

monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

bulletin of the institute for war & peace reporting & media plan

14 August 1996

number 11

THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 5 - 11 AUGUST

For more than a year now - in fact since NATO started bombing Republika Srpska and Richard Holbrooke began banging heads - it has been a safe bet that the western powers would, if they could keep their act together, succeed in imposing a peace of sorts on Bosnia & Hercegovina. But the Dayton treaty's prescription of elections as a means of reversing ethnic cleansing and reuniting B&H was always going to be a long shot.

With only one month remaining before polling day, neither the aim nor even the elections themselves appear any more secure than they did on the morrow of Dayton. A deal has been cobbled together in Mostar which has done nothing to bolster the sovereignty of the electorate or the health of the Federation. Cases of intimidation, intolerance and "election engineering" have been spotted all over B&H. Citing the almost total absence of most of the conditions once deemed vital if free and fair elections were to take place, nine Federation-based parties (including the ruling SDA) look set to announce a boycott of the September poll. The regime in Republika Srpska, meanwhile, continues to cock an ever more aggressive snook at both the international community and the principles enshrined in the Dayton accord.

Among Bosnia's would-be foreign guarantors, IFOR cowers behind its self-preserving mandate. OHR talks tough on occasion, but appears hamstrung by its dependence on an international consensus which only

intermittent American concern can ever reactivate. OSCE has begun to squeak, but has not yet learned how to roar. Non-governmental agencies are, not surprisingly, again calling for the postponement of the elections.

As this bulletin has argued before, the media scene in B&H is no worse than the general picture. In fact, it is at least marginally better. It is certainly easier for members of the chattering classes to communicate or receive views at odds with the prevailing orthodoxies in their respective entities or sub-entities than it is for refugees to go home. It is safer to buy a copy of *Feral Tribune* in Vitez than to be caught in the town after dark with Zenica plates on one's car. But, as this bulletin also records and reinforces each week, media matters get more than their fair share of attention. Politicians care. Intellectuals care. International functionaries care. All seem to imagine that the hearts and minds of the people are there to be won - or perverted - if only the appropriate message is put through on the box.

This ubiquitous exaggeration of the power of the electronic media in particular - and underestimation of the intractability and/or intelligence of the masses in general - is compounded by the belief that manipulating minds via the media is easier and cheaper than building a grass roots party organisation or using IFOR to catch indicted war criminals. First things should be put first. □ M.W.

RS Challenges OSCE

With the push for voter registration now complete, the Republika Srpska media last week stepped up their electioneering, with government-controlled broadcasters continuing to mock OSCE regulations and abuse opposition candidates.

Even an 11 August appeal from acting RS President Biljana Plavšić for journalists to respect the language of the Dayton accords appeared to have little immediate impact. **Radio Srpska** continued to refer to “former Bosnia” and to President Alija Izetbegović as the “leader of part of the Muslims”, while **TV Srpska** seemed determined to blame growing political violence on opposition groups.

Following three alleged bomb attacks at campaign rallies organised by the opposition League for Peace and Progress, the RS government issued an unusual denial “in response to accusations from some parties against the state and the SDS.” The statement, which was broadcast in its entirety on the 6 August “Novosti u 8”, dissociated the RS government from the attacks on “the marionette parties who have not succeeded in having their way with the Serbian nation.” The government warned that “state organs have reliable information that individuals and some parties planted the explosive devices in order to assist efforts by the international community to eliminate Republika Srpska.”

TV Srpska also expanded its coverage of public forums at which SDS officials were prominent. Of particular interest was an 11 August forum at Kožuhe, near Doboj, which was held under the banner “Elections--a question of life or death for Republika Srpska.” Television footage showed two large portraits of Radovan Karadžić in the meeting hall.

Moderators on Radio Srpska’s election broadcasts remained uniformly hostile towards any party that is either a serious rival to the ruling SDS or deviates too widely from its path. Such was the case with the 7 August appearance of Miodrag Živanović, the Social-Liberal Party leader, on Radio Srpska’s “Direct Line”. The Liberals have become the bane of official media, and Radio Srpska’s moderator made no effort to hide her antagonism towards Živanović.

