

# monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

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

28 August 1996

number 13

## THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 19-25 AUGUST

The anti-P-2 campaign has succeeded. The supposedly unalterable Dayton timetable has been altered. The municipal elections have been postponed. The implications will be far-reaching, not least when the rush to stage local elections at the convenience of the victors in the 14 September polls commences.

This bulletin reports on the role played by the B&H media in the effort to nullify the P-2 registrations. We also focus on:

- **The increasing SDA presence on RTV B&H**
- **The 'environmental agenda' in Republika Srpska**
- **The media war against Fikret Abić**
- **Improvements in Mostar broadcasting**
- **Presidential games in Tuzla**
- **NTV Studio 99's exhaustive election coverage**
- **Election views from Belgrade and Zagreb**
- **The Federation press**
- **The parties' ratings on TV B&H and SRT**

### RTV B&H: War on P-2

The confirmation last week of the extent to which the OSCE's voter registration form P-2 has been abused to alter the national composition of electorally significant constituencies sent **RTV B&H** into campaigning mode. The story dominated both radio and television news. Although far from alone in its condemnation of this threat to B&H's territorial integrity, the SDA took the lead. The result was a significant increase both in the ruling party's time on air and in the favourable coverage it received. (See table on p. 8.)

On 23 August, for example, the presenter of the main "Dnevnik" on **TV B&H** cited voter registration figures for such sensitive localities as Brčko, Srebrenica and Bratunac as evidence of the fact that the P-2 forms were being used to ratify Serb ethnic cleansing. A report from the meeting of the SDA's executive council then followed in which the party demanded nullification of the P-2 registrations and threatened to lead a boycott if the OSCE failed to comply. The views of three other parties were then canvassed, before the report again returned to the SDA, giving it the last word.

By 25 August the anti-P-2 campaign had reached fever pitch. Asserting that these forms had been forcibly imposed on would-be voters, the presenter of the TV news introduced a filmed report of a meeting of Bošnjak refugees from Doboje, held in the village of Matuzići, and summoned to protest the P-2 forms' prospective "legalisation of genocide". Placards to this effect in English ensured that the message would get through. In a fire-raising speech, Ejup Ganić promised the assembled DPs that they would go home. The event resembled, in fact, nothing so much as one of the meetings of support for Karadžić and Mladić broadcast by **SRT** in the course of the summer. Later in the bulletin, the SDA featured again when it was reported that the party's General Council had said that only country-wide elections should take place.

The SDA received two more bites of the TV B&H cherry on 24 August. "Dnevnik" provided live coverage of a big rally in Germany at which President Izetbegović was due to speak, as well as a taped report on a smaller meeting which had already taken place in Čapljina. Although both

events were obviously promotional in nature, the exotic venues were presumably thought to give them news value. This was true in the case of Čapljina.

Despite including a football match and a rich programme of entertainment, the rally in Gelzenkirchen stadium was a wholly party event. As before on SDA occasions, TV B&H's reporter gilded the lily by estimating the crowd at a wildly improbable 70,000.

On the other hand, the fact that 500 SDA supporters could be bussed into HVO-held Čapljina for a meeting was news. Alas, as was to be revealed the next day, more news was made than TV B&H's cameras recorded. Arriving late, they apparently missed the summons to jihad issued by the local effendi. The chief of the SDA campaign staff, Halid Genjac, who had also spoken at the meeting, was compelled to dissociate himself and the party from the cleric's remarks. However, as he told "Dnevnik" on 25 August, "it would have been dangerous" for him to have done so at the time.

Although otherwise put in the shade by the SDA's seizure of the anti-P-2 campaign, the Associated List made a comeback in its accustomed role as victim on 24 August. In fact, it led the "Dnevnik" bulletin with its announcement that 100 of its nominees, including some of its most prominent figures, had been removed from the OSCE's list of registered candidates - along with about 7,900 others. Whether a brilliant stroke on the part of the Associated List or a colossal computer bungle on the part of OSCE - or both - this scandal vanished as quickly as it had arisen.

