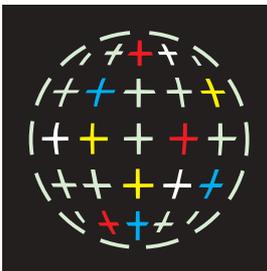
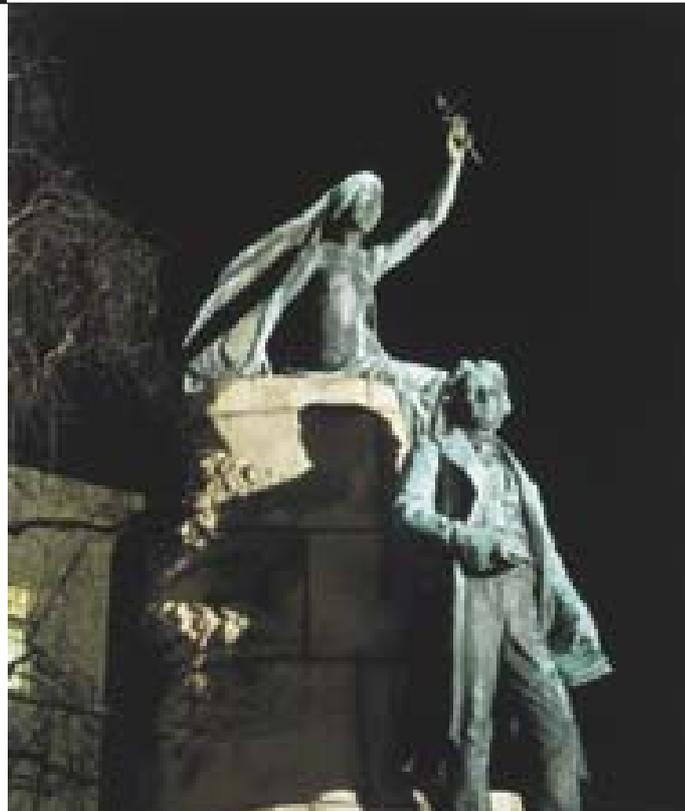




SLOVENIA



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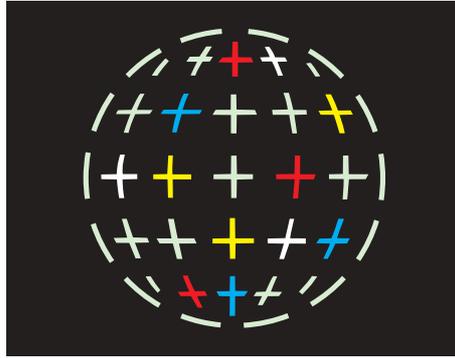
LJUBLJANA

IPI

Congress
Report

IPI WORLD
CONGRESS
and
51st GENERAL
ASSEMBLY





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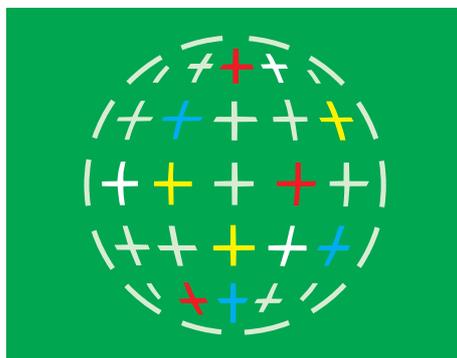
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IPI CONGRESS REPORT

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PROGRAMME



THURSDAY, 9 MAY 2002

WELCOME RECEPTION AT THE GRAND HOTEL UNION

FRIDAY, 10 MAY 2002

Grand Hotel Union

OPENING CEREMONY

Mitja Meršol,
Chairman of IPI Slovenia;
Editor-in-Chief, Delo, Ljubljana
Hugo Büttler,
Chairman of IPI; Editor-in-Chief,
Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich
Johann P. Fritz,
Director of IPI

Speaker:
Borut Pahor,
President, Parliament of Slovenia

SESSION I

“Visions for the Balkans”

Chairperson:
Jiri Dienstbier,
Ambassador-at-Large; former Foreign
Minister of Czechoslovakia;
UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights
in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and
Yugoslavia (1998-2001)

Speakers:
Milo Djukanović,
President, Montenegro
Stjepan Mesić,
President, Croatia
Zivko Radišić,
Member of the Presidency, Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Interviewers:
Mark Damazer,

Deputy Director, BBC News, London
Sami Kohen,
Senior Editor, Milliyet, Istanbul
Armen Oganessyan,
Chairman, Voice of Russia, Moscow
Daniel Vernet,
Director, International Relations, Le
Monde, Paris

LUNCH

SESSION II

“What Went Wrong in the Balkans?”

Chairperson:
Boris Bergant,
Deputy Director-General, RTV Slovenija,
Ljubljana

Speakers:
Erhard Busek,
Special Coordinator, Stability Pact for
South Eastern Europe, Brussels
Wolfgang Petritsch,
High Representative in
Bosnia & Herzegovina

Interviewers:
Mehmed Husić,
Director & Editor-in-Chief, ONASA News
Agency, Sarajevo
Remzi Lani,
Director, Albanian Media Institute, Tirana
Radimir Ličina,
Chairman of the Board/Senior Editor,
Danas, Belgrade
Stjepan Malović,
Vice Dean, Faculty of Political Science,
University of Zagreb;
Director, International Centre for
Education of Journalists, Zagreb

RECEPTION AT THE NATIONAL
GALLERY

SATURDAY, 11 MAY 2002

Grand Hotel Union

IPI GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PART I
for IPI Members only

SESSION III

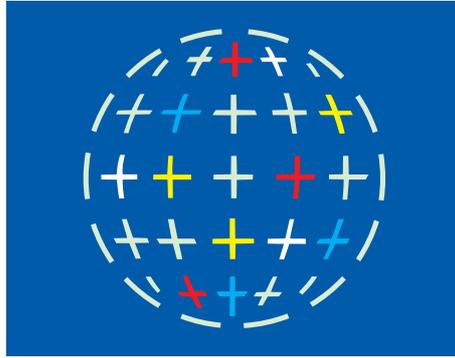
“EU Enlargement - What Price
Accession?”

Chairperson:
Janne Virkkunen,
Senior Editor-in-Chief, Helsingin Sanomat,
Helsinki

Speakers:
Graham Avery,
Chief Adviser, Directorate-General
for Enlargement,
European Commission, Brussels
Jan Kohout,
Political Director, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Czech Republic
Lojze Peterle,
Member of the Praesidium, European
Convention; former Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia
Janez Potočnik,
Minister for European Affairs, Slovenia
Béla Szombati,
Undersecretary of State, Ministry
of Foreign Affairs, Budapest
Jan Truszczyński,
Chief EU Negotiator, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Poland

Interviewers:
Michael Ehrenreich,
Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende,
Copenhagen
Paul Lendvai,
Editor-in-Chief, Europäische Rundschau,
Vienna

LUNCH



SESSION IV (A)

“How to Guarantee Editorial Independence” (Public Media)

Chairperson:

Sandra Bašić-Hrvatín,
President, Slovenian Broadcasting Council, Ljubljana

Panelists:

Danail Danov,
Programme Director, Media Development Centre, Sofia
Christina Jutterström,
Director-General, Swedish Television, Stockholm
Antonio Riva,
former Director-General, SRG - Swiss Radio & TV, Zurich
Albert Scharf,
former Director-General, Bayerischer Rundfunk, Munich
Milan Stíbral,
Director-General, CTK Czech News Agency, Prague
István Wisinger,
President, Association of Hungarian Journalists, Budapest

SESSION IV (B)

“How to Guarantee Editorial Independence” (Private Media)

Chairperson:

Peter Preston,
Director, The Guardian Foundation, London

Panelists:

Kim Dae-joong,
Editor-in-Chief, Chosun Ilbo, Seoul
Ljubica Marković,
Director, BETA News Agency, Belgrade
Alexander Pumpiansky,
Editor-in-Chief, Novoye Vremya, Moscow

Richard Steyn,

former Editor-in-Chief, The Star, Johannesburg

CONCERT AT THE LJUBLJANA PHILHARMONIC HOUSE

RECEPTION AT LJUBLJANA CASTLE hosted by the Mayor of the City of Ljubljana, Viktorija Potočnik

SUNDAY, 12 MAY 2002

Grand Hotel Union

IPI GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PART II for IPI Members only

SESSION V

“Protection of Journalists in Regions of Conflict”

Chairperson:

Richard Tait,
Editor-in-Chief, ITN, London

Keynote Statement:

Chris Cramer,
President, CNN International Networks, Atlanta

Panelists:

Robert Cox,
President, Inter American Press Association (IAPA), Miami
Ronald Koven,
European Representative, World Press Freedom Committee, Paris
Rafael Marques,
Freelance Journalist; Country Director, Open Society Foundation, Luanda
Rodney Pinder,
Editor, Video News, Reuters, London

Aidan White,

General Secretary, International Federation of Journalists, Brussels

LUNCH

PRESENTATION OF THE “FREE MEDIA PIONEER 2002”

awarded to Danas, Belgrade

Radomir Ličina,
Chairman of the Board/Senior Editor, Danas, Belgrade

SESSION VI

“Terrorism - The New Threat to Global Security”

Chairperson:

H.D.S. Greenway,
Columnist, The Boston Globe, Boston, MA

Panelists:

Owais Aslam Ali,
Chairman, Pakistan Press International (PPI), Karachi
Melissa Fleming,
Senior Information Officer, Division of Public Information, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Vienna
Yosri Fouda,
Deputy Executive Director, Al Jazeera Satellite Channel, London (UK) Bureau
Fernando Reinales,
Professor and Chair in Political Science, King Juan Carlos University, Madrid

PRESENTATION OF THE IPI WORLD CONGRESS 2003, NAIROBI, KENYA

FAREWELL DINNER AT THE GRAND HOTEL UNION

Editorial:

Increasing Understanding Between Journalists

In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared full independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Federal troops responded by bombing Ljubljana airport, among other targets, but soon withdrew from Slovenia. Fighting, however, intensified in Croatia and a decade of wars and inter-ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia followed, leaving tens of thousands dead and millions homeless.

Ten years after the recognition of the independence of Slovenia by the international community, the IPI Slovenian National Committee invited IPI to hold its World Congress and 51st General Assembly in Ljubljana - now the capital city of a small and ambitious republic on the verge of accession to the European Union (EU) - in order to discuss, among other things, what went wrong in the Balkans.

From the outset, the media was tragically entwined in the deadly cycle of violence in the Balkans. A brave few, including the journalists at the independent Belgrade-based daily newspaper *Danas*, the recipient of the 2002 IPI Free Media Pioneer Award, were determined to report objectively on events unfolding in the region, often facing appalling consequences as a result, but others added to the tensions through biased or sensationalist reporting, fanning the flames of hatred.

With this in mind, IPI, together with its affiliate, the South East Europe Media Organisation (SEEMO), decided to hold, in conjunction with the Ljubljana Congress, a seminar on "The Media and Conflict Prevention in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)". At the beginning of 2001, a conflict had erupted in northern Macedonia as the country fell victim to ethnic tension and violence. Many accused the Macedonian media of disregarding objectivity and exacerbating tension through unbalanced reporting. Another long and bloody Balkan war seemed imminent. In an attempt to improve the situation, IPI and SEEMO brought together for the first time 35 editors and leading journalists from all the ethnic groupings in the FYROM in order to enter into a dialogue and promote mutual understanding through accurate and fair reporting.

IPI has had a long tradition of organising bilateral meetings intended to achieve understanding among journalists and, consequently,



Michael Kudlak,
Congress Coordinator and Editor,
IPI Congress Report

among peoples. The first series of such meetings was held between French and German editors in the early days of the Institute, when press relations between France and Germany were severely strained. The first session took place in January 1954 in the building of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, considered neutral territory by both sides. The meetings, ten in all, continued until 1960 when, happily, there were no points of difference left for discussion.

Important results in terms of mutual understanding and more sophisticated reporting were also achieved in meetings between British and German editors, and between the Dutch and Indonesians, in the 1950s. Greek and Turkish editors met on Rhodes in March 1961; the Japanese and Koreans held five meetings during the 1960s; and Austrian and Italian editors met in 1970 and 1971 to improve press coverage of the South Tyrol. A series of IPI-initiated talks between Japanese and American editors, beginning in 1970, when old frictions between the two countries were on the rise, helped to moderate the attitude of the media on both sides.

The IPI/SEEMO seminar in Ljubljana also proved to be a success, with all sides cooperating to produce some sensible agreements. Among other things, it was agreed that they should meet again in Skopje, the capital of the FYROM, for further discussions.

During the following three days, participants of the Ljubljana Congress were able to hear the opinions of three of the region's leaders - Milo Djukanović of Montenegro, Stjepan Mesić of Croatia, and Zivko Radičić of Bosnia-Herzegovina - who gave their own perspectives on regional development and long-term stability in the post-Milosević era.

In the session entitled "What Went Wrong in the Balkans?", two representatives of the international community - Erhard Busek of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and Wolfgang Petritsch, High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina - analysed the role of the wide array of international actors who were unable to prevent Yugoslavia's descent into civil war.

A highly-qualified panel of EU experts discussed the current enlargement facing the European Union in the session "EU Enlargement - What Price Accession?" and examined the political problems facing the candidate coun-

tries as they try to meet the tough entrance requirements set by the EU.

Following two sessions on important professional issues, "How to Guarantee Editorial Independence" and "Protection of Journalists in Regions of Conflict", the IPI Congress closed with a session on a timely subject, "Terrorism - The New Threat to Global Security", which examined what the international community is doing to combat an enemy that is faceless, obeys no rules of war and considers no targets off limits.

As was the case during the Balkan conflict, the media is inextricably entwined in the "war on terror". After the events of September 11, the United States found itself engulfed in a debate over the balance of national security, freedom of expression and patriotism. Fears that the Bush administration's anti-terrorism measures could infringe on press freedom were soon confirmed when the U.S. State Department attempted to interfere in the editorial independence of both Voice of America and an independent TV station based in another country, al-Jazeera in Qatar. In addition, the White House asked the major TV news organisations - ABC News, CBS News, NBC News, CNN and the Fox News Channel - to abridge any future videotaped statements from Osama bin Laden after they had broadcast, unedited, a taped message from bin Laden. The White House also asked U.S. newspapers to refrain from publishing full transcripts of statements issued by the terrorist leader.

The United States and Canada, as well as many other countries, have now passed anti-terrorism legislation, which many fear will undermine civil liberties, including freedom of expression and freedom of information, and could serve as examples for authoritarian regimes around the world who wish to silence their opponents in the name of fighting terrorism.

The media have a fundamental role to serve the public's right to know. It will be up to IPI and other free press groups to ensure that any strategies to combat the threat of terrorism must respect freedom of expression as set out in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to ensure the right of journalists to report freely and fully on terrorism in the public interest.



Friday, 10 May 2002

OPENING CEREMONY

Grand Hotel Union



WELCOME

OPENING STATEMENTS

SPEAKER

Mitja Meršol,

Chairman of IPI Slovenia; Editor-in-Chief, Delo, Ljubljana

Hugo Büttler,

Chairman of IPI; Editor-in-Chief, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich

Johann P. Fritz,

Director of IPI

Borut Pahor,

President, Parliament of Slovenia

"You have come to a small country with great ambitions. A country which is trying to eliminate historical backlogs in the development of democracy, enforce human rights and enhance the rule of law, and at the same time promote a strategy of rapid modernisation which will allow us to join the most advanced European countries. This is not an automatic process. It can only be implemented in a free and open environment that cannot be established without freedom of the media."

Borut Pahor





Dobrodošli!

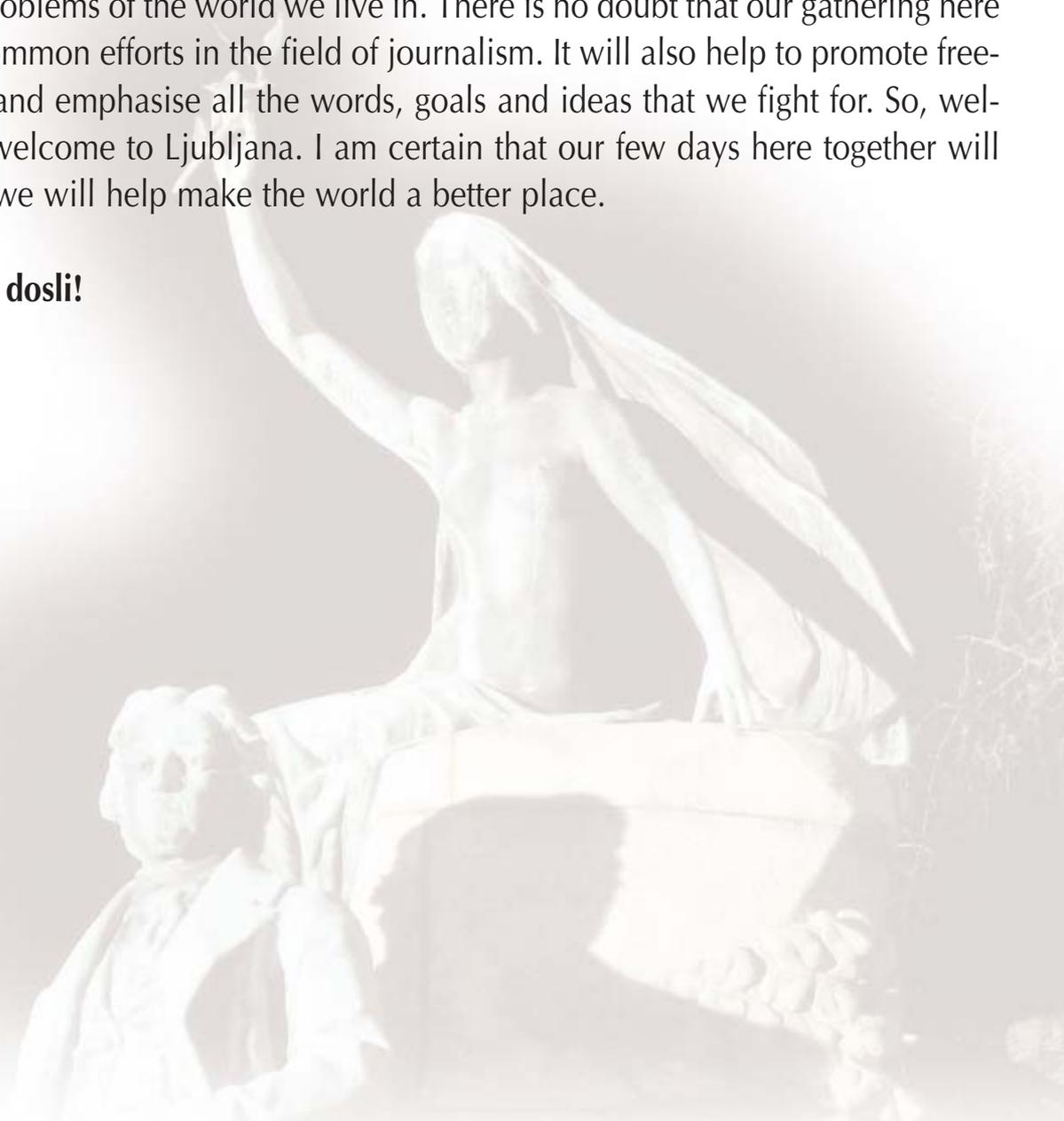


Mitja Meršol,
*Chairman of IPI Slovenia;
Editor-in-Chief, Delo, Ljubljana*

Dobrodošli! Welcome!

Welcome to Ljubljana, welcome to Slovenia. The IPI family is once again together. 460 participants from 64 countries are here today in Ljubljana, and your presence is important to Slovenia, my country, on the sunny side of the Alps. The IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly will contribute toward raising awareness about - and seeking possible solutions for - the problems of the world we live in. There is no doubt that our gathering here will generate our common efforts in the field of journalism. It will also help to promote freedom of expression and emphasise all the words, goals and ideas that we fight for. So, welcome to Slovenia, welcome to Ljubljana. I am certain that our few days here together will be fruitful and that we will help make the world a better place.

Once again, Dobro dosli!



With Words it All Began



Hugo Büttler,
*Chairman of IPI; Editor-in-Chief,
Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich*

Almost 11 years after the proclamation of its independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovenia stands as a successful example of Eastern Europe in transition. The economic and political reforms have advanced very far, and the country belongs to the leading group of candidates for the EU accession. Negotiations are expected to be finished by the end of this year. Slovenia might then even be able to take part in the voting process for the European Parliament in 2004, as a member of the European Union. Chances are also very good that Slovenia will be invited to join NATO at the summit in Prague in November.

