68% (Serbs), Stjepan Kljujić had 15.04% and Franjo Boras 13.25 % (Croats).

All of the candidates elected belonged to nationalist parties, even Ganić, who was elected as a representative of the "Yugoslav" nationality. The SDA used him to represent the "others". It is interesting that Fikret Abdić won the most votes. He was later to raise an armed rebellion in western Bosnia against the Bosnian government. Because he received the most votes, he was entitled to become president of the Presidency. But opposition to him within the SDA resulted in a deal that handed the job to Izetbegović.

Just before the war, Serb MPs withdrew from the parliament and proclaimed "Serb Bosnia-Herzegovina", with its own parliament.

After the attack on Sarajevo, Biljana Plavšić and Nikola Koljević withdrew from the Presidency. The Serb Democratic Party was proclaimed a terrorist party and banned. During the war, other members of the Presidency left or were removed. Candidates from 1990 who were behind them in votes replaced them.

## **ELECTIONS '96 - POLITICAL PARTIES**

Forty-nine political parties applied to participate in the September elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Provisional Election Commission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe rejected two of them for failing to meet OSCE requirements. That means 47 parties are taking part in the elections, running candidates for the lowest, or municipal, level of government, to the highest. Twenty-seven parties are from the Bosnian Federation and 20 from the Serb Republic.

Each party had to sign a document in which it agreed to accept all parts of the Dayton peace agreement. Persons accused of war crimes by the International War Crime Tribunal were forbidden to run as candidates.

This overview includes only parties that have candidates for the highest levels of government: the Bosnian Parliament, the assemblies of the Bosnian Federation and Serb Republic, and the Bosnian Presidency.

### **Federation BiH**

#### **KOALICIJA "ZDRUŽENA LISTA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE" / COALITION "UNITED LIST OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA"**

The coalition unites five opposition parties that overcame differences in ideology to join forces. Here are some common denominators: They are all vocal opponents of nationalism. They advocate a united Bosnia based on the principles of a civic society. They look to the West for political models. They are bitter enemies of the ruling parties, which they accuse of dismantling Bosnia. The coalition list has candidates for all electoral levels in the Federation, as well as for the Presidency and the Bosnian Parliament.

#### **Members of the coalition are:**

#### **HSS - HRVATSKA SELJAČKA STRANKA BiH / CROAT PEASANTS PARTY OF B&H**

**Established on 12. 04 1993 in Sarajevo during fierce fighting between  
Bosniaks and Croats.**

**President: Stanko Slišković**

**Address: Sarajevo, Radićeva 4**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 441 897, 654 605**

Its founder and first president is a member of the Bosnian Presidency, Ivo Komšić. For a while he left the party, only to re-join it before the elections. It is not exclusively nationalist, and on many points it does not differ from the so-called civic opposition. It is devoted to the ideal of a multi-ethnic Bosnia, in which all nations and citizens can enjoy equality and security.

### **MBO - MUSLIMANSKA BOŠNJAČKA ORGANIZACIJA / MUSLIM BOSNIAK ORGANISATION**

**Registered at the Supreme Court in Sarajevo, on 10.10 1990**  
**President: Adil Zulfikarpašić**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a/III**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 663 439, 444 334, 444 223**

The MBO was organised by a group of SDA dissidents, led by Adil Zulfikarpašić, who opposed the nationalist bent of the SDA. Zulfikarpašić was a dissident under the Communist regime of former Yugoslavia. Immediately after the Second World War he left Yugoslavia and now lives in Switzerland. The party advocates a united and multi-ethnic Bosnia. It says the SDA is dividing the country.

### **RS - REPUBLIKANSKA STRANKA BiH / REPUBLICAN PARTY OF B&H**

**Established 05.06 1994**  
**President: Stjepan Kljuić**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Vrazova 8/II**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 664 987, 525 038**

Leader Stjepan Kljuić was the president of the Bosnian HDZ. He was removed for "a policy too much pro-Bosnian". The HDZ also withdrew him from the Bosnian Presidency, before the beginning of Bosniak-Croat war. However, the mandate of HDZ in the Presidency was cancelled in 1994 and the authorities in Sarajevo took him into the Presidency again. His willingness to cooperate suited them. The party finds its ideals in Republican parties throughout the world and stands for a united Bosnia.

### **SDP - SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA BiH / SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF B&H**

**President: Nijaz Duraković**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Alipašina 41**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 664 044, 664 042**

This party is the legal successor of the former Union of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is a classical left wing party. The SDP enjoyed the best results of all opposition parties in the last elections. It calls for a united, multi-ethnic and civic Bosnia.

### **UBSD - UNIJA BOSANSKOHERCEGOVACKIH SOCIJALDEMOKRATA / UNION OF B&H SOCIAL DEMOCRATS**

**Established 27.07 1990**  
**President: Selim Bešliagić**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 640 866, 640 881**

This party was first registered as the League of Reform Forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, part of the larger party led by former Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Marković. It changed its name to the UBSD in May 1994. The party has the reputation of being the sharpest critic of the current authorities and of the ruling SDA. It demands respect for human rights and resists any kind of nationalism. It has good relations with several left-wing parties in the Serb Republic.

### **Other parties**

#### **BOSS - BOSANSKA STRANKA / BOSNIAN PARTY**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation B&H, Presidency and Parliament of B&H.

**Established in April 1994, at the Supreme Court in Tuzla**  
**President: Mirnes Ajanović**  
**Address: Tuzla, Hasana Brkića 82**  
**Tel./fax: (387 75) 222 959**

This party first registered as the Union of Bosnian Youth; it changed its name in December 1995. It is characteristic of this party that it supports the creation of three national republics inside Bosnia, which means dissolving the Federation between Bosniaks and Croats. It is the only political party to oppose the running of Bosniak candidates in the Serb Republic, arguing that these candidates will take Bosniak votes away from the Federation and thus weaken the position of Bosniaks against the Croats.

Members of the party are mainly from the Tuzla-Podrinje canton.

**GDS - GRAĐANSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA BiH / CITIZEN  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF B&H**

Candidates at all electoral levels in both entities, except for President of the Serb Republic.

**President: Ibrahim Spahić**

**Address: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a/V**

**Tel./fax: (387 71) 663 626, 670 782**

This is the legal successor of the former Union of Socialists of B&H - a massive political organisation that acted as a broad front in the former Yugoslavia. It changed its name into the Democratic Socialist Party before the last elections in 1990. In 1993 it took its current name. The party defines itself as the political center and advocates a civic society with the individual citizen, and not separate nations, as its foundation.

**HDZ BiH - HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA BiH / CROAT  
DEMOCRATIC UNION OF B&H**

Candidates for all electoral levels in the Federation B&H, for Presidency and Parliament of B&H

**Established on 18.08 1990 in Sarajevo.**

**President: Božo Raić**

**Address: Mostar, Kneza Domagoja b.b. (headquarters); Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a/4**

**Tel./fax: (387 88) 319 472, 319 478 - Mostar; (387 71) 664 817, 664 882 - Sarajevo**

HDZ is strongly influenced by the HDZ in Croatia. It is an extremely nationalist party and wants Bosnia to be organised on a strictly national basis. The HDZ also tries to define itself as the protector of all Croats.

**HSP - HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA / CROATIAN PARTY OF  
RIGHTS**

Candidates for Parliament of B&H, Parliament of the Federation, municipal and cantonal levels

**Registered in February 1990 in Zagreb**

**President: Zdravko Hrstić**

**Address:**

**Tel./fax: (387 88) 834 917, 45 400 - Ljubuški**

The Bosnian branch of this party registered in Posušje in 1991. Its headquarters have been in Mostar since 1994. The party wants a united Bosnia with close ties to Croatia. At one time, the party considered Muslims to be Croats practising Islam. The party seems to have abandoned this attitude lately.

**LBO - LIBERALNO BOŠNJAČKA ORGANIZACIJA BiH / LIBERAL BOSNIAK ORGANISATION B&H**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation B&H and for the Parliament of B&H

**Established on 29.05 1994**

**President: Muhamed Filipović**

**Address: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a/III**

**Tel./fax: (387 71) 650 423, 664 840**

This party was established when a group left the Muslim Bosniak Organisation. It was led in Bosnia for a long time by its vice-president, Prof. Salih Fočo, because of Filipović's long absence as Bosnian ambassador to Great Britain. The party stands for a united Bosnia. It has a nationalist tendency, but rejects national exclusivity and the Islamicization of the state.

