

# monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

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## THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 17-23 JUNE

To no one's surprise, the date has been set. What is surprising is the ease with which the B&H political and journalistic firmaments have reconciled themselves to the inevitability of a 14 September poll over the past fortnight. Foreign journalists and campaigners on behalf of an integral Bosnia have held out longer, continuing to regard the principles set out in the Dayton agreement as more important than the process. As it is, fulfilment of what were supposed to be the preconditions for free and fair elections will now require nothing short of a miracle, whether invoked through IFOR or Our Lady of Međugorje.

The media scene in B&H is not so inimical to the electoral process as are the continuing failures to ensure freedom of movement, the return of refugees, the arrest of indicted war criminals and the establishment of politically neutral environments in the two entities. As the monitoring reports that follow tend to show, there is, even now, a glimmer of intermittent media pluralism on offer in Bosnia & Hercegovina. Fortunately, no intervention by either IFOR or the Blessed Virgin is likely to be required for this positive trend to continue.

### TV Srpska

#### "Novosti u 8"

Besides maintaining its intensive daily campaign on behalf of Radovan Karadžić as the tireless, untouchable and indispensable leader both of an independent RS and of the entire Serb nation, "Novosti u 8" has also devoted much time to denigrating the "Muslim-Croat" Federation. It insists particularly on the impossibility of any

common life in a reintegrated B&H, citing in support the deep crisis in relations between the federal partners as shown by sessions of the constituent assembly, the failure to enact a defence law, the formation of a new Herceg-Bosna cabinet, the attack on Haris Silajdžić, the electoral crisis in Mostar, etc. Reports from the Federation are regularly placed in the newscast's segment "From Abroad" (Iz svijeta), thereby suggesting that RS is not a part of Bosnia.

Events relating to Sarajevo's Serbs are portrayed in especially negative colours. Every opportunity is taken as well to attack Alija Izetbegović and the SDA, using both the statements of RS politicians and carefully selected quotations from the foreign press. According to "Novosti u 8", it is Izetbegović rather than Karadžić who should have been indicted by The Hague Tribunal.

Although the UN, the EU, OSCE, IFOR and The Hague Tribunal are normally depicted as enemies of the Serb nation and its leaders, "Novosti u 8" sees a happy congruence between the demands of the international community that elections be held in B&H within the specified period and RS's own state interest. While the RS authorities will ensure that elections take place on their territory in a democratic atmosphere (with "Novosti u 8" pointing to the constructive and cooperative relations with the international community in this regard), matters are alleged to be quite different in the crisis-ridden "Muslim-Croat" Federation.

Party life in RS remains for "Novosti u 8" the preserve of the ruling SDS. Other parties are rarely mentioned. News about the formation of the Democratic Patriotic Front headed by Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radić provided the first

opportunity (on 19 June) for the programme to mention the existence of the Party of the Democratic Centre (Trebinje), the Peasant-Worker Party (Kozarska Dubica), the Democratic Party (Bijeljina) and the People's Radical Party "Nikola Pašić" (Banja Luka). No doubt whatsoever is expressed that the elections will serve as anything other than an opportunity for the people of Republika Srpska to demonstrate their monolithic faith in the SDS and its leaders.

## Radio Republike Srpske

### "Dnevnik" (16.00 daily)

The raising of verbal bulwarks in defence of Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić against The Hague Tribunal remained the dominant motif of the past week's "Dnevnik" broadcasts. Perhaps the high point came in the leading placement accorded on 21 June to Republika Srpska Premier Gojko Kličković's statement that "it is very likely that Srpska President Radovan Karadžić will be a candidate in the elections." Kličković also took the prize for linguistic virility when he assured listeners to the same broadcast that "Serbs, when it comes to Brčko, dare not yield, even at the risk of conflict."

News of the enactment of a law establishing a "special court for war crimes" as another defence against The Hague Tribunal was highly placed on the 19 June bulletin, and was later supported by statements from Biljana Plavšić and Smilje Avramov (21 June). This move follows the precedent set by Slobodan Milošević with his declaration that "not one Serb accused of war crimes will be tried outside Serbia."

