

monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

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THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 29 JULY - 4 AUGUST

Having survived the threat to the September elections posed by Radovan Karadžić's long-running refusal to disappear, Bosnia's international guardians continued to wrestle last week with an equally alarming prospect: that the elections might indeed take place, but that their outcome would be rejected by those on the losing side. This, certainly, was the implication of the Mostar imbroglio. Yet ominous as the Mostar crisis might be for the fate of the entire Dayton process, the political and journalistic establishments in Sarajevo, Pale and Belgrade appeared at least to enjoy the spectacle of intense US pressure being brought to bear on America's erstwhile ally in Zagreb.

Less noticed last week were the open declarations of war on the whole concept of a civil society, including a free press, which emerged from both Republika Srpska and Herceg-Bosna. (See reports below.) Most depressing of all, these calls for the respective tribes to rally round, silence dissentient voices and defend their sacred national causes were the work of journalists themselves, not of politicians. Such an evocation of the bad old days of 1990-91 at this stage in the campaign makes a nonsense of the pious expectations, expressed in mid-June, that conditions for free and fair elections might yet, under OSCE's tender care, emerge by 14 September.

As Goes Mostar...

Although the national, regional and international media certainly found the Mostar crisis of compelling interest, the normal contention between the local broadcasters on either side of the Neretva was mitigated by the absence of

sufficient electricity to empower the full flow of their rhetoric. **Croatian Television (HTV) Mostar** was hit harder by the power failure than was its rival, **RTV Mostar**, but the Croat case did not, as a consequence, go unvoiced. Both **Radio Herceg-Bosna** and **Croatian Radio Mostar** excelled themselves in defending - by means of attack - the Croat cause, while Zagreb's **HRT** stepped into the television breach, not only devoting extensive air-time to the Mostar crisis in its regular early evening newscasts, but also mounting three special, half-hour programmes entitled "B&H Elections '96" in the course of the week.

Whilst the re-opening of the Sarajevo-Mostar-Ploče railway line might in other circumstances have offered **HRT** an opportunity to underline the positive aspects of inter-state and intra-federal relationships, defence of the HDZ's refusal either to form a Mostar city council on the basis of the 30 June elections or to disband its Herceg-Bosna parastate took priority. **HRT's** election specials provided Federation President Krešimir Zubak with a platform from which to denounce the Bošnjak authorities for reacting "neurotically", and directing all their "negative energy against the Croat side" in an effort to divert public attention from Bosnia's big social problems. He also revealed that US Undersecretary of State John Kornblum had supposedly shocked the Bošnjaks by saying that the elimination of Herceg-Bosna and the transfer of its powers to the Federation must be matched by the B&H republican government, which should maintain only the ministries of foreign affairs and foreign trade.

Coverage of both President Tuđman's summons to Washington and the Fourth Congress of the HDZ B&H in Neum (to the closing stages of which

the hard and soft men of Croatian politics, Gojko Šušak and Mate Granić, conveyed the results of the Tuđman-Clinton talks) reinforced HRT's obsession with matters Bosnian. HRT sought manfully to rule out in advance any fears that Croatian policy would change under US pressure. Tuđman was quoted as saying that his meeting with President Clinton would only complete "what we agreed earlier". On the other hand, HRT hinted at a certain flexibility in regard to the fate of Herceg-Bosna, as if it bore no relation to the electoral tangle in Mostar. Croatian sweet reasonableness would not, however, extend beyond the proffered "compromise political solution". And it would certainly not involve actual recognition of the will of Mostar's electorate. Zubak averred that new elections would have to be held in September.

