

monitoring report

Elections B&H '96

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

12 September 1996

number 15

THE B&H MEDIA WEEK IN REVIEW: 2-8 SEPTEMBER

As if to confound all those observers who have fixed on the absence of open media in Bosnia & Hercegovina as one of the principal reasons why the impending elections cannot be free and fair, the last full week of the campaign saw - and heard - a significant improvement in the media environment. Too little and too late, no doubt, but still worthy of note. It was also a week in which broadcasters themselves made news.

TV IN (ie, Bildt Television) made its belated appearance on 7 September. It was a modest debut, despite the best efforts of Tina Turner, live from Amsterdam. Technical snags (since overcome) prevented the inaugural broadcast from being seen on **RTV Mostar**; while a power struggle (apparently continuing) has kept TV IN's programmes off Sarajevo's **NTV Studio 99**. Both the technical and the control problems seem to have contributed to a very shaky start; yet the 20.00 newscast has already succeeded in showing viewers in the Federation a bigger Bosnia than they have lately been accustomed to seeing.

Another member of the five-station TV IN consortium, **TV Tuzla**, made the headlines last week when it was shut down by Mayor Selim Bešliagić on the eve of TV IN's start. According to Tuzla's mayor, his move was necessary in order to transform the municipally-founded station into a private company which would be owned by its staff. The staff, however, described the mayor's coup as theft.

As we report below, it seems likely that USBD leader Bešliagić acted to protect the station's position in the TV IN network (and the modern equipment it thereby stands to gain), as well as to preserve it from the possible consequences of an

SDA victory in the elections. For now, TV Tuzla exists only to transmit the programmes of TV IN.

If the Federation both lost (temporarily?) and gained (temporarily?) television services last week, Republika Srpska seems to have acquired a new TV station with solid backing - from Belgrade. Like TV IN, **Independent Television Banja Luka** went on the air with experimental programmes on 7 September. The station plans to broadcast around the clock. Insofar as it fails to fulfil its goal of providing a largely informative and documentary-based schedule, it intends to rely on the first and third programmes of **Television Serbia**.

Last week's best media news came, however, from Cazinska Krajina. Long a media disaster area, one of the region's stations, **Radio Bihać**, appears to have embraced a new policy of *glasnost* towards both its listeners and opposition parties. Two cheers, at least, are in order.

Better in Bihać

Radio Bihać's parlous financial and technical condition seems to have moved the station to level with its listeners and to initiate fundamental changes in its editorial approach. On the afternoon of 5 September the station explained its many, life-threatening ailments to listeners. The next morning it re-broadcast an interview which Fikret Abdić had given to Sarajevo's **Radio Zid**. Regardless of the negative context in which the interview was conducted and placed, such a broadcast would heretofore have been unthinkable on Radio Bihać. Nor have reports on

developments at Abdić's trial (in absentia) continued to be wholly prejudicial.

Newscasts, generally, have shown signs of improvement, and certainly of greater openness to the views and activities of opposition parties. A report from a meeting of the Party for B&H in Cazin on 2 September closed, for example, with the following words of Mustafa Pamuk: "Arriving in Krajina, I saw a slogan proclaiming 'The more votes for the SDA - the fewer enemies for B&H! We are not enemies of B&H. This slogan is the most vulgar that I have seen in this campaign.'"

RS: A state by any other name...

In the final sprint towards election day, the regime media in Republika Srpska have dropped all pretence that their task is anything other than to promote the platform of the ruling SDS. With SDS leaders convening "great national rallies" throughout their "state", the effect was to put the party on a pedestal high above the opposition, and to portray it as the saviours of the nation.

Any issues other than RS statehood have been abandoned by SRT. For the week ending 8 September, the SDS scored 27 positive references on **TV Srpska's** evening newscast. (See table below.) No other party won even a single favourable mention. Such lopsided results have been a constant since the first SDS posters appeared in Pale in early June, proclaiming "SDS=RS".

As in the early days of the war, news coverage was carefully shaped to fit the day's speeches by SDS leaders. Incidents in several parts of Bosnia were seized upon in campaign speeches as tricks in a broader effort by the "Muslim army" to conquer RS.