**LS - LIBERALNA STRANKA BiH / LIBERAL PARTY OF B&H**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation B&H, for Presidency and Parliament of B&H

**Established on 21.04 1990 in Sarajevo**

**President: Rasim Kadić**

**Address: Maršala Tita 7a**

**Tel./fax: (387 71) 664 540, 442 340**

This is the legal successor of the former Union of Socialist Youth of B&H. It defines itself as a party of the center and advocates a democratic and civic Bosnia. At the same time it acknowledges the current division of the country and believes it will take a long time to overcome. It has strong ties to liberal parties in Europe and tries to apply their programs to Bosnia.

**NDZ - NARODNA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA / DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S UNION**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation, for Presidency and Parliament of B&H

**Registered on 09. 01 1996 in Mostar**

**President: Fikret Abdić**  
**Address: unknown**  
**Tel./fax: (385 51) 217 220**

The leaders of this party tried to form a separate republic of "Western Bosnia" and are now in exile in Croatia. They want a regionally constituted Bosnia that would have good relations with both Zagreb and Belgrade.

### **SDA - STRANKA DEMOKRATSKE AKCIJE / PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION**

Candidates at all electoral levels  
**Established on 26.05 1990 in Sarajevo**  
**President: Alija Izetbegović**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a/II**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 663 970, 663 971, 472 192**

SDA tries to impose itself as the absolute leader of the Muslim people in Bosnia. It enjoys the advantages of a well-developed party machine in the Federation. Party organizations have also been formed among Muslim communities from the Serb Republic that were driven into exile. The party claims to be in the political center, but many observers see it as a right-wing party. It advocates a united and multi-ethnic Bosnia, but some of its actions suggest that it favors a purer nationalism.

### **SPP - STRANKA PRIVREDNOG PROSPERITETA BiH / PARTY OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY OF B&H**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation B&H, for Presidency and Parliament of B&H  
**Registered in Zenica in 1991**  
**President: Rasim Salčinović**  
**Address: Zenica, Mehmedalije Tarabara b.b.**  
**Tel./fax: (387 72) 38 048**

This political party includes mainly businessmen from Zenica, Sarajevo and Tuzla. It argues that only economic ties can reintegrate Bosnia. Its slogan is "Look what you're living on!"

### **SzBiH - STRANKA ZA BiH / PARTY FOR B&H**

Candidates at all electoral levels, except President of the Serb Republic  
**Registered on 13.04 1996**

**President: Haris Silajdžić**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Fra Anđela Zvizdovića 7 (UNIS)**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 483 025, 483 099**

The party was established and is led by the former prime minister of Bosnia, Haris Silajdžić. It strongly supports a united Bosnia. It defines itself as politically centrist and tries to reconcile the differences between East and West. Membership includes disillusioned members of the SDA, well-known intellectuals and former officers of the Bosnian Army. Women are prominent in the party.

#### **"ŽENA BiH" / "WOMAN OF B&H"**

Candidates for the Parliament of B&H, Parliament of the Federation, Assembly of the Serb Republic and at the municipal level in both entities

**Established on 15.05 1996**

**President: Amila Omersoftić**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Bulevar Meše Selimovića 4**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 464 070, 464 071**

The president is a former high functionary of the SDA and is now the general director of Bosnian state radio and television. She is an electrical engineer and is known as a businesswoman of great energy. Her party supports the emancipation of women and their struggle for equality in Bosnia.

#### **BHPS - BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKA PATRIOTSKA STRANKA / B&H PATRIOTIC PARTY**

Candidates at all electoral levels in the Federation and for the Parliament of B&H

**Established in June 1996**

**President: Muamer KALIĆ**  
**Address: Sarajevo, Odošašina b.b.**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 647 136, 654 325**

Among the members of the party are a few figures from the political and military scene who were replaced in their functions after the first period of war. The most famous is General Sefer Halilović, commander-in-chief of the Bosnian Army at the beginning of the war.

### **Serb Republic**

**KOALICIJA SAVEZ ZA MIR I PROGRES / REGISTERED AT OSCE  
AS PEOPLE'S UNION FOR PEACE**

Candidates for Parliament of B&H, Assembly of RS, President of RS, municipal levels in RS (and in one community in the Federation). Joint candidate for Presidency of B&H with the coalition Democratic Patriotic Block of RS.

This coalition unites three left-wing parties and the Social-Liberal Party, and is led by the Socialists (SP RS). It enjoys the support of the authorities in Serbia and of Slobodan Milošević. He demanded that this coalition run in the elections together with the Democratic Patriotic Block of Predrag Radić, mayor of Banja Luka. Differences in ideology prevented the coalitions from doing so. They will go into the election as rivals.

This coalition is the only political force in the Serb Republic that does not reject outright the possibility of Serbs living together with non-Serbs. Because of this it enjoys the mild support of some left-wing opposition parties in the Federation. The RS authorities have put the coalition under great pressure and have characterized it as a traitor to the Serb people.

**Members of the coalition are:****SLS RS-SOCIJALNO-LIBERALNA STRANKA RS/SOCIAL-LIBERAL  
PARTY**

**Established in November 1992 out of old liberal wing of the Union of  
Socialist Youth of B&H**

**President: Miodrag Živanović**

**Address: Banja Luka, Cara Lazara 6**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 60 676, 55 613, 751 417, 61 437**

A civic-oriented party, opposing nationalism and the policies of exclusion. It co-operates with parties in B&H of similar belief. Its aim is to build a society based on the individual. An enemy of the political regime in the Serb Republic, it calls for multi-ethnicity in B&H and for overcoming of the consequences of the war through co-operation between the two entities. It publishes a newspaper in Banja Luka called "Novi Prelom."

**SNS RS-STRANKA NEZAVISNIH SOCIJAL-DEMOKRATA RS/  
INDEPENDENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS RS**

**Established in December 1995**

**President: Milorad Dodik**

**Address: Banja Luka, Šoše Mažara 100**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 11 418, 11 604, 11 418, 11 684**

One of the strongest political parties in the Serb entity, organised by Milorad Dodik and independent MP's who deserted the SDS. The party has branches in the largest communities, co-operates with the Socialist Party RS and publishes "Nezavisne Novine" ("Independent Newspaper"). It calls for a market economy and a just social policy. It supports the Dayton Treaty as a condition for creating a parliamentary democracy. The party has good connections abroad.

#### **JUL-JUGOSLOVENSKA LEVICA RS/YUGOSLAV UNITED LEFT RS**

**Established on 20 November 1995**

**President: Milorad Ivošević**

**Address: Banja Luka, Gavrila Principa 3**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 30 363, 17 076, 31 011, 17 077**

An opposition democratic party, it claims to be independent of the JUL in Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It supports national rights, national and religious tolerance and vows to fight crime and war profiteers. Enjoys the support of former communist activists.

#### **SPRS-SOCIJALISTIČKA PARTIJA RS/SOCIALIST PARTY RS**

**Established on 21 July 1993**

**President: Živko Radišić**

**Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Petra 103**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 44 060, 65 109, 832 580, 31 404**

One of the strongest parties in the Serb Republic. Has an almost identical program to the Socialist Party of Serbia, whose president is Slobodan Milošević. It resembles this party in almost all other respects. It supports the Dayton Treaty as the key to solving the Serb national question.

#### **DPB-KOALICIJA DEMOKRATSKI PATRIOTSKI BLOK RS/DEMOCRATIC PATRIOTIC BLOCK OF RS**

Candidates for the Parliament of B&H, Assembly of RS, President of RS and municipal offices in RS. A joint candidate for the Presidency of B&H with the People Union for Peace.

**A coalition established in June 1996**

**President: Predrag Radić**

**Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Petra 1**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 12 256, 12 626, 12 526**

This is a coalition of five small, centrist parties, none of which is organised in more than a third of the Serb Republic. On the whole, the coalition does not approve of exclusivity, as do some parties in RS, and it stands for a strict application of Dayton plan. However, it supports strong ties with Serbia and Montenegro, as soon the conditions for such a move are ripe.