In the final phase of Marshal Josip Tito's multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, Slovenia was also the pioneer of economic openness, freedom and political democratisation. The first attempts to reject Communism and to modernise the economy took place at a relatively early stage. Towards the end of the 1980s, the calls for the state's independence from Yugoslavia rang ever louder. The Slovenian media profoundly influenced and enabled the political and economic reforms, and helped to initiate the secession from Belgrade, which ended on June 25, 1991, with the declaration of independence.

It is, therefore, no coincidence that in June 1991 the transmitter masts of the main television station were one of the prime targets during Belgrade's military incursion into Slovenia. This type of aggression was repeated in the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The state-owned media in each of the republics played a highly important and sometimes fateful role prior to the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia.

A part of the media allowed itself to become a political instrument by nationalist leaders. The majority of the media became complacent tools of the ruling power and were used in the service of nationalist ideologies. They helped stir up ethnic hatred, spread defamation, and instigated veritable hate campaigns. With their hate speech, they fomented and instilled the concept of war in the public mind. The war in the

Balkans began with language. The media war raged before the first shot was even fired. It should, however, not be forgotten that some media outlets kept their independence despite the enormous pressure exerted on them. They rejected the ruling parties and bravely countered destructive, aggressive nationalism.

The Croatian writer Dubravka Ugrešić wrote the following in an essay of December 1993:

"With words it all began, and with words it will all end. And over the time of reality in between - thousands of dead, beaten, wounded and evacuated people; destroyed houses, villages and towns! One day, a steam-roller of words will roll and cover the factual tragedy with concrete, with interpretations - historical, political, military-strategic, cultural, and literary."

This essay can be found in the "Culture of Lies", which was written as a reaction to the destruction of Yugoslavia and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To prevent the tragedy of the past decade from becoming sealed in words and set phrases or, in what amounts to the same thing, from being swept under the carpet, is one of the most important, but at the same time most difficult tasks of the media in former Yugoslavia.

After the political changes of the past two years, the media in Croatia, as well as in Serbia and Montenegro, face new challenges. The same applies to the press and to the electronic media in Bosnia, Kosovo and in Macedonia.

After the end of the Balkan wars, the construction of a new democratic order and the creation of a civil society under the rule of law is of prime significance. Similarly, one of the most important challenges facing the media consists of the painful task of dealing with the recent past. The media also have a role to play in uncovering war crimes.

I cannot accept the points of view of those who think that such work is unnecessary, or even damaging, as this would only

serve to open old wounds that have yet to heal. The digging up of the past, so the argument runs, prevents the pragmatic shaping of the future.

It is however a fact that the old Yugoslavia also broke up because the war crimes of World War II had not been dealt with. In the spirit of a new "Brotherhood and Unity", these atrocities were simply swept under the carpet. As a consequence, nationalist leaders were able to play with national prejudices for years. A part of the media supported them in this. By evoking the crimes committed by the other side in World War II, they were fostering a climate of fear and menace. This was the soil on which violence grew.

The examination of the recent past is therefore no luxury. It is a political necessity and an important precedent for democratic renewal and lasting peace in the Balkans. It is the basis for reconciliation and tolerance between ethnic groups. It is to be hoped that the media will continue to focus on this.

In this spirit, the International Press Institute opens its Ljubljana World Congress.

In this spirit, we have dedicated the political topics of this event to a re-evaluation of the past and to the vision of a political future.

And in this spirit, a parallel event takes place here in Ljubljana. The IPI-affiliated South East Europe Media Organisation (SEEMO) has invited editors-in-chief and other media representatives from Macedonia and neighbouring regions to a seminar on "The Media and Conflict Prevention in Macedonia". Over 35 editors and leading media representatives from the various ethnic groups in Macedonia are gathering here for discussions and consultation on how to promote mutual understanding.

I wish this seminar, as well as the IPI World Congress, a good and successful run, and would like to take the opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks the President of the National Assembly and to President Kučan for their support and co-operation, and I wish President Kučan a fast recovery from the operation that he has to undergo.

Food for Thought



Johann P. Fritz,
*Director, International
Press Institute (IPI)*

This meeting here in Slovenia is a very impressive and interesting one. Today, we will be confronted with the visions for this region formulated by leaders from the former Yugoslavia.

However, we must realise that minorities have been and still are the most dangerous and complicated potential for conflict in the region. Minorities are defined as groups of citizens who have different ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious backgrounds than the majority of the population in a specific country.

Max van der Stoep, the long-time OSCE High Commissioner for national minorities in the Balkans, blames the governments of the region that they did not and still do not take enough initiative to prevent obvious potential crises. They, as well as almost all other European states, spend up to 40 times more for military budgets than for conflict prevention.

South Eastern Europe urgently needs a revitalisation of civil society. In 1999, the United Nation's Secretary General Kofi Annan stated: "Emerging slowly but surely is an international norm against violent repressions of minorities that will and must take precedence over concerns of state sovereignty."

Citizenship is not constituted by groups but by individuals interacting as citizens with specific interests and goals. Thus, common citizenship must not require a common form of life, common existential values or a common historic past. With a proper democratic approach, multi-ethnic societies do have the opportunity for a greater cultural enrichment and a more dynamic development than others.

However, even if equal rights exist, this does not automatically mean equal chances. Anti-discriminatory training for public officials at all levels of the administration is needed. And governments would be well advised to learn best practices from their counterparts in the transitional countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, they must realise that civil movements, non-governmental organisa-

tions and citizen groups can play a leading role in social change, innovation and transformation. But they require a set of legal mechanisms which permits their independent existence and could foster their growth.

Tomorrow our attention will be devoted to the perspectives of the enlargement of the European Union. The current enlargement project embraces 13 countries and will represent an increase in area of 34 per cent and in population of 150 millions. This development could be a historic opportunity to further the integration of the European continent by peaceful means.

However, it is a costly experiment since the European Investment Bank believes that these 13 nations need about US\$ 30 billion in order to adapt their infrastructure according to the requested standards. But the most important criteria for accession is the need for applicants to achieve stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy. Only this way can a larger European Union develop into a zone of stability and sustainable growth.

The most exciting session for the media professionals gathered here will be tomorrow afternoon on the issue of editorial independence. It will certainly not be easy to bridge the gap between public media and private media, as well as the many different cultural approaches which we find in various regions and continents.

On Sunday morning, the debates will focus on the issue of protecting journalists in regions of conflict. Our colleagues at the frontline are not putting their lives at risk for the sake of sensationalism, but to obtain facts and to bring home to the public the news untainted by lies and propaganda. Afterward, we will hand over the 2002 "Free Media Pioneer" Award.

During the final session we will see that terrorism is a particularly vicious species of psychological warfare. Islamic extremists, for example, are not so much aiming at influencing the West, but at expelling the West from the Muslim world because of its secular, modernising influence.

They are skilled at shaping political opinion in the Arab world against the Western societies in order to undermine moderate Islamic regimes and to radicalise their populations. This is a war of words as much as of bombs.

However, the manifold new and sophisticated threats to global security are not just limited to conservative means of attack, but also entail potential attacks with nuclear weapons, or chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction.

In addition, there is the perspective of cyber-space warfare, not only against the military sector, but also the civilian and commercial sectors. Attacks launched against Internet-based companies, primarily Yahoo, Amazon and so on by viruses and denial of services have already cost Western businesses up to US\$ 7 billion in damages over the past 10 years.

The potential disruption of publication and information systems and other potentially effective attacks on IT systems will have priority in the interests of this gathering of international journalists and editors.

The chosen topics for this conference should provide enough food for thought and ample opportunity for discussion and an exchange of views. I wish you successful deliberations here in this hospitable country and charming city.

A Small Country with Great Ambitions



Borut Pahor,
President, Parliament of Slovenia

On behalf of the President of the Republic, I would like to welcome you most warmly to Slovenia. The President considers your decision to choose our country for the venue of the congress as a recognition of Slovenia and its media activity.

You have come to a small country with great ambitions. A country which is trying to eliminate historical backlogs in the development of democracy, enforce human rights and enhance the rule of law, and at the same time promote a strategy of rapid modernisation which will allow us to join the most advanced European countries.

This is not an automatic process. It can only be implemented in a free and open environment that cannot be established without freedom of the media. I would like to take this opportunity to ensure this assembly that the Slovenian Parliament is determined to investigate the assault on journalist Miro Petek and thus contribute to protecting freedom of the press.

Last month I visited Belgrade, Priština and Sarajevo. It was my first visit after the war. One of the most significant changes I noticed concerned the freedom of the media. The media may provide pessimistic assessments of the efficiency of post-war reconstruction, yet my counterparts believe that the mere fact that such things can now be read or seen is the most solid proof that the reconstruction is successful and irreversible. This is indeed a very important and encouraging statement for a future of peace, security and welfare in a region so unstable in the last decade.

My visit was not coincidental. Slovenia wishes to enhance bilateral cooperation and friendship, share its experience regarding democratic transition and learn about the ambitions of those countries. Our counterparts in the international community justifiably ask us to provide our views about the situation in the region and about our respon-

sibility and readiness to join the international community in its efforts towards establishing peace, security and democracy. Slovenia, a candidate for accession to the European Union and NATO, understands such responsibility and is ready to accept it.

A democratic, economic and social rebirth of Southeast Europe contributes to the elimination of historical backlogs in European integration processes. Prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall, such processes had been limited to the Western Europe, yet upon the rise of new democracies they have expanded towards Eastern and Central Europe and should include the whole Europe for the sake of peace in the Balkans.

Europe is not integrating merely to protect and strengthen its democratic values, but also to organize itself as part of the global world. New questions about its internal identity arise with regard to the individual citizen, along with those concerning its image and role in the international community.

What the European experience has to offer to the world in the third millennium is a message of tolerance and respect for differences as the foundations for a life in common. There is nothing idyllic about it; it is an effort towards mutual respect and consideration. It is rivalry enriched with solidarity.

I am not speaking about a medicine that will save the new world but only describing an experience which can give it new hope. The more free the world is, the more hope there will be for it. To a great extent this also depends on the power of the media - your power and freedom.

I therefore wish the congress all the best and I wish you successful work and a pleasant stay in Slovenia.



A Global World in Need of Ethics



Milan Kučan,
President of Slovenia

It gives me great pleasure to be able to welcome you here in Slovenia. It is a true commendation to Slovenian journalism and to my country that you have chosen the Slovenian house as the venue for your meeting in our global village. Welcome.

Free expression of opinions, editorial independence and the sensitive perception of the true dilemmas of mankind are as indispensable a prerequisite for the freedom of the individual, for internal freedom and for the openness of any society and the global world as water is indispensable to life. I therefore hope that the congress here in Slovenia, where you will be deliberating on these issues, will fulfil your expectations and bring new hope for democracy in the world.

Without a free media allowing for the self-reflection of a society there is no bright future for the world. Today that world does not only project its lighter sides. It is divided into people, nations and states with grand opportunities on the one hand, and those without a future on the other. It is divided into safe regions of peace and regions of war and violence against human dignity and rights. It is divided into a world of democratic principles and tolerance, and a world of fundamentalisms of all shapes. It is divided into a world of knowledge and modern technology, and a world to which all this is inaccessible.

There are no impenetrable borders between these worlds, though. Globalisation of the economy, information and the environment has made the world a single, indivisible world. Whatever plight comes to one of us has consequences on every one of us. But in spite of that an awareness of our interdependence is setting in only very slowly. Even slower at setting in are actions expressing a common responsibility for mankind and for life on our planet.

Understandably, such a world generates ever louder calls for a more profound dialogue on humanity's global dilemmas, on world ethics, on the common values serving as the guiding principle for all our actions in order for us to live safely in peace and for all of us to enjoy a better future, greater prosperity and social justice, with less violence, less

environmental, humanitarian and social disasters. No society, not even a global one, can exist without moral values and without rules based on ethical principles regulating the functioning of such a society. Respecting these rules allows for active coexistence and prevents the world from turning into a clash of civilisations, into a battle of all against all.

This is so much more the reason why an interdependent world requires such ethics. It requires common fundamental standards of behaviour, with all of us protecting life and human dignity, human rights, protecting nature and preserving it for future generations, not producing weapons of mass destruction, be they biological, chemical or nuclear, overseeing genetic and medical experiments, not offering refuge to terrorists, preventing international crime of all sorts, etc. The world needs such rules of behaviour and global governance that will implement a common responsibility for the future of humanity and of our planet based on such standards.

Is it therefore not time for us to start considering some sort of treaty between countries? A treaty voluntarily binding countries to the respect of common values and common standards of behaviour for our common benefit and because of our common responsibility, a treaty whereby countries would agree to democratic oversight of their actions and to measures to be taken against offenders? Perhaps this sounds utopian right now as it is striking on a formidable obstacle - the phenomenon of national sovereignty. In spite of the anachronism of understanding national sovereignty as an absolute value developed in political theory and practice through the centuries, it still remains the basis of international relations. The UN has nevertheless reached beyond the absolute application of this idea with the principle of humanitarian intervention.

Any agreement or treaty between countries can therefore only be realistically considered within the UN, whose universal nature, in spite of its known deficiencies, obviously makes it the only forum capable of

conducting a dialogue on these issues and on such a treaty. Such an agreement would be even more realistic if it were based on the principle of equality between all major civilisations and the states and nations belonging to them. It would be even more effective if it were not based solely on repression of violations. No regime, not even the international community, can be effective only through repression or military supremacy. Also, the fight against terrorism cannot prove effective in the long run if we fail to fight with equal vigour against poverty, ignorance and disrespect of man, his dignity and rights.

The world needs balanced development. Every person, every nation, every state has the right to a future in this world, while having a responsibility for their actions not only towards themselves, but to everyone. The world needs global responsibility, and that starts on each of our doorsteps. An agreement of the entire democratic world is needed on how each of us individually and all of us together could responsibly work towards a peaceful and better world.

On our path towards this aim we shall certainly require fundamental intellectual, ethical and political consideration. I suppose, though, that there are no serious doubts anymore as to the need for global dialogue and that the UN must be enabled for such a dialogue. That dialogue will be made easier and tolerant if made accessible to the public, if the media will have their doors wide open, as many already have.

A dialogue is also needed on the future of Europe, on the common goals and values that are the prerequisite for a united Europe. We want a Europe that will successfully engage in a dialogue with other centres of this global world. A Europe that will be capable of assuming its own share of the responsibility for the situation in the world, that will be capable of connecting all its voices into one single voice of peace and social justice for the entire world. A Europe that will participate in the world and in the global dialogue as a special and recognisable political entity. Or can we perhaps say that it is already acting in such a way? The Conven-



A Global World in Need of Ethics

tion on the Future of Europe is an opportunity for joint deliberation on such a united Europe. That is why we Europeans expect so much from it. We first of all expect a common European consideration on the modern world and its diversity, a consideration of our desired role in such a world, our influence and our responsibility, as well as the ways to come nearer to achieving that desired role. If the Convention will succeed in inciting such thought, it will certainly clear the path towards our goal.

Perhaps it is Central Europe, the heart of the old continent in both sunshine and in rain, that has the greatest expectations of this Convention. This is where the values allowing for a tolerant and creative coexistence of differences were created. This is also where fundamentalisms were born that threaten these values. This is where the Berlin Wall separated democracy from totalitarianism. This is where nations and states were violently thrust in ideological and political monolithy, into civilisations foreign to them. This is where a decade ago a common area of democratic values was reborn, values that are the moral foundations for coexistence between the peoples, nations and states across Europe.

Yet Central Europe leads a life that is far from being idyllic. This is where aggressive national populisms reside, conjuring up the evil spirits of the past. They are at their most comfortable in a provincial and xenophobic atmosphere and therefore nurture it, fomenting against any kind of difference. These phenomena are the complete opposite of the desired shape of future states, nations and the majority of people in Central Europe. But they are here, smothering the free spirit. They profess an unkind future if the democratic world of Central Europe and of Europe as a whole will give them way or even give in to them, as has already happened in the first half of the previous century.

The Western Balkans are a tragic example of such events. The Balkans are also a place where good people had always lived, people with their own dreams, hopes and ambitions. But politics that drew their

strength from national traumas and myths instead of reality and good ideas for the future caught them in the web of national exclusivity that does not recognise the same rights for others and for those that are different. The consequences in this ethnically mixed region were horrendous and it seems that the way out of the entanglement in national ideas elevated above the clouds is much longer than the path towards them.

Nevertheless, democracy is returning to the region. The endeavours of the international community for the long-term stabilisation of this part of Europe were extremely great, although grave mistakes were also committed. The final success depends for the most part on the unity of European and global interests and views as to the future of the Balkans. It depends also on the recognition that even in this region the same principles, values and relations must apply as apply elsewhere in Europe, that here too nations must live together, one with the other, not one against the other. It depends on the recognition that also the Balkan nations create the future together with other Europeans in processes of European integration and unification. Dreams, hopes and ambitions are coming back to life. The expectations are great also of the media, that their professionalism - implying a critical distance from elevating certain ideas above all others, from the iconography and mythology of the past - will see them fulfil their task in environments that, just like Central Europe, belong to the common European home.

Historical circumstance had Central European Slovenia live as part of this region for 70 years, a region that in the past century was an arena of ethnic clashes and wars rather than peace, democracy and development. A free, European way of life and the right to a future were the values that incited Slovenes over a decade ago to form a strong will for our own country and with it to enter European and Euro-Atlantic structures. In ten years, Slovenia transformed into a modern European country. It is capable and willing to decide on the future of Europe and of the world together with other democratic

nations, in order for Europe and the world to be made also to its own measure. It is mature enough to see beyond the grudges and injustices it suffered in the past and expects the same of others.

Slovenia's ambitions are great. It wants to become a country of excellence, since only that can serve as its comparative advantage. It wants to be competitive in an increasingly competitive world, while at the same time working with all those who are prepared to respect common rules. It wants to offer its citizens good education, create a country of lifelong learning, to become an area with an information technology industry, a free market for goods, services, capital, labour and ideas, a democratic space of difference, a pluralistic country with an independent media. A country that is sufficiently self-confident to maintain its spiritual and cultural identity. Slovenia, a democratic and open market economy, a welfare state of free people, already is such a country in many respects. Where and what its problems are is something, I trust, you will be able to tell for yourselves.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have great power in your hands and you share the responsibility for the future of humanity with all the other levers of democracy in modern society. That is why I wanted to focus your attention on some of the problems and great challenges of the modern world that require considered answers. These challenges are common to us all. We are all facing them. It will perhaps be easier to find the answers with your involvement. That is why the future of this world also depends on you. I firmly believe that you share my hope for a kind future.

Editor's note: President Kučan, who was hospitalised on 8 May 2002 due to health problems, was unable to deliver this speech. He was released from hospital on 10 May after having a small kidney stone surgically removed.