Croatian Radio Mostar played Šušak to HRT's Granić. The flavour of Herceg-Bosna invective can be appreciated from the following commentary by the station's editor, Veselko Čerkez, broadcast on 29 July. After inveighing against the "ever-more frequent crimes" of Muslims "against everything Croat" and the "dirty frauds" perpetrated by the international community - and by the EU in particular - which the long-suffering Croats have had to endure, Čerkez summoned his compatriots to their battle stations:

For the sake of the future, particularly of our children, and for those who defended our homeland with their blood, we dare not be any longer the cooperative and flexible Croats about whom they begin to speak at the negotiating tables, especially in a situation where the survival and dignity of the Croat nation are in jeopardy. The struggle of the Croats of Mostar, their brilliant leaders, all patriots and honourable people is obviously entering its final stage. The future of the Croats on the territory of Mostar and Croatian Bosnia & Hercegovina depends in large measure on the outcome of this unequal contest. Alija's so-called civic idea - although, in reality, fundamentalist - will not prevail, regardless of how much he and his followers imagine that, with the help of a part of the world accustomed to deceit and theft, they will, little by little, succeed. I shall be free, then, to say from this position: Not one Croat on this territory and beyond, conscious of the penalty, has the right to remain silent and look on while foreign and domestic hyenas from this space tear, piece by piece, at our body of freedom, land and future. No one has the right to stand aside and wait while such fateful problems sort themselves out. One must declare oneself, loudly and clearly, and stand behind one's representatives, on whom these days the

fundamentalists and the European and white world exhibitionists are mercilessly pouring their bile. For what else are they - Messrs Koschnik, Steiner and the rest - if their democratic method for solving the so-called Mostar crisis is to suggest pacification of the Croats by the international police and IFOR forces? They come and they go, differing, of course, only in the depth of their pockets of almighty dollars. Nothing else matters to these spokesmen for the immorality of European international politics in Mostar, not even if their erroneous moves and decisions call into question the survival of an entire nation. Whether consciously or from ignorance they are leading us into powerless opposition and the position of a minority, exactly in accord with the plan of that Baščaršija fixer or self-styled president... Let us fight honourably, such as we know how, for our place in the sun - and without administrators, supervisors, blackmailers and their ilk.

Counterblasts from the east side of the Neretva were mild in comparison. On 29 July **RTV Mostar's** evening news dared to call Gojko Šušak "thick-skinned" and "well-known for his extreme nationalist views". On 31 July it took issue with HDZ leader Mile Puljić's characterisation of the security situation in the city as "normal" and freedom of movement as secure. On 3 August it referred for the first time to Mijo Brajković as west Mostar's "former mayor".

As US pressure on Zagreb mounted and Tuđman departed for Washington, RTV Mostar was happy to point out on 1, 2 and 3 August differences between Croatian and international interpretations of what was happening. Inadequate citations of sources and failures to differentiate between news and comment remained a problem on these as on previous occasions. RTV Mostar also gave itself licence to speculate and predict - signs, perhaps, that its editors were losing patience with the long-continuing crisis.

So Goes Pale

TV Srpska last week mounted a direct assault on the OSCE rules regulating election coverage by announcing it would no longer give air time to political parties deemed unpatriotic by the station's editors.

In a strident defence of its much-criticised campaign coverage, SRT's editorial board insisted some opposition groups were unworthy of attention because they were working against the interests of the fledgling Bosnian Serb state. The

communiqué was broadcast in its entirety on the 31 July “Novosti u 8”.

“Like Republika Srpska, Srpska Television is a product of the nation,” read the statement. “It is a fact that SRT took on the responsibility of presenting political parties and reporting from campaign press conferences. But it is also fact that the general national interest is older than the narrow interests of any political party.”

“Political parties and coalitions who believe that through the manufacture of lies they can win voters’ support, and in that way participate in the election campaign, should expect to be taken off the air of SRT.” The communiqué heaped particular scorn on one coalition from Banja Luka, the northern city widely seen as a rival power centre to Pale--the Serbian Patriotic Block, which is headed by Predrag Radić, the city’s mayor and former SDS stalwart. Radić’s municipal government is expected soon to launch an independent television in Banja Luka.