The mayor of Banja Luka, Predrag Radić, is the coalition's candidate for President of the Serb Republic. He enjoys more popularity than the coalition itself. He is a very popular dissident from the SDS and tries to win the support of other SDS dissidents. The ruling political party attacks him but has not removed him as mayor. The coalition has a joint candidate for the Bosnian Presidency, together with the coalition People's Union for Peace.

**Members of the coalition are:**

**1. SDC-STRANKA DEMOKRATSKOG CENTRA IZ TREBINJA/  
DEMOCRATIC CENTER PARTY FROM TREBINJE**

**President: Dragomir Grubač**

**2. OTADŽBINSKA STRANKA BANJA LUKA/HOMELAND PARTY  
BANJA LUKA**

**President: Milorad Milaković**

**3. NARODNA RADIKALNA STRANKA IZ BANJA LUKE "NIKOLA  
PAŠIĆ"/ PEOPLE'S RADIČAL PARTY FROM BANJA LUKA  
"NIKOLA PAŠIĆ"**

**President: Dubravko Prstojević**

**4. SELJAČKO RADNIČKA STRANKA KOZARSKE DUBICE/PARTY  
OF PEASANTS AND WORKERS FROM KOZARSKA DUBICA**

**President: Mile Lovrić**

**5. DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA BIJELJINE/DEMOCRAT PARTY  
FROM BIJELJINA**

**President: Dragiša Dimić**

**Other parties:**

**SRS RS-SRPSKA RADIKALNA STRANKA RS/RADICAL PARTY RS**

Candidates for the Parliament of B&H, Assembly of RS, President of RS, Presidency of B&H and municipal offices in RS

**Established in April 1993, by its Serbian wing led by Vojislav Šešelj**

**President: Nikola Poplašen**

**Address: Banja Luka, Svetozara Markovića C**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 38 886**

A nationalist party of the right wing, supports the SDS. It demands a Serb state and unification with Serbia.

**SPAS-SRPSKA PATRIOTSKA STRANKA / SERB PATRIOTIC PARTY**

Candidates for the Parliament of B&H, Assembly of RS, President of RS, Presidency of B&H and municipal offices in RS

**Established in April 1993**

**President: Slavko Župljanin**

**Address: Banja Luka, Dragana Babića 19b**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 56 636, 48 485, 36 714, 36 657**

A "Warriors' Party," made up of former officers and soldiers, it tries to solve their problems. SPAS supports an independent RS and opposes re-integration with the Federation. It runs what it calls a pro-European social-liberal campaign, fighting for the defence of RS and for respecting the rights of ethnic groups.

**SDS-SRPSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA/SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Candidates for the Parliament of B&H, Assembly of RS, President of RS, Presidency of B&H and municipal offices in RS

**Established 1990 in Sarajevo**

**President: Aleksa Buha**

**Address:**

**Tel./fax: (381 71) 783 324, 783 981, 783 022, 786 659**

The ruling nationalist party with a powerful party machine and many branches. Its aim is to realize all the favors offered by the Dayton treaty, plus sovereignty for the Serb Republic. It identifies itself with the destiny of the Serb people. Two prominent members have been indicted by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague: Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. Karadžić was president of the party at its foundation; he resigned under strong pressure from the international community.

### **SSK-SRPSKA STRANKA KRAJINE/SERB PARTY OF KRAJINA**

Candidates for the Assembly of RS, Presidency of B&H and municipal offices in RS

**Established in May 1996**

**President: Predrag Lazarević**

**Address: Banja Luka, Duška Koščice 28a**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 12 141, 12 511, 39 412**

A young party of the right-center, organised by SDS dissidents. It prefers RS as a republic of regions. It has been accused of secessionism in the Krajina.

### **DSF-DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA FEDERALISTA RS/DEMOCRATIC OF FEDERALISTS OF RS**

Candidates for the Assembly of RS, President of RS and municipal offices in RS

**Established on 3 May 1990 in Sarajevo**

**President: Dr. Dragan Đokanović**

**Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Petra Karađorđevića 81**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 12 270, 12 290, 22 234, 12 258 (381 76) 588 227**

The party takes its name from the time of Yugoslavia, when it opposed confederation tendencies and supported the federation. Close to the SDS.

### **SSP-SRPSKA SELJAČKA PARTIJA RS/SERB PEASANTS PARTY**

Candidates for the Assembly of RS and municipal offices in RS

**Established in May 1995 in Modriča**

**President: Gordana Vidović**

**Address: Modriča, Koprivna**

**Tel./fax: (381 74) 883 675, 881 213**

Stands for an independent RS and agricultural development.

### **STRANKA SRPSKOG JEDINSTVA/PARTY OF SERB UNITY**

Candidates at all electoral levels in RS and for Parliament of B&H

**Established in March 1994**

**President: Radomir Perić**

**Address: Bijeljina, Karađorđeva 216**

**Tel./fax: (381 76) 471 158**

This is a branch of the party with the same name in Serbia led by Željko Ražnjatović ("Arkan"), whose paramilitary forces played an important role in the war in Croatia. They were also involved in Bosnia in the first days of war. Many blame Arkan for war crimes.

### **RADIKALNI OTADŽBINSKI FRONT "NIKOLA PAŠIĆ"/RADICAL HOMELAND FRONT "NIKOLA PAŠIĆ"**

Candidates for the Assembly of RS and municipal offices

**Established in December 1995**

**President: Božidar Bojanić**

**Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Alfonsa 27**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 33 572, 15 131, 45 515**

This party harks back to the former party of the Serb ideologue and politician Nikola PAŠIĆ. PAŠIĆ called for a "Greater Serbia" at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th century. The party stands for unification with Serbia and a return of the monarchy.

### **NARODNA STRANKA RS/PEOPLE'S PARTY OF RS**

Candidates for Parliament of B&H, President of RS and municipal offices in RS

**Established in December 1995**

**President: Radoslav Brđanin**

**Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Petra 157**

**Tel./fax: (381 78) 12 044, 12 223, 59 061**

Defines itself as a party of the center, preferring unification with Serbia. Critical of crime and corruption. Supported by disillusioned members of the SDS.

### **CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS**

**KRUG 99 - ASOCIJACIJA NEZAVISNIH INTELEKTUALACA  
SARAJEVO / CIRCLE 99 -ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT  
INTELLECTUALS SARAJEVO****Established in Autumn 1992****President: Ing. Vlatko Določek****Tel./fax: (387 73) 538 926 (PEN Club)**

Circle 99 stands for a united, civic and multi-ethnic Bosnia and for the respect of human rights and freedoms according to highest world standards. The principles of Circle 99 are to be found in its document, "Charter for Bosnia-Herzegovina." Initiated the Declaration for a Free and Undivided Sarajevo, which was signed by more than a million people in 1994 and 1995. The Association tries to influence official policy by public appeals, statements and discussions. It cooperates with similar organizations in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia.

**TDK - TUZLANSKI DEMOKRATSKI KRUG / DEMOCRATIC CIRCLE  
OF TUZLA****Founded in June 1995****President: Sinan Alić****Tel./fax: (387 75) 538 926 (Front Slobode newspaper)**

An association of citizens supporting a united, civic and multi-ethnic Bosnia. Gives special attention to education about democracy. Organises seminars, public discussions and round tables.

**FGT - FORUM GRAĐANA TUZLA / TUZLA CITIZENS FORUM****Established in February 1993****President: Vehid Šehić****Tel./fax: (387 75) 231 480, 236 246**

Stands for a united, independent and decentralised state of Bosnia, no part of which should be the exclusive territory of one nationality. Together with Circle 99, FGT initiated the Citizens Alternative Parliament, which brings together citizens and organisations from Bosnia and around the world who are interested in preserving Bosnia as an independent state. The Forum helped make connections with independent intellectuals in the Serb Republic and in Serbia.

**MCM - MEĐUNARODNI CENTAR ZA MIR SARAJEVO /  
INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR PEACE SARAJEVO**

**Established in 1990**  
**President: Ibro Spahić**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 663 626**

The International Center for Peace works to build a civic society in Bosnia. The UN Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms is an important inspiration for this organization. It does not act on the local level but in cooperation with international forums and organizations. It has played an important role in spreading information about Bosnia. One of the most important projects was "Sarajevska Zima," or "Sarajevo Winter," a cultural festival that had its roots in the 1984 Winter Olympics.