Friday, 10 May 2002

SESSION I VISIONS FOR THE BALKANS

Grand Hotel Union



CHAIRPERSON

Jiri Dienstbier,
Ambassador-at-Large; former Foreign
Minister of Czechoslovakia; UN Special
Rapporteur on Human Rights in Bosnia
and Herzegovina, Croatia and Yugoslavia
(1998-2001)

*"I am glad that there is no longer a need
for visions to end the war, to stop ethnic
cleansing, and so on, and that we are
now experiencing a more positive time
for the whole region."*

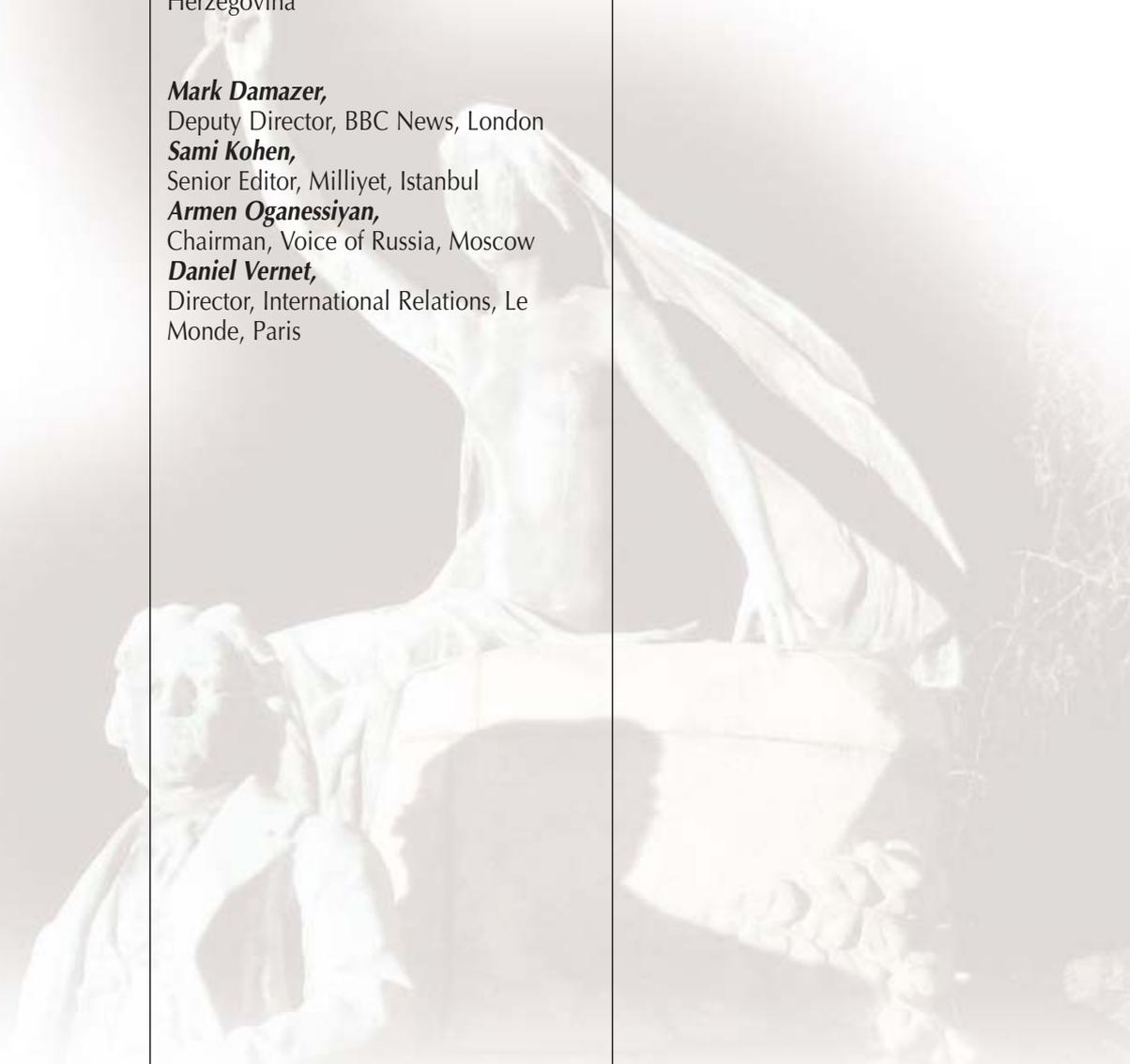
Jiri Dienstbier

SPEAKERS

Milo Djukanović,
President, Montenegro
Stjepan Mesić,
President, Croatia
Zivko Radišić,
Member of the Presidency, Bosnia and
Herzegovina

INTERVIEWERS

Mark Damazer,
Deputy Director, BBC News, London
Sami Kohen,
Senior Editor, Milliyet, Istanbul
Armen Oganessyan,
Chairman, Voice of Russia, Moscow
Daniel Vernet,
Director, International Relations, Le
Monde, Paris





Reforming Mindsets



Milo Djukanović,
President of Montenegro

Montenegro wants to be present everywhere where a democratic, European future for the Balkans is being discussed or pondered upon. I believe it is not presumptuous to say that this is where a democratic Montenegro belongs. It has deserved this by preserving peace and multi-ethnic harmony over the last decade, during a time when wars were raging across its borders, by choosing its own reformist, democratic and European course, and by contributing to the consolidation of democratic forces in Serbia, as well as by standing up to the former Belgrade dictatorship.

Throughout its political history, the Balkans have been perceived as a synonym for everything that is backward and retrograde, as a homeland of xenophobia and myth mania, a region turned to the past and an antipode to modern civilisation trends. Nevertheless, the Balkans are geographically and historically part of Europe. Therefore, in my opinion, to speak of the future of the Balkans is to speak of the future of Europe, too. The future of the Balkans lies in a modern Europeanisation and in a meaningful unification with Europe. On such premises, the European Union (EU) has lately been developing and strengthening a pro-active strategy for a democratic transition of the Balkans and its full integration into the EU.

The EU has clearly demonstrated this strategic priority through the Stabilisation and Association Process, explicitly opening prospects for all the countries of the region. On the other hand, the political momentum of this European strategy is increasingly becoming the pillar of the action of all the democratic forces and of their political elites in the Balkans. The synergy and coherence of this two-way European road is already producing visible results.

Throughout its history, the Balkans have never been closer to Europe than today. It is of crucial importance that the EU has for the first time defined a pro-active strategy through its readiness to

provide mechanisms of a controlled channelling of reforms towards establishing an EU-compatible, institutional, legislative and economic system. And yet, most depends on us who live in the Balkans. This is primarily a long process of reforming mindsets, habits, ways of thinking, and of adopting European values, their substance and import. No one can do this for us. The EU, the United States or anyone else from the outside, cannot substitute for the key role the national governments have to play in this process. It is a difficult and painful process, which in the transition period calls for huge sacrifices. The sooner we accept this as something inevitable, the faster we shall go forward.

The requirements that we have to fulfil and our response to them are not a mere demonstration of political rhetorical skills. It is however of utmost importance to genuinely adopt the language of European communication. Political consensus is necessary, but it is insufficient in itself. Reform adjustments that governments achieve in the field represent the real progress and a reference point that will dictate the pace of integration into the EU, for individual states and for the region.

Therefore, the question is not whether the Balkans will be part of the EU, but in what time frame this goal is reachable, both at the national and regional levels. The Stabilisation and Association Process provides prerequisites and mechanisms, taking account of the different capacities and capabilities of the different countries which make it necessary that they proceed at their own pace towards the final goal - membership of the EU.

Creating conditions for a stable peace and security in the Balkans, and for its strategic and economic development, are two intertwined and interdependent processes. The roots of democracy and stability can only be consolidated in the Balkans if its deep economic backwardness and divisions are overcome, the rule of law is implemented, along with multi-

ethnic tolerance and a modern market economy, and if an appropriate institutional capacity is developed. A prerequisite for this is tackling those problems that are top international priorities, such as combating organised crime, corruption and other illicit activities. Countries in transition, the so-called emerging democracies and on top of everything else countries which were subject to a long international isolation, represent a fertile soil for such negative occurrences. To the category of major and pressing steps belongs the long transformation of the army and police and placing them under civilian control.

All these fundamental changes fall primarily within the competence of national governments and can be achieved through a relationship or partnership with the appropriate support mechanisms of the EU and U.S., which will allow us to deal with the consequences that those processes inevitably bring about. Under the conditions of multi-layered globalisation and interdependence, it is clear that a problem of any one part soon becomes a common problem and that categories of traditional political and economic sovereignty are outdated. Integration of the Balkans into the EU will proceed faster and more efficiently if all the countries of the region show readiness to overcome all outstanding issues in their mutual relations, making their plans for economic and political development conducive to stability, European standards and cooperation. At any rate, this is one of the chief preconditions of the Stabilisation and Association Process as the key instrument of the EU policy for the Balkans. The model of regional cooperation means in effect extending the EU philosophy to embrace the Balkans.

I believe that the Agreement on guiding principles for restructuring the relationship between Montenegro and Serbia, signed on 14 March in Belgrade, is an example of a new reality in the Balkans, an indication that the decade-



Reforming Mindsets

long Yugoslav crisis, which began in a typically Balkan style, could end in a European style. The greatest responsibility for this rests with the participants in the process of dialogue. However, I wish once again to reaffirm the positive role in this process of the European Union and its High Representative, Javier Solana, who initiated the resumption of dialogue and made possible the above Agreement.

I think that this Agreement represents the most obvious proof of positive development in the early post-Milošević era. One should not attach too great an importance to the difficulties in the initial phase of implementation of the Belgrade Agreement. The resilient relics of the old, retrograde forces are finding it hard to accept the changes and new trends.

Montenegro is committed to do its best to implement the obligations under the Agreement. Its contents represent the most transparent recognition and verification of the reform accomplishments that Montenegro has reached over the past difficult years. The Agreement takes account of the degree of reform achievements in the member states. It has at the same time put an end to the Yugoslav illusion, which

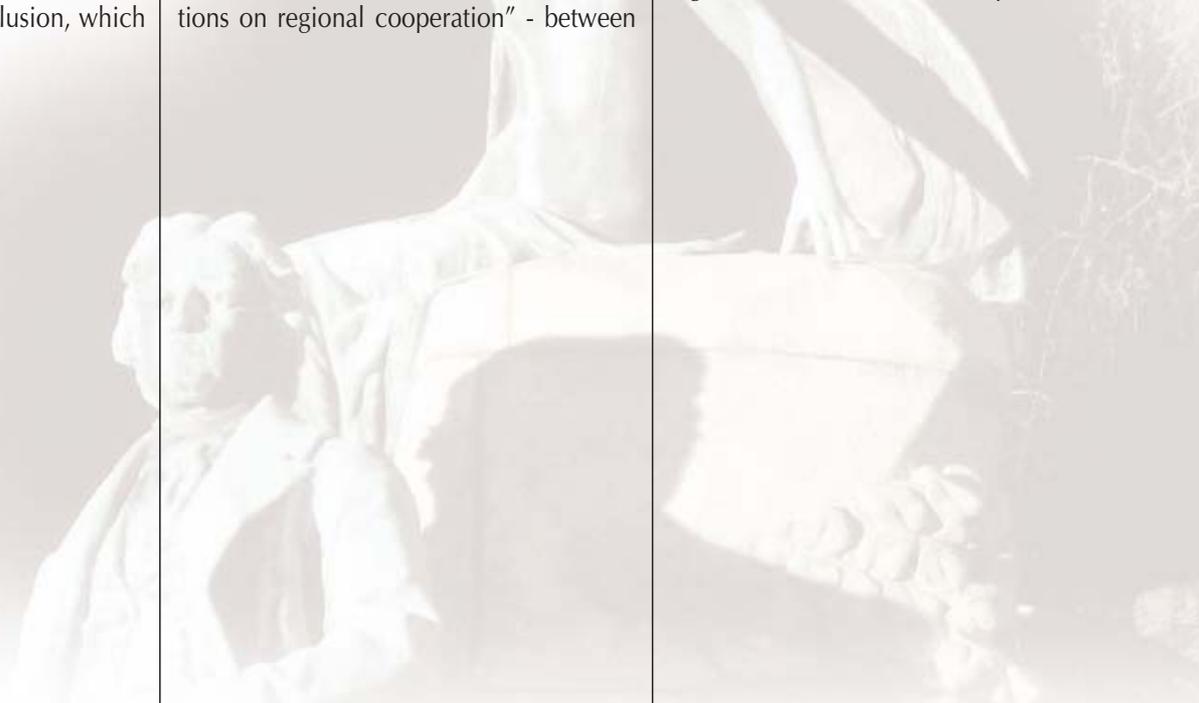
Slobodan Milošević skilfully manipulated for almost a decade. The old European states, Montenegro and Serbia, are back on the international stage with their state names.

Montenegro has made a concession, accepting to postpone a referendum on its status. It has taken account of the interests of other participants in the dialogue process, and of regional and wider interests. By doing so it has also secured guarantees by the European Union that the referendum on the status issue, to be held in three years time, will be respected. Most importantly, the Agreement creates conditions to speed up the Stabilisation and Association Process through harmonisation of the systems of Montenegro and Serbia with the system of the EU.

I am confident that regional relations, too, will be based on a network of compatible bilateral treaties, which implies free flow of people, goods, capital and information between countries of the region and candidate-countries for EU accession. Conditions will increasingly be created for building a network of relations which will be based on treaties - "conventions on regional cooperation" - between

the signatories of the Stabilisation and Association Process, as indicated at the Zagreb Summit. These agreements will over time bring about a deepened cooperation between the countries of the region and the EU.

The media and their activity, developed in line with European and world standards, will play an important role. The independence of editors and journalists is a clear indicator of overall democratic achievements in any community. Montenegro is making an intensive effort towards upgrading legislation in this field with the expert assistance of the Council of Europe. The media also have a huge responsibility in relation to the processes of democratic transformation in the Balkans. And, as the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington brought the world together in defending democratic values and the achievements of civilisation, I believe that bringing together on a common European road all democratic and reformist structures in the Balkans can help all of us to take as early as possible the place that has always been there waiting for us in the common European house.





A Future of Mutual Cooperation

You have invited me to talk about visions for the Balkans. This is a topic that does not easily lend itself to discussion. Let me illustrate that by saying that in my country, Croatia, many people do not want to admit that Croatia is part of the Balkans. In historical memory, the Balkans are thought of as the tinderbox which triggered the conflagration of the First World War. They are remembered by the older generation as the scene of bloody confrontations between political adversaries during the Second World War, but also by the younger generation, who remember the Balkans as the source of the war which swept Croatia a dozen years ago. Hence the antagonism toward even the very concept of "the Balkans".

Yet the Balkans, whether we like it or not, are also a link between the countries that emerged from the former Yugoslavia. It is therefore legitimate, and even necessary, for the President of Croatia to consider his country's visions for the Balkans. Let me share these considerations with you.

After two attempts to create and sustain a state, Yugoslavia, comprising most of the nations in the Balkans, and after two collapses of that state in blood and destruction, it is the destiny of the Balkans, I believe, to be an area of several small states. The history of the relations among such states is not devoid of conflict, and I do not have in mind only the wars of the late 20th century. Yet this history is predominantly one of cooperation and coexistence. It suggests that the current states in the Balkans or, to use a term which I find more precise, Southeast Europe, ought to base their future on mutual cooperation.

Such cooperation, still found to be odious and dubious by certain people, does not lead us to any third Yugoslavia, nor does it enclose us within the region, as certain analysts and even politicians would like to suggest. Such cooperation is in the interest of all Balkan states. It will also give us the opportunity for a faster approach and, in the final state of the process, accession to European integration, this being our common goal.

Naturally, this is neither an easy or a simple course. But it is inevitable. This is the



Stjepan Mesić,
President of Croatia

course we have to take if we want to be part of the democratic, developed world. It is not too difficult to present the vision of that course, but it will be much more difficult to follow it to the end.

We are trying to get rid of the ballast of the past - I have in mind the legacy of the socialist system - and to adopt at the same time whatever makes up the backbone of democratic capitalism. Let me be frank, in the process we sometimes see the survival of the most negative features of socialism, which enter into a symbiotic relationship with the characteristics of unbridled, primitive capitalism. With disastrous results, of course.

Nevertheless, there are passing negative aspects which will not and should not affect our basic orientation, our vision. Along with democracy, the market economy and regional cooperation, this vision certainly has to include the association with European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. It also assumes the adoption and enforcement of specific standards, or rules of the game, if you will. At present, we are all in the stage of compliance with these standards, primarily in the legislative sphere, but also in all other fields, from education through health care to defence. Of course, this also holds good for the media scene.

Democracy is not something that can just be learnt. Democracy is a way of life. We are forced to learn and to start living democratically at the same time. For my generation, although many of its members, including myself, dreamed of democracy and fought for it, democracy will remain an experiment in which we have become involved, aware that there is not and cannot be any going back. We have indeed assumed the responsibility for laying the foundations of democracy, but the experiences of the past system, negative and positive alike, still live in our memory and places specific strains on us. It is only for future generations, the generation of our children, not to speak of the children of their children, that democracy will simply be everyday life. For them, luckily, our past will be only history.

On the course we have taken, we need the help of the developed democracies. I say "help" and not tutorship spiced with arrogance. I fear the ready-made prescriptions we are occasionally offered by the "salesmen" of democracy. Our countries have their own histories, cultures and traditions. That is the platform from which we have set off into democracy. The character and scope of help will vary from one country to another, and will have to be adjusted to the specific conditions of each country. Sometimes, and I am aware of that, help will also have to be thrust upon us. I have already said that we are learning and - you tell me - is there any student fully aware of what he has to learn and of the necessity to learn it?

In conclusion, I shall mention two more elements which I consider to be unavoidable when considering visions for the Balkans. The first regards a determined reckoning with the recent past. It implies facing the truth, whatever it may be like, and the individual assignment of blame in order to put a stop to collective accusations between peoples.

The second is the elimination of political propaganda, based on the language of hate, from the media landscape. The media must inform and not indoctrinate. Considering the audience, I probably do not have to make special reference to Mark Thompson's book, "Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina", which confirms the dictum that the word precedes the bullet. With all due respect, the media - in collusion with politics - have played a pernicious role in the region over the last decade of the 20th century.

The implementation of the vision which I have tried to outline implies releasing the media from the deadly embrace of politics and the reassertion of professionalism, in partnership with ethics, as the genuine and only way toward creating free and responsible media. I know that even in established democracies they are not all like that, but those that have a decisive influence on public opinion generally are. Let that be our goal as well.



A New Balkans



Zivko Radišić,
Member of the Presidency, Bosnia-Herzegovina

On behalf of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I would like to express my gratitude to the IPI and our kind hosts upon the invitation to participate in this eminent Congress. I would like to express my special thanks for choosing the Balkans and its visions for the topic of your meeting. Unfortunately, the history of the Balkans has been one of many conflicts, wars, suffering, and national and religious turbulence. Today, the Balkans are going through a healing process. Most of its states and peoples are healing difficult wounds suffered during the tragic events in the region, as defined by the Dayton Peace Accords seven years ago.

I deliberately mentioned the Dayton Accords, because in it we see our historic chance for a new phase of stability for the region. The democratic and economic development and the overall stability of the region are crucial preconditions for the stability of Europe and the world.

Today, we in the Balkans are trying to radically transform our social, legal and constitutional systems and build stable and democratic systems and states. These processes are supported by Europe and the world. There can be no stable democratic and prosperous Europe without a stable and developed Balkans. We cannot change our past, but we can learn from the lessons and messages of the past. The most important message is that only through peace, mutual tolerance and respect for the national, cultural, spiritual and other interests of all the peoples and states in the region can we ensure the basis for economic and social change.

We believe that the specifics of the region are not a handicap, but rather an advantage in strengthening cooperation and speeding up the process of integration in the region and Europe. We must be responsible for our own destiny, respect human rights and freedoms according to the highest European and world standards, and strengthen mutual cooperation, not just in the regional but in the broader sense.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is passing through a complex stage of consolidation after a tragic war. Our progress is significant compared with where we were seven or ten years ago. The international community has contributed significantly to this progress and, with due respect, I would like to mention the contribution of Ambassador Wolfgang Petritsch, who is here with us today. But we are convinced that what we have achieved so far is negligible compared with what we should do and what our citizens would like us to do. We are only at the halfway mark in effectively dealing with elementary human problems, displaced persons, refugees, etc. But I can assure you that today we have a new Bosnia-Herzegovina which has a unique chance to speed up development as a truly multi-national, multi-confessional and multi-cultural society.

We are speeding up our reforms in order to create the preconditions for larger foreign investments. We are also energetically combating criminal activities and terrorism, and that is why we would like to strengthen cooperation within the region, with Europe and the world. I believe the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe can play an active and important role in this.

We see the accession of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Council of Europe as recognition of our democratic progress, but also as a new obligation and new challenge. In particular, we would like to create conditions for the full security of our people. That is why we support and encourage the freedom of movement without visas. We are also strengthening our cooperation with the Hague Tribunal and we would like to promote free public and private media.

We believe in partnership with everybody. We are joining the partnership for peace, the radical reduction of military efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and association with the European Union. Finally, we believe in a new Balkans and stable and democratic living conditions for all of us. I am not saying anything new when I

remind you that there is no progress without speeding up economic development in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Balkans. In all of this, the role and the importance of the media is extremely important. The media is the power that truly can change the Balkans and I am convinced that this very Congress will provide an extremely important contribution.





Friday, 10 May 2002

SESSION II

WHAT WENT WRONG IN THE BALKANS?

Grand Hotel Union



CHAIRPERSON

Boris Bergant,
Deputy Director-General, RTV Slovenija,
Ljubljana

SPEAKERS

Erhard Busek,
Special Coordinator, Stability Pact for
South Eastern Europe, Brussels
Wolfgang Petritsch,
High Representative in Bosnia &
Herzegovina

"The reaction of the European community with regard to the downfall of the old Yugoslavia was that things should stay as they are. The community said, we will give you money if you keep the old Yugoslavia. I think that is always the reaction. Let us do it with money."

Erhard Busek

INTERVIEWERS

Mehmed Husić,
Director & Editor-in-Chief, ONASA News
Agency, Sarajevo
Remzi Lani,
Director, Albanian Media Institute, Tirana
Radomir Ličina,
Chairman of the Board/Senior Editor,
Danas, Belgrade
Stjepan Malović,
Vice Dean, Faculty of Political Science,
University of Zagreb;
Director, International Center for
Education of Journalists, Zagreb



Parallels From History



Boris Bergant,
*Deputy Director-General, RTV
Slovenija, Ljubljana*

It is a pleasure to chair such a distinguished panel. Unfortunately, I have to excuse Mr. Bernard Kouchner, who was not able to get away from Paris, due to the political changes affecting his office, among others.