TV Srpska also appeared unrepentant in its confrontation with OSCE over alleged violations of the journalistic code of conduct, which the station’s

editors have, of course, long since signed. In an interview with Belgrade’s *Nedeljni telegraf*, TV Srpska’s general manager, Ilija Guzina, said the station had repudiated some of the OSCE guidelines regarding election broadcasts.

“We have been instructed not to call Alija Izetbegović the leader of Muslims but, instead, the president of Bosnia,” said Guzina. “We have also been requested to avoid mentioning that the Serbs are not in favour of a common country together with the Muslims and Croats and to edit reports so that they are more in the spirit of ‘brotherhood and unity’. And, of course, we have been told not to mention Karadžić. To all of this I replied that I could not possibly suppress journalists’ freedoms.”

Guzina also said his station had intentionally jacked up prices for political advertisements “because we know that some parties have received money from IFOR and OSCE for their election campaigns.”

It remains to be seen what measures will be taken by OSCE should Guzina continue to defy its rules and requests.

It fell to Banja Luka’s army-linked broadcaster, **Radio Krajina**, to show once again that professional election broadcasts are possible in RS. Radio Krajina’s popular call-in programme, “Objective Reality,” last week offered listeners informative and sober discussions with leaders from the Democratic Patriotic Bloc, the Serbian Radical Party and the Radical Fatherland Front “Nikola Pašić”.

On 9 August Radio Krajina’s moderator managed to steer the discussion to essential election conditions enshrined in the Dayton agreement, despite reluctance on the part of some of her guests to discuss anything other than their assessments of Serb national interests. The conversation had its difficult moments:

Moderator: “In your opinion, have the conditions of Annex 3, article 1, of the peace agreement been fulfilled, that is, the freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom to vote without pressure?”

Nikola Poplašen, president of the Serbian Radical Party in the RS: “That’s the sort of question that’s asked by foreign journalists and CIA agents, with whom I speak every day.”

Following this exchange, the moderator coolly moved on: “My next question also relates to the Dayton accord, which means that Mr Poplašen has already heard it from CNN or the CIA.” The

question was why Serbs from Croatian Krajina were not allowed to vote in RS.

Shock, Horror! - Or Politics as Usual

The disruption of the Associated List for B&H election meeting in the northern town of Gradačac on Saturday evening, 10 August, by young men wearing SDA tee-shirts, wielding megaphones and shouting "Alija, Alija!" and "Alahu Ekber!" was, according to taste, the second most serious assault on the electoral process since the attack on Haris Silajdžić in Cazin on 15 June or a minor incident of merely local significance. Whichever the view, it was not an occasion on which **TV B&H** distinguished itself.

The incident came too late for inclusion in the main "Dnevnik" at 19.30. But neither was it covered by the 22.00 "Dnevnik". Sarajevo's **NTV Studio 99**, on the other hand, not only led its "Oko 22" newscast with the story, but managed to include statements by both Associated List leader Ivo Komšić and the deputy chief of the security service in Gradačac.

Zagreb's **HRT** also gave prominence to the break-up of the Associated List's meeting in Gradačac on its late night TV newscast. "Dnevnik" mentioned the fact (as did **Radio B&H** the next day) that another Associated List rally in Kalesija had met with the same fate. The HRT presenter's comment was telling: "This sums up the whole pre-election situation in Bosnia & Hercegovina."

The next day, 11 August, TV B&H placed the story fourth on the main "Dnevnik". There was a report from the Associated List press conference that morning in Tuzla at which the coalition parties announced both that they would be complaining to OSCE and that they regarded the police as having been negligent; but no government, police or SDA reaction was broadcast. "Dnevnik" did offer, however, the views of the Bosnian Party (BOSS) and the Civil Democratic Party (GDS). The latter's protest was interesting in light of the mounting speculation about a multi-party boycott of the September poll. The GDS charged that OSCE was so worried by the threatened boycott that it was doing nothing to prevent such incidents. (The logic of this accusation is, of course, difficult to fathom.)