### **SGV - SRPSKO GRAĐANSKO VIJEĆE SARAJEVO / SERB CIVIC COUNCIL SARAJEVO**

**Founded 1994 out of the Serb Consultative Council**  
**President: Dr. Mirko Pejanovic**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 666 962**

The Serb Civic Council defends the interests of Serbs living in the Bosnian Federation. It brings together Serbs who oppose Radovan Karadžić and consider Bosnia their homeland. The SGV is organised in all major cities of Bosnia. It stands for a civic and multi-ethnic state. Currently it tries to be a connection between the two entities. Authorities of the Serb Republic consider it a "traitor" to Serb interests.

### **HNV - HRVATSKO NARODNO VIJEĆE, SARAJEVO / CROAT NATIONAL COUNCIL**

**Established in February 1994**  
**President: Dr. Ivo Komšić**  
**Tel./fax: (387 71) 664 930**

The Croat National Council was founded during the war between Bosniaks and Croats, when the dominant Croat party, the HDZ, withdrew its representatives from all levels of government. It was organised to defend Croat interests and is made up of a variety of political, social, cultural and religious organisations in Sarajevo. It opposes the Herzegovinan Croats and their separatist tendencies. It supports a multi-ethnic and united Bosnia.

**VKBI - VIJEĆE KONGRESA BOŠNJAČKIH (MUSLIMANSKIH)  
INTELEKTUALACA, SARAJEVO / COUNCIL OF THE CONGRESS  
OF BOSNIAK INTELLECTUALS SARAJEVO**

**Established in December 1992**

**President: Atif Purivatra**

**Tel./fax: (387 71) 472 560**

The Council of the Congress of Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) Intellectuals was formed to oppose the aggression on Bosnia and genocide against Bosnian Muslims. Through its publications and public discussions, the Council promotes the independence of the Bosniak nation. In 1994, the Council urged Muslim representatives in the Bosnian Assembly to vote against the Owen - Stoltenberg peace treaty, which would have divided Bosnia into three national republics.

## THE MEDIA IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The conditions of the media in Bosnia are changing rapidly. They have already been transformed several times in the past six years. By 1992, the socialist system was collapsing and democracy was beginning. The media were becoming less ideological as Communist, one-party rule ended. State-owned media began to be privatized. It became easier to start up new media outlets. The state monopoly on information weakened.

In late 1991, Bosnia had 377 newspapers and magazines, 54 local radio stations, four TV stations and one news agency. The most influential press was the publishing and printing enterprise *Oslobođenje*, which published two daily newspapers (*Oslobođenje* and *Večernje Novine*), plus several weeklies and monthlies. Newspapers with long traditions and high circulations were published in other regional centers: *Sloboda* (Mostar), *Front Slobode* (Tuzla), *Glas* (Banja Luka), *Naša Riječ* (Zenica). Dozens of papers were published within enterprises. The backbone of the electronic media was the state-owned Radio-Television Sarajevo (today RTV BiH). Private newspapers and radio and TV stations were just starting up.

The war interrupted the privatization and democratization of the media. Actually, a struggle was underway in the media long before armed clashes. In July 1991, SDS activists, with support from the Yugoslav People's Army, captured a radio and TV relay station on Kozara, a mountain in northwest Bosnia. They pointed it towards Radio-Television Belgrade. That was the beginning of the media war.

The war badly damaged radio and television capacities for production and broadcasting. Printing shops were destroyed. Editorial staffs were left without offices. Authorities in the Serb Republic established their own media in facilities were captured by their army. These were for the most part preserved during the war, except for damage caused by NATO bombing in 1995.

Paradoxically, a media boom took place during the war. By the end of 1995, 202 media outlets were operating on territory controlled by the Bosnian Army (information could not be gathered for other regions). In Sarajevo, Tuzla and Zenica, media outlets not only continued to work under war-time conditions, but new ones started up, promoting the free flow of information. The newcomers included *Dani*, *Studio 99*, *ZID*, *TV Zetel* and *Slobodna Bosna*. They were pioneers of alternative journalism in Bosnia. No direct political or military censorship was

imposed during the war. However, state and military bodies, as well as the ruling parties, tried to control the state-owned media, especially at the local level.

In territories controlled by the Bosnian Serbs, media during the war served the authorities and the ruling party by producing war propaganda. The first newspapers with a more independent attitude were founded in late 1995 and early 1996 in Banja Luka (Novi Prelom and Nezavisne Novine), Bijeljina (Panorama) and Dobož (Alternativa).

As of July 1996, 272 media outlets are operating in the whole of Bosnia. Of these, 203 were in the Bosnian Federation and 69 in the Serb Republic.

It is interesting that no radio or TV station founded during the war was shut down. But most media cannot support themselves from sales, advertisements or, as in the case with state television, with subscriptions. The main source of income has been foreign donations and meager financial assistance from the state. In some ways, a "donor psychology" hampers the media in the Federation. They are ill prepared to enter a competitive market. A second problem is the lack of experienced journalists, technicians and managers. During the war, foreign donors gave assistance mainly in the form of equipment. On the eve of the 1996 elections, an international campaign has been launched to train journalists.

The war left its scars on the media. Some outlets, especially in the Serb Republic, do not recognize the Dayton agreement. They spread war propaganda and contribute nothing to the restoration of confidence. A propaganda vocabulary still characterizes most media in Bosnia. Self-censorship is often seen as a virtue, not a weakness.

Under pressure from the international community on the eve of the elections, the media in RS have opened their studios to opposition political parties for formal party presentations. But in regular news broadcasts they support the ruling party. Media in the parts of the Federation controlled by the ruling Croat party behave in a similar way. In other parts of the Federation, mainly in large towns, there is more pluralism, although the ruling SDA party tries to influence state media and local media who depend on the local authorities.

As of mid-August 1996, journalists did not enjoy freedom of movement in Bosnia. They are divided along national lines much as the larger population is. There is almost no contact among journalists across these lines. This is the biggest obstacle to free journalism in Bosnia. Still, the first steps to take down the barricades have been made. Independent journalists from Banja Luka, Bijeljina

and Doboj are meeting with their colleagues from Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar. An exchange of articles among independent journalists in both entities has started as well.

Bosnian journalism has started to reclaim democracy.

### **Bosnia's media scene**

BIH	
Printed	145
Radio	92
TV	29
Agencies	6
total	272

Federation BiH	
Printed	120
Radio	56
TV	22
Agencies	5
total	203

Republika Srpska	
Printed	25
Radio	36
TV	7
Agencies	1
total	69

The information above was gathered by MEDIA PLAN in July 1996.

### **Important Media**

It is hard to say for sure which are the most influential media in Bosnia today. That can only be decided by research into circulation, distribution, coverage, public opinion, target groups, etc. No research about the media was done during the war, or since it. The situation is still too much in flux. Some media outlets conceal information about circulation or coverage, or they lack a precisely defined target group. There is still not a competitive market in Bosnia. Some newspapers, for example, give away a large number of their copies. So far the only measure of media influence has been through the evaluations and monitoring research of MEDIA PLAN.

Using expert advice, MEDIA PLAN has drawn up a list of the most important and influential media. Our judgements are based on real circulation, distribution or coverage, frequency of publication, diversity of content, target group, professionalism, lack or presence of competition, and degree of control by the authorities.

The list could be different. But this is how MEDIA PLAN experts see the media today.

## **FEDERATION BIH:**

### **Bihać**

**Radio Bihać** is a local public station founded by the Bihać municipality. Broadcasting since 1966 on USW/FM and MW frequency. Broadcasts average of 16 hours daily. Carries news shows from state Radio BiH. Employs 19 workers, including 9 journalists (all Bosniak). Covers city fully and part of canton. Ruling SDA and local authorities exert strong control over editorial policy.

<b>Editor-in-Chief:</b>	<b>Nijaz Glumac</b>
<b>Frequency:</b>	<b>388 KHz; 95.6 MHz</b>
<b>Address:</b>	<b>BB Krupska, Bihać</b>
<b>Tel:</b>	<b>(+387) 77 223-581</b>
<b>Fax:</b>	<b>(+387) 77 223-581</b>

### **Mostar**

**Croat Television Mostar** started broadcasting in West Mostar July 1994. Station reflects opinions of authorities and ruling HDZ party. Employs only 2 journalists and has about 45 contributors. Uses Radio Station Mostar's staff. Covers Mostar, western Herzegovina and parts of neighboring Croatia.