Introducing the topic, we have chosen the title "What Went Wrong in the Balkans?" and I cannot help but draw some parallels from history. Our guests, both from Austria, are Dr. Erhard Busek and Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch, names that do not strike one's ear as German, but stand as a symbol of a common past.

The eighty-eighth anniversary of the assassination of Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand will come about in little less than two months. It was an event that not only triggered the First World War, but also ended the presence of the Austro-Hungarian empire in Central Europe and reduced that empire to a small Austrian state, which many predicted would not be able to survive. Today, we face much the same dilemma regarding the fitness for survival of some of the states established on the ruins of former Yugoslavia.

In April 1941, the German army, in the service of its Nazi masters, attacked Yugoslavia, the successor of the Austro-Hungarian empire in this region. The German army recruited a remarkable amount of Austrians, since the Austrians were supposed to be specialists in dealing with people from this area. Many people in the occupied Balkans were appalled by the return of the Austrians in such a context. A shadow of this is cast even upon the present generation. One need only look at the events surrounding Kurt Waldheim.

For these reasons, it is even more of a great pleasure and honour to introduce our guests, who are living proof of a new Austria that has learned from the lessons of its past.

Both of them stand for, and are spreading, an utterly different mission. They are both perfect examples of a new noble and dignified generation of Austrian statesmen who do not look upon the

Balkans as a testing ground of their powers or space for healing their historical complexes, but as an opportunity and moral obligation to contribute to a better future of the region by facilitating prosperity.

The unrest in the Balkans cannot be in the interest of anybody, especially not of its neighbours. If, in the past, one was happy about the death of one's neighbour's cow, the new generation knows better, namely that your neighbour's hardship is also your own. This attitude has been proven many times, for example in the form of truly touching humanitarian aid projects, including the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation's "Nachbarn in Not" (Neighbours in Need). Both our guests have, through their broad knowledge and experience, significantly contributed to the building of a new vision for this part of Europe and thus for their own homeland.

After an eminent career in Austria, where he held some of the most important offices in the country, Dr. Erhard Busek has for the last decade intensively involved himself in international mediation. His function as the Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact represents a high-point of his career and an affirmation of his past endeavours.

Furthermore, I have the pleasure to introduce Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch, the highest-ranking Austrian-Slovene in diplomacy and politics. I have followed his professional and diplomatic career with delight ever since he took up his job under Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. I am probably revealing no secret when I say that, after the end of his mission in Sarajevo, he is being considered as the likely candidate for the future Austrian foreign minister.



A Lack of Blueprints

First, let me say that I am not very much in favour of talking about "the Balkans". The reason is there is only one state which can be said to be a Balkan state. This is Bulgaria, because the Balkan mountains are there. The expression used in politics, "Balkanisation", is not a very friendly expression, because "Balkanisation" stands for difficulties and division. Therefore, I prefer to speak about South East Europe.

As a Viennese, I am aware that the famous Fürst von Metternich, who dominated the Congress of Vienna in 1815, said the Balkans began at the Rennweg. For those of you who are not familiar with Vienna, the Rennweg leads from the centre of the city, the Ringstrasse, in the direction of South East Europe. But Metternich's palace was also on the Rennweg and I think he was also partly responsible for things that happened in the Balkans, for example, if I look at the Greek uprising in 1821 and the reaction of the so-called Holy Alliance.

I do not want to start with the entire history of the Balkans, because it is a long story. But if you want to start with history, you have to mention 1989. The fall of the Iron Curtain was very well received, but there were no blueprints existing for such a case. I think there were a lot of declamations in the documents of the Treaty of Rome regarding the European integration process. Every European country can enter this community, and so on. But there were no blueprints. I think the impression was, "Fine, now the other part of Europe can have democracy and a free market economy, and if they work a little bit more than they did in the past, things will go very well." In reality, I think what has happened in so-called Eastern Europe has changed the western part of Europe tremendously, and it has certainly changed South East Europe.

This lack of preparation, this lack of blueprints, could also be witnessed in



Erhard Busek,

Special Coordinator, Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Brussels

the Balkans, because nobody had a real concept or strategy. The reaction of the European community with regard to the downfall of the old Yugoslavia was that things should stay as they are. The community said, we will give you money if you keep the old Yugoslavia. I think that is always the reaction. Let us do it with money.

That is also my problem concerning the Stability Pact, because sometimes it is seen as a kind of music box. You put money in and the music - stability - comes out, and I think that is not the right approach. Without any doubt, money is necessary, but you need a political concept, political blueprints. You need political engagement, you need some leading ideas, you need a certain kind of empathy. And I think this empathy was missing. For example, a lot of Austrians and Germans used to go on holidays to the Dalmatian coast, and the perception of many people in my country was that the old Yugoslavia was a comparatively liberal country. Nobody was aware of the real situation, nobody was really aware of the tensions existing within Yugoslavia.

And I think that is the next point. The first was no blueprints existing for what happened in 1989. The next point was that the perception of the region was not a very differentiated one. It was quite clear that the former Yugoslavia was not the Soviet Empire, but I think there was no real approach with regard to existing internal tensions. I think the same can be said about other countries in South East Europe, including Romania. For a long time, Nicolae Ceausescu and his regime were viewed positively, because Ceausescu opposed Moscow.

So I think what also went wrong is that Europe, especially, reacted too late. Or let me say, acted too late. That has a certain consequence because everything that you do later is more expensive. If you do things earlier, I

think it is cheaper. But, I might add, Europe is learning this lesson. I think we are quicker now. For example, if you look at Macedonia, we are learning quicker.

Apropos Macedonia, if we talk about what went wrong in the Balkans, the name of the state went wrong. If, in 1945, somebody had said to the newly-created Austria, you are not Austria, you are the Former Ostmark of the German Reich, I think we would not have been very pleased. Here you can see where problems of understanding exist and I think this is a part of the Macedonian crisis, because if you do have not a real identity, officially, in a state name, that is a real problem.

I would also like to mention what went well in South East Europe. First of all, there were reactions and actions. Too late, as I said, and very expensive, but they happened. I think it is a good sign that the European Union and the international community have accepted a certain responsibility. I think one can go on and on about how Europe and the Americans were unable to do the right thing, especially in Bosnia, but that leads to nothing. I think there are common efforts and the Stability Pact is a symbol of that because the international community is very much involved. It is done in cooperation with member states of the European Union, non-EU members in Europe like Switzerland and Norway, as well as the United States, Canada, and Japan. I think that is a very good symbol.

Secondly, this has been a learning process for Europe. Because every crisis in the Balkans has resulted in a new action by the European Union. Without the Bosnian war, horrible as it was, we would not have the Common Foreign and Security Policy. And we would not have Javier Solana. I think we have learned some lessons and are moving in the right direction. Similarly, without the Kosovo war we would not



A Lack of Blueprints

have the discussion about a rapid reaction force. That, too, has to be seen on the positive side.

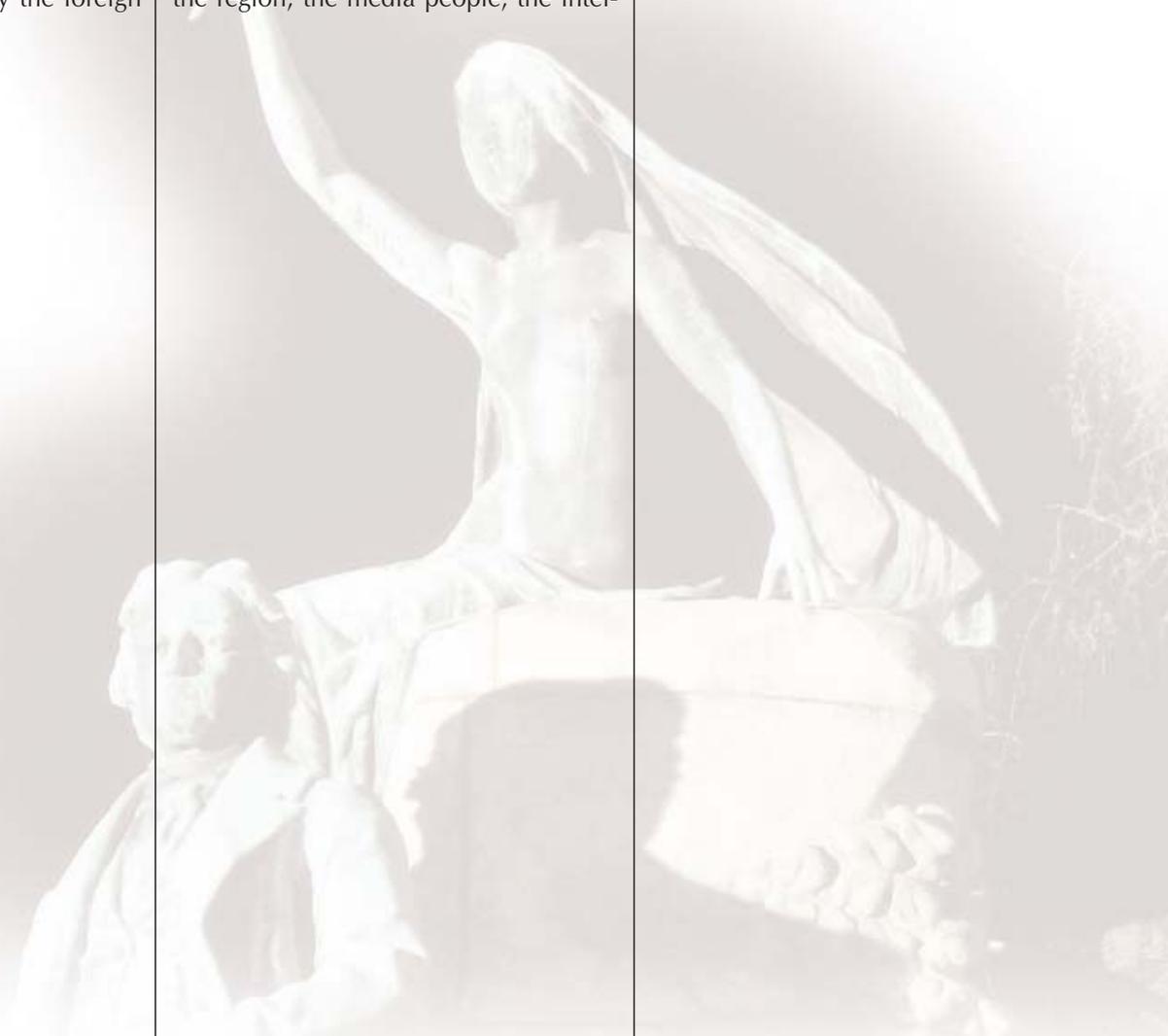
Another thing, and perhaps the most important on the positive side, is that in the Stability Pact every country of the region has a European perspective. It is written quite clearly in the Stability Pact that they shall be members of the European Union. This is a real reason for transformation in these countries, for cross-border cooperation, and so on. This is a very effective instrument.

Another positive example: On May 8, we opened in Belgrade a centre for destroying small arms and light weapons. It was opened by the foreign

minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Goran Svilanovic, and by the co-chair of Working Table III (Security Issues) of the Stability Pact, Ambassador Vladimir Drobnyak of Croatia. Could you imagine, some years before, that something like that would be possible? That is a very good symbol. And I think that it is at this level that things are coming together.

Given the historical background of this region, I must say that I admire how things are progressing in such a very short time. I think it is not very good that we are always blaming the countries of the region, the politicians of the region, the media people, the intel-

lectuals, for what is wrong and what is not going well, because the learning process in other parts of Europe has been quite a long one and we have not yet learned all our lessons. Therefore, I think it is justified not only to ask what went wrong in the Balkans, but also to say, what went well until now.





What Can Go Right

Some of you might know that on 27 May I am stepping down as the High Representative of the International Community for Bosnia-Herzegovina, handing over to my successor, Lord Paddy Ashdown. So please forgive me if I am in a reflective mood. Over the last few weeks, I have looked back on the three tough years that I have spent in Bosnia-Herzegovina to see if anything has changed.

As Austria's ambassador to Belgrade and the European Union's special envoy during the war in Kosovo from 1998-99, I had plenty of opportunity to see "what went wrong in the Balkans". And I want to examine the important role played by the media, both by domestic and foreign international media, in the wars that have convulsed this troubled region.

But I also want to take you on a short tour of what has happened during my mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a country that suffered more than any other after the collapse of Josip Tito's Yugoslavia. For Bosnia-Herzegovina shows not only what went wrong in the Balkans, but what can also go right.

The destructive role the state-run media played in bringing war first to Slovenia, then Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and finally Yugoslavia, is well documented.

Ordinary people were prepared to see the most monstrous acts carried out as they were dressed up in hideous untruths pumped out by broadcasters and newspapers who followed the bidding of a Slobodan Milošević or Franjo Tuđman with alarming readiness. The drivel I had to read and listen to from the pro-Milošević media in Belgrade was sickening.

My faith in that country's hopes of ever reforming were kept alive by precious islands of sanity such as the cartoons by Corax (he drew one of Milošević's wife, Mira, hanging paramilitaries on a Christmas tree). What



Wolfgang Petritsch,
*High Representative
in Bosnia & Herzegovina*

also gave me hope were a few courageous print media, such as Danas - we have here today its co-founder and senior editor Radomir Ličina - which reported against the incoming tide of nationalism.

Living in a relative democracy, it is hard to believe that such obvious propaganda could ever have any effect on one. But it does. So many of my Serb friends found it difficult, after nearly a decade of disinformation, to know what to believe under Milošević.

It took my experience in Belgrade to understand how the character of Winston Smith, broken at the end of George Orwell's "1984", could be happy in the belief that two plus two equals five. Like an enzyme speeds up a chemical reaction many times over, so it was with many of the state-run media in the Balkans which stoked fires of ethnic hatred. As Orwell also wrote in his essay, "Notes on Nationalism", lies and untruths are essential in playing the ethnic card: "Nationalism is power hunger tempered by self-deception. Every nationalist is capable of the most flagrant dishonesty, but he is also, since he is conscious of serving something bigger than himself, unshakeably certain of being right."

One of the tricks dictators use to fool their own citizens and visitors from outside is to swamp their states with radio and television stations and newspapers at both local and national levels, giving the appearance of a diverse civic society. For example, Bosnia-Herzegovina, when I arrived in 1999, still had close to 300 broadcasters.

This Babel of broadcasters and newspapers then systematically sets out to hijack the past to doubly disorient even the most discerning and cynical of readers. Orwell again: "Every nationalist is haunted by the belief that the past can be altered. He spends part of his time in this fantasy world in which things happen as they should... and he

will transfer fragments of this world to the history books wherever possible."

These concerns have been at the forefront of media reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This week, the news service of the public broadcasting service was launched. A station independent of state control run by Bosnians, Serbs and Croats, which will beam news and other programmes into homes across both entities. I believe the station will be crucial in helping reintegrate the country. Public broadcasting will promote, as far as possible, a critical exchange of ideas and information, which should help rid Bosnia of the lack of real information which has kept the fears of many citizens alive long after the war ended.

Fear and the ignorance needed to sustain it are the life force of nationalism. Again, Orwell saw this perfectly: "The general uncertainty as to what is really happening makes it easier to cling to lunatic beliefs. Since nothing is ever quite proved or disproved, the most unmistakable fact can be impudently denied."

The problems are different for the media in the established Western democracies. There it is convincing their - for the most part - well-off readers that they have a stake in a peaceful Balkans, Middle East, Afghanistan or wherever.

One private complaint among journalists covering the war in Kosovo was that ever-increasing body counts and larger massacres were needed to win space in their papers back home. And that in covering conflicts and unrest, there is seldom space or interest in what happens after the big networks have moved on to some other war. This is unhelpful in framing the debate on what action might or might not be taken by a reader's or listener's government.

This, as Orwell attests, is not a recent phenomenon: "The calamities



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that are constantly being reported - battles, massacres, famines, revolutions - tend to inspire in the average person a feeling of unreality." I think perhaps we have not succeeded, as international institutions, in communicating clearly where we have succeeded and where we have failed, earning only the distrust of the media.

A case in point might be the veteran Newsweek correspondent who covered the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and who wrote after the Dutch government's recent resignation over the Srebrenica massacre that nothing had changed much since the war's end, The main culprits for the massacre were still at large and most refugees had yet to return to their homes.

On the first point, I fully agree. The arrest of the Bosnian Serbs' wartime leader, Radovan Karadzic, and his military sidekick, Ratko Mladic, is long, long overdue. I had hoped to see them join their erstwhile "Godfather", Slobodan Milošević, to face the war crimes tribunal in The Hague. Bosnians and Herzegovinians will never be able to look firmly into what is now, I believe, a bright future without dealing properly with its troubled recent past. But I disagree with the correspondent on refugee return. This, probably more than any other area in Bosnia-Herzegovina, shows that for all the international community's gross neglect at the beginning of the conflict, its eventual engagement after Dayton has brought results. I will speak of returns on the short tour of Bosnia-Herzegovina I promised earlier.

When I arrived to take up my post in Sarajevo in the summer of 1999, Milošević was bloodied but unbowed after his climb-down in Kosovo. He continued to pipe nationalist poison into the predominantly Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The same poison, albeit with a different label, flowed in from the Croatia of Franjo Tudjman.

Implementation of Annex 7 of the Dayton Accords - the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced people to their homes, vital to redress the crimes of ethnic cleansing - looked impossible. The nationalist parties, surviving on that oxygen of ethnic fear, their corrupt elites reaping the benefits, meant a poor prognosis for the Bosnia-Herzegovina which had declared sovereignty in the dark days of 1992. The school of thought that professed Bosnia-Herzegovina to be suffering from "ancient hatreds syndrome" was, until only very recently, recommending a redrawing of the borders in the hope of a cheap, quick exit for the international community.

My predecessors as High Representatives, Carl Bildt and Carlos Westendorp, had extremely difficult immediate post-war pressures to deal with, but succeeded in setting up the institutions that the Dayton Peace Agreement envisaged. Many of the positive changes that have occurred since my arrival have come from outside as well as inside Bosnia-Herzegovina, notably the disappearance of the "Twin Peaks" of Balkan nationalism. Tudjman died and Milošević lives today in a prison cell. The presence, day in and day out, of international soldiers and civilian staff implementing Dayton also combined to overcome the politics of fear pedalled by the nationalists.

When I arrived, four years after Dayton was signed, the international community was looking for a clear strategy aimed at reaching the end goal of a self-sustainable Bosnia-Herzegovina in the not too distant future. My response was in two key areas.

Firstly, it was clear that we had to restructure our engagement by identifying and vigorously pursuing a number of core tasks, the pillars of the future self-sustainable Bosnia. I proposed three priorities. Accelerated refugee return to help undo the horrors of the

war and re-integrate the deeply divided country; a more robust approach to institution building, to turn Bosnia-Herzegovina into a functioning state that would be able to integrate into Europe; and economic reform as the engine to drive all this.

Secondly, we had to start giving back the country to its elected representatives and citizens. 50 years of Communism imposed from Belgrade, a deeply traumatising war and the Dayton Peace Agreement - an accord that was confusing as it produced no winners and no losers - had resulted in resignation and a general feeling that "the international community should fix it all".

This had to change to what I call "ownership", local responsibility. The Bosnians and Herzegovinians, the top officials as well as the ordinary person in the street, had to accept that Bosnia-Herzegovina was their country and ultimately their problem to solve. We were there to assist, but not to be in charge forever.

The first half of my mandate could be termed "highly interventionist". I used my powers to remove officials from office who were working against Dayton implementation. In late 1999, I removed more officials in one day (22 who were blocking returns) than my predecessor had during his entire mandate. I sent a clear message to the nationalist old guard that the Dayton Agreement was not simply a piece of paper to salve guilty Western consciences, but a living document which charted the way to a democratic, tolerant and multi-ethnic state in Europe.

There is a way to measure the success of the peace effort - through counting refugee returns. Up until 1999, the rate of return meant it would have taken decades to implement Annex 7. In particular, the RS Republika Srpska, was defending its mono-ethnic



What Can Go Right

structure, having allowed only 10,000 Bosnian and Croats to return and scaring even those few with frequent violence.

Alongside the removal of officials, I began to impose new laws that got rid of legal loopholes in Bosnia's property laws; loopholes that prevented people from repossessing their pre-war homes; loopholes which directly benefited the architects of ethnic cleansing. Minority returns, that is, where a refugee or displaced person returns to an area where she or he is in a minority, leapt to 67,000 in 2000, increasing by another 36 per cent to 92,000 in 2001. If the current rate of refugee return continues, Annex 7 could be implemented in its entirety within four years. What seemed an impossibility in 1999 is now reality.

What greatly concerns me still is the lack of assistance provided for returnees to rebuild their homes. The domestic authorities give some help but this is far below what is needed. International assistance has declined sharply. We cannot allow returns to fail due to a lack of assistance.