For its part, "Oko 22" again led with the story on 11 August, devoting the first twenty minutes of the

newscast to the incident. Besides statements by opposition parties, "Oko 22" provided a "vox pop" from the streets of Sarajevo and extracts from the earlier "Interview of the Day" with SDA official and Provisional Election Commission member Kasim Begić.

Although clearly bettering TV B&H in its reporting of the Gradačac story, NTV Studio 99's election news coverage was otherwise uneven. On 6, 8, 10 and 11 August it was complete and competent. But on 5, 7 and 9 August it was meagre or virtually non-existent. The Mostar and Federation Forum negotiations received variable attention as well.

The Associated List also felt hard done by last week on account of TV B&H's failure to broadcast a report on its ceremonial campaign launch in Sarajevo on 6 August. ("Oko 22" briefly mentioned the promotion, but provided no pictures.) The Associated List's protest was aired by "Dnevnik" the next evening, as was that of Gradimir Gojer, president of the Editorial Council of TV B&H and vice-president of the SDP (one of the Associated List parties). In Gojer's view, the omission of the item was an "unprofessional and uncivilised act". He could no longer serve TV B&H while it favoured the nationalist parties. He invited OSCE to take action against TV B&H and demanded a complete change in its management.

TV B&H's riposte was to point out that its policy was not to include party promotions in "Dnevnik", but to cover them in its "B&H Elections" programme.

Two other themes preoccupied TV B&H's "Dnevnik" last week: the problems of the Federation and the failings of Republika Srpska, as revealed by OSCE's various press conferences. "Dnevnik"'s reporting of the former was complete and candid. Its coverage of the transgressions against Dayton and the OSCE regulations by the Republika Srpska authorities and media tended to be as selective as they were exhaustive. For OSCE's strictures concerning "election engineering" and a "climate of intimidation" on 9 August, for example, had not been confined to RS.

Similarly, "Dnevnik"'s citations on 10 August of this bulletin's recent criticisms of the Republika Srpska and Herceg-Bosna media - and its praise of TV B&H - seemed to imply a readiness to accept the proposition that out-performing broadcasters such as these is sufficient.

Mostar: The Crisis Passes

RTV Mostar's mounting impatience with the prolongation of the crisis over the formation of a new city council and acceptance of the EU's "Joint Action" mandate found release on 6 August. But both the long wait and the latterly ritualistic polemics with the Croats discouraged anything more than expressions of relief regarding signature of the agreement and dubiety regarding the Croats' good faith. "Dnevnik" that evening carried clips from the statements of Sir Martin Garrod (2'15"), Safet Oručević (2'55") and Mijo Brajković (33"), the duration of which showed accurately enough where the station's preferences lay. Another 25 minutes were devoted to Oručević's views on the "In Focus" programme following the news. The east Mostar mayor made plain his determination that no court judgment would be allowed to nullify the verdict of the voters, and that the city council would continue to function.

Croat interpretations of the agreement, which emphasised both that the Mostar city council would meet only once before the September elections and that the HDZ's appeal to the yet-to-be formed Federal Supreme Court would proceed, led the presenter of RTV Mostar's "Dnevnik" to the following conclusion on 7 August: "Deceived Croats who were promised the earth and stars are now being offered a fairy tale. According to the Croatian media, in Mostar the HDZ triumphed over the SDA, which had several thousand more votes." "Dnevnik" seemed to have forgotten that it was the List for a United Mostar which won the elections, not the SDA, and that its winning margin was 1,800, not "several thousand".

On 9 and 10 August RTV Mostar made use of statements by Sir Martin Garrod, OSCE and Michael Steiner, as well as of citations from the foreign press, to carry on its argument with the Croats. "Dnevnik" showed particular relish for quotations referring to the influence of gangsters and mafiosi on west Mostar politics.