<b>Editor-in-Chief:</b>	<b>Veseljko Čerkez</b>
<b>Address:</b>	<b>4 Dubrovačka, Mostar</b>
<b>Tel:</b>	<b>(+387) 88 321-194</b>
<b>Fax:</b>	<b>(+387) 88 321-102</b>

**Television Mostar** operates within RTV Mostar on the east side of the city. Station started broadcasting in September 1995. Broadcasts average of 98 hours weekly. Two-thirds are foreign production; 10 percent is taken from domestic TV stations, including the TVBiH news show. Same journalists work for both radio and television. Covers city with signal. Supports Mostar and completely serves local authorities in this regard. TV Mostar is one of the founders of independent network TVIN.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Drinka Jelin  
**Frequency:** UHF 27; 40  
**Address:** BB Brace Fejića, Mostar  
**Tel:** (+387) 88 550-055  
**Fax:** (+387) 88 551-147

**Croat Radio Station Mostar** is a public station in West Mostar. Founded by Municipal Council of Mostar. Started broadcasting 1969 as station for whole city. Croat authorities in west Mostar took control of station at start of Croat-Bosniak war. Broadcasts 12 hours daily on two USW/FM frequencies. Ruling HDZ controls program, which supports division of Mostar along ethnic lines. Station employs 22 workers, half of them journalists. All are Croats. Range covers the whole city and part of Neretva canton.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Veseljko Čerkez  
**Frequency:** 100.9 MHz and 88.6 MHz  
**Address:** 4 Dubrovačka, Mostar  
**Tel:** (+387) 88 312-342  
**Fax:** (+387) 88 311-594

**Radio Herceg-Bosna** is a Croat-run public station based in Mostar. Founded by government of "Herceg-Bosna," self-proclaimed statelet of Bosnian Croats. Started broadcasting in 1993. During war built network of transmitters and increased zone of coverage. HDZ has decisive influence on programming. Broadcasts in Croat language. Employs 50 workers, most of them journalists. TV Herceg-Bosna expected to start operating soon.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Milan Vego  
**Frequency:** 103.4 MHz  
**Address:** BB Kralja Petra Krešimira, Mostar  
**Tel:** (+387) 88 310-577  
**Fax:** (+387) 88 310 577

**Radio Mostar** is a local public station in east Mostar, started by the foundation "Free Mostar." Appeared first time in September 1992. Broadcasts daily, 19 hours on work days and 24 hours on weekends. Carries Radio BiH news broadcasts. Together with TV Mostar employs 32 workers, half of them journalists. Supports unification of city. Full coverage of municipality, part of Herzegovina.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Senad Efica  
**Frequency:** 82.3 MHz  
**Address:** BB Brace Fejića, Mostar  
**Tel:** (+387) 88 550-055  
**Fax:** (+387) 88 552-147

### Sarajevo

**Radio-Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina** (until the war RTV Sarajevo) is the state station of Bosnia-Herzegovina and was founded by the Bosnian Assembly. The enterprise's activities are regulated by pre-war law. Biggest influence on radio and TV programs is exerted by ruling party, the SDA. Multi-ethnic character of editorial offices preserved. RTV BiH supports itself from television subscriptions and commercials, but during war this income fell dramatically, so now government also funds. Production and emission equipment much damaged during war, but broadcasting never shut down for a single day. RTV BiH has total of 824 employees, of whom 144 are journalists, as well as large number of contributors.

*Television BiH* broadcast first show July 25, 1961 from a Zagreb studio; first locally produced news show February 25, 1971. Produces all varieties of programming. Until disintegration of Yugoslavia, TVBiH was part of joint system of Yugoslav Television (JRT). Biggest programming achievement: coverage of 14th Winter Olympic Games in 1984. Broadcast on two networks before war, now broadcasts on one, averaging 15 hours daily. In 1996 started broadcasting evening program via satellite to Europe, Middle East and North Africa.

**News editor:** Senad Hadžifejzović  
**Frequency:** 8 VHF, 57 UHF (Sarajevo)  
**Address:** 4 Bulevar Meše Selimovića, Sarajevo  
**Telephone:** (+387) 71 461-101  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 461-537

*Radio BiH* is the oldest radio station in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Started broadcasting April 10, 1945. All-day broadcasting began in 1961. Before the war broadcast on two networks, during and after war just one. Medium wave transmitter covers most

of former Yugoslavia and parts of Europe. Produces variety of programming, including music.

**Editor:** Esad Cerović  
**Frequency:** 612 KHz, 93.1 MHz (Sarajevo)  
**Address:** 4 Bulevar Meše Selimovića, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 461-101  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 445-141

**Independent Radio-Television 99** Sarajevo is a private station owned by a group of journalists and technicians. Station operates in inadequate offices, but has modern equipment thanks to donations from international organizations. Radio and TV promotes a civic society. Station is harsh critic of government. Independent editorial orientation. Editorial staff is multi-ethnic. Has 22 employees, including 12 journalists. Uses other contributors.

**NTV 99** started broadcasting 1 February 1995. Broadcasts 112 hours of programming weekly. Has well-developed news and documentary program. Broadcasts to part of Sarajevo region. NTV 99 is one of five stations that will make up the planned independent television network TVIN.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Adil Kulenović  
**Frequency:** UHF 58  
**Address:** 41 Alipašina, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 664-550  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 664-551

**Radio Studio 99** Sarajevo operates as part of RTV station of same name. Started broadcasting all-day program November 1991. Especially known for talk shows with listeners. During the war it inspired a group of independent Sarajevo intellectuals to found the well-known association Circle 99. Carries Radio Free Europe and RFI programs. Broadcasts only in Sarajevo.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Adil Kulenović  
**Frequency:** 99.8 MHz  
**Address:** 41 Alipašina, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 664-550  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 664-551

**Independent television "Hayat,"** in Sarajevo, is private, commercial station founded in early 1992. Founders: 10 individuals. Promotes Bosniak (Muslim) culture and tradition, but diversity of programming attracts all social and national categories of population. Independent orientation. Broadcasts average of 17 hours daily, mostly entertainment, sports and films. Much programming is of foreign production. Employs 57 workers, including 11 journalists, mainly Bosniaks. Supports itself with commercials. Can be seen in wider Sarajevo region. To be part of independent television network TVIN.

**Editor:** Elvir Švrakić  
**Frequency:** UHF 25; 27; 58  
**Address:** 14 A. Šahinagića, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 533-655  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 663-601

**Radio station "Vrhbosna,"** in Sarajevo, started broadcasting in late December 1994. Owner is cultural association of Croats, "Napredak," in Sarajevo. Promotes culture and heritage of Croat people. Advocates coexistence and civic society. Independent orientation. Carries broadcasts from Croatian radio as well as "Voice of America" translated into Croat. Employs five journalists. Fully covers city region. Broadcasts on Radio BiH frequency. Financed by founder.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Vladimir Bilić  
**Frequency:** 100.3 MHz  
**Address:** 56 Maršala Tita, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 441-922  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 441 921

**Radio "ZID"** is an independent, private station in Sarajevo. Started broadcasting in December 1992. Founder and owner is DJL "Zid." Independent editorial orientation and wide editorial freedom. Alternative music program. Employs four people full-time, of whom three are journalists. Carries the foreign radio programs BBC, FRI, VOA. Takes part in multi-media projects of its parent company -- publishing, music, show-business. Covers central city.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Adnan Sarajlić  
**Frequency:** 89.9 MHz  
**Address:** 4 Husrefa Redžića, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 443-771  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 664-108

**"Dani,"** independent news magazine published monthly in Sarajevo. Founder and publisher is the "BAM HANDEL" media firm, Sarajevo. Continues tradition of magazine "Naši Dani", published before war. First issue with new name and new owner published September 1992. Critical of ruling parties and other authorities. Promotes civic society. Has 15 employees, including 13 journalists. Multinational staff. Average printed circulation: 9,000 copies. Distributed throughout Bosnia.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Senad Pećanin  
**Address:** 31/A Skenderija, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 649-943  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 651-789