TV Srpska's 6 September "Novosti" had this to say about an incident near Trnovo in which Serbian civilians were wounded by gunfire: "This latest vandalism by Muslim terrorists is a warning to those who have so easily put behind them or, what is more painful, have already forgotten the difficult war years of Serb suffering and death through which we have just passed. We believe that the citizens of RS understand that this incident is the final warning that the September elections represent a question of life or death for the Serbian nation."

Three days earlier, "Novosti" broadcast a report claiming that a representative of the International Police Task Force had confirmed that the "armed Muslim military formations" in the villages of Mahala and Dugi Do were being lead by Naser Orić, the former B&H commander in Srebrenica.

The obvious, if spurious, conclusions were drawn by SRNA in a report carried by **Radio Krajina** on 7 September. "Muslim military units," the agency predicted, would launch attacks on the day before or after the elections in order to seize strategic points in the RS, particularly Prijedor. The report claimed the attacks would be supported by IFOR and the foreign media.

The regime media's failure to discuss any substantive issues facing voters--in part because nearly all RS parties appear to share nearly identical platforms -- has allowed the vote to be presented over and over as a plebiscite on statehood.

Radio Srpska's 7 September "Dnevnik" was clear on this point: "The 14th of September represents a painful marathon in the creation of a nation state under the most difficult conditions. As Acting RS President Dr. Biljana Plavšić says - and as western officials affirm - the elections are without a doubt in the interest of the Serbian people because they will verify the RS and fulfil the centuries'-long dream of the Serbs. However, precisely for these reasons, the Muslims will attempt again to ruin the September elections..."

The parade of SDS rallies around RS dominated newscasts, with reports from the election campaign in the Federation relegated, as usual, to the rubric of news from "abroad".

TV Srpska's 7 September "Novosti" followed the week's pattern closely, presenting SDS rallies from Rogatica, Višegrad and "Srpski Brod". Faced by a sea of waving portraits of Radovan Karadžić, Momčilo Krajišnik lectured the crowd in Rogatica on his interpretation of the Dayton peace accords: "It is easy to misuse the Dayton agreement so that one day it dawns on us that we are in B&H!" However, according to Krajišnik, "B&H is a loose union, under which there is the Federation and the RS, but the RS is a state, and not some entity, as they have called it."

As is now customary at SDS rallies, Radovan Karadžić's political martyrdom was a constant, if carefully-worded, theme. "There are those people," said Krajišnik, "whom we should not

mention here. But, you Serbs being what you are, if someone forbids you to do something, you will then do it out of spite."

RTV B&H: Containing the list

The state broadcaster's recently evident tilt towards the ruling SDA was less marked last week. On the other hand, the dominance of election-related programming seems to have left the populace crying out for relief. OSCE-prepared party presentations have now been added to a schedule already packed with debates, promotions, interviews and advertisements. The main "Dnevnik" on **TV B&H** has lately devoted some 70 per cent of its time to the elections. The period when "Dnevnik" tried to exclude party promotions and press conferences from the evening news has long since passed.

On 8 September "Dnevnik" carried a record 12 items on party activities. There was actuality footage (with sound excerpts) of an SDA rally near Brčko addressed by President Izetbegović and of an HDZ meeting in Travnik (without sound), but neither pictures nor sound from Associated List rallies in Kakanj and Travnik. Whether these distinctions reflected autonomous editorial judgments, political partiality or technical limitations was not clear. What was clear in the same newscast, however, was the excitement in the voice of a reporter from Bihać who described another SDA rally, attended by more than 10,000 persons, as taking place in "an atmosphere such as Bihać has long not seen."

"Dnevnik" also provided extensive coverage of the problems accompanying the elections abroad. Criticism of the OSCE's inadequate organisation of the vote and, particularly, of missing ballot materials was so voluminous as to make it difficult to tell if the complaints originated with official bodies or the political parties. As had been the case with the notorious P-2 forms, the eventual OSCE decision on 5 September to extend the voting abroad to 14 September did not fully satisfy either the B&H authorities or parties. More markers were thus being put down for future use.

TV B&H greeted the advent of **TV IN** on 7 September with a statement by Premier Hasan Muratović complaining of the new network's unclear ownership and excessive funding. Perhaps concluding after TV IN's first night on air that it had little to fear, "Dnevnik" returned to the story on 8 September with a correct and

informative item. Even the **BBC** did not, thirty-odd years ago, treat the start of **IT NV** so fairly. No Bosnian Grace Archer died last Saturday night.