"Dnevnik" is also habitually quick to condemn acts of violence committed or originating on the city's west side, but prone to excuse reprisals from the east as justified "countermeasures". Thus it was that a report on 6 August of the arrest of a B&H *Armija* soldier (who happened also to be a Croat) by the west Mostar police was said merely to have provoked citizens of east Mostar to "detain several

Croatian travellers in the eastern part of the city, after which there was a quick exchange."

Croatian Television Mostar conveyed news of the agreement on 6 August with an extended evening newscast and an uncharacteristically even-handed approach. Sir Martin Garrod's announcement of the deal was broadcast in his own words (in translation); while Mijo Brajković's statement on the occasion employed a newly politically correct vocabulary. Presenter Veselko Čerkez, however, remained faithful to the old terms of reference, using "Muslims" instead of Brajković's "other side".

The HDZ representatives interviewed were naturally keen to claim a famous victory. According to local party chief Mile Puljić, the Croats had "pulled off a singular manoeuvre: offering to base the 'Joint Action' document on a political agreement of the Croat and Muslim sides, and not on the results of the elections. As a consequence, the election results would remain in question." Since in Washington it had been concluded, according to Boro Puljić, vice-president of the municipal assembly, that the election results would form the basis for the city's common government, "It had not been easy to change this formulation."

As if unconvinced by such self-congratulation, HTV Mostar continued during the week to seek to explain away discordant notes. The rejection of the HDZ appeal against the election results was dismissed by Federation President Krešimir Zubak on 7 August as a predictable decision by an incompetent court "not binding on us."

Mile Puljić was again summoned on air on 9 August to insist that the Mostar elections would be repeated in September, alongside the general elections. The June elections would only be relevant to the end of September, and no longer.

HTV Mostar reported on 9 August the UN Security Council's appeal to Croatia to do its part to secure conditions for the holding of the B&H elections in September, but did not mention the OSCE press conference the same day at which "election engineering" and other offences were denounced.

For HTV Mostar, as for RTV Mostar, acts of violence in the city are either the work of the "other side" or else justified reprisals. The stoning of a vehicle with Herceg-Bosna registration moved Mile Puljić to appeal to the east Mostar authorities on 7

August to curb their "extremists". Otherwise, he threatened, he would ask IFOR to place APCs on the line of separation and, if they refuse, "we will have to reconsider freedom of movement."

Croatian Television (HRT), also carrying interviews with Brajković and Mile Puljić, took the same line as HTV Mostar in its early evening "Dnevnik" broadcasts. The Mostar agreement was a Croat victory which, according to Brajković on 6 August, would ensure the Croat identity of three of the city's now-to-be linked municipalities. HRT, however, was more interested last week in the negotiations in the Federation Forum on the fate of Herceg-Bosna. Neither Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granić, taking part in the talks at US insistence, nor Federation President Zubak was reluctant to blame the Bošnjak side for the failure to reach agreement. HRT broadcast no Bošnjak reaction.

The Battle for Srebrenica II

The election campaign in Tuzla is growing nastier as the rival parties argue over who is to blame for the fall of Srebrenica. Unfortunately, Tuzla media have become the instruments of the propaganda war.

Last month the SDA and the Associated List, one of whose leaders is Tuzla Mayor Selim Bešliagić, accused each other of taking political advantage of the Srebrenica commemorations. Now the SDA is trying to pin some responsibility for the massacres themselves on Bešliagić, using its voice in Tuzla, the cantonal television station **TV TPK**.

The first shot was fired on 3 and 4 August, when TV TPK twice broadcast an interview with Izet Hadžić, an SDA official and governor of the canton. Hadžić accused the Tuzla mayor of directing Territorial Defense units towards Brčko instead of towards the enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa. The Associated List struck back on 6 August with a statement broadcast on **TV Tuzla** and **Radio Tuzla**. Bešliagić denied the charges, accused Hadžić of his own "sins" with respect to Srebrenica and threatened to sue.