The issue of jobs for returnees will be resolved once the economic situation improves. Bosnia has a steep hill to climb but the ingredients for economic recovery are in place, namely, a stable, single currency tied to the Euro; the privatisation process well underway; modern banking laws that have scrapped the corrupt, Communist-era monopolies on financial services that helped fund the nationalist parties; laws on standardisation so that Bosnia-Herzegovina can export goods to the rich markets of the European Union, which has waived duties and tariffs on Bosnian goods.

Today's Bosnia-Herzegovina clearly resembles a proper state. The State Government, the so-called Council of Ministers, grew from three to six ministries. I imposed a State Border Service

which intercepts smuggled goods and illegal immigrants. I established a State-level Court. Most of these achievements in state building are the work of the "Alliance for Change" coalition which, after the elections in 2000, replaced the nationalist parties at State level and in the Federation. In the RS, the SDS founded by Radovan Karadzic was still strong, but agreed to give the premiership to the reformist economist Mladen Ivanic.

The Alliance put serious economic reform on its agenda. It actively joined the global fight against terrorism after September 11, proving that Bosnia and Herzegovina was not willing to harbour terrorists. Firstly, as foreign minister and now as prime minister, Zlatko Lagumdžija, during his frequent visits abroad, presented a new Bosnia-Herzegovina, a state that wanted to be recognised as a responsible and independent player, not a "failed state".

This new found responsibility in Bosnia's politicians can also be measured. In the period from my arrival in 1999 to the formation of a working state government in March 2001, I made 146 Decisions, amending or imposing new laws and removing 56 obstructive officials from their posts. Since that time, I have issued only 60 Decisions and have removed only seven officials.

My last big intervention, perhaps the biggest during my mandate, was the removal in 2001 of Ante Jelavic from his post as the Croat member of the Presidency along with the dismissal of three other HDZ officials who had supported him in declaring "Croat self-rule" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A few weeks later, I imposed the "Provisional Administration" on Hercegovacka Banka where dubious transactions were taking place. As it proved during an investigation, in which several of my staff were subject to violent attack, the bank would have been the financial backbone of "Croat self-rule."

The illegal and unconstitutional declaration of "Croat self-rule" has, in my term, been the greatest threat to the Dayton process. Thanks to our determined reaction, Jelavic had to publicly acknowledge the failure of this project at the HDZ Congress last October. He and the other individuals I removed gave up their party offices in order to allow the HDZ to register for the upcoming elections. I hope that a new and moderate HDZ will emerge from this process.

The powers vested in a High Representative make that official almost a benevolent dictator. This, I believed right from the start of my mandate, was in the short term necessary to uproot entrenched resistance and create the framework for democracy to work. But I knew in the long term it would work against the whole point of post-war international engagement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, namely, to have the country stand on its own feet. Debate inside and outside my office constantly veered between those who would take a maximalist approach - impose everything and be done with it - and those who feared that robust action would kill civil society in an already weak state.

In my daily work, I had to take both paths. I believe that the robust interventions during the first half of my mandate were necessary to help the forward-looking forces surface.

But one piece of legislation that always got special treatment and consideration was Bosnia's Election Law. I believed it should never be imposed. Its passage or non-passage onto the statute book would be the yardstick measuring the ability of Bosnia's parties to find a compromise.

It was worth the wait. The Alliance for Change government passed the Election Law in August last year, paving the way for Bosnia's accession to the Council of Europe late last month, which is yet another milestone demon-



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strating the country's growing statehood and level of democratisation. And Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities are now organising their own elections slated for October 5.

But let me now tell you what I will always consider the ultimate proof that Bosnia-Herzegovina has entered a new era. This stems from the recent amendments of the Entity Constitutions. As you may know, the RS Constitution recognised only the Serbs as a constituent people, while the Federation Constitution only recognised Bosnians and Croats. In 2000, the Constitutional Court of BiH declared these provisions unconstitutional.

It took almost two years and then close to 100 hours of very hard negotiations under my auspices for the leading parties of Bosnia-Herzegovina to reach the so-called Mrakovica-Sarajevo Agreement of March 27, 2002, which served as the framework for the amendments. True, I had to complete the process because the SDA and HDZ prevented the necessary two-third majority

in the Federation, and the RS could not bring itself to accept three small details.

But the Alliance parties and the RS leadership had done most of the work on their own, thus acknowledging the necessity to negotiate a compromise. And the RS has accepted that it can no longer exclude Bosnians, Croats and other non-Serb citizens from its legislative, executive and judicial institutions and other decision-making process in this Entity.

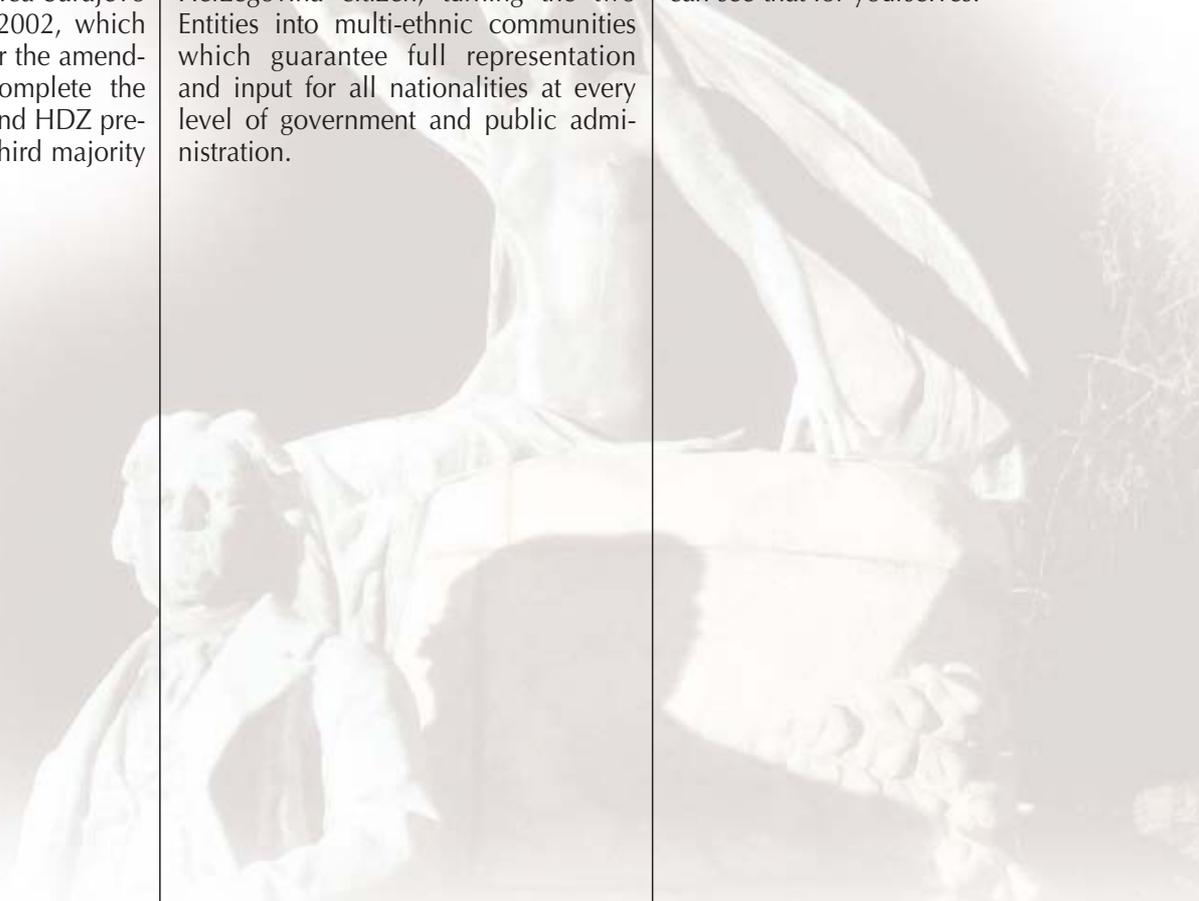
This is of monumental importance. The ability to compromise is the essence of a democracy. Here it finally happened. And I am sure you realise what it means for the RS leadership to acknowledge that the RS cannot remain an exclusivist, mono-ethnic structure.

The effects of the amendments will reach into the lives of every Bosnia-Herzegovina citizen, turning the two Entities into multi-ethnic communities which guarantee full representation and input for all nationalities at every level of government and public administration.

I would say to the critics of international intervention that, yes, we do have our own interests, an interest in a stable Bosnia-Herzegovina, a stable Balkans which must be given every encouragement to join the European family of states.

We must hold out the highest expectations and hopes for our neighbours, for September 11 demonstrates only too well what happens if we turn our backs on poverty and injustice. George Soros is a hard-headed businessman but he sees all too clearly the perils of looking only at the bottom line, writing this month on globalisation, "We cannot build a global society without taking into account moral considerations."

International engagement works. Look at Bosnia-Herzegovina and you can see that for yourselves.





Saturday, 11 May 2002

SESSION III EU Enlargement - What Price Accession?

Grand Hotel Union



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"We have made enormous progress with regard to respecting the political and economic reforms in the countries of Central Europe and here I would like to pay tribute to their people and their governments. These reforms have been made by them, not by us in Brussels, although the leverage of EU membership has been extraordinarily important in driving this process."

Graham Avery

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Reuniting Our Continent



Graham Avery,
*Chief Adviser, Directorate-General
for Enlargement, European
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The European Union (EU) is a voluntary framework for political and economic integration, based on the experience of nationalism - two European civil wars in the 20th century - and the wish of nations to regain sovereignty by cooperating in Europe-wide policies and speaking with one voice in the world.

I want to remind you that already when the European Community was set up there were visionaries like Robert Schumann who were thinking of our colleagues and friends in the East. Already in 1963, Schumann wrote, "We must build the united Europe not only in the interest of the free peoples, but also in order to welcome in it the peoples from Eastern Europe who, freed from the repression under which they live, will want to join and seek our moral support." That vision today is being realised.

The magnetism of the EU is such that it was successively enlarged. First, from six to nine, then from nine to 12 and most recently to 15. But now we are faced with more people than ever before who want to join us. We have 13 official candidates, i.e., the ten countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the two islands of Malta and Cyprus, and also Turkey. But we must not forget the others. The French have an expression, "Un train peut en cacher un autre" (one train can conceal another), and we must not forget that after this enlargement there are many other European countries who want to join us. For example, our three EFTA friends. One day perhaps Norway will try again, and there is Iceland and Switzerland. And then, nearer to here, we have the five other countries which emerged from ex-Yugoslavia, plus Albania. So we easily reach an EU of 35 before we even discuss the delicate question of whether Ukraine, Belarus or even one day Russia could be members.

Why do these countries want to join? At least for the Central Europeans

the principal motivation was a political one. They sought the confirmation of rejoining the European family as soon as they escaped from the grip of Moscow. This was not just a sentimental choice, it was also to make irreversible the choice of pluralist democracy and the market economy. The second motive was security. Of course, these countries all want to join NATO, and it is easier to join NATO, but the EU offers a security advantage, not simply through its embryonic common foreign and security policy, but through the bonding mechanisms of its institutions. Last but not least, the countries want the economic advantages of the EU's market, policies and budget.

What reply have we given? In Copenhagen (June 1993), the EU made the historic promise that those countries who wish, shall join. This was the first time in history we promised membership to countries even before they applied. At the same time, we defined the criteria for membership, the so-called "Copenhagen Criteria", which are political, economic and administrative.

The political criteria do not explicitly mention freedom of the press, but it is implicit in our concept of democracy and the rule of law, and it is not a coincidence that our Hungarian friends still have a problem closing one of the chapters of the negotiations because of difficulties about the compatibility of their media law.

We have proceeded with this enlargement on two main tracks. The first track is the preparation "on the ground" in each of the country, with a pre-accession strategy and financial aid from the EU. The second track is the negotiations in Brussels, where we have agreement on a "road map" that will bring them to a conclusion by the end of this year.

The negotiations sometimes get more attention from the press than the really important part, which is preparing

to be good members. The objective, therefore, is for us to have the first new members ready to take part in the elections to the European Parliament in June 2004.

What progress have we made so far? We have made enormous progress with regard to respecting the political and economic reforms in the countries of Central Europe and here I would like to pay tribute to their people and their governments. These reforms have been made by them, not by us in Brussels, although the leverage of EU membership has been extraordinarily important in driving this process.

In the negotiations, there are 31 chapters, and ten countries have now closed between 21 and 27 chapters. Ten countries could be ready, but not Bulgaria and Romania, who need more time and more help.

The problems remaining in the negotiations are, not surprisingly, the budget-related chapters. These are the chapters relating to agriculture (where we have to define quotas for production and direct payments to farmers), regional policy, and payments into the budget.

We also have an institutional chapter, which is in itself not very difficult, but we have a need for our Irish friends to ratify the Nice Treaty before we can conclude that. So we now have a good, firm calendar and we expect to conclude the negotiations this year. Our Danish friends, who have the presidency of the EU in the second half of this year, already invented the slogan, "From Copenhagen to Copenhagen", because they want the December summit in Copenhagen to finalise all the remaining problems.

Next year, in 2003, we should have a Treaty of Accession, which will require ratification by the 15 EU member countries. Following the ratification, up to ten new members will hold referendums and this should lead to enlargement of the EU in 2004.



Reuniting Our Continent

I talked about the two main tracks for enlargement and I want to mention a third track, which is communication. Public opinion is vitally important, especially when we have referendums coming up in these countries. There is positive support for enlargement of the EU, but there are also doubts and questions. In the 15 member states, 51 per cent were in favour of enlargement. In the 13 applicant countries, 65 per cent said they would say "yes" in a referendum.

The European Commission is developing a communication strategy in order to explain to the public in the current and future member states why the EU is about to undertake its largest and most ambitious enlargement so far, and what the consequences of this step are likely to be. But the most important effort has to come from the governments of the countries concerned.

There are three big questions facing Europeans. First, what do we wish to do together, what are the policies that we want to pursue? Secondly, how do we want to do these things? That is the institutional and constitutional debate. Thirdly, with whom do we want to do it? What are the future limits of this Europe?

Let me say, very briefly, that this enlargement of up to ten countries will increase the population by 20 per cent and the economic product by four per cent. That means we are looking at new policy challenges in the areas of solidarity - the willingness of the richer countries to show cohesion and help the economic convergence of the poorer countries - and proximity, particularly with regard to frontiers and relations with new neighbours.

Let me conclude, if I may, by saying a word about our host country, which

is not Balkan. It is an Alpine country in the Alpine phase of accession, which wants to preserve its identity, its language, its culture in the EU. I can tell you that we are planning for Slovenian to be spoken, read and understood in Brussels. We think of this country as a bridge for the Balkan countries who want to join and one day will do so.

My summary is that we are on track for the enlargement and the key decisions will take place at the end of this year, but we need to inform the public and that is where I think you in the business of communication have an important responsibility to be balanced and objective.

Enlarging the EU means extending the peace, prosperity and security that we have enjoyed in the West. It means reuniting our continent and building Europe together.



Adopting the Acquis



Jan Kohout,
*Political Director, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic.*

Allow me to briefly evaluate some legal and economic aspects of the Czech Republic's preparation for EU accession. The harmonisation of laws, the adoption of the Acquis Communautaire, has been taken as a fact by the Czech Republic and in the majority of cases the adoption of Community regulations has been considered as a positive matter strengthening the unstable legal environment in the post-Revolution years. It is necessary to be aware of the immense gulf between the legal orders of the former non-democratic regimes and the developed and logical structure of the legal environment of the European Union. In certain areas, it was not possible to implement the harmonisation of regulations in one go, as circumstances required gradual amendments of national legislation.

The Acquis, however, has always been a great legislative model connected to the expectation of the Czech citizens that they will function under the same conditions as other citizens of the Union. For this reason and with this motivation, all authorities are overcoming the complex legislative transformation. It has of course not been easy to deal with such a quantity of new legislation often setting out and establishing completely new institutes and changing practices that have been operating for decades.

The deviations from the complete adoption of the Acquis are difficult to define. It is arguable as to whether they sufficiently and justly deal with the concerns of the public. On the other hand, they definitely call into doubt the credibility of the EU and the principal of equality within the EU, and what is more they make it more difficult for Czech politicians to build public confidence in the overall European structure.

Allow me to systematically and briefly outline the basic problems in the adoption to EC law. In the case of executive governmental authority, the main instrument for monitoring and controlling the harmonisation has become the so-called governmental plan of legislative work, a detailed

plan of government in which legal regulations connected with the EU law are clearly indicated.

These regulations have recently been prepared, preferentially and in advance, as it has been necessary to take into account the retardation of legislative activity resulting from the general elections in June of this year. A similar plan is also prepared for non-legislative tasks. The level of compatibility of the submitted governmental proposal was not at the outset always of the required standard. By means of its decree of March 2000, the government stated that all new legislative drafts must include an evaluation of their relevance to EC law. And in a positive case, the stated requirement was full compatibility. The one acceptable exception is considered the negotiation of transitional periods and provisions which are connected with the actual accession of the Czech Republic to the EU. It is therefore not possible to bring their coming into effect with the reference date of January 2003.

At the end of 2001, the government decided on the preparation of a comprehensive revision of all undertakings in the relation to the EU that the Czech Republic still has to fulfil. All the relevant documents and sources of possible obligations of the Czech Republic were checked, including accession partnership, the government's plan of legislative and non-legislative work, as well as conclusions of the European Commission's Regular Report of 2001. The result is a coherent table giving a legislative and non-legislative overview that contains what we hope to be a comprehensive summary of the tasks that have yet to be fulfilled. Apart from the harmonisation of legislation, the areas of public administration, the judiciary and the fulfilment of the so-called "Copenhagen Criteria" were also reviewed.

With regard to the work of the parliament and the harmonisation of legislation, the biggest problem from the start of the negotiations proved to be the lack of awareness regarding the priority of the harmonisation of laws and the frequent amendments proposed which led to a reduction in

the level of compatibility of submitted laws. The first problem has been sufficiently overcome in part by the education of members of parliament in order that harmonisation bills be debated on a priority basis and also by the willingness to debate part of this legislation in using a so-called fast track debate procedure.

In past years, European Commission criticism, in the form of its Regular Report, has focused on the drawn-out work, poor functioning and lack of transparency in the organisation of the public administration. I can now note with pleasure that the Regular Report explicitly praised the progress of the Czech Republic in enforcing the law through the courts. This positive development

was the result in particular of the simplification of procedures and the increasing of the staff levels of the courts. Another confirmation of the positive trend is the reform of the public administration, which has been achieved, and the adoption of the Act on State Service.

The transformation of the economy together with the adoption and implementation of the Acquis represent the expenditure of billions of Czech Crowns over a relatively short period. The adoption of European legislation and its introduction to practice requires the strengthening of the administrative and legal systems and dramatic infrastructure changes in order to comply with the standards of the European Union. The area of the environment can be taken as a typical example.

Another issue is the growth in expenses in the area of social policy, in particular with the solving of the problems of certain groups within the population such as the elderly and the poorly qualified, which will be necessary to take after the EU accession. In this context, it is necessary to bear in mind that the majority of these expenses would have to be expended in the future regardless of the EU accession. It is realistic to expect that in the medium term the expenses incurred would be compensated by the advantages of EU membership.

The Europe of Citizens

The European Convention is an unique attempt which has never taken place in European history. We have never had such a grand exercise. Never before have so many nations in freedom, democracy and in peace decided upon their common future. The European Union needs institutional reforms, not only due to enlargement, but also due to internal reasons and because of some external challenges.

So far, we have had three sessions. Historic words were said. Many participants spoke in a very general way. The boring part of the Convention is maybe also the most promising part of the Convention, because the boring part is the one where the Members keep repeating the same sentences about the Euro, about home and foreign security policies, and other issues. This part shows the direction and the possible consensus of the Convention. Of course, there are ideas which are quite different, but until now I would say that we have not really had any revolutionary ideas on the future of Europe.

So I think now we are mature enough to get to a new level in our work. In the last session of the Praesidium working groups were established on subsidiarity, the Chapter of Fundamental Rights, legal personality, national parliaments, competences, and so on. In addition, seven groups were formed in order to structure the debate on the so-called Civil Forum.

Europe is full of different concepts. We have the concept of the Europe of Nations, the Europe of Homelands, the Europe of Regions and the Europe of States but the common denominator of all these concepts is the Europe of Citizens. I am more than glad that the Convention is emphasising so much the role of the citizens and I am particularly glad that Slovenia was one of the first countries to establish its own National Civil Forum, which tries to follow the agenda of the Convention in Brussels. I would like to say



Lojze Peterle,
*Member of the Praesidium,
European Convention;
former Prime Minister and Minister
of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia.*

also that the 13 candidate States would like to be fully involved in all the proceedings or dimensions of the work of the Convention. We are already fully involved in the parliamentary part of the Convention and in the governmental side as well.