**"Dnevni Avaz"** is the youngest daily newspaper in Bosnia. Owner and founder is PIPP "Avaz." Privately owned. Paper in expansion. Close to the Bosnian government. In mid-July this year started foreign edition, printed in Frankfurt, to cover markets in western Europe, United States and Canada. Printed circulation, together with foreign edition, is 24,000 copies. Declined to give further information.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Fahrudin Radončić  
**Address:** 8 Radićeva, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 445-721  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 444-060

**"Oslobođenje"** newspaper is the oldest and most prominent Bosnian daily. First issue published 30 August 1943 in Donja Trnava. Paper has independent orientation, advocates civic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. At beginning of war, editorial and printing capacities nearly destroyed, but paper published every day of Sarajevo siege. Has won many international awards. In March 1996 launched daily European edition, printed in Frankfurt. Ownership is unclear. Privatization from state ownership suspended on eve of war. Correspondent network in Bosnia and abroad. Has contracts with many international news agencies. Employs 140 workers, including 65 journalists. Multi-ethnic staff. Printed circulation: 10,000 copies in Bosnia, 14,000 abroad.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Mehmed Halilović  
**Address:** 42 Branilaca Grada, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 670-813  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 534-495

**"Hrvatska Riječ"** published in Sarajevo. News-political weekly newspaper. Founder and publisher: "Naša Riječ" – News-Publishing Enterprise DOO Sarajevo. Close to ruling HDZ party, whose positions it often reflects. Editorial office declined to give further information.

**Acting editor-in-chief: Ana Havel**  
**Address: 7a/IV Maršala Tita, Sarajevo**  
**Tel: (+387) 71 470-002**  
**Fax: (+387) 71 444 621**

**"Liljan,"** independent news-political and cultural weekly. Published in Sarajevo. Declares itself national newspaper of Bosniak (Muslim) people. Reflects stances of ruling SDA party, often its more Radical wing. Circulation: 60,000 copies, 85 percent abroad. Very influential in Bosniak diaspora. Employs 30 people, half of them journalists, all Bosniaks.

**Editor-in-Chief: Hadžem Hajdarević**  
**Address: 22 Mehmeda Spahe, Sarajevo**  
**Tel: (+387) 71 442-993**  
**Fax: (+387) 71 442-994**

**"Slobodna Bosna,"** independent news-political magazine. Published twice weekly in Sarajevo. Owner and founder: "PRESS-SING" DOO Sarajevo. First issue published September 1995. Financially supported by Soros Foundation. Known for radical criticism of authorities and ruling national parties. Publishes investigations and commentary about social problems. Advocates multi-ethnic and civic Bosnia. Has eight employees, of whom 6 are journalists. Has many other contributors. Multi-ethnic staff. Printed circulation: 40,000 copies. Distributed throughout Bosnia. A fourth of circulation sold abroad.

**Editor-in-Chief: Senad Avdić**  
**Address: 3 Muhameda Kantardžića, Sarajevo**  
**Tel: (+387) 71 444-041**  
**Fax: (+387) 71 444-895**

**"Večernje Novine,"** independent news-political daily newspaper. Started in 1964. Ownership transformation completed to private company. Foreign edition published in Frankfurt. In October 1995, 32 editors and journalists left to join "Dnevni Avaz." Despite this, publishing continued. Multi-ethnic staff. Independent orientation. Printed circulation: 8,000 copies. Foreign edition, 22,000 copies. Sold in European and non-European countries.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Sead Demirović  
**Address:** 13 Prušćakova, Sarajevo  
**Tel:** (+387) 71 664-978  
**Fax:** (+387) 71 664-875

### Tuzla

**Television Tuzla** is a local public station, founded by Tuzla municipality. Start of broadcasting: February 1994. Broadcasts 49 hours a week, half of which it produces itself. Carries TVBiH prime time news show. Has broadcast for IFOR in English. Editorial policy close to ruling UBSD party, winner of local elections in 1991. Advocates civic society. Employs 48 workers, including 15 journalists. Editorial staff multi-ethnic. Station to be part of independent network TVIN.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Jasna Žunić  
**Frequency:** UHF 44  
**Address:** BB Slatina, Tuzla  
**Tel:** (+387) 75 211-555  
**Fax:** (+387) 75 215-772

**Television of Tuzla-Podrinje Canton (TPK).** Founded by the canton assembly. Broadcasting since February 1993 on frequency of TVBiH's second network. Broadcasts 56 hours of program weekly. Carries state television news show. Local programming close to ruling SDA. Employs 41 workers, including 15 journalists. Financed by canton.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Kasim Softić  
**Frequency:** RTV BiH second network  
**Address:** SODA SO SLATINA, Tuzla  
**Tel:** (+387) 75 214-123  
**Fax:** (+387) 75 213-302

**Radio KAMELEON** is local commercial station. Founder PP Kameleon. Started broadcasting in December 1992. Station known for interesting talk shows with listeners and for music for young people. Independent editorial policy. Carries RFI and Free Europe. Employs 7 workers, different nationalities. One journalist employed full time. Supports itself from commercials.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Anisa Hasić  
**Frequency:** 102.7 MHz  
**Address:** 16, 17 Septembra, Tuzla  
**Tel:** (+387) 75 231-237  
**Fax:** (+387) 75 238-247

**Radio Tuzla** is a public station founded by Tuzla municipality. Broadcasts on USW and MW frequencies. Covers city region and part of canton. Station started working 1953. Broadcasts all-day. Carries prime time news shows from Radio BiH. Reflects positions of local authorities. Advocates civic society and multinational Bosnia. Employs 29 workers, including nine journalists of all nationalities.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Nedin Hrustambegović  
**Frequency:** 774 KHz; 94 MHz  
**Address:** 4 Đure Đakovića, Tuzla  
**Tel:** (+387) 75 323-41  
**Fax:** (+387) 75 236-666

### Zenica

**Independent television "ZETEL"** is a private and commercial station in Zenica. Owned and founded by Željko Lincner. Broadcasting since January 1992, mainly news-documentary, educational and music programs, and foreign movies. Broadcasts 42 hours weekly. Employs 24 workers, including 6 journalists. To be center of network TVIN.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Taib Bajramović  
**Frequency:** UHF 55  
**Address:** BB Stara Čaršija, Zenica  
**Tel:** (+387) 72 410-552  
**Fax:** (+387) 72 417-317

**Television Zenica** started broadcasting in November 1995. Part of the public company RTV Zenica. Founded by Zenica municipality. Broadcasts 49 hours weekly. Close to local authorities.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Remzija Hukeljić  
**Frequency:** UHF 22  
**Address:** 23 Muhameda Seida Serdarevića  
**Tel:** (+387) 72 22-088  
**Fax:** (+387) 72 22-002

**Radio Zenica** is a local public station. Founded in 1969 by Zenica municipality. Broadcasts on USW/FM and MW frequencies. Broadcasts 16 hours daily, mainly own production. News in English and Turkish. Signal covers city and part of Zenica-Doboj canton. Close to local authorities.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Remzija Hukeljić  
**Frequency:** 529 KHz; 106.6 MHz  
**Address:** 6 Trg BiH, Zenica  
**Tel:** (+387) 72 412-423  
**Fax:** (+387) 72 22-002

**SERB REPUBLIC:  
Banja Luka**

**"Glas Srpski"** is the only daily newspaper in Serb Republic. Founded by the Assembly of the Serb Republic. First published in 1983, but changed name and sponsor during war. Published in Cyrillic, Serb ekavian dialect. Serves authorities and ruling party.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Gordan Matrak  
**Address:** 28 Veselina Masleše, Banja Luka  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 12-844  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 11-759

**"Novi Prelom"** publishes monthly. Founded by Liberal Party of RS, a rival of the ruling SDS. First issue published 1988, revived 1992. In April 1993 stopped publishing under pressure from Pale. After long suspension, continued publishing in December 1995 with prefix "Novi" ("new"). First media outlet in RS to assert right to dissent. Published in combination of Latin and Cyrillic, in Serb jekavian dialect. Sometimes reaches Federation territory.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Milorad Živanović  
**Address:** 6 Cara Lazara, Banja Luka  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 60-676  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 61-437

**Pale**

**Serb Radio-Television** is the Serb Republic's state station. Founded by Assembly of RS. Radio and television work regulated by special law adopted at beginning of war, resembling law on RTV BiH. Station is under full control of ruling SDS and broadcasts authorities' propaganda. Uses transmitters captured at beginning of war by JNA and Serb army. Part of infrastructure damaged during NATO bombing, but now operational again.