TV Tuzla, the city television station, has aligned itself with the mayor in past skirmishes. It covered this new one thoroughly, but it failed to quote the accusations against the mayor or to let the accusers speak for themselves. TV TPK, whose allegiance to the SDA has been more brazen,

broadcast the accusations but played down the response. It devoted only a few words to the dispute on 5 and 7 August.

To its credit, TV TPK is paying more attention to non-SDA parties. The weekly programme "Elections '96" treats all parties evenhandedly. Last week's broadcast on 7 August featured representatives of the HDZ and Party for B&H. Both enjoyed ample opportunity to present their ideas and answer questions from listeners.

And yet, TV TPK undermines this good behaviour by continuing to promote the SDA almost everywhere else. Last week the SDA appeared eight times on TV TPK, while all the other parties combined appeared a total of nine times. The numbers themselves tell only part of the story. TV TPK usually bestirs itself only to report statements from non-SDA communiqués and press conferences. It rarely lets non-SDA candidates actually appear on screen or exerts itself to cover a non-SDA rally. Sometimes it reconstructs statements in a way calculated to confuse or diminish. On 9 August it reported that "guests from England are interested in how the Party for B&H sees the problem of reintegrating Bosnia & Herzegovina". The station never said who the "guests" were, nor where or why the meeting was held.

Such lapses rarely occur when the SDA is involved. TV TPK lets its representatives appear on television and appeal to viewers directly. It also broadcasts party rallies, where it never fails to dwell on the SDA flags in the front row. Its eye for the crescent moon is unerring. On 10 August it uncharacteristically covered a rally of the United List in Tojsici. Rather than show United List supporters, the camera wandered across the empty space around the crowd, focusing on guards with dogs and on groups of children playing. As it happened, one of the children was carrying a flag from -- you guessed it. The station broadcast whistles from the crowd but none of the applause. The aim seemed less to cover the rally than to belittle it. The same day, TV TPK was conveniently absent when a group of people wearing SDA tee-shirts broke up a rally of the Associated List in Gradačac. It reported on the press conference after the incident, but again it did not dare let the aggrieved politicians speak for themselves.

TV TPK also supports the SDA more indirectly. It dwells on things Islamic, covering the speeches of

Islamic leaders, the building of mosques and developments in Islamic education. It ignores Tuzla, especially events that could give the mayor publicity. It has failed to report on preparations for elections in Tuzla. It also suppressed news that the cantonal governor had handed out hundreds of thousands of German marks for the administrative needs of communities outside Tuzla, but not a dinar for Tuzla itself.

TV Tuzla's coverage of the Srebrenica dispute was interrupted last week by a strike. The station's employees walked off the job on 7 August in a disagreement stemming partly from the station's murky legal status. The station's managers met with municipal authorities and agreed to resume broadcasting on the understanding that the station will be reorganized as a joint stock company. If anything, the strike showed how much city politicians depend on TV Tuzla for election coverage. It also showed that relations between them and the station are far less cozy than those between the cantonal authorities and TV TPK, where the station manager also happens to be an SDA candidate.

TV Tuzla seems determined to make up for the deficiencies of its rival. Before it went dark last week, it introduced new election programmes to complement its weekly talk show, "Election Forum '96". One of them, "Candidates About Themselves in Private", gives politicians up to five minutes during the daily news to discuss their personal lives. Expect no shocking disclosures. Rather, the programme presumably will give opposition candidates a chance to demonstrate that they are sophisticated city dwellers and not the country bumpkins that SDA candidates are reputed to be.

For its part, Radio Tuzla operates in the somewhat looser grip of the SDA. Last week the station started a special segment on its daily news programme to broadcast party statements, press conferences and information about party events. The SDA dominated these segments, appearing six times. The Associated List appeared four times, while BOSS, the LS, MBO, HDZ and SPP appeared once each. The station's special election programme, "Elections '96", featured local SDA officials, who virtually commandeered the broadcast. The moderator put up little resistance, breaking in only for interludes of pop music. She abandoned the custom of taking questions from listeners and let the guests chatter on well beyond

their allotted hour. The six o'clock news did not start until 6:10.