Notable among the messages featured by "Dnevnik" from the meetings called in support of Karadžić and Mladić was one from a regular speaker on these occasions, the "well known Islamic scholar" from Serbia, Miroljub Jevtić. On 19 June the newscast carried a clip from the speech he delivered in Bosanski Novi: "Republika Srpska was born in blood and received its statehood. But it is a false, inadequately stable statehood. As Prince Miloš said, 'this state is as wobbly as a willow.' From this wobbly state, which sways in the wind, we must make a true, stable state, a state constructed of reinforced concrete. But a state made like this: with support for the people who began to lead that state, with support

for the people who must strengthen that state, so that it becomes the true Serbian homeland (*matica*)."

"Dnevnik" also featured the same day an attack by Zvornik MP J. Mijatović on the "the so-called peace-making parties who are supporting the idea of living together again with the Muslims...and want to merge Srpska into an independent B&H, where Serbs would be a second class nation."

Among manoeuvres on the party political scene, "Dnevnik" drew attention on 17 June to the announcement by the president of the Serbian National Renewal, Mirko Jović, that his party would abstain from the elections in RS, but with a summons to "Serbian state-creating parties" to make the same decision, "so as to forge a united Serbian list against all enemies of Republika Srpska."

On 22 June "Dnevnik" carried the OSCE announcement about the registration of parties and independent candidates in both entities. It also reported that the Management Board of RTV Srpska (which is chaired by Momčilo Krajišnik) had decided to enable political parties to acquaint the public with their programmes. Party leaders are being told to answer "four basic groups of questions: on respect for the essential national interest, on the means of solving economic problems, on the status of war veterans and refugees, and on relations with the federation of Muslims and Croats."

The programme's Bijeljina correspondent reported the same day that in this municipality "political parties have sought equal access to the means of information, but that they had no complaints about not receiving it in the local media."

"Dnevnik" created a real sensation last week with its report on 20 June of a story that had appeared in Belgrade's *Večernje novosti* about how an American consortium ("which for now wishes to remain anonymous") would be investing some \$2.5 billion in heavy infrastructure projects (motorways, power stations and airports) in RS after the elections. By such means, "RS is set to become the Hong Kong of Southeastern Europe." But only RS, because "the Federation is being excluded from these projects on account of the assessment that it will remain a place of constant conflicts."

While other broadcasters were reporting Bosnian Serb sources as saying last week that Karadžić would soon be replaced as RS president, "Dnevnik" noted with some fervour on 23 June that "Serbs in Australia have greeted with enthusiasm and approval the news about the proposal to nominate Radovan Karadžić as candidate for president of Republika Srpska." This was, in truth, the only message of support carried by "Dnevnik" that day, which was itself some sort of exception.

## Radio Prijedor

### "Dnevnik" (15.00 daily)

This programme takes all but its local news straight from SRNA. Its rule of thumb appears to be: if SRNA doesn't report it, then it didn't happen. Its second rule seems to be to use its local news operation to support the existing authorities.

The peripatetic "Islamic scholar", Miroljub Jevtić, was also heard to this effect last week on Radio Prijedor. Promoting at public meetings both his thesis that RS must take on the burden of leading "Srpstvo" (since Serbia itself contains too many non-Serbs) and sales of his accompanying cassette, "U žarištu" ("In Focus"), Jevtić was reported four times on "Dnevnik".

Jevtić's views did not, however, go unchallenged by Radio Prijedor's licenced dissident, M. Mutić. Commenting on the subject of refugees and their problems on 21 June, Mutić declared: "These unfortunate people do not ask for much. They ask - not for hundreds of costly and sumptuous celebrations and expensive and unnecessary meetings of so-called support - but for the renovation of their ruined houses and flats." It was, noted Mutić, a case of "rubbing salt in all their wounds for the famous Serb Miroljub (or, better, Svadoljub)\* to go from meeting to meeting these days telling refugees about a Serbia which does not exist, about a Yugoslavia which is no more, about a Danube which will flow into the Sana... and the refugees think that he has come on their account..."

The station has continued to refer to the verification of voters' lists which took place last week at seven locations in the municipality as the "registration of voters". In providing information about the whereabouts of these places, "Dnevnik" has suggested to refugees that they should register to vote where they now live. On 19 June,

in particular, the president of the Prijedor Election Commission, commenting on the weak response from would-be voters, advised refugees to complete the forms which would permit them to vote in their current places of residence.