One story which did not figure prominently on either Radio or TV B&H was the normalisation of relations between Croatia and FR Yugoslavia. It came in the 23rd minute of the TV "Dnevnik" on 23 August and went unmentioned thereafter. Curious.

There were, however, other curiosities on offer on **Radio B&H's** 15.00 "Dnevnik". On 21 August listeners were assured by Federation Interior Minister A. Hebib that the police would ensure that all political parties had equal chances to promote themselves, regardless of whether or not the police were "sympathisers or members of individual parties".

The very next item told a different story. UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko noted that eight

bombs had been planted in the Bihać area in the previous week with the aim of preventing opposition party activities. He added that the International Police had information from one of the local opposition parties naming nine police officers as stalwarts of the SDA who were allegedly involved in intimidating opposition supporters, particularly in Cazin.

Not only was the contradiction between the two statements unexplained by "Dnevnik", but so too was the newscast's failure previously to report on any of the explosions.

Another odd item was to be heard on 22 August. A correspondent reported to "Dnevnik" on the election-related problems and possibilities of Bošnjak refugees from and residual residents of Derventa. The listener was left to wonder why nothing was said about the numerous refugees of other nationalities from this highly mixed town and region. Was this an inadvertent omission or a reflection of editorial policy?

## War on Fikret Abdić

Whatever Dayton says, officials in northwest Bosnia show no signs that they are prepared to forgive and forget. Last week, while Carl Bildt and the foreign press worried over intimidation of the opposition in the Bihać region, the local SDA-controlled media were preoccupied with Fikret Abdić's attempt to return to the political stage. They did their best to discourage it.

Abdić is a former member of the Bosnian Presidency who won more votes in the 1990 elections than did the eventual president, Alija Izetbegović. In 1993, Abdić's declaration of an autonomous republic in northwest Bosnia plunged the region into civil war. But despite Serbian support, his revolt failed. The Bosnian Army routed him and his followers in 1994, and his private radio station was shut down. Now Abdić, exiled in Croatia and reviled as a traitor by his political rivals, is running again for the presidency.

His radio station is attempting a comeback, too. A local court closed **Radio Velkaton** in 1994, but in the past two weeks it has started up again, reportedly broadcasting from Croat-controlled Hercegovina. **Radio Bihać** tried to block the station earlier this month by beginning to broadcast on Radio Velkaton's frequency, 103.5

FM. But Velkaton remains audible in the bulk of Unsko-Sanski Canton.

Carl Bildt visited the region last week to talk about human rights. Radio Bihać and **Radio Velika Kladuša** paid scant attention to him. Radio Bihać demoted his visit to 14th place on its 23 August "Daily Chronicle". It hinted darkly of an international conspiracy to spirit Abdić back into power, saying that Abdić was "being protected by international organisations".

As for Bildt, it said: "Local politicians called Abdić a war criminal worse than Radovan Karadžić for this people. However, Bildt reacted vaguely to this assessment, comparing the situation to the crimes in Srebrenica and talking about the necessity of living together in peace and prosperity with those who yesterday were our enemies."

To the authorities in Bihać, the future lies in a strong army and a strong SDA, not in reconciliation with enemies or even free elections. Thus Radio Bihać showed less interest in the High Representative's concerns than in an Army celebration held the same day. After the "Daily Chronicle" it broadcast two entire speeches by local generals. General Atif Dudaković seemed to go so far as to glorify fratricide:

"We have to be proud of what we have been through in our Krajina, even of the war we fought against our brothers. We proved to the world that when it comes to the interests of the nation, and of the state, this is the place where a brother attacks his brother. In a certain moment, leaders and the ones we trusted betrayed us. One gets malicious often and says that the traitors belonged to the SDA. Yes, Fikret Abdić was a member of the SDA, but the SDA won and solved this problem." Thus did the general complete the union of Army and party.

The front line against Abdić is **Radio Velika Kladuša**, which broadcasts from the stronghold of the deposed leader. Like Radio Bihać, Radio VK devotes itself unswervingly to the SDA, the Army and the local authorities. It too ignores journalistic principles and propagandises freely for the SDA. Its main newscast gave Carl Bildt a few minutes on 23 August, but devoted more time to attacking Abdić and his station. It quoted **HRTV** as saying that Radio Velkaton had started up again under OSCE protection. "The regional [OSCE] centre has fiercely denied those claims," it said, going on

to claim that "the programme of Radio Velkaton, which serves only the Democratic People's Union of Abdić, has seriously endangered the political and security situation in the region of Unsko-Sanski canton."