The struggle for Tuzla is likely to get uglier as the election nears. So too the media war. The SDA's rivals are being heard. But with its domination of Radio Tuzla and, especially, TV TPK, the SDA definitely has the upper hand.

Mixed Messages

Radio Bihać made a half-hearted nod towards pluralism last week. By agreement with local opposition parties, the municipality-owned station began a series of two-hour political talk shows broadcast on Monday and Thursday evenings. On 5 August, the first programme was devoted to a harmless discussion of election procedures with representatives of OSCE and the local election commission. On 8 August the opposition Associated List was scheduled to present itself to listeners.

Bad luck. Power suddenly blinked out over the city, and stayed off the full two hours. The station postponed the programme until the next morning, not a good time for talk shows. When it ended, the moderator announced that not only had no one rung up with questions, but that two listeners had phoned to demand that the broadcast be stopped.

If any doubt remains about what Radio Bihać and the local SDA authorities really think of political opposition, it was cleared up by a police statement broadcast on the 7 August "Daily Chronicle". The head of the police in the canton, Edhem Veladžić, was replying to complaints by the Party for B&H about physical attacks and police pressure against its members and sympathisers.

Veladžić's threatening response all but confirmed the accusations. He dismissed the "so-called attacks" and warned that "political parties are using unconfirmed information and rumors to frighten the people of the area, which is a criminal act and which also disrupts the security situation in the Unsko-Sanski Canton, which is exceptionally stable, but which many people obviously don't like." He continued, "The ministry of the police demands that political parties in appearances at pre-election rallies do not use imaginary events and false accusations." So that the press knew its place, he added that "journalists who seek to use any such details must confirm them with the responsible authorities."

By broadcasting this statement the way it did, Radio Bihać made itself the tool of the police. It confirmed that its political coverage strives not to give the opposition a fair hearing, but to silence it. Thus Radio Bihać struck a blow at the pluralism that has only recently awakened in northwest Bosnia.

The Sarajevo Press

Sarajevo's three daily papers devoted far more space to electoral news in the week 5-11 August than they did in the previous seven days. The effect of this enhanced coverage was to justify ever-more frequent calls by Federation-based parties for a boycott of the September elections. On the other hand, the compromise agreement in Mostar was greeted as a step towards injecting life into the Federation, but all trace of the euphoria which had accompanied publication of the results of the Mostar poll was missing.

In *Oslodođenje*, both Party for B&H leader Haris Silajdžić and SDA functionary Ismet Grbo warned of Bosnia's forthcoming betrayal by the international community. By insisting on elections, Silajdžić argued in an interview, the west was in fact legalising the partition of B&H. While Grbo, speaking at a press conference several days later, accused international organisations of seeking to use the elections as a means of washing their hands of Bosnia. Reporting the same press conference, *Večernje novine* quoted Grbo to more explicit effect: "If the incremental dissolution of the B&H state continues, the SDA will not take part in the September elections."

In addition to reporting Grbo's news conference at length, *Dnevni Avaz* also published commentaries which argued that both the SDS and HDZ were increasingly fearful that they might lose the elections in their respective fiefdoms. On the other hand, *Avaz* also drew attention to OSCE accusations of "election engineering" in Republika Srpska.

The weekly *Svijet* (8 August) both increased its coverage of the elections and came out decisively against them. In a leading article under the headline "The Imitation of Elections", editor Zlatko Dizdarević wrote that "Elections in September, no matter how they are prepared by the dressers in white, would be a big and noisy joke if only the consequences of that joke were not likely to be so tragic." *Svijet* also published an interview in which

Sarajevo University Professor Vlatko Doleček voiced his scepticism about the success of the electoral exercise.

Ljiljan (7 August) confined its long-since established opposition to the elections to a commentary on the unthinkable possibility that Momčilo Krajišnik could become president of B&H if Bošnjaks divide their votes between 10 presidential candidates, while Serbs and Croats vote as usual - and as one - for their men.