\* - Miroljub means peace-loving, Svadoljub means conflict-loving.

## Television B&H

### "Dnevnik" (19.30 daily)

Follow-up stories on the 15 June attack on Haris Silajdžić in Cazin featured prominently in "Dnevnik"'s news budget during the first half of the week. Statements by the Party for B&H, by the police and local officials in Bihać and by the federal minister of police, each giving their own versions of events, were fairly presented. Unusually for "Dnevnik", these reports included actuality sound-bites from Party for B&H press conferences.

The Party for B&H accused the police of failing to intervene to stop an attempt to kill Silajdžić. The authorities responded by condemning the attack and citing their progress in arresting the culprits, yet also by continuing to excuse both themselves and the sorely provoked attackers. The news on 21 June that the police were also pursuing those persons who had allegedly sworn at President Izetbegović and insulted Islam moved the Party for B&H to protest, in turn, that the criminalisation of verbal offences was unacceptable. Izetbegović's first broadcast reaction to the Cazin events did not come until 22 June, when he noted that the investigation of the unpleasant incident was complete and that the judicial process would now begin.

If "Dnevnik" made up last week for the initial deficiencies in its coverage of the Silajdžić affair, it continued to treat the story of Croat-Bošnjak discord in the Federation with strange reserve. Only on 19 June did news of the Federation's many troubles lead the bulletin. Otherwise, precedence was given to stories about Karadžić's on-and-off candidature and the ceremonial doings of state functionaries. A certain aversion on the part of editors to the positions of Croat representatives in the federal government was nonetheless evident. Thus, on 19 June, Federation President Krešimir Zubak's explanation that the reformed Herceg-Bosna "government"

would function only in those spheres in which the federal government did not, came eighth in the running order. Also in eighth position the next day was Zubak's reaction to Vice-President Ejup Ganić's demand that Jadranko Prlić be dismissed as B&H foreign minister. Prlić's own attack on Ganić's demand for his removal was relegated to the nineteenth minute of the 21 June "Dnevnik".

TV B&H had no pictures from the great concert in Međugorje celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Virgin Mary's appearance to local children, but "Dnevnik" provided a commentary on the event from BH Press which noted that Croatian President Tuđman behaved at the event more like the host than like a guest in a foreign country. The editor-presenter, Senad Hadžifejzović, then provided his own gloss, remarking that "western Hercegovina had been left to its own devices even under the old system." In introducing the next item about Kosovo, he noted, "Other countries also have their Hercegovinas."

### **"B&H Elections"**

The regular weekly programme "B&H Elections" remains balanced and professional. The first 12 minutes of last week's edition was devoted to the Cazin incident. Although most opposition parties continue to avoid the programme, the Civil Democratic Party (GDS) appeared once again, as did the Serbian Movement for Renewal. The president of the latter party invited citizens to boycott the poll "because B&H will be more quickly reintegrated without elections."

Yet on Sunday night, 23 June, "Dnevnik" carried B&H Premier Hasan Muratović's statement, following his meeting with OSCE Chairman Flavio Cotti, that the B&H government would accept Cotti's imminent judgment on the date for elections. This removed at a stroke weeks of prevarication and tergiversation on the part of official Sarajevo.

### **"Face to Face"**

Last week's programme, hosted by TV B&H's chief editor, Senad Hadžifejzović, provided the opposition with an exceptional opportunity to score its first victory over the ruling SDA. Two doctors of science, Zlato Lagumdžija and Ivo Komšić, who are also high functionaries of the "United List for B&H", had as their opponent Edhem Bičakčić, vice-president of the SDA. It was he who some time ago threatened that the SDA would "mercilessly settle accounts with the opposition."

The two members of the opposition were able in the second half of the broadcast - thanks both to their numerical advantage and to their eloquence - to throw Bičakčić out of the discussion and to present their own views, including their assessments of the SDA's many errors.