"Dnevnik" also provided full coverage of the **TV Tuzla** affair on 7 and 8 September.

As in past weeks, **Radio B&H's** 15.00 "Dnevnik" continued to provide opposition parties with numerous mentions, but occasionally to excise their stronger sallies against the ruling SDA and HDZ. No reference was made on 6 September, for example, to the MBO's criticism of the SDA for converting public functions into party occasions, allowing army vehicles to sport SDA logos and permitting army generals to stand as candidates in its interest. Similarly, the report on 5 September of an Associated List press conference at which Ivo Komšić assailed the HDZ omitted the name of the HDZ leader whom Komšić held most responsible.

President Izetbegović's gift of DM 5,000 to pay for the medical expenses of a Tuzla miner provided, on 3 September, an opportunity for "Dnevnik" to broadcast the heartfelt thanks of the man's comrades, along with assurances that the money had not come out of party or state coffers. Fikret Abdić and Selim Bešliagić were not so fortunate. Their coverage last week was wholly negative.

Death and Rebirth in Tuzla

Tuzla voters lost an important source of local news when Mayor Selim Bešliagić shut down the municipal television station on 5 September. When **TV Tuzla** blinked back on a day and a half later, it had abandoned local programming and was broadcasting only the programmes of the new, Sarajevo-based independent television network, **TV IN**. Of a staff of 55, only three reportedly were still working at week's end.

Like other instances of death and resurrection, what happened at TV Tuzla is far from clear. Bešliagić wants to privatise the station, whose legal status has been murky since the city government started it up in 1994, using private equipment it seized as a wartime measure. The timing is puzzling. Until last week, TV Tuzla was Bešliagić's main media ally against the assaults of the SDA. While it rarely propagandised the way the cantonal station, **TV TPK**, consistently does for the SDA, TV Tuzla gave Bešliagić and the Associated List the media coverage the other station denied them. It also reported much local

news that TV TPK ignored. It may be that Bešliagić seized the moment to take advantage of TV IN's long awaited startup; but it is just as likely that he hoped to prevent an SDA takeover after the elections.

Whatever his motives, the mayor's action raised howls of protest. In his written statement, read over **Radio Tuzla** and TV TPK on 6 September, Bešliagić described the change as "a favour to the employees of TV Tuzla" because he was offering them part ownership of the station. At least some of the employees did not sound grateful. "This is an unacceptable decision that the mayor should not have allowed himself to take," the editor-in-chief declared at a press conference that the remaining stations covered on 7 September. "This act puts all of the property, bought or received, into the hands of a few people, probably followers of the mayor," complained the station's assistant director.

TV TPK followed events with special enthusiasm. It rarely broadcasts stories about Tuzla that do not promote the SDA--unless they make Bešliagić, the SDA's main rival, look bad. On 6 September, the presenter of "Dnevnik" reported Bešliagić's statement but commented afterward, "One has to ask oneself who are those 55 workers to whom Mr. Bešliagić transfers the rights of ownership when all 55 have been fired?" Good question. Unfortunately, TV TPK never bothered to answer it. The station seemed content to cast suspicion on the mayor rather than attempt to clear up what was admittedly a confusing situation. It also exploited the press conference of aggrieved workers for its full propaganda value. On 7 September, "Dnevnik" devoted a full 15 minutes to the conference. The next evening, the station replayed more than an hour of the conference in a special broadcast after the news.

TV TPK and Radio Tuzla also followed the SDA as it rushed to the defence of the TV Tuzla employees. At a press conference, a local SDA official accused Bešliagić of using "Stalinist methods" and of "manifesting the pharaoh-like power of a man who takes for himself the right to deprive others of the right to work." The workers complained to the cantonal minister of education and information, who pronounced Bešliagić's act "illegal" and ordered the station restored and the workers reinstated.

Before TV Tuzla went dark, the week was unfolding in typical fashion. TV Tuzla gave reasonably balanced accounts of political events,

while TV TPK wrapped itself tighter in the green flag. Radio Tuzla succeeded best at steering an independent course. Three stories stood out. On 5 September the HDZ complained that the local media were misrepresenting its positions. TV Tuzla and Radio Tuzla broadcast the criticism, but TV TPK kept it mum--perhaps because it was singled out. On 8 September the Associated List announced it was canceling a rally in Kalesija because it was afraid the police would not protect its supporters. It said the police had stood by while SDA supporters roughed up people posting notices of the rally. Radio Tuzla reported the story; TV TPK ignored it.