*Serb Television* has production centers in Banja Luka and Pale, but all programming decisions are made in Pale. Broadcasts own productions, mainly news and documentary programs. Takes more complicated programs (music and feature films) from TV stations in Serbia. Started broadcasting via satellite in May 1996, five hours a day, to the United States, Canada and Mexico.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Ilija Guzina  
**Frequency:** VHF 12 (Sarajevo)  
**Studio Banja Luka:** Tel (+381) 78 11-741;  
 Fax (+381) 78 49-973  
**Studio Pale:** Tel (+381) 71 783-186;  
 Fax (+381) 71 783-179

*Serb Radio* broadcasts from two central studios in Pale and Banja Luka. Some local radio stations are part of its network. Broadcasts on USW/FM and MW frequency, and can be heard in parts of the Federation. Produces all varieties of programming. Covers Serb Republic and most of Federation.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Milivoje Tutnjević  
**Frequency:** 88.7 MHz (Sarajevo)  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 35-800  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 31-667

***Serb "Oslobođenje."*** Weekly newspaper. Publisher: NIŠP "Oslobođenje." Paper lays claim to tradition of Sarajevo "Oslobođenje." Says "Oslobođenje" was published "as joint organ of all peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina until April 6, 1992." Publishes in Cyrillic, Serb ekavian dialect. Part of Serb Republic's state media..

**Editor-in-Chief:** Draženko Đukanović  
**Address:** Pale  
**Tel:** (+381) 71 786-687  
**Fax:** (+381) 71 786-687

#### **Editorial offices abroad in Slovenia:**

***"Svijet,"*** weekly news and political magazine published by "Oslobođenje." Editorial office in Ljubljana, printed in Zagreb. Civic orientation, moderately critical approach. Employs 12 workers, including 6 journalists. Printed circulation: 30.000 copies. Sold in European and non-European countries.

**Editor-in-Chief:** Zlatko Dizdarević  
**Editorial office:** 3 Dunajska, Ljubljana, R Slovenia  
**Tel:** (+386) 61 13 26 266  
**Fax:** (+386) 61 31 81 79

**Address list of other media:**

**Banja Luka:**

**AIM (ALTERNATIVE INFORMATION NETWORK), Banja Luka**

**editorial office**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Perića Vučinić  
**Address:** 2 Srpska, Banja Luka  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 12-295, 46-691  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 12-295

**Radio BiG**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Ljubomir Kragulj  
**Address:** Banja Luka  
**Frequency:** 90,7  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 12-700  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 11-210

**Nezavisne Novine, newspaper**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Željko Kopanja  
**Address:** 1/VIII Veselina Maslese, Banja Luka  
**Tel:** (+381) 78 11 604  
**Fax:** (+381) 78 11 684

**Bijeljina:**

**Panorama, newspaper**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Slobodan Marković  
**Address:** bb Trg žrtava fašističkog terora, Bijeljina  
**Tel:** (+381) 76 46 483  
**Fax:** (+381) 76 46 483

**Doboj:**

**Alternativa, newspaper**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Živko Savković  
**Address:** 26 Svetog Save, Doboj  
**Tel:** (+381) 74 42 092  
**Fax:** (+381) 74 42 092

**Mostar:**

**HABENA News Agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Zdravko Nikić  
 Address: 9 Kralja Tvrtka, Mostar  
 Tel: (+387) 88 319-222  
 Fax: (+387) 88 319-422

**Pale:****SRNA, Serb News Agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Nenad Tadić  
 Address: Donji Tribanj, Pale  
 Tel: (+381) 71 783-164  
 Fax: (+387) 71 783-442

**Sarajevo:****AIM (ALTERNATIVE INFORMATION NETWORK)**

Editor-in-Chief: Dražena Peranić  
 Address: 4/I Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo  
 Tel/fax: (+387) 71 667-737

**BiH Press, news agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Edis Mesihović  
 Address: 24 Branilaca grada, Sarajevo  
 Tel: (+387) 71 663-772  
 Fax: (+387) 71 664-360

**Mina - Muslims independent News Agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Amir Hodžić  
 Address: 2 Isabega Ishakovića, Sarajevo  
 Tel: (+387) 71 652-255  
 Fax: (+387) 71 652-255

**ONASA - News Agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Mehmed Husić  
 Address: 7 Mustafe Bašeskije, Sarajevo  
 Tel: (+387) 71 670-810  
 Fax: (+387) 71 521-175

**Sarajevo - fax (SAFAX), News Agency**

Editor-in-Chief: Radenko Udovičić  
 Address: 4/I Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo  
 Tel: (+387) 71 663-478  
 Fax: (+387) 71 663-478

**ARKADIA ISV RADIO**

Editor-in-Chief: Elvir Bucalo  
 Address: 21 Malta, Sarajevo

Frequency: 96,5 MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 653-667  
Fax: (+387) 71 663-251

**HAYAT -Bosniak Moslem radio**

Editor-in-Chief: Lejla Sarić  
Address: 12 Trampina, Sarajevo  
Frequency: 101,7 MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 443-113  
Fax: (+387) 71 443-113

**Music RADIO M**

Editor-in-Chief: Mirsad Ibrić  
Address: 7/I Fra Anđela Zvizdovića, Sarajevo  
Frequency: 98, 7 MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 483-049  
Fax: (+387) 71 483-051

**Radio FERN, Radio Network OSCE**

Coordinators: Ešref Hodžić & Borka Rudić  
Address: 19 b Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo  
Frequency: 92, 5; 93, 7; 97,0; 103, 3 (Sarajevo);  
107, 8; 103,1; 106, 2; MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 668 059  
Fax: (+387) 71 668 052

**RADIO Glas Nade**

Editor-in-Chief: Petar Jehić  
Address: 7 Tepebašina, Sarajevo  
Frequency: 105,2 MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 445 539  
Fax: (+387) 71 445 539

**RADIO GRAD - Sarajevo**

Editor-in-Chief: Muhamed Ferizović  
Address: Trg nezavisnosti 14, Sarajevo  
Frequency: 101,2 MHz  
Tel: (+387) 71 461-700  
Fax: (+387) 71 546-633

**RADIO STARI GRAD**

Editor-in-Chief: Adnan Osmanagić  
 Address: 6 Josipa Juraja Strossmayera, Sarajevo  
 Frequency: 102, 8 MHz  
 Tel: (+387) 71 471-366  
 Fax: (+387) 71 471-366

**RADIO SARAJEVO 202**

Editor-in-Chief: Esad Cerović  
 Address: 4 Bulevar Meše Selimovića, Sarajevo  
 Frequency: 93, 1 MHz  
 Tel: (+387) 71 461-101  
 Fax: (+387) 71 455-141

**TELEVIZIJA X**

Editor-in-Chief: Admir Hadžibegović  
 Address: 7 Fra Anđela Zvizdovića, Sarajevo  
 Tel: (+387) 71 483-056  
 Fax: (+387) 71 483-056

**TVIN, TV INTERNATIONAL NETWORK**

Kontakt: TV ZETEL , Zenica  
 Address: BB Stara Čaršija, Zenica  
 Tel: (+387) 72 410-552  
 Fax: (+387) 72 417-317

**Tuzla:****TV FS-3**

Editor-in-Chief: Sinan Alić  
 Address: 19V.Vlahovića, Tuzla  
 Frequency: UHF 32  
 Tel: (+387) 75 32-271  
 Fax: (+387) 75 33-988

**JENY HAYAT - Bosniak Radio**

Editor-in-Chief: Elmir Žigić  
 Frequency: 101,7 MHz  
 Address: 6 Borisa Kidriča, Tuzla  
 Tel: (+387) 75 222-333  
 Fax: (+387) 75 232-726