The SRT communiqué appeared to be the by-product of a meeting between editors from the RS government-controlled media and Velibor Ostojić, the deputy premier, and Dragan Božanić, the information minister, in which election coverage was the main topic, according to the 29 July “Novosti u 8”.

Whether or not SRT follows through on its threat, the statement laid bare what has been the station’s aggressive policy of preferential treatment of the ruling SDS and consistent misinformation about the rules regulating the vote, especially in the area of absentee ballots. As the table at the end of this bulletin shows, the SDS receives blanket coverage on all news broadcasts, while the opposition (with the exception of parties openly supportive of the SDS) are either ignored or denigrated. This week, out of a total of 28 appearances for the SDS on “Novosti u 8”, 26 were deemed positive. No other RS party received more than three mentions. In previous weeks SDS mentions have risen as high as 48 in seven news broadcasts.

Radio Srpska, which is controlled by Deputy Premier Ostojić, also warned of the perils of a democratic vote through a statement from the World Congress of Serbs in Paris broadcast on the 2 August “Dnevnik”: “Political parties in the RS are not engaged in a battle for political office. The

choice before them is whether to be Serbian or anti-Serbian.”

The following day Radio Srpska carried a government statement dismissing the opposition’s criticism of TV Srpska as “baseless and destructive, since the enemies of the RS see regional (internal) conflicts as a chance to destroy Serbian unity, which directly threatens our young state.”

SRT last week also stepped up efforts to convince displaced persons of the need to vote in their current place of residence. Radio Srpska’s 31 July “Dnevnik” went so far as to broadcast direct threats to Muslim and Croat refugees should they attempt to vote in their pre-war districts. The broadcast quoted the mayor of Brčko, who said any attempt by Muslims or Croats to vote in the town would be regarded as an “open provocation”.

Despite SRT’s claims to be defending Srpsdom (*Srpsstvo*) against partisan politics, it is not just opposition groups that appear to be growing tired of its broadcasts. Listeners to Radio Krajina’s popular call-in programme “Objective Reality” regularly vent their frustration with SRT, to the obvious delight of the station’s editors. During the 19 July broadcast some 80 per cent of the callers expressed dissatisfaction with SRT’s election programming. The callers were particularly incensed by the aggressive treatment meted out to opposition candidates by SRT moderators.

Where’s Radovan ?

The large portrait of Radovan Karadžić that served as a backdrop for a meeting of SDS activists in Banja Luka on 30 July triggered a storm of controversy after it appeared in **TV Srpska**’s “Novosti u 8”. *The Washington Post* devoted considerable attention to Karadžić’s visage in an article about the OSCE’s alleged failure in tracking media manipulation and abuse. Yet it remains a strange fact that Karadžić has vanished almost completely from SRT broadcasts. Despite SRT’s intensifying defiance in other areas, the station seems content so far to uphold this undertaking. Even the mass *mitinzi* called in support of Karadžić and Ratko Mladić have been transformed into “rallies of support for Republika Srpska”, according to a 2 August TV Srpska report from Pelagićevo.

Holding the Line in Sarajevo: TV B&H

Bosnian state television has shown increasing professionalism in recent weeks. One small but telling change is that the station is gradually dropping the phrase "Serb entity" in favor of "Republika Srpska", a name that everyone uses outside of Bosnia but which still sticks in the throats of many Bošnjaks. The station has also distinguished itself for its openness to opposition parties and to criticism of the government. In reporting on inter-ethnic conflicts, it avoids nationalist rhetoric. The station is by no means perfect. At times it falls short of the example set by its own better work. But among the state-owned media that broadcast in and into Bosnia, TV B&H stands out for its fairness, openness and accuracy.

Two events dominated TV B&H in the past two weeks: the visit of a Bosnian delegation to Belgrade and the impasse in Mostar. Both stories revealed the station's strengths and weaknesses.

TV B&H sent a journalist to cover the Belgrade visit, which it reported straightforwardly and without comment. On 22 July, the early evening "Dnevnik" also broadcast criticism by the Liberal Party that the visit had effectively absolved Serbian President Slobodan Milošević of his responsibility for the war. The next two nights it balanced this criticism with statements by the GDS which, despite some objections, approved of the visit.