The story that began the week, and set the tone for media coverage, concerned the reverberations from the 31 August attack on a Tuzla woman. As part of its continuing effort to absolve the SDA supporter who was responsible, the party "reported" on 3 September that the woman had insulted Alija Izetbegović. The SDA said this was equivalent to desecrating "Bošnjak holy objects". It also gave the woman's surname as Arsenijević, which happens to be a Serb name. The Associated List replied that the SDA had got the name wrong and that the woman was really a Bošnjak--thus trying to undermine the SDA's argument that it stands for Bošnjak unity. The SDA insisted that the name was right, but admitted it did not know the woman's nationality.

Thus the charges flew back and forth in the Tuzla media. For their part, the media hardly made things better, since they insisted on reporting events through party statements rather than by making the effort to discover the facts themselves. The editor of Radio Tuzla sensed something was wrong and commented on the campaign in a 3 September broadcast. He was addressing the parties, but he might have been warning his colleagues in the media as well: "After these communiqués and statements I want to send a message to the party leaders that, if no one else, Radio Tuzla refuses to be the battleground for the war between parties and narrow party interests. People can't believe anyone anymore. "

His Master's Voice: HRT and RTS

Zagreb and Belgrade persevered last week in putting their regime broadcast media at the service of their Bosnian brethren, the former with undiminished intensity, the latter with reinforced vigour. For Zagreb's **HRT**, the Bosnian poll is an

epoch-making event for Croats: their once-in-a-lifetime chance to declare themselves for the HDZ, the movement outside which no Croat can safely hope to exist. Both in regular newscasts and in special programmes, HRT continued to give pride of place to the HDZ's campaign, unfettered by any requirement to offer equal time to other parties.

The dominant issue last week was Croats' vital and just demand for the creation of new municipalities in which Croats would predominate. Implementation of an agreement with the Bošnjaks to reorganise Sarajevo's local government to the benefit of Croats was another key theme. As before, the only other party to merit HRT's attention was Abdić's DNZ.

TV Serbia, for its part, rededicated itself to the promotion of its followers, the Socialist-led League for Peace and Progress (SMP). When necessary, Belgrade spins out reports on a single SMP rally over two days, as happened with a Bosanski Novi (Novi Grad) assembly last week. Just as there is no other party save the SMP coalition, so there is no other politician worthy of notice except Živko Radišić.

Belgrade's propaganda line is based on two postulates: only the SMP can both deliver Republika Srpska from the corrupt clutches of the SDS and attach it to the ample bosom of Mother Serbia. Prominent guests from Serbia at SMP rallies underline the latter thesis. A new line of attack appeared last week after the deal which ended Albanians' long boycott of state schools in Kosovo. This was presented as a victory for civilised values over those of nationalism, a victory in which Bosnian Serbs could share if they voted for the SMP. On the other hand, TV Serbia's interest in the B&H elections is confined exclusively to the race in Republika Srpska. The Federation - and Serbs in it - might as well not exist.

Tales of two cities:

Mostar

RTV Mostar's coverage of the campaign last week was as balanced and fair as **HTV Mostar's** was warped and twisted. The east side station has latterly curbed almost entirely its preternatural allegiance to the SDA, while that on the west seems to exist at present only to trumpet the cause of the HDZ. This aim emerged through

three themes pursued last week by HTV Mostar: (1) the continuing life of Herceg-Bosna; (2) the promotion of former west Mostar mayor Mijo Brajković as the Croats' true local leader (as opposed to the united city's new mayor, Ivan Prskalo); and (3) attacks on the city's EU administration and on the international community in general.

Most notably, however, HTV Mostar committed two flagrant violations of the election rules. On 3 September it broadcast HDZ advertisements (the only party messages it carries) in alternation with the well-known OSCE injunction to "choose the best". The effect was to suggest that OSCE was recommending a vote for the HDZ.

The station's second violation has been its blanket refusal to broadcast any of the OSCE-produced presentations of parties.