**Radio Slon**

Frequency: 89,0 MHz  
 Address: Tuzla  
 Tel: (+387) 75 31 821  
 Fax: (+387) 75 232 974

**Radio Soli, Croat radio**

Frequency: 92,7 MHz  
 Address: Tuzla  
 Tel: (+387) 75 233 777  
 Fax: (+387) 75 233 777

**FRONT SLOBODE, newspaper**

Editor-in-Chief: Sinan Alić  
 Address: 19 V.Vlahovića, Tuzla  
 Tel: (+387) 75 32-271  
 Fax: (+387) 75 33-988

**ZMAJ OD BOSNE, newspaper**

Editor-in-Chief: Vedad Spahić  
 Address: 15 M.Fizovića (Hotel Tuzla), Tuzla  
 Tel: (+387) 75 234-808  
 Fax: (+387) 75 234-808

**Zenica:****BETHA RADIO**

Editor-in-Chief: Enes Begičević  
 Address: Kučukovići (building RMK), Zenica  
 Frequency: 97,5MHz  
 Tel: (+387) 72 415-241

**CD-CEMP RADIO**

Editor-in-Chief: Jasna Kahrimanović  
 Address: Hotel Metalurg, Zenica  
 Frequency: 100,7 MHz  
 Tel: (+387) 72 417-342  
 Fax: (+387) 72 417-342

**Nasa rijec, newspaper**

Editor-in-Chief: Hidajet Zjajo  
 Address: 23 Mehmeda Saida Serdarevica, Zenica  
 Tel: (+387) 72 36-024  
 Fax: (+387) 72 23-055

**Media organizations:****SOROS MEDIA CENTAR, Sarajevo**

Editor-in-Chief: Boro Kontić  
 Address: "Svjetlost" building, 3 M.Kantardžića,  
 Sarajevo  
 tel: (+387) 71 444-743  
 fax: (+387) 71 670-666

**I.W.P.R. - Institute for War and Peacetime Reporting, London  
(Monitoring Report ELECTIONS '96)**

Project Director: Mark Wheeler  
 Address: 4/I Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo  
 tel/fax: (+387) 71 667-735/4;

**MEDIA PLAN, Society for Reconstruction and Development of  
Media**

Director: Zoran Udovičić  
 Address : 4/I Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo  
 tel/fax: (+387) 71 667-734/5  
 fax: 664 377

**Foreign media:****ABC**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića, (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
 tel/fax (+387) 71 463 951, 654 087

**AFP**

Filipa Kljaića, Sarajevo  
 tel/fax (+387) 71 440 850, 650 613

**AP TV**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
 tel (+387) 71 459-304; fax 440-850, 650-613

**ARD**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
 tel.(+387) 71 461 530, 451 614

**BBC**

4 Bulevar M.Selimovića , (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
 tel. (+387) 71 462-547; 612 001; fax 447-794

**CBS**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
 tel/fax (+387) 71458 293, 461 538, 455 864

**CNN**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 642-878

**EBU**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 461 515, 451 641

**MBC**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 455 115

**NBC**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 460 324; 451 423

**RTL**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 462-457, 461 518

**REUTERS PRESS**

83 Bjelave, Sarajevo  
tel (+387) 71 537-120; fax (+387) 71 445-127

**REUTERS TV**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel (+387) 71 461 536, 462-365; fax (+387) 71 451-030

**SKY**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71 462-388

**ZDF**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel (+387) 71 462-640; fax (+387) 71 458-692

**WTN**

4 Bulevar M. Selimovića (RTV BiH building), Sarajevo  
tel/fax (+387) 71463 111, 454 317

**IMPORTANT ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS****Federation BiH (+ 387)****Sarajevo 071****Embassies:****REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA**

7 Bistrik str.,  
tel 668-337,668-338; fax 668-339

**CANADA**

3a Logavina str.,  
tel 447-900; tel 447-901

**REPUBLIC OF CROATIA**

20 Mehmeda Spahe str.,  
tel 444-330,664-985; fax 472-434,472-433

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

3/I Muhameda Kantardžića str.,  
tel 650-835; fax 650-845

**KINGDOM OF DENMARK**

4 Skenderija str.,  
tel 665-901; fax 652-902

**REPUBLIC OF FRANCE**

18 Mehmed bega Kapetanovića Ljubušaka str.,  
tel 668-149,668-151; fax 668-103

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

7 Fra Anđela Zvizdovića str.,  
tel 666-570,666-586; fax 652-978,443-176

**UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN****IRELAND**

8 Tina Ujevića str.,  
tel 444-429,663-922; fax 444-429

**ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN**

9 Obala Maka Dizdara str.,  
tel 650-210,650-214; fax 663-910

**ITALIAN REPUBLIC**

23 Alifakovac str.,  
tel 533-765, 533-484; fax 659-368

**NATIONAL BUREAU OF GREAT SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN  
ARAB JAMAHIRIYA**

17 Tahtali sokak str.,  
tel 663-620,657-534; fax 663-620

**MALAYSIA**

3a Zmaja od Bosne str.,  
tel 667-712; fax 667-713

**KINGDOM OF NETHERLANDS**

4/2 Obala Kulina bana str.,  
tel 668-422,668-424; fax 668-423

**PORTUGAL**

2 Tome Masarika str.,  
tel 443-117; fax 443-117

**SPECIAL DIPLOMATIC MISSION, RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

9 Ejupa Ademovića str.,

**REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA**

7 Bentbaša str.,  
tel 447-124, fax 447-659

**KINGDOM OF SWEDEN**

8 Koturova str.,  
tel 446-799; fax 446-800

**SWISS CONFEDERATION**

9 Tepebašina str.,  
tel 665-250; fax 665-246

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

5 Hamdije Kreševljakovića str.,  
tel 455-260; fax 472-437

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

43 Alipašina str.,  
tel 659-969,445-700; fax 659-722

**International organizations:****IFOR PRESS**

Holiday inn, 3 Zmaja od Bosne str.,  
tel: 447-601; fax 447-604

**IFOR - booking office**

Holiday inn, 3 Zmaja od Bosne str.,

tel: 447-616; fax 447-604

**OSCE**

20 Obala Kulina bana str.,

tel: 444-444; fax 442/479

**OHR (OFFICE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVE)**

b.b. Trg Oktobra str.,

tel: 447-275; fax: 447-420

**IPTF (INTERNATIONAL POLICE TASK FORCE)**

43 Alipašina str.,

tel/fax 460-580

**UNHCR**

"UNIS" building, 7 Fra Anđela Zvizdovića str.,

tel: 483-105; fax 447 868

**UNESCO**

7 Bistrik str.,

tel: 670-726, fax: 444-969

**UNICEF**

11 Maršala Tita str.,

tel 642-970, 445-728; fax 531-928

**USAID (UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT)**

1 Obala Kulina bana str.,

tel/fax 667-900,667-892

**OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

3 "Svjetlost" publishing house, M.Kantardžića str.,

tel 447-582; fax 666-037

**EUROPEAN UNION**

3 "Svjetlost" publishing house, M.Kantardžića str.,

tel 666-036; fax 447-582

**EU MONITOR MISSION**

14 Trampina str.,

tel 447-516 ext. 202; fax 447-730

**HELSINKI COMMITTEE**

3 Hamdije Kreševljakovića str.,

tel 670-245; fax 670-858

**HELSINKI CITIZEN ASSEMBLY**

8 Husrefa Redžića str.,

tel/fax 666-372

**OFFICE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN**

3 Pehlivanuša str.,

tel 530-012; fax 653-461

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Pierre-Ives Scotto  
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15 Abdesthana str.,  
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## Contents

Note to our Readers	3
Bosnia-Herzegovina -- As it Was	4
National Structure of Some Cities /Municipalities	11
Sarajevo	12
The Devastation of War	15
Reconstruction and Recovery	19
The Bosnia-Herzegovina Peace Agreement	23
Reuters: Facts and Features	29
Results of the 1990 Elections	41
Elections '96 - Political Parties	43
Citizens Associations	56
The Media in Bosnia-Herzegovina	59
Important Media	61
Important Addresses and Phone Numbers	80

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**Editor-in-chief**

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**Layout**

MEDIA PLAN

**Press**

Studentska Štamparija Sarajevo

Circulation 1000

Distributed free of charge

Cip

Ministarstvo