These broadcasts show an important aspect of TV B&H's news coverage. The station not only allows opposition parties to take part in political programmes, it also gives them an opportunity to comment on the news. Sometimes, however, the distance between the journalists and the government seems to collapse. When the Belgrade delegation returned, it appeared on the weekly "Face to Face" programme. Inevitably, the conversation turned to politics. One of the officials observed that Momčilo Krajišnik, president of the RS parliament, could become President of the Bosnian Presidency. "This could really happen," chimed in the presenter, Senad Hadžifejzović, "if the voters in the Federation split between two candidates, and those in Republika Srpska concentrate on one."

The statement was true. Whomever of the three members of the Presidency wins the most votes will become chairman of the Presidency for the next two years. But Hadžifejzović's comment played straight into the hands of the SDA, which warns voters that Bosnia's very existence could be threatened if Muslim voters split their votes among several parties. Perhaps without intending it, the presenter (who is also editor-in-chief at TV B&H) seemed to turn the programme into an SDA endorsement. Ejup Ganić, vice president of the Bosnian Federation and a prominent SDA official, continued the theme by declaring that it was absurd to have 15 candidates for the Presidency.

A similar lapse occurred on 26 July, when "Dnevnik" covered a protest by disabled war veterans in Sarajevo. The broadcast showed the crowd giving a bad time to two of the most powerful SDA members. It hissed Izudin Kapetanović, prime minister of the Bosnian Federation, and interrupted a speech by President Alija Izetbegović. These scenes were followed by a statement by one of the demonstrators that veered off the point--the issue, after all, was benefits for disabled veterans -- but which seemed aimed at correcting the impression that the crowd was miffed at Izetbegović. "We are content with Alija", the man explained, "but not with his ministers."

Tensions between Muslims and Croats erupted in central Bosnia last month with the bombing of a church and a mosque. TV B&H's coverage of these events showed again that it was not afraid to broadcast criticism of the SDA. Instead of focusing on Croat transgressions, the 26 July "Dnevnik" broadcast statements by opposition parties that blamed both the Bošnjak and Croat ruling parties for the attacks. The Croatian Peasant Party, the Joint List Coalition and the Citizens Democratic Party all said that the nationalist politics of the SDA and HDZ had led to the violence.

Croat-Muslim tensions continued to dominate the news last week. "Dnevnik" covered the impasse in Mostar accurately and professionally. An exception was a bit of clumsy reporting from Neum, where the HDZ had met for a conference. The B&H reporter seemed chiefly concerned with disparaging Herceg-Bosna and showing that Neum betrayed no signs of belonging to Bosnia & Hercegovina. With villas as a backdrop, he remarked on 2 August that Neum was once known for "diverse Yugoslav affairs" (read: Yugoslav mafia), but that "other magnates sit here now."

On the other hand, the fact that the reporter went to Neum and interviewed HDZ officials was commendable, even if the interviews yielded little.

TV B&H is confident enough to make the political opposition a regular part of its news coverage. It seems less sure how to handle the natural advantages of incumbency that the SDA is so eager to exploit. On the 26 July "Face to Face", the presenter observed that Ejup Ganić never advertises his party directly, but does a good job indirectly. "Dnevnik" also has fallen into the habit of mixing news and commentary in a way that may confuse the viewer. On 27 July, "Dnevnik"'s presenter criticised the attacks on religious institutions and called them terrorism. He warned that, if they continued, it would not matter who started the trouble. He lectured viewers that anyone who put even a "small bomb" in a church was no different from the people who razed mosques in other parts of Bosnia. Commendable views, perhaps, but the blurring of reporting and commentary, even in a good cause, can hurt the credibility of a news programme.