Zenica

While its news programming kept up the appearance of objectivity, **TV Zenica** threw itself into promoting the SDA last week. The station featured the party in two special broadcasts: a half-hour report from the SDA cantonal convention and an hour-long discussion with members of the SDA's cantonal board.

The evening news, "Zenica Today", favoured the SDA in less obvious ways. It showed restraint when covering SDA events. It gave time to opposition parties, even when they criticised SDA officials. The opposition SPP scolded SDA darling Ejup Ganić for not really meaning it when he urged refugees and displaced persons to return home. In another report the Associated List was allowed to boast that its rally in Žepče was the first non-HDZ rally held in Croatian-controlled territory.

But alert viewers could see that "Zenica Today" was pushing the SDA, even when it was not reporting on politics directly. Party events dominated the news. "Zenica Today" also reported twice on Bošnjaks expelled from Doboje, thus reminding Muslim voters of the perils they faced on the other side of the line. A story on war invalids focused on the fact that they had received space in a Zenica building--thanks, in part, to the SDA.

Radio Zenica covered much the same news, but with more neutrality. It refrained from flooding "Novosti" with every move of the SDA or its local

officials. And on 4 September it went so far as to broadcast an interview with the local leader of the HDZ.

NTV Zetel continued to outshine the competition. As the rallies and press conferences multiplied, Zetel showed its independence. It neither ignored nor fawned on the local powers. On 2 September, "Info-block" covered an SDA rally in a fair and professional way. "Info-block" also reported on the induction of new Army recruits on 6 September. After a Defense Ministry official remarked that "Allah gave the soldiers of the Army the power to defend Bosnia", Zetel's reporter asked a tough question. Didn't his invocation of Allah imply a kind of religious discrimination? Standing up both to Allah and Army takes spunk.

Who listens to Radio FERN?

OSCE's Swiss-organised and financed **Free Election Radio Network** reported last week (6 September) that, according to research conducted by the Gallup Organisation, 27 per cent of people in the Federation are tuning in to the station. Its listenership in major cities ranges from a high of 50 per cent in Zenica to a low of 28 per cent in Tuzla. The audience is estimated at 47 per cent in Mostar and 36 per cent in Sarajevo. It is likely that Zenica (with an underdeveloped media spectrum) and Mostar (with its continuing national divide) need FERN more than do Sarajevo or Tuzla, with their abundance of independent FM stations.

Invited to phone in to say why they listened to FERN, callers mentioned the station's objectivity, absence of national or religious partisanship and coverage of Republika Srpska. The majority, however, commended the station's excellent music. (From 20.00 to 6.00, the station broadcasts music exclusively.) Another reason for listening is the station's audibility across large swathes of territory - an important asset for drivers.

The technical and sound quality of the station's news output has improved markedly since its inception on 15 July. Short news bulletins are broadcast hourly. There are so-called "Long News" bulletins of approximately 12 minutes' duration three times a day. These newscasts do not include correspondents' reports, which are heard in separate information blocks. There are also daily phone-ins and interviews with politicians and international functionaries. Special attention is paid to voter education.

It seems safe to conclude, however, that FERN's chief attraction to listeners is its Anglo-American rock music. Its news and public affairs programming aims to offend no one. Whether or not the station stays on the air after 14 September was due to be decided in Bern this week.

Sarajevo press review

The bulk of the press maintained last week both its highly skeptical stance towards the elections and its saturation coverage of the campaign.

Oslobođenje published 120 stories on electoral themes (down from 123 the previous week). It celebrated a partial victory at the beginning of the week, when the abolition of the P-2 form was confirmed, but expressed increasing worry in successive days that the elections would confirm B&H's partition. The paper noted the call to vote in the elections which emerged from the Citizens' Alternative Parliament meeting in Tuzla at the week-end, but gave no further coverage to this body's deliberations.

Večernje novine carried 108 election-related items in the period (compared to 109 the preceding week). The paper paid special attention to reported irregularities in the voting among refugees abroad, one commentator going so far as to describe these as constituting a plot against B&H. Calls for a new and better Dayton-style conference also featured prominently at week's end.

Dnevni Avaz, which has previously devoted less space to the campaign, bested its own record last week, publishing 92 items (as against 89 the week before). Stories citing the inadequacies of the vote abroad featured every day, the B&H ambassador in Bonn being quoted on 2 September to the effect that the irregularities amounted to a "cooking of the results".