There are different expectations about the desires of the Convention. Maybe the Convention will not take revolutionary steps or big steps, but, on the other hand, I am also convinced that not only cosmetic improvements will be done. I see more will to make radical reforms on the side of the candidate States than on the Western part of the former Iron Curtain. For ten or 12 years, the candidate States were doing only reforms. I am not saying that we are offering our know-how only to our partners in the Member States. Through our reforms, we are trying to reach the European Union and the Union is now fortunately taking new steps together with us. We have said many times that the European Union is not just building a small house for newcomers, but that we are designing a new house for all of us. I think that this concept should be followed also when the new inter-governmental conference takes place.

It is still open whether the Convention will end with the proposal for a European Constitution or for a European Constitutional Treaty or if there will be only amendments to the existing treaties, but I am sure that this Convention will be a success. Europe needs a success. The Convention has great legitimacy and the inter-governmental conference will not dispose with such legitimacy. I cannot imagine that the inter-governmental conference would not respect the desires of the Convention.

I would like to end with a remark concerning my recent visit to Belgrade, where I was invited by the G17 Institute to give a lecture, entitled "From Europe to Europe". I was really glad to see so many young, skilled people with a great pro-European spirit. This was for me a particu-

lar experience, but I would like to add only that they need a lot of attention and they need a lot of hope.

Fifty-two years ago, Robert Schumann began with the idea of reconciliation and we need this idea of reconciliation. It should apply to all of Europe and in that respect I am glad that Slovenia is offering all its knowledge and all its experience in order to assist those who are interested in our experiences in approaching the European Union.

An Alpine Country in the Alpine Phase of Accession



Janez Potočnik,
Minister for European Affairs,
Slovenia

Like Graham Avery said, we are an Alpine country in the Alpine phase of accession. Let us concentrate first on the current state of negotiations and the candidate countries by the number of provisionally closed chapters: Cyprus, 27; Slovenia and Lithuania, 26; Czech Republic, 25; Estonia, Hungary and Slovakia, 24; Latvia and Poland, 23; Malta, 21; Bulgaria, 17; and Romania, 11. A political decision on the European side has more or less been reached that up to ten candidate countries could succeed, but there is no guarantee. As you know, it will be up to the people in the candidate countries to decide this by referendum.

Why are we in Slovenia and some other countries in such good shape and why is it good to be in line with the so-called road map? First of all, we are the only country that has succeeded up until the end of last year in concluding negotiations in line with the road map. This was possible because we are a small and relatively developed country. Our strategy was always to stick to "easy group" debates and thus escape possible additional complications in the negotiations. Also, we would like to be seen as an effective and constructive country. We are now creating our future image as a European member state. And, last but not least, we are in the most difficult phase of financial negotiations and are aware that one can mainly influence the position of the European Union before they define their common position. We will use the half year at our disposal for preparation and discussion of negotiating a position at home and for explaining our position to the EU member states, and also for lobbying.

During the Spanish Presidency, negotiations with the candidate countries will focus on cleaning the so-called "leftovers" from the table, for example, Chapter 13 on institutions, and informal negotiations concerning financial issues. Also of importance are the internal negotiations between the EU member states. They concern the common position on chapters including financial issues and future necessary changes in the common agricultural policy and structural/cohesion policy.

Let us briefly assess the Commission's financial proposal in light of the remaining chapters to be negotiated. There are three such chapters: agriculture, regional policy and coordination of structural institutions, and financial and budgetary provisions. The proposal is in line with general expectations and the proposed figures are within the strict limits agreed in Agenda 2000. However, the proposal does not in our view correspond to the fact that the actual reality is not very much in line with Agenda 2000 assumptions and does not express high political will and determination by the member states for the enlargement.

Without questioning the framework agreed in Agenda 2000, we believe that there is still room for manoeuvre within the agreed limits. The Commission's proposal was a horizontal one, not taking into account the specificity of the candidate countries. The same can be said of the approach used in the draft common position papers and we expect the same approach also in the common positions for individual candidate countries.

But the real problem is that the candidate countries acceding today to the European Union differ more than in any previous enlargement. This is an extremely difficult task for the member states. If I try to make a chapters assessment then I would say that there are some pluses that we can mention. First, the net budgetary position of the candidate countries must not be worse than in the pre-accession period. Secondly, the possibility to "top-up" direct payments from national budget. Thirdly, the importance given to the rural development measures. And fourthly, the increased share of cohesion funds to one third of the total available sum on the global level.

What are the minuses? The approach to the chapters is not balanced. The quota levels, without taking into account the existing situation in the candidate countries, is the second thing which we think is not proper. And thirdly, the proposed length of the transitional period in agriculture is affecting the relations in the next budgetary period.

I will finish with the actual enlargement process. How do we see it? The major

questions which we have to ask ourselves in this enlargement process are connected to two issues, political will and public support. Let us first focus on the European Union situation. It started with political will in Gothenburg. The main message that we got from Gothenburg - and it was repeated afterwards in Laeken - was that the enlargement process is irreversible. We believe that it is really irreversible. Secondly, in Laeken, the major decision that was taken was that the European Union is determined to bring the accession negotiations with the countries that are ready to a conclusion by the end of the year 2002 so that those countries can take part as members in the European Parliament elections in 2004. So political determination in the EU is there.

On the other hand, you have already seen in Mr. Avery's presentation the support for enlargement of the European Union. On average, 51 per cent of the population are in favour of the applicant countries joining the EU. It is important that this situation remains stable and I see this situation now as relatively stable. Focusing on my country, Slovenia, the last progress report was very positive, mentioning only a few remaining problems. One and a half years after parliamentary elections, we have a stable government and the support for the EU accession of practically all parties represented in parliament. Public opinion is falling slightly, but we still have a relatively comfortable situation in our country. Also, according to EU polls, Slovenia is the only applicant country where most people feel they are well informed about the EU process.

Finally, the main potential barriers that we see are some interest-focused conditions of the member states; elections in member states and candidate countries; attempts to link the outstanding issues between neighbouring countries to the process of alignment with the Acquis and the EU accession questions; unreasonable attention to the internal problems not important and decisive in the EU accession process, which could be exploited to influence public opinion; and last but not least public support in candidate countries expressed in negative referendum results.



In the Plain Phase of Accession



Béla Szombati,
Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budapest

If we look at the European Union and Europe today and ask what the Union is about, I would say it is about freedom, security, justice and prosperity. Freedom, meaning democracy and rights and diversity and the right to diversity. Security, adding stability in terms internal and external, and also justice and prosperity, including of course sustainable growth and also competitiveness on a global scale.

My second point is that if we look at the evolution of the European Union, you may remember that in previous years there has been a lot of debate about enlargement and deepening, whether one goes against the other, whether the two can go hand in hand. I think we can say that for Europe to be able to build this European Union that I just tried to outline, it needs both enlargement and deepening, because this is the only way that we can put an end to the historic division of Europe. It is the only way that we can sustain the will to have this area of freedom, security, justice and prosperity and not just sustain the will to make it stronger but also more capable, more able to implement this area of freedom, security, justice and prosperity, which is to say we have to sustain the will and we have to increase the capability.

Third, for this to happen, Europe has to grow stronger and become more influential. It has to grow stronger within and grow more influential in the outside world. That is, to my understanding, the basis of the criteria of enlarging the European Union, which is, for any candidate country that wants to join, to have democracy and the rule of law, to have a functioning and competitive market economy and to be able to adopt, implement and enforce the often-quoted *Acquis Communautaire*. According to my understanding, this is

what underlies the philosophy and the practice of the common goal of the member countries and candidate countries in the European Union, namely to make it possible by the year 2004, by the next elections to the European Parliament, for those applicant countries that are ready and willing to join the European Union, to be able to conclude successfully their accession negotiations by the year 2002, according to the again often-quoted "road map". My point here is that these goals - 2002 and 2004 - need to be kept if Europe is to achieve the goals it has chosen for itself, if Europe is to grow stronger.

Where is Hungary in this preparation process? Without going into details, if you look at the state of relations, trade and economy between Hungary and the European Union, what you will find is that we are already a *de facto* member of the European Union. The level of our exchanges is higher with the European Union than is the case with many countries who are inside the European Union. If we look at the pattern and structure of these exchanges, you will find that this is similar to those that you will find within the European Union between countries belonging to the European Union.

Second, if you look at the political side - and needless to say this goes for all candidate countries - Hungary fulfils the political criteria, but if you look at the level of political cooperation in the field of common, foreign and security policy and European security and defence policy, you will find that we have actually gone as far as possible in the present stage of relations with the European Union. If you look at our ability to contribute to sustainable growth within the European Union, then you will find that for the

last five years we have had 4-5 per cent growth rates in Hungary. If you look at the pattern of the Hungarian economy you will find that re-structuring is behind us. We are not in the process of re-structuring; it is largely behind us now and this also goes for agriculture. If you look at our ability to adopt, implement and endorse the *Acquis*, then you will find that, having spent around a billion Euros on a yearly basis to get prepared for legal harmonisation and institution-building, we have come very close and that we will certainly be ready by the time of accession to the European Union.

This is the basis for our accession negotiations going on with the European Union, 24 chapters closed, with two left over if we look at the road map, one of which my friend Graham Avery referred to, which is the audio-visual chapter. All I want to say here is that there has never been a problem between Hungary and the European Union on this issue, because this is largely a problem of internal Hungarian politics regarding the composition of the independent board controlling the public media. The linkage between this debate and the rest of our media law was what prevented us from harmonising our laws. I think that all the political parties that have now been elected to parliament are aware of this problem and that this problem needs to be solved. I think that the elections have created the necessary political basis for finding a solution to this problem and I am fairly optimistic about the next few months when it comes to negotiating the audio-visual chapter.

Janez Potočnik talked about the three major chapters. These are the three major chapters for all of us. What I would like to say is that from our point of view it is extremely important



In the Plain Phase of Accession

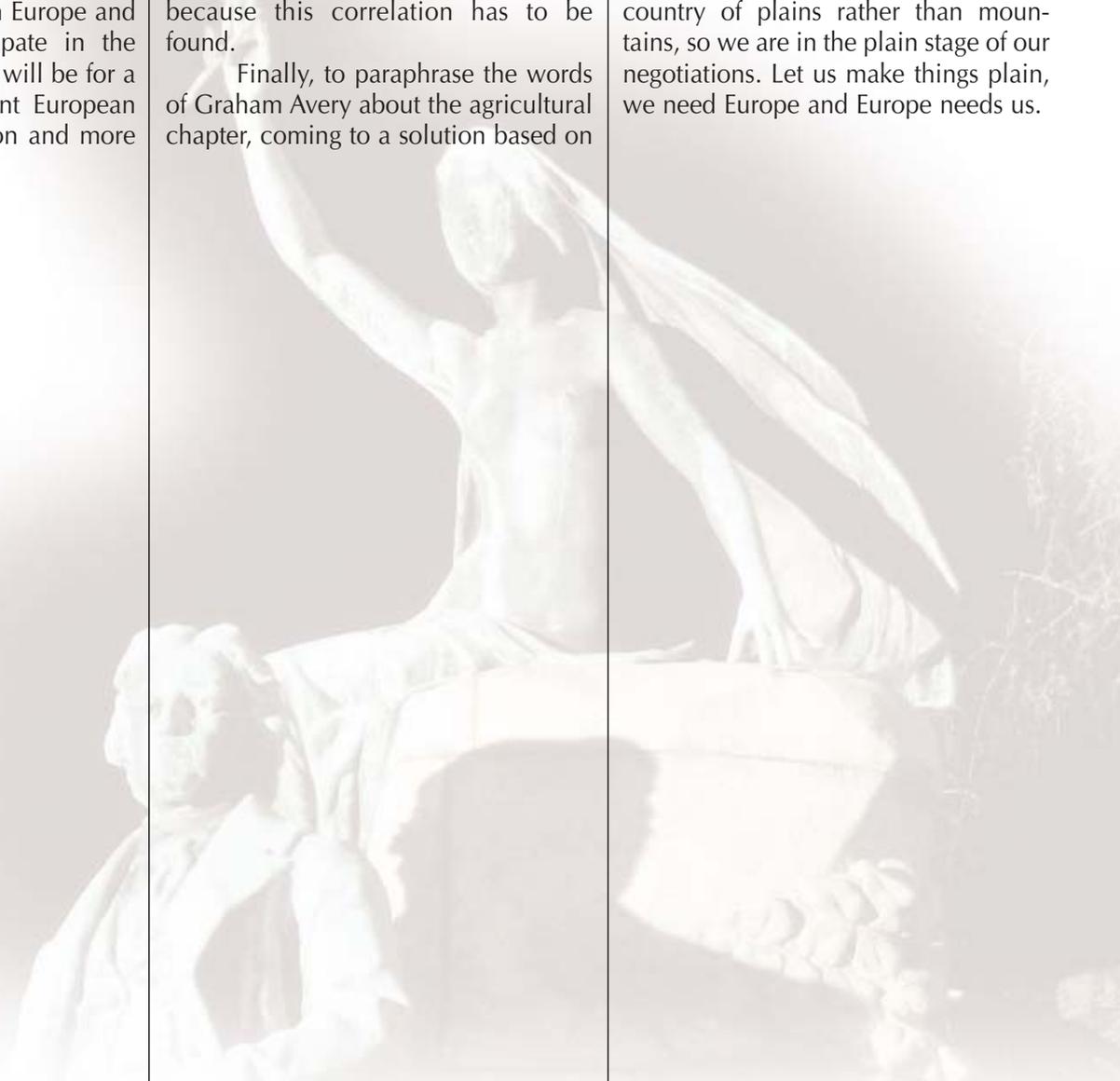
that we be able to find solutions acceptable both to our EU partners and to ourselves, on the basis of the principles of equality, non-discrimination and solidarity within the European Union. Therefore, it is extremely important for us to be able to look forward, according to these principles, and also to find a solution which puts us on equal terms with regard to competition on the single internal market. We need good solutions based on a good balance of rights and commitments and when we are in Europe and already when we participate in the Convention on Europe we will be for a stronger and more efficient European Union, for more integration and more

community method in those fields where European or global questions need answers on a European or global scale.

One last word, which is not about enlargement, but rather about the European Union itself and all the goals and aims of the European Union that we all have to think through, namely whether the sufficient correlation is there between the ambitions of the European Union and the resources at the disposal of the European Union, because this correlation has to be found.

Finally, to paraphrase the words of Graham Avery about the agricultural chapter, coming to a solution based on

equal terms for agricultural producers is economically desirable because restructuring is not the major problem of Hungarian agriculture, it is largely behind us, the major problem of Hungarian agriculture is under-capitalisation and unequal terms of competition on the internal market. Financially, it is feasible with not too much extra effort. And to paraphrase Graham Avery and Janez Potočnik about Slovenia being in the Alpine phase of negotiations, let me say Hungary is a country of plains rather than mountains, so we are in the plain stage of our negotiations. Let us make things plain, we need Europe and Europe needs us.





No Fall-Back Positions



Jan Truszczyński,
*Chief EU Negotiator,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Poland*

The last speaker on the list usually starts off by complaining that everything has already been said and there remains nothing for him to deal with. I hope to have found a niche for myself, being the sixth on the list, and wish to draw your attention to social, motivational and political aspects of the entire exercise.

Increasingly, in my own country, when talking to the media, when talking to the general public, we are confronted with the question, Does the Polish government have a fall-back position? What will happen in case the whole enlargement exercise is delayed? What happens if others join Europe, but Poland does not? And finally, what would happen if Poland gets itself an accession treaty, within the prescribed time span, but Poles vote against such a treaty in a national referendum? And then, obviously, the question arises, who would pay the costs? And what are these costs?

Well, the answer usually is that there is no fall-back position. There are no plans or designs on what to do if one of these scenarios materialises. Admittedly, the probability is extremely low, but cannot be ruled out.

In our case, obviously, if we were unable to meet the requirements and would get delayed due to our own failure, if we were not to join due to the fact that Poles would vote out the accession treaty, the costs would be borne by Poland itself. We would be confronted with a fairly deep political crisis and a possible identity crisis.

Of course, Poland is a stable parliamentary democracy. There would be no real danger of political instability or any turn away from democracy, but a prolonged period of soul-searching would be inevitable. Moreover, Poland has been investing in its own future for the last 12 years, and all of a sudden it would be an investment with no return at all. A waste of money, a waste of effort. Non-membership would be equal to

unrealised gains due to the fact that we would be left out of the framework.

If the whole exercise gets delayed, not due to any shortcoming or failure on the side of the applicant countries, but due to the inability of the member states to sort out their own problems to come up with a useful, viable solution, I am convinced the cost would be pretty high for the entire continent. After all, it would be proof of Europe's inability to live up to its global ambitions. It would have a fairly negative impact on the grand design for European integration, European institutions, and broadening Europe. The whole exercise would all of a sudden become a fully futile job. Finally, and this is not without importance either, there would be unrealised gains and less economic advancement. Less economic growth for the current, present European Union.

Therefore, even if we are in for the hardest part of the job, even if there would be a few cold showers every once in a while between now and the end of December, even if this or that member state might show up its cards and say that it does not really wish the accession negotiations to come to a good end by December of this year, I believe that the probability of such a scenario must be regarded as low. Too much has already been invested on both sides, too many political and economic commitments have already been made. Any other scenario than the finalisation of accession talks by the end of this year and the entry of ten additional member states by 2004 would be proof of Europe's total inability to successfully confront its own future. Thus, I am optimistic and my government is optimistic, and that is the principle reason why we are not looking at any fall-back positions or developing any alternative scenarios.

Saturday, 11 May 2002

SESSION IV (A)

HOW TO GUARANTEE EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE (PUBLIC MEDIA)

Grand Hotel Union

CHAIRPERSON

Sandra Bašić-Hrvatín, President, Slovenian Broadcasting Council, Ljubljana

PANELISTS

Danail Danov, Programme Director, Media Development Centre, Sofia

Christina Jutterström, Director-General, Swedish Television, Stockholm

Antonio Riva, former Director-General, SRG - Swiss Radio & TV, Zurich

Albert Scharf, former Director-General, Bayerischer Rundfunk, Munich

Milan Stibrál, Director-General, CTK Czech News Agency, Prague

István Wisinger, President, Association of Hungarian Journalists, Budapest

"Editorial Independence is of essential importance for all media, whether for public media or for media in private ownership. It is a prerequisite, a precondition for a free and democratic society."

Albert Scharf





A Painful Transformation



Danail Danov,
*Programme Director,
Media Development Centre,
Sofia*

My observations and analysis will be based on the public electronic media in Bulgaria, although I should stress that when I say public media, I mean this only conditionally. The former state-run electronic media is still not completely rid of state interference. On the contrary, what I will be talking about in the following minutes will give you an example of very strong interference, both political and financial.

The management of any sort of institution involves a whole bunch of activities, planning, organising and controlling, using various human and material resources to aspire towards definite results. Applied to the public electronic media, such a definition would encompass a whole set of activities that end up in programmes that should inform, educate and entertain large segments of the overall audience, including all social, professional, cultural, ethnic and other groups that build up the society.

Moreover, the programmes of the public electronic media have to be produced according to the highest possible professional and ethical standards and are bound to defend the public interest. In other words, to manage successfully any public electronic media outlet would presuppose the availability of internal and external factors able to prevent any political and economic interference in the very functioning of the media. As far as external factors are concerned, this is usually achieved by the existence of a developed system of regulatory mechanisms that guarantee the editorial and financial independence of the broadcasters. This is in compliance with the very definition of public service broadcasting as being made for the public, financed by the public, and controlled by the public.

As for the internal factors, they should be well implemented in the very operational management system of the media. This means providing employees with high motivation for their work to ensure a well functioning communication

system among all the different departments and, last but not least, it requires a systematic, constant, and efficient control of the whole activity of the media.

In liberal democracies, the political and economic independence of the public electronic media is guaranteed by an interrelated system of institutions and rules serving the public interest. The legal system in those countries stands for complete transparency. It is transparency of legal licensing and registration procedures that, together with the advertising market, allows all broadcasters to find their niches and to serve and satisfy the public needs. In such an environment, the commercial stations stick to their properly selected format, while the bigger public operators, having their past roots in state radio or television, are publicly funded by licence fees. Neither has to rely on the mercy of the political class whereby the state budget decides who gets what. On the contrary, the whole variety of electronic media, commercial or public, is regulated by sound principles, complete with checks and balances that are in the public interest.

How do those factors apply to Bulgarian broadcasting?

Frequency allocation, offered for distribution among prospective operators, is carried out by a state institution, which is entirely out of public control. This means that no manager of any electronic media is capable of doing a long-term analysis of the competitive environment. For both Bulgarian National Radio and Bulgarian National Television, this means that effective financial planning cannot be practiced, and strategic management is limited to a matter of day-to-day survival tactics.