Given the dismal record of other state-owned television stations, the shortcomings of TV B&H seem small. Most state-owned media, including TV Srpska, Croatian TV, and Serbian TV, worry more about serving their regimes than the truth. TV B&H looks determined to set a higher standard. Of all of them, it comes closest to the ideal of fair and accurate news coverage.

Could Do Better: Radio B&H

Radio B&H is improving, but slowly. Inconsistency mars its election coverage. On 29 July, the afternoon "Dnevnik" presented three parties and explained clearly their similarities and differences. It has done a less able job covering party press conferences. Some parties have been missed out.

Sometimes the news programming seems disorganised. "Dnevnik" failed to report on the slow response to appeals for voters to register. It partly compensated for this omission by its coverage of the Bosnian parliament, where the problem was discussed in detail.

The crisis in Mostar dominated "Dnevnik" during the week of 29 July-4 August. For the most part "Dnevnik" covered events accurately, explaining the basic differences between the Croat and Bošnjak sides. But it was not able to conceal its

enthusiasm on 2 August for reports in the world press that Bill Clinton would pressure Franjo Tuđman to dismantle Herceg-Bosna. Nor was it able to hide its disappointment on 4 August when it reported that the new EU administrator in Mostar, Sir Martin Garrod, had stated after yet another failure to solve the crisis that the only ones drinking champagne in Mostar were the gangs and the mafiosi.

As never before, B&H Radio transferred the epicentre of the conflict to Zagreb. An eager correspondent suggested that Croatian politicians were as divided as Mostar itself. "Disagreements between the so-called left and right wings of the HDZ are frequent," she reported. The outcome of that conflict, she said, would determine the fate of Herceg-Bosna.

Could Hardly Do Worse: Radio Bihać

Radio Bihać remains firmly in the pocket of the SDA and the local cantonal authorities in northwestern Bosnia. The station broadcasts frequent news about the SDA; the opposition is rarely heard from. Other news is reported in a way that serves the local government, and through it the SDA and its nationalist politics.

Two weeks into the election campaign, Radio Bihać had yet to present any of the nine parties on the local election list. It had broadcast no educational programmes for voters and no election announcements from OSCE or USAID. At a meeting with representatives of opposition parties, reported on the 3 August evening news, the station's director blamed technical problems. He complained that power failures disrupted broadcasting and that his reporting staff was "inadequately qualified for political themes of the sort that might have considerable influence on the presentation of the political parties." Nonetheless, he promised to start a series of political broadcasts this week.

Radio Bihać often slants the news with selective reporting. On 31 July, in a report about a session of the cantonal government, a police official absolved the SDA of responsibility for the June attack on Haris Silajdžić in Cazin. The official seemed to justify the attack by blaming Silajdžić's followers for insulting the religious and national feelings of Bošnjaks. The station broadcast these

statements without mentioning that an OSCE investigation had found the SDA responsible for the attack and had barred seven of its local candidates from the elections.

A more remarkable piece of selective reporting was broadcast on 31 July in connection with followers of Fikret Abdić, the separatist leader who is particularly unloved by Radio Bihać. Early in the morning of 29 July, an explosion damaged a bridge into Velika Kladuša. A United Nations spokesman said the explosion seemed designed to prevent the return of Abdić's supporters from a camp in Croatia which closed that day. This was the explanation reported in the nearby Croatian media. The cantonal government in Bihać denied these reports--and blamed lightning. It said that the Territorial Defence had placed a mortar shell in the bridge in 1992 to defend against the Krajina Serbs, and that a thunderbolt had set it off. Radio Bihać reported both the government's denial and the alternative explanation. But it did not point out that the United Nations was the source of the Croatian report. This left the impression that the different accounts were simply a case of "our word against theirs".

There are other examples. Radio Bihać reported the bombing of a Catholic church in central Bosnia only through a statement on 27 July by Bosnian Cardinal Vinko Puljić, who talked about the burning of religious objects on both sides. All the other information concerned offences against Islamic objects only. In reporting about the impasse in Mostar, the station broadcast selections from a statement by Michael Steiner, Carl Bildt's deputy, that made him sound more threatening to the Croats than he really was.