Although carrying a special election supplement of six pages, *Hrvatska riječ* (10 August) expressed more doubts about the durability of the compromise solution to the Mostar crisis than about the advisability of the September poll. A commentary under the heading "The mountain shook and gave birth to an agreement" argued that, "In essence, the agreement has solved nothing. On the contrary, it is replete with absurdities and ambiguous sentences, so that the lawyers and negotiators will again come into their own." The dismissal by the B&H Supreme Court of the motion to annul the results of the 30 June vote was, in turn, dismissed by *Hrvatska riječ* with the folk proverb about judicial bias: "The kadi accuses and the kadi judges."

Slobodna Bosna (11 August), for its part, was equally cynical about the Mostar fix. One report was headlined, "The agreement is signed - the rot begins."

The increasing volume and tempo of electoral coverage in the Sarajevo press creates the appearance of a normal election campaign. But this campaign also represents a continuation of warfare by other means. The three ruling nationalist parties and their respective and numerous oppositions still have much more in common with one another than they do with any parties across ethnic or entity borders.

Support for such an assessment was provided last week by the swelling and open aversion to the whole idea of elections in September which was to be found in the Sarajevo press. All three dailies registered prominently the SDA view that elections in present circumstances would be likely to bring ruin and war, the consequence of an international plot against a united B&H. Silajdžić said as much in his interview with *Oslodođenje*, while the paper's own commentaries referred to a "political circus" and "aggression on Dayton". *Svijet* complained of the "imitation of elections" and *Ljiljan* alerted its

readers to the risk that Krajišnik could become their president. Late last week nine Federation-based parties issued a joint declaration lamenting the continuing absence of conditions for free and fair elections. The Sarajevo chorus has thus

begun to sing in tune against the holding of elections in September, all the while reproaching those "others" in Republika Srpska and Herceg-Bosna for fearing defeat at the polls.

Press Articles Relating Directly or Indirectly to the 1996 Elections

Period of coverage: 5 - 11 August 1996

Dailies: *Oslobođenje*, *Večernje novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*.

Weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies: *Svijet*, *Ljiljan*, *Slobodna Bosna*, *Hrvatska riječ*.

| title | issues | number of articles | number of articles per issue | most common formats |
|-----------------|--------|--------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Oslobođenje | 7 | 98 | 13 - 18 articles | brief news items, reports, statements |
| Večernje novine | 6 | 67 | 7 - 20 articles | brief news items, reports, commentaries |
| Dnevni Avaz | 6 | 81 | 7 - 22 articles | brief news items, reports, statements |
| Svijet | 1 | 4 | | commentaries, letters, interview |
| Ljiljan | 1 | 1 | | commentaries |
| Slobodna Bosna | 1 | 6 | | commentaries, interviews, stories, political cartoon |
| Hrvatska riječ | 1 | 20 | | commentaries, statements |

Media Briefs

Karađorđevo II

Last week's meeting near Athens between Presidents Milošević and Tuđman evoked in many observers memories of the latterly notorious secret encounter between the two men in March 1991 at Tito's once favourite hunting lodge in Karađorđevo. The division of Bosnia had then been on the agenda. This time Zagreb's **HRT** did its utmost to squelch any such thoughts, whether emanating from those of "evil intent" or "limited understanding" of the complexities of Croatia's national interests. **TV Serbia's** approach was very different. The meeting was hailed as a triumph for Milošević, but no mention at all was made of

speculation that a new plan to carve up Bosnia might be on the table.

A Party at Arms

TV Zenica continues to find opportunities to devote air time to the activities of the commander of the Third Corps of the B&H *Armija*. The general in question featured twice on "Zenica Danas" last week. He is also the standard-bearer of the SDA list in the Zeničko-Dobojski canton.

Tuzla 2004

As reported last week by **TV Tuzla's** "Tuzla Danas", Mirnes Ajanović, president of the Bosnian Party (BOSS), suggested at a news conference that Tuzla should apply to host the 2004 Olympic

Games. Since bids for 2004 in fact closed this week, *Tuzlaci* may wish to prepare for 2008 instead.