Lagumdžija and Komšić attacked both the SDA and the HDZ for their treatment of the Federation. "The SDA and the HDZ have agreed to minimise the institutions of the official authorities. I, as a member of the B&H Presidency, am informed about nothing," said Komšić. Bičakčić was able only to reply that great progress had been made of late in the Federation.

The presenter was neutral and mostly left his guests to argue among themselves. One viewer who rang the programme used the expression "so-called Croats", to which Hadžifejzović reacted sharply, saying that was an offence to national feeling.

This programme has considerable impact, both because it is broadcast directly on satellite and because its presenter is the most popular on TV B&H.

## **Radio B&H**

### **"Dnevnik" (15.00 daily)**

After providing on 17 June a somewhat wider perspective than heretofore of party views on the "Cazin case", this newscast returned during the rest of last week to its fragmentary or non-existent coverage of party political life. Unlike almost all other domestic media outlets, it offered no commentary of its own on the Silajdžić attack. It did provide on 21 June, however, a thinly veiled attack on the SDP's proposal to establish a new and independent trade union.

Disagreements between the Croatian and Bošnjak sides in the pre-election campaign emerged from several correspondents' reports, including one on 20 June accusing the OSCE representative of favouring the Croat point of view in establishing the Kiseljak election committee. Reports on 22 June about Croatian Foreign Minister Granić's interview with the ambassadors of the Contact Group and a frustrated attempt by Bošnjak refugees to visit their homes in Čapljina also served to highlight Croat-Bošnjak tensions and to cast blame on the Croat side.

Preferential treatment of the ruling party stems usually from its natural advantage of incumbency. Coverage of President Izetbegović's visit to Mostar in the company of the Turkish president on 18 June, and the announcement of the establishment of an "Alija Izetbegović Fond" for the restoration of the Old Bridge and town was a case in point.

The programme's real inadequacy is its inability to convey any complexities in political life without recourse to other domestic or foreign media reports. Nor has it yet to initiate any thematic or block coverage of the election campaign.

## Radio Bihać

### "Hronika dana" (21.00 daily)

Radio Bihać has continued to follow the Cazin incident through the statements of the interested parties, without any reports of its own and without using any independent sources of information. It thus carried on 17 June the repudiation by the Bihać branch of the Party for B&H of the previous day's statement by the Bihać CSB (Centar of the Security Service). Two days later it broadcast in full the common declaration by local opposition parties blaming the SDA for the Cazin "attack on democracy". It also broadcast on 19 June a communique from the Cazin branch of the MOS (Muslim Youth Alliance) denying any part in the attack on Silajdžić, but taking the opportunity again to identify the actions of Fikret Abdić with the intentions of Haris Silajdžić: "The same Party for B&H was founded in 1993 when autonomy was proclaimed." Radio Bihać repeated the MOS statement the next morning, but not the declaration by the opposition parties.

"Hronika dana" that evening (20 June) carried the CSB announcement that the Municipal Court in Bihać had convicted Izet Prošić of breach of the peace at the Party for B&H convention in Bihać on 15 June. According to the CSB, "...the accused accepted the verdict and did not exercise his right of appeal, which is the best proof of the baselessness of the Party for B&H's contention that its convention in Bihać was dignified, peaceful and without any disturbances." The Party for B&H was offered no opportunity to reply over the local airwaves to the CSB's allegation since Radio Bihać - without any explanation to its listeners - did not broadcast "Hronika dana" on 21, 22 and 23

June. Radio Bihać's chief editor has since resigned.

## Mostar on the Brink of Elections

The newly operational television service of RTV Herceg-Bosna has discovered one easy way to evade the obligations of an open media--simply refuse to sign election protocols drawn up by European Union officials and get on with the propaganda show.

With Sunday's local elections widely seen as a trial run for Bosnia's nationwide vote in September, TV Herceg Bosna is giving few hostages to fortune. The station has adopted tactics similar to the campaign underway in Republika Srpska, which equates a vote for the ruling (nationalist) party with support for the nation and/or (para)state. In practice, this amounts to one-party television for a would-be one-party state. The fact that there are few parties actively campaigning for the Mostar vote, other than the HDZ's main rival, the SDA, means that the media are sharply divided along national lines.