Abdić is the sole exception to Radio Bihać's rule of ignoring the opposition. He and his party, the Democratic People's Union, were the targets of a scornful broadcast on 24 July, the day Abdić gave a news conference in Zagreb. The story was filed by a correspondent of the the state news agency, BH Press. She reported that Abdić had insulted Bosnia & Hercegovina, its president and its people, but that the Croatian authorities had done nothing. She called for Abdić's "verbal offence" to be punished.

Sadly, Radio Bihać is not content to manipulate its adult listeners. It has turned its children's show, "Sweet Little Radio", into propaganda for the young. On July 29, "Sweet Little Radio" invited the former commander of the Army's 502nd Brigade

to its studio. The occasion, it seems, was the celebration a week earlier of the fourth anniversary of the brigade's establishment. The colonel recounted the heroism of the brigade, especially the defeat of Abdić in 1994. He deplored the "traitors" who were not on "this side". At the end of the show the colonel, swelling with pride, recommended that the Army's "glorious fighters" be sent to schools to teach history, "because the professors don't know what was going on." Such schooling would be sweet stuff, indeed.

Press Review

The post-election crisis in Mostar dominated the Sarajevo press last week. The refusal of the HDZ to accept the 30 June vote and to take part in a joint city government, the threats of the EU administrators to pack their bags, the top-up threats of Michael Steiner to send IFOR into west Mostar, the arrival of John Kornblum in B&H and the departure of President Tuđman for the USA, the convention of the HDZ B&H in Neum - all were followed with avid attention, a tendency towards dramatisation and an apparent interest in maintaining the tension.

In fact, the Mostar crisis seemed welcome to all the contestants in the September elections. Representatives in the B&H Assembly spoke again of the possibility of boycotting the poll. Opponents of the elections argued that they could only confirm current national-territorial divisions and preclude the establishment of a united B&H. The most voluble opposition leaders who argued to this effect, Muhamed Filipović of the MBO and Nijaz Duraković of the SDP, received support from the ruling SDA.

Continuing commentaries on the falls of Srebrenica and Žepa last year - and accusations against the foreigners held responsible - also provided party leaders with opportunities to get into print. Nor has Karadžić's removal as SDS president stilled their demands for the exclusion of his party from the elections.

Politicians took advantage as well of two serious and recent incidents: the burning of a mosque in Prozor and the bombing of a Catholic church in Bugojno. Naturally enough, all the parties condemned these attacks and demanded the apprehension and punishment of those responsible.

More surprisingly, Republika Srpska's sole daily, *Glas srpski*, also devoted much space last week to the Mostar crisis. It was rivalled only by articles about the conclusion of voter registration in RS as

the week's top theme. Interestingly enough, the Mostar story was viewed as being as much about the eradication of Herceg-Bosna as about the enforcement of the 31 June elections.

Press Articles Relating Directly or Indirectly to the 1996 Elections

Period of coverage: 29 July - 4 August 1996

Dailies: *Oslobođenje*, *Večernje novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*, *Glas srpski*

Weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies: *Svijet*, *Ljiljan*, *Dani*, *Hrvatska riječ*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Ekstra magazin*.

title	issues	number of articles	number of articles per issue	most common formats
Oslobođenje	7	74	7 - 13	brief items, reports, commentaries
Večernje novine	6	46	4 - 13	brief items, reports, statements
Dnevni Avaz	6	49	3 - 12	brief items, reports, commentaries
Glas srpski	6	132	8 - 29	brief items, statements
Svijet	1	3		commentaries, brief items
Ljiljan	1	3		interviews, brief items
Dani	1	5		commentaries, stories
Hrvatska riječ	1	8		reports, commentaries
Nezavisne novine	1	10		commentaries
Ekstra magazin	1	10		commentaries

She loves me, she loves me not...(4)