That wasn't all. RVK's "Daily Chronicle" returned to the theme later in the newscast, taking the opportunity not only to revile Abdić but to heap praise on the local authorities:

"The reconciliation of residents, which has been carried out by the municipal and cantonal authorities, has had obvious results. In the just assumption that there was no winner in the fratricidal war caused by the traitor, Fikret Abdić, the authorities gave everyone a chance for a new beginning. Municipal authorities have achieved great results... An almost idyllic atmosphere has been disturbed in the past few days by the broadcasts of Abdić's Radio Velkaton. This station was banned in 1994, accused of spreading hatred and initiating fratricidal war. It has begun again its warmongering, spreading false illusions and recalling the tragedy that has left deep scars on the people of Unsko-Sanski Canton."

If the local authorities cannot silence or jam Radio Velkaton, perhaps they can crowd it out. **Radio Unsko-Sanski Kanton** began broadcasting on 26 August. In a trial broadcast that day, the new station sought the imprimatur of the local OSCE representative, Luke Zahner. Unfortunately, he expressed nothing but satisfaction with the work of the local media. One wonders which ones he had in mind.

The war against Fikret Abdić is only a part of the larger campaign that the SDA is waging in northwest Bosnia. A good example of the militaristic thinking that animates the party - and governs the news media as well - came during Radio Bihać's "B&H Elections '96" on 24 August. An SDA representative, a Mr. Šarganović, declared:

"Now the war is temporarily interrupted, and the elections are imposed on us. One only observes the Bošnjak corpse. I have a message: we need strong authorities. We still are not on the Drina. We have to reach the Drina! We have to reach the Sava and the sea! How will we do so? With our commander, Alija Izetbegović! .... Why, every vote is a rifle or a mortar, it only depends at whom it's directed."

## The Greening of the RS Media

At the week's outset, **SRT's** audience may have been asking themselves: Is this still a government-controlled network or is it the voice of a new-born ecological movement? Evidence for the latter judgment came in alarming reports about the environmental dangers posed by IFOR's decision to destroy weapons and munitions discovered at a secret storage site near Sokolac. Radio and television gave prominent space to a Bosnian Serb army communiqué that alleged IFOR had transported to the destruction site "30 containers with unknown contents, which has provoked disquiet in the population and raised speculation that the containers are filled with radio-active waste."

Without citing sources other than unnamed "British commentators," **Radio Srpska** in its 19 August "Dnevnik" stoked further the panic over operation "Vulkan": "Because it is expected that the September elections will confirm the existence of national entities, NATO is quickly working to prevent RS from being able to defend itself against any kind of election results." The RS government responded on the 20 August "Dnevnik" with more fighting words, warning the Western powers that "the Serbian people are ready to place themselves in front of the tracks of IFOR's war machine," unless NATO suspends operations. Both stations also gave prominence to harsh criticism of IFOR by Acting President Biljana Plavšić

The following day, IFOR was again attacked for its "worrying" plans to enable Muslims to vote in Zvornik, "despite warnings by the Zvornik police that they cannot guarantee the security of Muslims who travel to the RS." Radio Srpska offered even more dire predictions from Nikola Poplašen, header of the Serbian Radićal Party, who warned that Muslims from the Federation would, "instead of lead pencils, bring weapons with them into the RS" on voting day.

Back on the campaign trail, **TV Srpska's** evening news bulletin, which has now moved back 30 minutes to occupy the same 19.30 slot as **TV B&H's** "Dnevnik," offered generous coverage to Biljana Plavšić's whistle-stops across northern Bosnia. Plavšić's speech in Banja Luka was the lead item on the 24 August "Novosti", despite the fact that it was virtually identical to those made on previous days. There was no hiding the thrust of

her comments, which were in line with the SDS aim of presenting the elections as a vote to confirm Bosnian Serb statehood.