HDZ officials are omnipresent in TV HB's evening "Kronika," usually occupying the programme's lead position regardless of news value. One example was the 19 June "Kronika", which led with a meeting between HDZ president Boža Rajić and the French military attaché to B&H. This was followed by an item reporting the meeting of the Mostar city committee of the HDZ.

There is little distinction between news and opinion in RTV HB's scheme, with comments such as "Croats believe in their party" a basic component of news programmes.

The visit to Međugorje by the Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, also emphasised both RTV HB's and the HDZ's attempts to identify themselves with the Catholic Church. Frequent appearances by church dignitaries on broadcasts creates the impression that RTV HB is more Catholic than Vatican Television.

Across the Neretva, RTV Mostar appeared to fulfil its obligations to the media protocol agreement (which its editors did sign). The slight bias towards SDA officials evident in RTV Mostar broadcasts two weeks ago evaporated last week and the election coverage was basically fair. The distinct

absence of opposition parties in election programming appeared to be the result of their own inactivity in the campaign rather than an editorial bias towards the ruling SDA.

Indeed, RTV Mostar resisted a golden opportunity for political propaganda during the 18 June visit to the city by the Turkish president, Suleiman Demirel, who was accompanied by President Alija Izetbegović. RTV's coverage was professional and steadfastly refused to allow the visit to be hijacked as a campaign vehicle for the SDA. The fact that fair coverage of the Demirel visit was possible in Mostar's political pressure cooker should make broadcasters throughout Bosnia take notice.

## Press Reviews

### Panorama (Bijeljina)

In its second number (14 June) *Panorama* publishes both the OSCE/PEC regulations on the verification of voters' registers and the OSCE standards of professional conduct for media and journalists. Among other election-related articles, there is a two-page piece, which is neutral in tone, on the founding congress of the Socialist Party of Republika Srpska and parallel interviews (under the rubric, "Face to Face") with the leaders of the Serbian Radical Party of RS, Nikola Poplašen, and the Party of Independent Social Democrats, Milorad Dodik. Each politician answers the same five questions regarding the forthcoming elections.

A poll of six other party leaders in RS (Živko Radišić of the Socialist Party of RS, Radan Perić of the Party of Serb Unity, Radoslav Brđanin of the People's Party, Dubravko Prstojević of the People's Radical Party "Nikola Pašić", Borivoje Sendić of the Serbian Democratic Party-Banja Luka and Miodrag Živanović of the Social Liberal Party of RS) asks them whether and when Banja Luka should become the capital of RS.

Another three pages are devoted to presenting (with photographs) the leaderships of the eight most important political parties operating in the Bjeljina region. The paper's stance is neutral.

The two-page "Focus" column presents a conversation with Banja Luka's mayor, Predrag Radić, and articles both on the first coalition bloc of parties in RS and Fikret Abdić's predictions of victory in the forthcoming polls.

Under an "exclusive" banner, *Panorama* also carries a two-page interview with US General

William Nash, commander of IFOR sector northeast.

At the moment, *Panorama* is without doubt providing the most complete election coverage available in Republika Srpska.

### Zmaj od Bosne (Tuzla)

This fortnightly proclaims itself to be a Bošnjak political-informative newspaper. It is regarded locally as being close to the hard-line faction of the ruling SDA and to express special scorn for rival parties which attract Bošnjaks, thereby "dividing" Muslims. Two and a half years ago it published a notorious article by its then editor which argued that the children of mixed marriages were usually imbeciles. Since its foundation, its circulation has reportedly dropped from some 10,000 copies to fewer than 1,500 today.

Number 118 of 18 June carries several election-related articles, as well as news items promoting the SDA. The most interesting piece purports to report on the results of a public opinion survey of Tuzla residents by an independent organisation called "Bosnia Press". Appearing under the headline "The SDA is Winning", the article explains that 5,568 citizens of Tuzla were polled by telephone in the first half of June. Not only does such a large number of respondents seem unlikely, but the text and tables that follow fail to support the conclusion that the SDA will sweep the board in Tuzla.

Another agitprop article on behalf of the SDA appears under the title "Who votes for the SDA votes for democracy and the peaceful reintegration of B&H". It is written by Kaća Temimović - a Serb, a woman and an SDA member of parliament.