Electronic media legislation is concentrated in the broadcasting law and telecommunications law and their respective institutions, the Council for the Electronic Media and the Telecommunications Regulation Committee. During the last five years, there have been several

amendments to the media legislation, but practice has shown that all of them have been politically motivated and not because of the public interest. Moreover, the election of the people to regulate broadcasting and to manage Bulgarian National Radio and TV has been entirely connected to political interests.

The direct intervention of the regulation authorities in the selection of the governing boards of both radio and TV has provoked crises on a number of occasions and has in no way contributed to changing them from state-run to public broadcasters. Licenses for telecommunication activity are granted by a state agency and again the decisions are not publicly but politically motivated. This makes the activity of the managing boards of Bulgarian National Radio and TV completely dependent on the ruling politicians. The market, as a regulator of the commercial broadcasters, cannot operate properly. There is no mechanism to determine the real income that the operators get from advertising, thus allowing non-regulated financing and hindering the regulation authorities from determining exact revenues.

In practice, this situation makes Bulgarian national radio and television broadcasters subject to real control, something that hardly brings about real competition on the market. The licence fees, which are discussed at length in the electronic media law, adopted in 1998, are still not implemented. On the one hand, the annual amount as set by the law is so negligible that it reveals again the firm decision of the authorities to have broadcasting dependent on the state and controlled by the state.

Although they look similar, at first glance, to examples of advanced public broadcasting, the management structures of Bulgarian National Radio and TV are strongly politically framed. For the last ten years, any political change in the country has been accompanied by changes to the managing boards of the electronic media.



A Painful Transformation

There are not many people in the country ready to argue that the news running order of both Bulgarian National Radio and TV would reflect the public and not the political interests. This is mainly due to the desire of the management of both radio and television to comply with the interests of the politicians in power, the only thing that could effectively guarantee them to remain in their positions.

Motivation, communication and effective control are leading elements in the management strategies of both Bulgarian National Radio and TV, but the people working in those two organisations claim that with regard to remuneration, working environment, professional training and upward mobility, employees feel totally non-motivated. Funds aimed at training of personnel are scarce, if available at all. The department that deals with that activity exists because of tradition, rather than functional necessity and usefulness. There is no effective human resources management. There are hundreds of employees who cannot speak foreign languages or operate computers. The

main reason they remain in these organisations is the fact that there is nowhere else they could go. It is not motivation, but mere obedience that guides their entire performance. Communication in both radio and television is carried out in the form of rumours.

Quite often, horizontal communication is hampered by heavy structures, departments whose work is deprived of any sense, and often duplicates the activity of other departments. The production of numerous programmes that do not correspond to high professional standards and do not arouse the interest of the audience shows that there is no effective control over production. The assessment of staff is often made by selection committees led by subjectivity and personal interest rather than by professional criteria.

Ultimately, Bulgarian National Radio and TV represent institutions hosting ill-paid, non-motivated people who often have to cope with political interests rather than serve the public interest.

To change this tired and pessimistic picture, there should be dynamic and

decisive change in the external and internal factors that allow political and economic interference in the public broadcasting. It means creating a new legislative foundation based on a checks and balance system which can guarantee constant and effective public control. It means designing and enforcing a system of transparency during the whole process of frequency allocation.

In addition, media institutions have to be granted legal guarantees about the independence of their work and their selection. An effective system for monitoring, along with the enforcement of job description models and managing structures existing in the leading European broadcasting institutions, together with codes of ethics and professional codes, could bring about radical changes. And last, but not least, the immediate implementation of licence fees can guarantee the independence of the media from the state. Those steps could give the initial impetus to change the state-controlled Bulgarian electronic media into some sort of public service broadcaster.



The Swedish Model



Christina Jutterström,
*Director General,
Swedish Television,
Stockholm*

I recently returned to the public service company of Swedish Television after 15 years as the editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper. I live and work in a country where the freedom of the press has a tradition and also a legal base stretching back over 200 years, where freedom of speech has been guaranteed and enshrined in the constitution for generations. That is why the free and independent state of the media is solid and also why there is such popular support.

With approximately 40 per cent of the viewers, Swedish Television is the largest television company. We broadcast programmes in two analogue and two digital channels, and compete on a market with three strong privately-owned, commercially financed, national TV channels. Today, Swedish Television has around 3,000 employees. With 30 or so production departments located throughout the country, it is highly decentralised. Our programmes, which are financed by licence fees, are dominated by non-fiction and news. Other programme areas are drama and fiction, the arts and light entertainment, children's programmes and sport.

In my view, the purpose and the goal of the structure of the public service TV station is to lay the foundations for journalistic independence. The company must retain its editorial independence and integrity in relation to the government, as well as to interest groups, companies and pressure groups of any kind. For this reason, government and parliament should not be allowed any more than the minimum say over what direction the company chooses to take concerning what it broadcasts. Only general guidelines should be allowed and no influence at all on editorial activities.

However, democratically elected parliaments and governments have a responsibility for ensuring that broadcasting rights are regulated by applying certain fundamental guidelines concern-

ing diversity, quality, accessibility and respect for minority interests etc. These different ambitions can be achieved with a combination of measures.

First, Swedish Television operates under a charter that specifies that programming shall be factual, objective and impartial and shall widely embrace the spirit of free speech and information. The fundamental concepts of democracy shall be intrinsic to every aspect of broadcasting as shall the principle of every individual's right to equal treatment, liberty and dignity.

Secondly, the freedom of speech laws embodied in the Swedish constitution forbid the censorship and official preview of the programmes broadcast on TV and radio. Government authorities or any other bodies have no power or authority to affect the content. Nobody other than the programme company itself can decide what is to be broadcast.

Third, each TV programme has a publisher responsible under law and viewers who considers themselves to have been slandered by anyone in a programme can take legal proceedings against a publisher in an ordinary court of law. If anybody believes a programme to be in contravention of this broadcasting chapter, a report can be submitted to an independent board, not a court, which then examines the content of that programme. If found guilty, an official announcement is to be made and a correction inserted into forthcoming programmes. Last year, the Broadcasting Commission received over 400 complaints. The number increases from year to year.

Fourth, Swedish Television is a private limited company, owned by a foundation, appointed on the basis of nominations proposed by the political parties and parliament. Since the foundation operates on a long-term basis, its membership may not be affected by election results or a change of government and the main responsibilities of the

foundation are to safeguard the independence of the company and to promote autonomy by owning and managing the company's shares. It is also the foundation that appoints the company board. The company's internal organisation is also designed to guarantee journalistic independence. The board decides the corporate goals and the long term plans, decides on the organisation and the budget and has the responsibility for two appointments, namely the director-general and the director of programming. However, it has no editorial influence and takes no decisions as to the contents of the programmes. That responsibility rests on myself, as the managing director of Swedish Television, and on the company's director of programming.

This organisation, which incidentally also applies to public service radio, gives our company a very strong position in Swedish society and amongst the viewers. As Swedish Television is owned neither by the state or private commercial interests, it is able to operate free from pressure of any kind. We are a company in the service of the public that is able to accept the challenge and the responsibility of being what we call a Third Estate, continually probing the authorities, organisations, institutions and companies that influence the daily lives of each and every one of us. Of course, there are organisations who would like to, and try to, influence programmes. Anything else would be surprising. The most notorious case being when the Minister of Finance once wanted to block the airing of the forthcoming budget. Swedish Television listened politely to the Minister's point of view and decided with the full support of the staff that there was no question of the item being axed.

So this is how the Swedish model of the free autonomous public service company works. This is how the legal framework is constructed. At the same



The Swedish Model

time, it is my personal understanding that regardless of how perfectly and ingeniously the legal structure is built up, it can still have difficulty withstanding pressure and external threats unless the abstract ideals of freedom of speech are deeply rooted among the public and the political establishment. This means that the credibility of the journalistic companies adds a fundamental significance to their actual position in society.

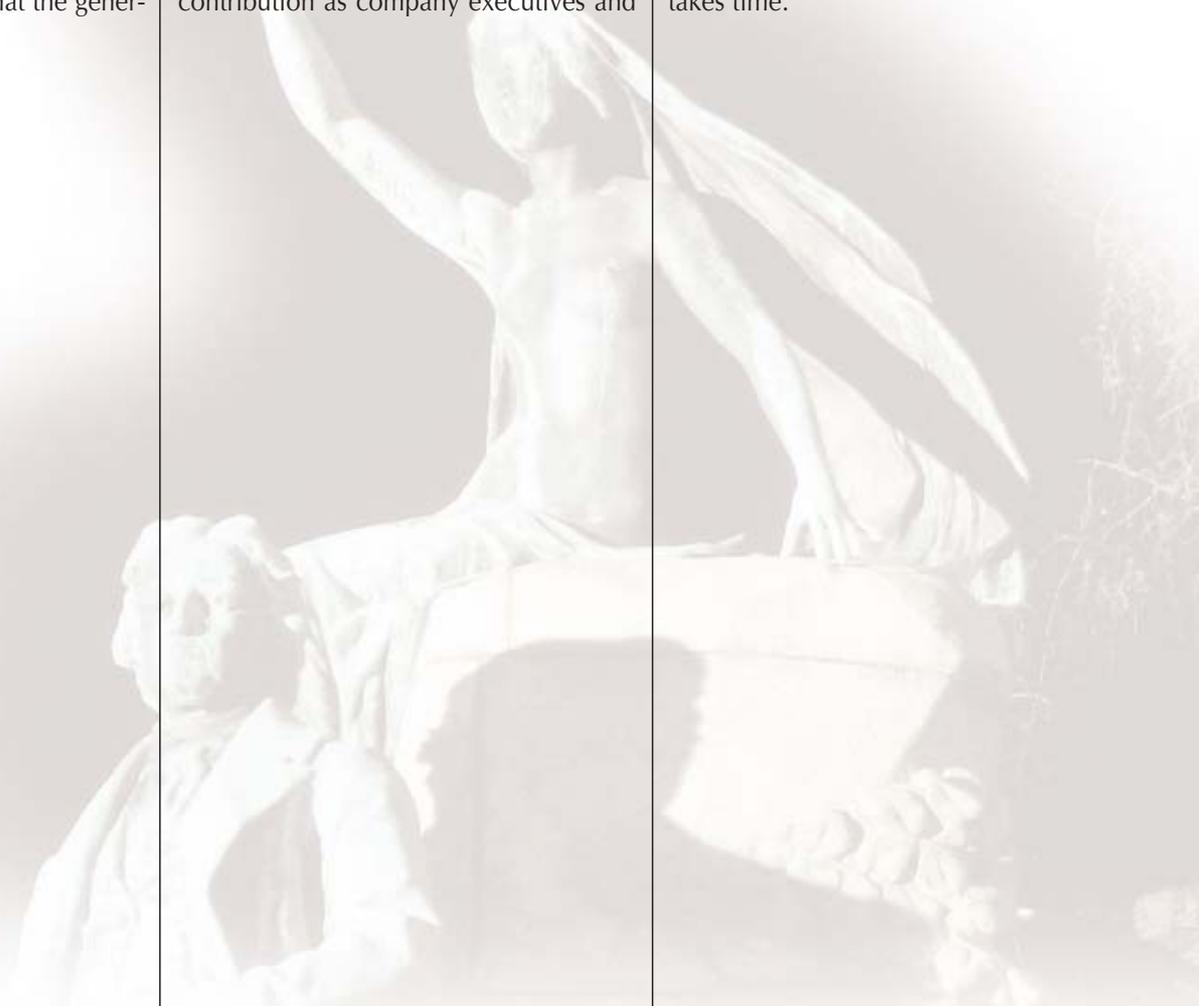
As far as Swedish Television is concerned, it is the public that makes up the company's actual customer base. It is the viewers that decide our actual future. Of course, part of our strength lies in the democratic structures of our country, but ultimately it is a question of the respect and long-held confidence that the gener-

al public have in the work we do. And when Swedish Television is credited year after year in impartial opinion polls for being the country's most reliable TV channel, it makes us feel a bit proud. We are talking about a relationship with the viewers, with the people, a relationship that takes years to build up and that demands perseverance and respect to maintain.

This is why I believe that many of the public service companies in the democracies of the world are now facing a long uphill climb involved in building up the full confidence of their public and solid support for their own freedoms. This is time consuming but essential work, a valiant fight for free speech. Our contribution as company executives and

representatives of the free, independent press must be to keep a watch on our own morals at all times. It is our unending duty to guarantee our employees rights to perform their work in the spirit of editorial independence. Only then can speech really be free.

To summarise, a system of successful independent television and radio needs, besides constitutions and laws, politicians who are dedicated to, or at least fully accept, an independent public service radio and television. It needs leaders and staff with competence and integrity and, I can also add, well paid leaders and staff. It needs a broad and high quality choice of programmes which appeal to a big audience. And it takes time.





On Switzerland and Bosnia



Antonio Riva,
*former Director-General, SRG -
Swiss Radio and TV, Zurich*

Broadcasting reflects the society in which it operates. Switzerland is multilingual, federalist and quite stable, and so is broadcasting in Switzerland.

Editorial independence is ensured by recognition at the constitutional level, implementation in the legislation, stable mixed financing of the public broadcaster, and the judgement of programme complaints by an independent, professional body.

Besides the European Convention of Human Rights of 1950, two articles of the Swiss Federal Constitution are particularly relevant to editorial independence.

Art. 17. Freedom of the Media

1. The freedom of the press and broadcasting is guaranteed.
2. Censorship is forbidden.
3. The secrecy of editorial work is guaranteed.

Art. 93. Broadcasting

1. Broadcasting legislation is a federal matter.
2. Broadcasting contributes to knowledge and cultural development, the free formation of opinions and to entertainment. It takes into account the characteristics of the country and the needs of Cantons. It fairly presents events and adequately reflects the plurality of opinions.
3. Independence of broadcasting and autonomy in conceiving the programmes are guaranteed.
4. The situation and tasks of other media, especially the press, have to be taken into account.
5. Programme complaints may be treated by an independent authority of complaints.

The first and only Broadcasting Law of 1991 has established a three level broadcasting system. At the local and regional level, licenses are given to private broadcasters only. At the level of

linguistic regions and nation-wide, the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) has a priority for general programmes, and all have access to international broadcasting.

The revenue from license fees belongs mostly to the SBC, but small contributions are given to private broadcasters in mountain regions.

The Broadcasting Law also recognizes the legal status of the SBC as a group of independent and open associations of listeners and viewers.

Due to the growing availability of distribution channels (85 per cent of the population is on cable and digital terrestrial distribution will be developed in the coming years), the Broadcasting Law will be reviewed. All broadcasters will be free to operate at all levels, but the SBC will have to deliver state-wide pluralistic programmes of similar value in all official languages and therefore get most of the license fee and limited advertisement. A new independent regulatory body for both telecommunication and broadcasting will be created, but the independent Authority for Programme Complaints will probably remain as it is.

This Authority, which decides on programme complaints against all broadcasters, is composed by nine media professionals working part-time and a small secretariat. Over the years, it has developed an interpretation of programme principles consistent with professional standards. This does not mean that broadcasters always agree with the Authority's decisions, and they may refer to the Swiss Federal and the European Court.

In practice, the yearly average of complaints judged by the Authority is about 25, out of which only three or four are considered to be violations of programme principles. In this case, the Authority requires the broadcaster to take adequate measures to avoid future violations, in general through internal training. If this is not done, an interven-

tion by the Regulator is required, who may impose fines and even modify or cancel the broadcaster's license, although this has never happened.

But editorial independence also needs to be implemented inside the broadcasting organisation, and the SBC is a very complex one.

The founders and owners of the SBC, the listeners' and viewers' associations, autonomously elect the majority of larger representative and small executive boards, both at the regional and national level. A minority is elected without instructions by the government to ensure a balanced representation of the society. The boards nominate the top managers and oversee strategies and finances, not the programme schedules and their implementation.

Focusing on the programmes, separate pluralistic consultative commissions and ombudsmen operate at the regional level. The director-general is primarily responsible for respecting legal requirements, and for successfully managing the company together with the board of directors. In the professional structure, goals are set and results checked in an interactive process. Administration and finance are structurally separated from the programme, advertisement is acquired by a separate company.

Does this mean that the editorial independence of the SBC and its journalists is at its best and that editorial responsibilities are not under threat?

Well, asking at different levels in the house about editorial independence, no reference is made to direct governmental interventions besides the right of approving the election of the director-general. A few Authority or Federal Court decisions are criticised. As for political parties, they occasionally may have some influence with regard to top nominations. But the responsibility for election programmes lies with the broadcaster.



On Switzerland and Bosnia

As everywhere, the editorial independence of the journalists is influenced by the professional decisions of their editors-in-chief. And political and economic journalists are exposed to the temptation of self-censorship induced by the necessity of keeping personal information channels available.

Editors-in-chief resent the pressure of competition and of maximising audiences, despite a programme evaluation system taking into account quality aspects, and feel the changing moods and reactions of public opinion. Pressures from advertisers are not felt to be relevant, but sponsoring needs to be managed cautiously, not by the concerned programme people but by the separate advertisement company.

The SBC's management does not intervene in the daily programme operations before transmission, except if a clear violation of programme principles is taking place. In their work, occasionally disturbed by bureaucratic external finance control, top managers have mainly to respond to the challenges of

strategy, staffing and developing efficiency or, as far as the director-general is concerned, to diplomatically engage into matters like the revision of the Broadcasting Law or the request for increasing license fees.

On the whole, my personal impression is that editorial independence at the SBC is guaranteed and implemented, and that it is mainly the responsibility of editors and management to develop this further by trustworthy programmes serving the expectations and needs of the public.

In the last couple of years, as a consultant for the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), I was able to get acquainted with the broadcasting landscape of another small, multicultural, but poor and still unstable European country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the development of public broadcasting is slowly taking shape.

As for editorial independence, the international community has been quite active. Fair legal regulations have been imposed, independent regulatory bodies

established, training organised, expertise and donations delivered, a help-line for journalists installed. But it is my impression that the involvement of local media professionals could have been more comprehensive.

In a context of still strong and dangerous nationalistic tensions, of poverty, unemployment and insecurity, with the background of a state and party broadcaster tradition, the private and public pressures on journalists, editors and management remain heavy. Too often, self-censorship has remained a condition for professional - and sometimes even physical - survival. So, I would like to express my admiration for all those professionals - and there are many in Bosnia - who take risks to ensure editorial independence.

It takes years and years of efforts to develop a mature, democratic, pluralistic broadcasting culture. And it always remains at risk, as proved by recent events in the West.



The Importance of Editorial Independence



Albert Scharf,
former Director-General,
Bayerischer Rundfunk, Munich,
and Honorary President,
European Broadcasting Union

Editorial Independence is of essential importance for all media, whether for public media or for media in private ownership. It is a prerequisite, a precondition for a free and democratic society. Free media stand for a free and democratic society. Free media stand for a free society and state. And media are free only if they enjoy full autonomy with regard to the content they wish to publish.

But is this not naive and wishful thinking, an illusion far from reality? Public broadcasters, from their very origin, have always been the voice of the ruling power in society, the state, the government, the dominant political party - there have been many examples around Europe over the past 50 or 80 years. Not only the highly respected professional magazine, *Variety*, speaks of "state broadcasters" when it refers to the BBC, ARD, ORF, etc. Governments may be pleased by such denominations, but those broadcasters are not. They regard it as not only a semantic error, but as an offence.

Admittedly, there is some cause for such misunderstandings. State authorities, governments, political parties tend to behave as if they were the proprietors and masters of public radio and television. And the history of broadcasting all around Europe gives some evidence for that false presumption and ambition.

The politically and even legally well-founded position that in a free society it is the constitutional duty of state authorities to organise broadcasting as a public mission, without any state interference in the execution of that mission, is for many politicians in both West and East Europe still amazing, unbelievable, unimaginable. This, however, is exactly the consequence the German Federal Constitutional Court drew from the German Constitution 30 years ago, with binding force for legislation and government and which indeed has been the basis for all legislation on broadcasting since then.

Saying this with some satisfaction and pride, I do not hesitate to admit that this basic principle does not solve all problems in daily life and does not prevent attempts to influence editorial policy and practice. But it helps a lot and in the final end decisively, providing the people responsible for public broadcasting - editors, managers, members of internal supervisory boards - are willing to resist. This attitude is in the end a question of education and self-confidence. And public opinion and public consensus on the importance of free media in general and independent public media in particular is a great support. Violations of the editorial integrity of public broadcasters must be regarded as indecent and politically incorrect.

First of all, however, it must be the self-understanding of the broadcasters themselves to observe a clear distance from outside powers and the powerful. And the legislation on broadcasting must enable them to do so without a permanent care about their jobs and their income. One of the entrance doors for undue political interference is the nomination of management and senior staff and their dismissal. When those functions are regarded as jobs at the disposition of the winning party after any election, public broadcasting is not free and independent. If, however, the management of public broadcasting does not depend on majorities in parliament, but on internal boards which have the power to nominate the broadcasting executives, those executives can perform their job with the necessary independence from outside powers.