The table below shows the presence of political parties, their leaders and multi-party coalitions on the state-run broadcast media of both the Federation and Republika Srpska in the week 29 July - 4 August. The column headed "total" indicates how many times each party or its leader appeared (directly or indirectly) or was mentioned in the central daily newscasts on both radio and television of **RTV B&H** and **SRT**. Each party is awarded a score which represents

the sum of every positive mention (+1), every neutral mention (0) and every negative mention (-1). The column headed " $\Sigma (+,-,0)$ " shows the results. The higher the number, the greater is that broadcaster's sympathy for or devotion to the party or politician. The lower the number, on the other hand, the more can the broadcaster be said to regard that party or its leader with disrespect or antipathy. The closer the total to zero, the more likely it is that the party receives equitable treatment by the broadcaster.

The following media were monitored for this week's report: *Radio&TV Srpska*, *Radio&TV BiH*, *Radio Studio 99*, *NTV 99*, *NTV Hayat*, *TV Zenica*, *NTV Zetel*, *Radio Zenica*, *Radio Tuzla*, *TV TPK Tuzla*, *TV Tuzla*, *Radio Prijedor*, *Radio Bihać*, *Radio&TV Mostar*, *Hrvatska TV Mostar*, *Hrvatski radio Mostar*, *Radio Krajina Banja Luka*, *TV Srbije*, *Hrvatska televizija*, *Oslobođenje*, *Večernje Novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*, *Glas srpski*, *Ljiljan*, *Dani*, *Ekstra magazin*, *Svijet*, *Hrvatska riječ*, *Nezavisne novine*.

name of party / coalition	RTV BiH		RTV Srpska	
	total	Σ (+,-,0)	total	Σ (+,-,0)
<i>party</i>				
Stranka demokratske akcije	19	+2	14	-14
Srpska demokratska stranka (SZ)	4	-3	28	+26
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH	17	-5	9	-8
Srpska radikalna stranka RS			2	+1
Stranka za BiH	5	0		
Srpska patriotska stranka SPAS			2	-1
Narodna stranka RS			2	0
Srpska stranka Krajine			3	+1
Liberalna Stranka BiH	2	0		
Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija	2	0		
Građanska demokratska stranka BiH	7	0		
Muslimansko bošnjačka organizacija (1)	2	0		
Hrvatska seljačka stranka BiH (1)	1	0		
Unija bosanskohercegovačkih socijaldemokrata (1)	2	0		
Socijal demokratska partija BiH (1)	4	0		
Socijalistička partija RS (3)			2	+1
Radikalni otadžbinski front "Nikola Pašić"			2	+1
Stranka privrednog prosperiteta	2	0		
Republikanska stranka (1)	1	0		
Srpska seljačka stranka			2	0
<i>coalitions</i>				
Demokratski patriotski blok RS			2	0
Savez za mir i progres RS			2	+1
Združena lista za Bosnu i Hercegovinu	2	0		

(1) Parties that belong to the coalition Združena lista za BiH

(2) Parties that belong to the coalition Demokratski partijski blok RS

(3) Parties that belong to the coalition Savez za mir i progres RS

.A Report by IWPR and MEDIA PLAN; Project Director Mark Wheeler

Obala Kulina bana 4/I, 71000 Sarajevo, B&H

Tel/Fax 071-667-734/735

E-mail: MEDIAPLAN_ZU@ZAMIR-SA.ztn.apc.org & 101657.3100@compuserve.com

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Director: Anthony Borden; Administrative Director: Rachele Jailer Valladares; Senior Programme Manager: Alan Davis; Project Director (Bosnia Elections): Mark Wheeler; Senior Project Officer (Bosnia Elections): Michael Montgomery; Project Officer (Bosnia Elections): Jennifer Pearce.

MEDIA PLAN is Bosnia's first private company specialising in media research and analysis. Its central aim is to promote the renewal and development of the B&H media. The company has at its disposal an extensive data-base on the Bosnian media scene.

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