"I am not against brotherhood and unity," said Plavšić, in a reference to the Tito-era slogan. "But, how can my brother be a Muslim or a Croat? Why should I unite with those who massacred us three times in this century instead of with my brother Serb. We want brotherhood and unity of all Serbs in the Balkans. We want the unification of all Serbs in one state, which will be called Serbia."

Though SRT continues to offer preferential treatment to the SDS, and despite the television's continuing ban on appearances by Predrag Radić, the Banja Luka mayor, the RS government-controlled media appears to be toning down the more incendiary election rhetoric that has drawn protests from the OSCE and demands for official apologies.

This slightly mellower approach was especially evident in the network's daily programmes for political parties. Though the moderators continue to strive to keep the discussions within the narrow political parameters set by the SDS, only indirect abuse was levelled at opposition representatives, in contrast to the open verbal assaults of recent weeks.

The new attitude seemed to come as a relief to some. Živko Radišić, the Socialist Party (SPRS) president; went so far as to praise Radio Srpska's moderator for her "correctness" at the close of his 22 August appearance. Radio Srpska's reasonable treatment of another opposition leader, Milorad Dodik, on 20 August, was another sign that some journalists took note of Plavšić's recent exhortations "not to create unnecessary problems" for the RS leadership.

Another factor may be that Radio Srpska's Banja Luka studio is tuning in to the army-linked **Radio Krajina**, which continues to excel in its election programming. In addition to widening the debate within the RS by asking uncomfortable questions about the implementation of the Dayton accords, Radio Krajina broadened its own sources last week by adding reports from the AIM news agency for the first time.

Another precedent was set in Banja Luka last week with the launch of the opposition's first daily newspaper by *Nezavisne novine*. Though the

newspaper's circulation remains restricted to Banja Luka, its contents are in marked contrast to those of the SDS-controlled *Glas srpski*, which is unread in most parts of the RS and has been on virtual life-support for some time.

## All Quiet on the Mostar Front

A media truce has prevailed in Mostar over the past fortnight. In the absence of rhetorical fusillades back and forth across the Neretva, there has been a noticeable rise in the level of professionalism on the part of the city's broadcasters. Whether this development represents a mere pause in normal hostilities or a lasting change for the better, only time - as journalists are supposed to say - will tell.

**RTV Mostar** has been giving the city's new technocrat mayor, Ivan Prskalo, the benefit of every doubt and much time on air. The once-favoured Safet Oručević has faded quietly away. The near-unanimity among Federation-based parties on the iniquity of Form P-2 has also made it easy for "Dnevnik" to present their views. The most notable exception, of course, has been the HDZ. Its presence on "Dnevnik" last week was confined to the reading (on 25 August) of a fierce and witty open letter from Serb Civic Council (SGV) member Milan Jovičić to B&H Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlić in which he attacked the west Mostar police. Given the source, no deviation from the "gentlemen's agreement" was presumably involved.

It seems to have been more difficult for **HTV Mostar**, **HR Herceg-Bosna** and **HR-Radio Postaja Mostar** to fulfil their resolve to be good, but they have tried. HTV Mostar has imposed a time limit on itself, cutting the length of its evening bulletin to between 17 and 20 minutes. This gives it less time to blame the "Bošnjak side" for problems in federal relations. (As the quoted passage implies, its vocabulary has also become more politically correct.) An item on 22 August about a meeting between Mayor Prskalo and SGV President Pejanović was a model of fairness, as was the report the next day from the regular EU news conference. Party politics, on the other hand, continues to mean unswerving devotion to the HDZ, as well as the broadcasting of lengthy HDZ ads before and after the evening news.

As proof of how much better HTV Mostar's news coverage has become since the Geneva agreement, there was one broadcast reminder - "Eye to Eye" on 23 August - of the bad old days of three weeks ago. This was an encounter between two of west Mostar's strongmen, Mladen Naletelić-Tuta and Jadranko Topić. The former - an alleged war criminal - had supposedly tried to bump off the latter. The programme was evidently designed to show that the two were really best of friends. Tuta refused to play ball as planned. Wearing a large crucifix round his neck, he opined that "Muslims are the worst enemies of Christianity." He also took the opportunity to proclaim that his aim was to separate Herceg-Bosna from B&H and join it to "mother Croatia".