Attacks on the ruling coalition of the USBD and SDP in Tuzla municipality also feature prominently. One article pokes fun at the local authorities' failure to capitalise as they had presumably expected on the installation of a new water system. This did not, it seems, perform as expected. A leading article seeks to undermine the urban superiority complex of the local authorities by arguing that, in fact, they have peasant origins. On the other hand, the SDA, far from being a party of villagers, is led in Tuzla by city folk. Ninety per cent of the candidates on its electoral list are Tuzla-born. But they, unlike the USBD/SDP snobs, do not put their love of Tuzla above their love for Bosnia.

## The Press

The Sarajevo daily press again expanded its election coverage during the preceding week. A great deal of space was devoted in all three papers to reactions to the attack on Silajdžić, which favoured the opposition parties, especially Silajdžić's own. *Oslobođenje* also featured long interviews with the leaders of the SDP (Nijaz Duraković) and Liberal Party (Rasim Kadić). *Večernje novine* followed the foundation of Party for B&H branches in bigger and smaller places all over B&H. *Dnevni avaz*, for its part, paid

special attention to the election campaign in RS, publishing a wide-ranging interview with the president of the Social Liberal Party of RS, Miodrag Živanović. All the dailies provided extensive coverage of the Mostar elections.

Among the few magazines published in the period, *Ljiljan* offered a commentary condemning the attack on Silajdžić as an attack on democracy and arguing that it would benefit "opponents" in Herceg-Bosna and Republika Srpska.

## Press Articles Relating Directly or Indirectly to the 1996 Elections

Period of coverage: 17 - 23 June 1996

Dailies: *Oslobođenje*, *Večernje novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*  
 Weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies: *Svijet*, *Ljiljan*,

| title                   | issues | number of articles | number of articles per issue | most common formats                        |
|-------------------------|--------|--------------------|------------------------------|--|
| dailies                 |        |                    |                              |  |
| <i>Oslobođenje</i>      | 7      | 63                 | 3 - 17 articles              | reports and brief news items, commentaries |
| <i>Večernje novine</i>  | 6      | 64                 | 4 - 22 articles              | reports and brief news items               |
| <i>Dnevni Avaz</i>      | 6      | 52                 | 6 - 12 articles              | reports and brief news items               |
| weeklies, fortnightlies |        |                    |                              |  |
| <i>Svijet</i>           | 1      | 3                  |                              | commentaries                               |
| <i>Ljiljan</i>          | 1      | 4                  |                              | opinion poll, interview, commentaries      |

## Letters

*Monitoring Report* welcomes readers' comments, criticism and corrections. Space permitting, we will print all reasonable communications intended for publication. Here is the first, from the Civil Democratic Party

Sir,

We appreciate greatly your analytical work in researching information which provides us regularly with material of sufficient quality to guide our appearances in the accessible information media.

However, in your Monitoring Report of 19 June, which surveys the B&H media between 10 and 16 June, there appears what we hope is merely an error in relation to our party. On page 5, in the section "Media Briefs", there is the following sentence:

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"The hour-long programme 'B&H Elections' is, it seems, still being boycotted by the larger opposition parties. Only the small Civil Democratic Party (GDS) took up the offer of a four-minute slot in last week's broadcast (10 June)".

For your information, in the elections of 1990 the Civil Democratic Party of B&H (then known as the DSS) won one autonomous and five representative places on the common list with the SDP in the Assembly of the R B&H. It has continued to have its representatives in the government of the Republic and, subsequently, of the Federation of B&H.

By these and all other relevant parameters, the GDS B&H is "larger" than the majority of opposition parties. So far as our participation in this broadcast is concerned, that is surely a matter of our democratic choice and of our

position regarding the informing of citizens and sympathisers of our party.

Convinced that there was no intention on your part to tendentiously denigrate our party, but rather that this was a simple mistake, we call upon you to prove it and send you our warm greetings.