Waiting for TVIN

Viewers and potential voters eager for a first glimpse of TVIN - Bosnia's internationally-financed, independent television network - will probably have to wait until early September for the

first programmes to be aired. Though a tentative launch date had been set for this week, it appears a combination of financial, technical and bureaucratic delays has taken its toll on TVIN's ambitions. The network is composed of five independent and semi-independent stations in Sarajevo, Zenica, Mostar and Tuzla. It remains unclear whether TVIN will also be opening broadcasting studios in Banja Luka and Livno. Perhaps TVIN will make it by 2004.

She loves me, she loves me not. . . (5)

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 5 - 11 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.

| name of party / coalition | RTV BiH | | RTV Srpska | |
|--|---------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| | total | $\Sigma (+,-,0)$ | total | $\Sigma (+,-,0)$ |
| <i>party</i> | | | | |
| Stranka demokratske akcije | 18 | +1 | 7 | -7 |
| Srpska demokratska stranka (SZ) | 2 | -1 | 21 | +12 |
| Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH | 12 | -3 | 7 | -7 |
| Stranka za BiH | 5 | 0 | - | - |
| Srpska patriotska stranka SPAS | - | - | 1 | 0 |
| Narodna stranka RS | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Srpska stranka Krajine | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Liberalna Stranka BiH | 4 | 0 | - | - |
| Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija | 1 | 0 | - | - |
| Bosanska stranka | 1 | 0 | - | - |
| Građanska demokratska stranka BiH | 4 | 0 | - | - |
| Muslimansko bošnjačka organizacija (1) | 2 | -1 | - | - |
| Hrvatska seljačka stranka BiH (1) | 5 | -1 | - | - |
| Unija bosanskohercegovačkih socijaldemokrata (1) | 4 | -1 | - | - |
| Socijal demokratska partija BiH (1) | 3 | -1 | - | - |
| Socijalistička partija RS (3) | 1 | 0 | 1 | +1 |
| Radikalni otadžbinski front "Nikola Pašić" | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Srpska seljačka stranka | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Stranka privrednog prosperiteta | 3 | 0 | - | - |
| Republikanska stranka (1) | 3 | 0 | - | - |
| Hrvatska krišćanska demokratska unija | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| Stranka žena BiH | 1 | 0 | - | - |
| Narodna demokratska zajednica | 1 | 0 | - | - |
| Hrvatska stranka prava | 1 | 0 | | |

| name of party / coalition | RTV BiH total | RTV Srpska $\Sigma (+,-,0)$ | total | $\Sigma (+,-,0)$ |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------|
| <i>coalition</i> | | | | |
| Demokratski patriotski blok RS | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Savez za mir i progres RS | - | - | 2 | 0 |
| Zdužena lista za Bosnu i Hercegovinu | 6 | 0 | - | - |

- (1) Parties that belong to the coalition Zdužena 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

The following media were monitored for this week's report: *RTV Srpska, RTV 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, RTV Mostar, Hrvatska RTV Mostar, Radio Krajina Banja Luka, TV Srbije, Hrvatska televizija, Oslobođenje, Večernje novine, Dnevni Avaz, Slobodna Bosna, Ljiljan, Svijet, Hrvatska riječ.*

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

The Institute for War and Peace Reporting is an independent conflict-monitoring and media-support charity which works to inform the international debate on conflict and to provide a platform and other support for voices of moderation caught in war. It publishes the monthly journal *War Report* and the bimonthly *Tribunal*, a review of The Hague International War Crimes Tribunal. For subscriptions and other information, contact IWPR at 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH. Tel + 44-171-713-7130 / Fax 713-7140 / E-mail: warreport@gn.apc.org.

Director: Anthony Borden; Administrative Director: Rachelle 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. MEDIA PLAN has correspondents in Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Banja Luka and Bihać, as well as in Sarajevo. Eighteen monitors, researchers and other staff are engaged in work on *Monitoring Report*.

We gratefully acknowledge project support from the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency, the Open Society Institute, the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and the Winston Foundation for World Peace.