## Presidential Merry-go-round

SDA supporters broke up no rallies last week, but the debate in Tuzla shifted to whether the party was trying to sow fear in other ways. At issue was a provision of the Dayton agreement that has given much fuel to the nationalist parties: the leading vote-getter among the three members of the Bosnian Presidency will become its chair.

The SDA argues that Bošnjaks should not vote for other parties because that would split the Bošnjak vote and hand the job to a Serb. Put bluntly, it is asking Bošnjaks: "Do you want Momčilo Krajišnik to lead your country? If not, vote for us."

On 23 August Sead Avdić, a member of the SDP, complained about this in a letter to OSCE. He asked, on behalf of the Associated List, that the OSCE "explain to Bošnjaks that they do not have to be afraid to vote for more than one political party." Members of the presidency will rotate, he said, "so it is of no consequence whether Krajišnik will be the first president, or if he comes later."

Avdić was wrong. According to Dayton, members of the presidency will not rotate to the top during the two years before the next elections. "How can a Bosnian, especially a Bošnjak, lie to his own people, in order to gain power shamefully, as was done by Bešliagić and Avdić in *Time Magazine*?" the SDA responded gleefully.

The debate was played out thoroughly in the Tuzla media. Unfortunately, the media failed to do what would have served voters in Tuzla most: consult

their copies of Dayton and report the facts. As it was, the voters were left wondering who was right.

In other ways the Tuzla media behaved predictably last week. **TV TPK**, the cantonal station, covered only SDA rallies. Amazingly, the SDA has found a way to enlarge its already overwhelming presence on TV TPK. Instead of responding just once to opposition statements, it responds twice. One reply comes from the cantonal SDA officials, another from the municipal SDA. TV TPK slavishly reports it all. The station also has begun to broadcast statements directly from the SDA press centre, thus cutting out the middle man.

**TV Tuzla**, the municipal station, continues to show more balance in its coverage. On 24 August it reported on a speech that Sead Delić, commander of the Army's Second Corps, gave at an SDA rally. But the station remains chiefly the voice of the opposition. Last week it promoted Tuzla mayor Selim Bešliagić, head of the Associated List for the Federal Parliament, in a long talk show called "Tele-ring".

The mayor also showed up after a long absence on **Radio Tuzla**, a station sympathetic to the SDA but not wed to it. In a 21 August statement, Bešliagić urged voters to choose non-national parties in the elections. On 25 August the station reported the news that he had received the Sean McBride Peace Prize for his work in promoting democracy and a multi-cultural life in Tuzla. Unlike TV TPK, Radio Tuzla is not afraid to pay attention to the SDA's rivals.

## **NTV Studio 99's Election Marathon**

This Sarajevo independent station's late night newscast, "**Oko 22**", has become the best friend both of the sleepless and of those addicted to election news. On one night last week (24 August) the programme ran as many as 17 separate election stories. Besides devoting enormous attention to the P-2 row throughout the week (but without enhancing the position of the SDA) and giving full play to the supposed disqualification of the Associated Lists' candidates by OSCE (a one-day wonder on 24 August), "Oko 22" covered stories which received only perfunctory notice on the state network. In

particular, it examined both the appearance of the SDA logo on the streets of the capital (on 20 August) and the peace negotiations between the SDA and HDZ (20 August). On 21 August it also broadcast an anonymous commentary on the threats by nine party leaders to boycott the elections. Of these, the commentator suggested that only Haris Silajdžić (Party for B&H) was likely, at the last minute, to carry out his threat. The result would be to benefit the SDA. But why should the author not be named?

## **B&H on Belgrade and Zagreb Television**

**Belgrade** and **Zagreb** were as silent last week on the famous P-2 forms as **RTV B&H** was voluble. They were, of course, far more forthcoming on their countries' mutual recognition. Only Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granić made reference, however, to the fact that this Croatian triumph would also assist the peace process in B&H, though he did not say how.