Avaz's villain of the week was Carl Bildt. Suggesting that he might be replaced by Richard Holbrooke, the paper portrayed the High Representative as one in a long line of international failures in the former Yugoslavia. The week's hero, on the other hand, was SDP leader Zlatko Lagumdžija. He was credited with being able to beat the ruling party at its own game.

Svijet (5 September) continued to assail the legitimacy of the elections and to bewail their likely consequences. The recent presence of an Italian

circus in Sarajevo offered an opportunity for allusions to the elections as a show put on for the locals by foreigners. With some delay, the magazine also published the remarks of Džemal Effendi Gadara, the imam of Blagaj whose invocation of jihad ("jihad is our salvation") at an SDA rally in Čapljina caused such a stir two weeks ago. (See *Monitoring Report* 13.)

Ljiljan's sensation of the week (4 September) was the revelation of Serb plans to enter the Federation after the elections, join with the Croats and then vote for the division of Bosnia. This, at any rate, was the line of one Slobodan Jasić, founder of the World Congress of Serbs, in a letter to Alija Izetbegović. According to *Ljiljan*, any Dayton II conference would also have the aim of partitioning B&H.

Hrvatska riječ again marked the intensity of the election campaign and the abundance of HDZ promotions by publishing two numbers (3 and 7 September). Unlike the other papers, *Hrvatska*

riječ remains keen on the poll and determined to get out the HDZ vote. "Muslim politicians", it argued, are now the ones standing in the way of making the Federation a reality.

Slobodna Bosna (8 September) devoted almost all its pages to the elections, including several party advertisements. Its main commentary expressed more fear of the changes the elections could produce than opposition to the process itself.

Dani's September number featured a cheeky cover (three condoms in national dress, with the injunction "choose the best!") but less acerbic coverage of the ruling parties and other traditional *Dani* targets. A poll predicted victory for Izetbegović and the SDA. Party advertising was also prominent.

The predominant strain of opposition to the 14 September poll in the Sarajevo press is indicative of the cries of "foul" to be expected during and after the elections themselves.

She loves me, she loves me not. . . (9)

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 2 - 8 September. 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 SDA	22	+5	15	-14
Srpska demokratska stranka (SZ) SDS	4	-1	36	+33
Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH HDZ	10	-3	4	-3
Stranka za BiH	2	0		
Srpska patriotska stranka SPAS	-	-	3	0
Srpska radikalna stranka RS	-	-	1	+1
Narodna stranka RS	-	-	2	0
Srpska stranka Krajine	-	-	2	0
Liberalna Stranka BiH LS	4	0	-	-
Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija LBO	2	0	-	-
Bosanska stranka	1	0	-	-
Građanska demokratska stranka BiH GDS	7	0	-	-
Muslimansko bošnjačka organizacija MBO (1)	1	0	-	-
Hrvatska seljačka stranka BiH HSS (1)	2	0	-	-
Unija bosanskohercegovačkih socijaldemokrata UBSD (1)	3	0	-	-
Socijal demokratska partija BiH SDP (1)	5	0	-	-

name of party / coalition	RTV BiH		RTV Srpska	
	total	$\Sigma (+,-,0)$	total	$\Sigma (+,-,0)$
Bosanska stranka BOSS	1	0	-	-
Srpska seljačka stranka			2	0
Stranka privrednog prosperiteta SPP	3	0	-	-
Republikanska stranka (1)	3	0	-	-
Stranka srpskog jedinstva	1	-1	1	0
Narodna demokratska zajednica DNZ	4	-4	-	-
Stranka Žena BiH	1	0	-	-
BH Patriotska stranka	2	0	-	-
<i>coalition</i>				
Demokratski patriotski blok RS	-	-	3	0
Savez za mir i progres RS	-	-	1	0
Združena lista za BiH	14	+1	-	-

- (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, NTV 99, TV IN, 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, Radio FERN, Oslobođenje, Večernje novine, Dnevni Avaz, Ljiljan, Svijet, Hrvatska riječ, Slobodna Bosna, Dani, Glas srpski, Dnevne nezavisne novine, Nezavisne novine, Alternativa.*

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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.