Nermin Butković  
Press Bureau GDS B&H

20 June 1996

## Coverage of the Political Parties by the Mostar Broadcast Media

The table below indicates which parties competing in the Mostar elections have been covered by the local broadcast media in the course of the week 17-23 June.

| name of party                      | abbreviation | media                   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Stranka demokratske akcije         | SDA          | RTV Mostar,             |
| Stranka za BiH                     | S za BiH     | R HB                    |
| Muslimanska bošnjačka organizacija | MBO          | RTV Mostar, R HB        |
| Socijal demokratska partija        | SDP          | TV Mostar, R HB         |
| Unija bh socijaldemokrata          | UBSD         | RTV Mostar, R HB        |
| Hrvatska Demokratska zajednica     | HDZ          | RTV Mostar, TV HB, R HB |
| Hrvatska stranka prava             | HSP          | R HB                    |
| Liberalna bošnjačka organizacija   | LBO          | RTV Mostar              |
| Republikanska stranka              | RS           | RTV Mostar, R HB        |
| Hrvatska čista stranka prava       | HČSP         | R HB                    |
| Hrvatska seljačka stranka          | HSS          | TV Mostar, R HB         |

## Appearances by Political Parties in the B&H Broadcast Media, 17-23 June

The table below lists the number of appearances during the past week by the various political parties and their leaders in the broadcast media of both Republika Srpska and the Federation. Each party's accompanying "score" is arrived at by assigning a value of +1 to each positive mention, 0 for each neutral mention and -1 for each negative mention. The score represents the sum of these figures.

Media monitored for this purpose are RTV B&H, RTV Srpska, RTV Mostar, RTV Herceg-Bosna, TV Tuzla, TV TPK, NTV Studio 99, Bosanskomuslimanski Radio Hayat, NTV Hayat, Radio Bihać, Radio Prijedor, and NTV Zetel. In each case, only the principal newscast of the day is monitored.

| name of party                               | abbreviation    | Federation |       | Republika Srpska |       |
|---|-----------------|------------|-------|------------------|-------|
|   |                 | total      | score | total            | score |
| Stranka demokratske akcije                  | SDA             | 67         | +5    | 10               | -10   |
| Stranka za BiH                              | S BiH           | 32         | +9    | 0                | 0     |
| Bosanska stranka                            | BOSS            | 2          | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Koalicija 5 opozicionih stranaka            |                 | 1          | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Bosanska demokratska unija                  | BDU             | 1          | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Muslimanska bošnjačka oranizacija           | MBO             | 9          | +3    | 0                | 0     |
| Socijal demokratska partija                 | SDP             | 33         | +9    | 0                | 0     |
| Unija bh socijaldemokrata                   | UBSD            | 21         | +3    | 0                | 0     |
| Hrvatska demokratska zajednica              | HDZ             | 31         | -14   | 7                | -4    |
| Hrvatska stranka prava                      | HSP             | 3          | +1    | 0                | 0     |
| Liberalna bošnjačka organizacija            | LBO             | 7          | +1    | 0                | 0     |
| Liberalna Stranka                           | LS              | 4          | +1    | 0                | 0     |
| Republikanska stranka                       | RS              | 12         | -1    | 0                | 0     |
| Građanska demokratska stranka               | GDS             | 3          | -1    | 0                | 0     |
| Srpska demokratska stranka                  | SDS             | 10         | -8    | 19               | +16   |
| Stranka demokratskog centra<br>Trebinje     | SDC<br>Trebinje | 0          | 0     | 1                | 0     |
| Srpska radikalna stranka                    | SRS             | 0          | 0     | 4                | +4    |
| Narodna radikalna stranka                   | NRS             | 0          | 0     | 1                | 0     |
| Socijalistička partija RS                   | SPRS            | 0          | 0     | 1                | 0     |
| Demokratska stranka                         | DS Bijeljina    | 0          | 0     | 1                | 0     |
| Koalicija demokratski patriotski front      | DPF             | 0          | 0     | 1                | 0     |
| Srpska narodna obnova                       | SNO             | 0          | 0     | 1                | +1    |
| Stranka privrednog prosperiteta             | SPP             | 1          | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Hrvatska čista stranka prava                | HČSP            | 0          | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Hrvatska seljačka stranka                   | HSS             | 11         | 0     | 0                | 0     |
| Bosansko hercegovačka patriotska<br>stranka | BHPS            | 1          | +1    | 0                | 0     |