**HRT** continued its blanket coverage of the B&H elections, mounting three special programmes and regularly allotting prime positions to advertisements for "The party with an historical mission, the HDZ". HRT devotes more time to explaining the complexities of voting to its viewers than to discussions of the issues and parties. It takes for granted the exclusive right of the HDZ to represent Bosnian Croats. In fact, the only other party to which it pays any attention is Fikret Abdić's DNZ, which is occasionally permitted to launch a broadside on Sarajevo.

Otherwise, polemics with "the federal partners" over Mostar and other lately contentious matters have vanished, at least pending the republican and federal parliament sessions which are meant to implement the Geneva agreements.

**Serbian Television**, for its part, continues to cheer on its champion, the Socialist-led League for Peace and Progress. Its rallies in both RS and Serbia are dutifully recorded. The favourite theme on these occasions is future cooperation between RS and FRY. Only the League for Peace and Progress, it is emphasised, can make this happen. "Republika Srpska must defend itself with knowledge, skill and wisdom - all of which the current regime lacks," according to B&H

presidency candidate M. Ivanić. Only the League for Peace and Progress, according to onetime Republika Srpska Krajina premier Borislav Mikelić, will enable people to return to their homes.

## Federation Press Review

Election coverage by Sarajevo's three newspapers reached new heights last week, at least in terms of volume. The race to fill space and spill ink was won, hands down, by *Oslobođenje*, which printed 120 different articles, reports, interviews, commentaries and cartoons: an increase of 26 on the previous week. *Oslobođenje*, however, publishes daily, whereas *Večernje novine* and *Dnevni Avaz* do not come out on Sundays. *Večernje novine* carried 69 pieces on the elections (up but one on the previous week) and *Dnevni Avaz* published 80 items (an increase of 17). Display advertising by the parties made its first appearance in the Sarajevo press.

Two election themes dominated the pages of *Oslobođenje*: the "gentlemen's agreement" between the SDA and HDZ and the renewal of SDA threats to boycott the elections if the OSCE were to fail to meet its four demands. Unlike two weeks earlier, however, *Oslobođenje* treated the story of a possible boycott with some reserve. The "gentlemen's agreement" met with the paper's approval as a canny move by the two ruling parties to avoid wasting on internecine battles energy that would be better expended in keeping their respective oppositions at bay.

Among the notable interviews were those with Kasim Trnka, the B&H ambassador to Croatia, and Noel Malcolm, the British journalist and historian of Bosnia. Trnka condemned the Croatian government for enabling Fikret Abdić's party to be registered for the elections; while Malcolm criticised the elections themselves as one in a series of steps leading to the gradual partition of B&H.

One commentary stood out for suggesting that, so far as the party's daily operations were concerned, the word "democratic" should be excised from the name of the Party for Democratic Action (SDA).

The SDA-HDZ pact was also the major news item of the week for *Večernje novine*. The paper's commentary on the event was entitled "Déja vu";

while the previously unthinkable SDA rally in HVO-controlled Čapljina at the end of the week was interpreted as a practical result of this "gentlemen's agreement".

*Večernje novine* also devoted much space to the various parties' protests concerning the misuse of the P-2 voter registration forms, as well as to incidents attending opposition election rallies. The prohibition of the Associated List rally in Ljubljana received special attention.

*Dnevni Avaz* both covered fully and approved explicitly the SDA-HDZ agreement. As a mark of the latter it published a long interview with Božo Rajić, president of the HDZ B&H. The paper gave its full support as well to the SDA's demands for the nullification of the P-2 registrations and the postponement of local elections.

Reverting to its earlier interest in the affairs of Republika Srpska, *Avaz* published the results of an opinion poll carried out by Bijeljina's *Ekstra magazin* which revealed that, although the SDS remained the favourite to win the RS elections with 41 per cent of the vote, support for Biljana Plavšić as RS president (27 per cent) and for Momčilo Krajišnik as RS member of the B&H presidency (28 per cent) was significantly lower.

Among the weeklies, *Svijet* (22 August) maintained its opposition to elections in current circumstances, as did *Ljiljan* (21 August), albeit in even sharper terms. The latter included a caricature representing the OSCE looking on as a četnik happily casts his vote.

*Hrvatska riječ* (24 August) continues to feature both a special election section and extensive coverage of and advertising by the HDZ. The deal with the SDA is explained in an interview with Božo Rajić as serving the party's current needs.

*Slobodna Bosna* (25 August) publishes two articles comparing the 1990 and 1996 B&H elections. In one of these, the author notes that "the elections of 1990 were the first - and very possibly also the last - democratic elections in B&H." A similarly scornful stance towards the elections is evident in the other four election-related stories in the current issue of the magazine.

The bimonthly *Behar* (No 7, August) also parades its electoral skepticism. The poll, according to one commentator, has been imposed and organised by the international community, leaving the

domestic political parties to fight merely for "pieces of power". In a commentary appearing under the title "Slavery never", the author asserts that "all media in B&H are in the service of one or another of the existing parties or international factors." *Behar* does not, however, tell its readers whom it serves.

*Front slobode*, Tuzla's biweekly newspaper, makes no bones in its current issue (23 August) either about its devotion to the Associated List (particularly, to the SDP) and its animosity towards the SDA. In an election supplement called

"Perspectives", the paper publishes a lengthy attack on the SDA's alleged hypocrisy which promises more than it delivers. Much more effective is the republication of a September 1993 article from *Zmaj od Bosne* by Adnan Jahić, president of the Tuzla branch of the SDA and a candidate for the federal parliament, which sets out his vision of an Islamic state. *Front slobode* also abandons its private quarrel with Mayor Bešliagić (over the running of Tuzla's television) in the interest of the common struggle against the SDA.

## She loves me, she loves me not. . . (7)

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 19- 25 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 "Σ (+,-,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	Σ (+,-,0)	total	Σ (+,-,0)
<i>party</i>				
Stranka demokratske akcije SDA	29	+5	15	-15
Srpska demokratska stranka (SZ) SDS	5	-1	30	+30
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH HDZ	12	-3	3	-3
Stranka za BiH	3	0	1	0
Srpska patriotska stranka SPAS	-	-	3	-1
Narodna stranka RS	-	-	2	0
Srpska stranka Krajine	-	-	1	0
Liberalna Stranka BiH LS	3	0	-	-
Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija LBO	2	0	-	-
Građanska demokratska stranka BiH GDS	4	0	-	-
Muslimansko bošnjačka organizacija MBO (1)	1	0	-	-
Hrvatska seljačka stranka BiH HSS (1)	2	0	-	-
Unija bosanskohercegovačkih socijaldemokrata UBSD (1)	2	0	-	-
Socijal demokratska partija BiH SDP (1)	1	0	-	-
Socijalistička partija RS (3)	1	0	2	0
Radikalni otadžbinski front "Nikola Pašić"	-	-	2	0
Srpska seljačka stranka	-	-	1	0
Stranka privrednog prosperiteta	4	0	-	-
Republikanska stranka (1)	2	0	-	-
Stranka žena BiH	3	0	-	-
Stranka srpskog jedinstva	-	-	1	0
Narodna demokratska zajednica	1	0	-	-
Srpska radikalna stranka	-	-	2	0
Narodna radikalna stranka Zvornik	-	-	1	0

name of party / coalition	RTV BiH		RTV Srpska	
	total	$\Sigma (+,-,0)$	total	$\Sigma (+,-,0)$
<i>coalition</i>				
Demokratski patriotski blok RS	-	-	2	0
Savez za mir i progres RS	-	-	1	0
Združena lista za BiH	7	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

The following media were monitored for this week's report: *RTV Srpska, RTV BiH, Radio Studio 99, NTV 99, TV Zenica, NTV Zetel, Radio Tuzla, TV TPK Tuzla, TV Tuzla, Radio Prijedor, Radio Bihać, Radio Velika Kladuša, Radio Unsko-Sanski Kanton, RTV Mostar, Hrvatska RTV Mostar, Radio Krajina Banja Luka, TV Srbije, Hrvatska televizija, Oslobođenje, Večernje novine, Dnevni Avaz, Slobodna Bosna, Ljiljan, Svijet, Hrvatska riječ, Nezavisne novine, Glas srpski, Front slobode, Behar.*

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.