Another risk for editorial independence stems from the method of financing public broadcasting. It may not be feasible without decisions by state authorities, be it government or the parliament, when, for example, licence fees have to be imposed on all households or other schemes of public duties have to be introduced by laws or decrees. In such

cases strict procedural precautions are necessary and possible in order to eliminate or at least to reduce outside influence on editorial policy and practise to an irrelevant minimum. Independent commissions of experts, preparing and predetermining political decisions and giving the whole process public transparency are useful tools to safeguard an independent public broadcasting system, responsible to the public and the general public only.

It goes without saying that such a privileged independence has to be honoured and justified by strict observation of the rules of honest journalism. Public broadcasting must be based on a range of rules, such as accuracy, objectiveness, reliability and truthfulness in disseminating facts. It requires fairness in all comments and impartiality in all matters of public controversy. And it demands the ethics of professional integrity, avoiding selfishness and personal obsession with ideologies and biases, and modest self-restraint, whenever impartiality and plurality demand this. Such an - admittedly ideal - commitment is in direct opposition to the arrogant attitude of the elitist "teachers of the nation", a term used everywhere from time to time to describe public broadcasters. The term "trustees of the nation" is a better description of what is meant, even if this sounds a bit too solemn.

I know of course about all the mistakes and failures which happen in public broadcasting. I am a Parsifal strolling around full of idealistic ideas, but lacking insight into the complex realities of daily life. But I do know, too, that we need ideals in order to discriminate between good and bad, right or wrong. No breach of laws disproves a legislation and none of the failures or even treasons disprove the value, the suitability and well-proven viability of the concept of true and modern public broadcasting.

Getting Rid of the "Official" Label



Milan Stibral,
Director General,
CTK Czech News Agency,
Prague

Czech society has gone through a turbulent development since 1988. The transformation has affected all spheres of life including media.

All media have changed their owners and started to work freely. In the early 1990s, the first laws of "public institutions" - public radio, public television and the news agency - were passed. The public media in the Czech Republic are autonomous corporations which own themselves. They are connected with the state through supervisory bodies, or councils, whose members are elected by the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament.

The councils fulfil several functions. Besides checking whether the public media fulfil their mission as defended by the law, they approve their budgets and appoint or dismiss the director-general. The main function of the council is, however, to act as a "cushion" between the state and individual media. They should act as a brake which prevents the direct influence of politicians on these media. The law says that council members must not hold posts in political parties and must not act to the benefit of any political party or interest group.

However, the original intention was not fully met. One of the reasons why the media councils were perceived as political bodies was that they were elected by the Chamber of Deputies and that the candidates for membership were proposed by political parties. During the crisis in Czech Television in late 1999 and early 2000, it was apparent that some members of the television council maintained unusually frequent contacts with politicians.

As a result of the crisis in Czech Television, a new law was passed which stipulates that candidates for membership of the council are no longer proposed by political parties but by various non-political associations and organisations. This undoubtedly improved the situation. On the other hand, the law stipulates that the Code of Czech Television is passed by the

Chamber of the Deputies and that any breach of this code will be seen as a breach of discipline at work. The code is set to the principles of fulfilling the public service in the sphere of television broadcasting. Thus, there is an apparent effort of politicians not to lose control of this media.

This year, the Parliament also passed a new bill on public Czech Radio. However, the President of the Republic has refused to approve this bill, which is identical to the law on Czech Television.

A new law on the third public media, the Czech News Agency (CTK) will probably be discussed next year. CTK has had the status of a public media since 1993. The agency works independently and is under no political pressure, but we see it as a problem that the legal framework does not sufficiently respect the character of its activity.

The news agency works as a commercial entity. It does not get money for its operations from license fees like radio and television, or from state subsidies, but from the sale of its information. It is just this economic independence which we consider to be the main source and support of our independence.

CTK was a state agency until 1992 and its transformation into an independent and reliable source of information was not easy. Still, in the first half of the 1990s, CTK was always referred to as the "official" Czech news agency by international news agencies such as Reuters or AP. It took a lot of effort to get rid of this official label.

How can an official news agency be transformed into a normal news agency? I consider economic independence to be the main source of independence of the news service. In other words, the news agency must not receive state subsidies. That is why the agency had to undergo a fundamental reorganisation and completely change its style of work. I would like to point out that - just like other news agencies in Central and

Eastern Europe - CTK was still the recipient of big subsidies as late as the early 1990s.

The second source of independence, in my opinion, is that the agency must have clearly set rules to secure an objective news service, that is editors and management.

The third source of independence is that the agency is not obliged to carry official documents. A number of news agencies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are still obliged to do so. Luckily for CTK, the law of 1992 did not assign it this duty. Nevertheless, the Czech government attempted to change the law in 1995 and to again assign this duty to the agency, but it did not succeed.

A big topic is privatisation. Discussion on the privatisation of CTK has been underway in the Parliament for a number of years, but no specific conclusion has been made yet. The CTK management supports privatisation and argues that the agency is a commercial entity. It does not receive state subsidies; it is profit-making.

To sum up, a second generation of laws is emerging in the Czech Republic which reflect the experience of the past years. The new laws on public service media newly define the conditions for proposing candidates for the media council's membership and thus at least formally try to reduce politicisation of these bodies. On the other hand, they reinforce the position of the Chamber of Deputies which will pass the media codes.

The developments of the past years show that to change the status of the public service media is very difficult. In my opinion, the answer cannot be found in the formulation of laws alone. People working in these media, mainly editors and management, definitely play just as important a role as the laws. The key to independence and freedom rests in these people's personal integrity, shared values and the courage to defend and implement these values.

The First Casualties

It belongs to the historical heritage of the Hungarian press that it has always been in the forefront of struggles for social change and for democracy. The press was a basic element in the war against the Habsburgs in 1848. It played an important role at the end of World War II when the extreme right-wing Arrow Cross movement ruled Hungary with the support of invading Nazi Germany. The press played a prominent role in 1956, when a peaceful revolution toppled the Communist regime, itself to be crushed by the Soviet army, which occupied Hungary and helped the Communists back to power.

Against this background, it is almost incredible that 12 years after democratisation and the peaceful changing of the regime, the daily routine of the majority of journalists has nothing to do with the conditions of real editorial independence in a democratic state.

A media research group in Hungary made a complex survey in 1992, 1997 and 2000 to find out how journalists saw their own affairs and their working conditions both in the print press and in broadcasting. The outcome of the survey showed that the situation had worsened both generally and with regard to editorial autonomy. According to the survey, between 1997-2000 the proportion of those who thought that politicians or political groups tried to put pressure on their editorial office rose from 38 to 49 per cent. As for the economic pressure groups, their interventions were similar, although the trend was not so brutal.

Since the latest survey was published, the situation has deteriorated further. Consequently, the state of affairs is especially dangerous for the public radio and television stations.

May I refer to the motto of a book by the British journalist and historian Philip Knightley, "The first casualty when war comes is truth." That was actually said by U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson in 1917. A recurring negative phenomenon of the otherwise surely welcome political changes in Hungary is a lasting media war. The Hungarian media war means that all the



István Wisinger,
President, Association of Hungarian Journalists, Budapest

political parties and all the coalition governments coming into power after the successive democratic general elections did their best to conquer the three public media in order to own them and control them. They are Hungarian Radio, Hungarian Television and the satellite television channel, Danube. The first casualties of this 12-year-old process are always the journalists.

Only six years after the changing of the regime, Parliament adopted a law, which made commercial television broadcasting possible. Ever since then, the situation of public media institutions has worsened steadily. Beyond doubt, all three coalition governments since the changing of the regime are responsible for the material and moral decay of the public media institutions. But it must be stated that Hungarian TV, once a focus of national attention and, yes, affection, was the main victim of the events. It lost its funds, its material and moral resources, its team of experts and, sadly enough, its audience. And all this happened during the reign of a right-wing coalition government, which, according to its own expression, was intent on creating a "media balance".

Hungarian Radio underwent a similar process. Its most important political programmes were turned into exclusive mouth-pieces for the governing party, Fidesz, and its allies, in the course of the close finish of their four-year term.

Talking about the consequences of the recent events in Hungary, I shall now turn to some authoritative and, obviously, impartial sources. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said after the first round of the parliamentary elections in Hungary (8 April 2002), "Campaign coverage in both public and commercial media focused predominantly on the joint governing coalition Fidesz-MDF on the one hand, and the leading opposition MSZP (Socialists) on the other. Bias in favour of the government and the ruling party Fidesz was evident in public television while private television generally provided neutral or critical coverage of all contest-

ants. Perceptions about the blurring of the government's advertising and the political advertisements of the ruling party in both thematic content and appearance became the focus of political debate in the media."

The Secretary General of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), Aidan White, had this to say, "Here in Eastern Europe, regulation and administration of media in some countries remains heavily politicised. Parties compete for influence on boards of management of public television and radio... The situation in Hungary is a prime example of this broadcasting crisis... The perception of the government influence over the media has undoubtedly contributed to a catastrophic collapse in public and professional confidence in public television."

Henceforth, the guarantee for editorial independence in Hungary can be nothing but the adoption of a new media law, all the more since EU President Romano Prodi, holding talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orb-n in Budapest last April, himself declared that the changing of the media law is a necessity to reach an agreement on this chapter to promote Hungary's joining the Union.

There is a chance for success due to the outcome of the last elections in Hungary. One of the consequences of the elections is that MI...P, an extreme right-wing political party, which took a very active part in supporting the government in manipulating the law, has failed to reach the limit to enter Parliament.

Surely, clear, valid and viable laws are not enough to make peace in the world of the media, to demolish barricades and to reach editorial independence. We are in desperate need of seeing to it that journalists live and work safely. We also need to ensure that editorial offices, whether private or state-owned, are given a fair chance on the market. As for the journalists, they should reach the highest professional and ethical standards in order to save them from fighting on the barricades of the media war for democracy, a war that has had so many victims.



Saturday, 11 May 2002

SESSION IV (B)

HOW TO GUARANTEE EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE (PRIVATE MEDIA)

Grand Hotel Union

CHAIRPERSON

Peter Preston, Director, The Guardian Foundation, London

"I can only say that, after 20 years on the Guardian, the years where we made a profit I had a wonderful time and the years where we did not make a profit I had a much more difficult time. So profit is a hugely important thing to an editor."

Peter Preston

PANELISTS

Kim Dae-joong,

Editor-in-Chief, Chosun Ilbo, Seoul

Ljubica Marković,

Director, BETA News Agency, Belgrade

Alexander Pumpiansky,

Editor-in-Chief, Novoye Vremya, Moscow

Richard Steyn,

former Editor-in-Chief, The Star, Johannesburg





Independence and Freedom



Peter Preston,
*Director, The Guardian Foundation,
London*

Just a few words from me to kick off, in which I will try to answer the question, from my own experience, of what is the most important thing in newspaper life that guarantees you independence as an editor. I can only say that, after 20 years on the Guardian, the years where we made a profit I had a wonderful time and the years where we did not make a profit I had a much more difficult time. So profit is a hugely important thing to an editor.

Also, in the context of this session, I think it is very interesting for once at the IPI to get into almost a quagmire of trying to define terms about what we mean by independence and what we mean by freedom. We shall have some of that I am sure from our panelists during the afternoon, but just to ask a few questions from things I have observed since I am here. What guarantees independence in private media? In some of the Balkans - Macedonia, Kosovo - it is subsidies from the government or from donor countries. It is not entirely the case that private media is to one side in getting money from governmental sources. Beyond that, as we know, governments can impinge in all sorts of direct things like licensing or the price of paper or the amount of newsprint that is available to you, and in the whole panoply of laws. So governments are very important in all of this and we shall certainly learn more of this when the gentleman from South Korea talks to us.

But beyond that, there are other things which impinge on press freedoms, including, sometimes, trade unions and associations of journalists. We heard today how, in some Middle Eastern countries, associations of journalists actually organise themselves so that if you write something which is disapproved of as a matter of policy in that union, you lose your card and you cannot operate as a journalist. That to me is a denial of freedom and we see that all the time.

I think there are some other areas that we will need to concentrate on. For example, the matter of the publisher/pro-

prietor versus the editor. Who can be a proprietor of a newspaper? What is the relationship with the editor? Does the editor have a particular sort of freedom or, as appointed by the publisher, is he there intrinsically to follow the line that the publisher has set up the paper and has invested his or his company's money in putting forward? These are all critical questions.

In just the same way, there is the question of the almost tyranny of the big chains. In Britain as in many other countries, regional newspapers are forming themselves into huge chains of 200, 300, 400 papers. These papers newly have listings on the stock market and when something like September 11 happens, then automatically their share prices come under question and they have to start implementing a series of budget cuts. They operate internationally and you find editors having their newsrooms stripped down in order to make savings to deal with an economic situation far away - ratings on Wall Street and prospects for investment there.

So, these are all complex matters and I hope we will get into them during the course of the afternoon with our distinguished panelists.



Degrees of Resistance

In Korea, almost all media except the KBS, the government-owned broadcasting company, are private media. At least this is so in terms of the structure of ownership in the media companies, although it is not clear whether the "private" refers to the structure of the ownership or the independent stance of the editorial writings.

Anyway, even in the structure of ownership, there are many types of ownership in the Korean media. In other words, there are media companies owned by a family, by employees, by the government, or by a conglomerate. So in Korea, looking for the difference between "public" and "private" is meaningless as far as editorial independence is concerned. "Private" does not necessarily mean "independent". The intention of the government to exert influence on media is so strong that no private media is out of its reach. The only difference is the degree of resistance by the individual media.

Korean private media, of course, have some problems in coping with the interests of proprietors, shareholders, and advertisers. However, the real obstacles for private media are the political power of the government. The pressure that comes from the owners of media and advertisers is almost insignificant compared to that of the government.

The government has changed tactics to influence the media over the years. In the old days, the government simply coerced media personnel or made outright threats to editors to change editorials. Those were visible and physical ones. Nowadays, the means and tactics have become very subtle. There are no direct threats or pressures. No more outright arrests of journalists are made. However, eavesdropping, surveillance, and secret investigations are still going on. The most striking change in tactics is to aim directly at the owners by investigating their personal weaknesses instead of targeting the journalists or editorial writers.



Kim Dae-joong,
Editor-in-Chief, Chosun Ilbo, Seoul

The case in point is last year's tax investigation. Korean private media went through a thorough and systematic tax investigation by the government last year and three newspaper owners were arrested with astronomical back taxes. The cases are still pending in court. This government will be recorded as the severest press suppressor in Korean history.

And, a couple of days ago, the editor of Donga Ilbo, one of the most influential and independent newspapers in Korea, resigned his post because the government claimed that he was involved in a scandal, framing him as an unethical journalist.

Furthermore, during this press oppression, a number of ruling party parliamentarians and several NGOs that supported the government actions submitted legislation that would limit the ownership of a media company. For example, they devised a law that the largest shareholder cannot own more than 30 per cent of the media company. This legislation is still pending in the parliament.

And the newly nominated presidential candidate from the ruling party even went further. He spoke about nationalization of an independent newspaper although he asserted that he could not remember saying this. Yet he made numerous public statements that he would viciously fight against the Chosun Ilbo, claiming that the newspaper reported distorted news about him. This means that he will do so if he is elected as the next president. This kind of pressure originates from the fact that these private newspapers do not cooperate with the ruling party and keep criticising the government policies on health, education, and North Korea issues.

There is one more strange phenomenon in the Korean private media. Korean media is largely divided into two parts, pitting one against the other. It is more than normal competition. The fight is about ideological stances. For instance, the Chosun Ilbo, the Donga Ilbo, and the

Joongang Ilbo are being attacked by left-leaning newspapers.

In conclusion, the battle line against these private newspapers is between the politically powerful and the critics who criticise the politically powerful. The intention to change the ownership structure is just an excuse to silence the critical media.

Currently, Korea is conducting an important experiment for the upcoming presidential election in December. As far as the media is concerned, the very existence of private media could face a grave threat and there could be a change in the form of private media depending on the result of presidential elections. The undercurrent in this rift is an ideological confrontation as well.

It is true that private media must go through a self-cleansing process. Most important of all, transparent management, accurate reporting, and gaining trust from readers must be achieved. The wrong impression given to the public such as "despotic private media" should be self-corrected as well. Even with all these endeavours, however, I cannot deny the fact that Korean media is affected not by the market but by the political stance in editorial writings.

Under these circumstances, to keep or not to keep the editorial independence, that is the question. Through my long experience, I can tell you that it is better to defend freedom of the press than to wait for the political power to grant press freedom. This is because all political powers hate to be criticised. The defence of press freedom depends on the spirit of people in the media. These are journalists, editors, editorial writers and publishers.

We Koreans overcame this last year. To be a journalist or to run a newspaper company in Korea, one must not only be absolutely clean, but also not harbour any wrong-doings, and especially stay away from being politicised because that is the spell of death in Korea.

Preconditions for Editorial Independence



Ljubica Marković,
*Director, BETA News Agency,
Belgrade.*

I will try to focus on what I think is a sort of precondition for having editorial independence for media everywhere and in my country especially. A year and a half after democratic government was created in Serbia in the wake of the October 2000 overthrow of the former regime, the media scene in the country has all the features of a delayed transition. Legislation regulating the area has not been passed, acquired privileges persist, there is no tax exemption and the privatisation of the state media outlets has not started yet. Because of that, all such organisations, both state-run and independent/private, have survival as their common and primary goal. Widespread poverty has made newspaper circulation the lowest in Europe and the sum of money set aside for advertising is no different. Ten daily newspapers have a combined circulation of 700,000 copies.

There have been changes though. The government no longer uses state institutions, ministries, courts and financial police to persecute media organisations and journalists. The notorious information law has been repealed. The Serbian government has returned most of the money taken by the former regimes from independent media outlets in fines for violating the information law. The fear, widespread among such media organisations, that the police might at any moment, under any excuse, enter their offices has disappeared. There is no doubt that the new government in Belgrade respects freedom of speech and is much more tolerant of criticism. State-run newspapers and broadcasters no longer feature editorials aimed at discrediting the administration's political opponents and the West is no longer vilified either.

However, as far as success goes, the situation is worse. Various taxes have increased by over 60 per cent and the only tax that has been abolished is one charged per copy of unsold newspaper. The debate on the transformation of state-run newspapers and broadcasters into public services and key media bills governing matters

such as information, freedom of information, telecommunications and broadcasting has been going on for over a year now. Not one of these bills has been passed and their passage is a key condition for creating a sound market which would allow outlets to compete based upon their respective quality.

It is hard to expect that this year, when presidential elections are due in Serbia and a temporary outline for the future co-federal state of Serbia and Montenegro has to be defined, will bring any major changes in the media sphere because the authorities prefer the status quo. The political class in Serbia has yet to face the fact that the media, non-governmental organisations and parts of civil society are equal factors in defining public opinion and defining political and other social goals.

The degree of freedom and independence enjoyed by the media depends on three basic factors. The first is legislation. The second is capable management and the ability to survive in the market and the third is the level of professionalism and responsibility of journalists. At the moment, Serbia is in a rather specific and somewhat contradictory situation. During a decade of confrontation with the former regime, an alternative civil society was established, independent media outlets being part of it and well aware of themselves. That part of society is unwilling to accept without question the attempts of a part of the political establishment to retain control of political communication by resorting to somewhat altered means.

Many problems relating to freedom of communication have little to do with the flaws of the government and much more with the rather low professional level of journalists themselves. Many of them for example do not have the right idea of what corruption is. Recently the marketing service of a large private company in Belgrade invited chief editors of local media outlets to take a free ride on a private plane to Russia in exchange for

reports on the company successors. The flight had to be cancelled because the plane simply was not big enough for everybody who was interested. It is unrealistic to expect journalists to demonstrate unmistakable professional reasoning when democratic government is in the process of being established. Much has yet to be done in Serbia when it comes to educating journalists and setting stricter professional standards, but this hinges on reforms and reforms, in turn, on the government. However, the government does not seem in a hurry to change this.

Kremlin-controlled Media



Alexander Pumpiansky,
Editor-in-Chief,
Novoye Vremya,
Moscow

I have often been asked if President Vladimir Putin likes the media. "Of course he likes it," I answer, "otherwise he would not try to grab control over it." The two great examples of how Putin grabbed control over media were provided during the last year or so. These were the two great wars waged by the State against Vladimir Gusinsky and his media empire, including the television channel NTV, and against Boris Berezovsky and his television channel, TV-6. In these two wars, all means were used. Raids on the headquarters of the media empires by masked policemen, the arrest of Gusinsky on fraud charges, attempts to make an agreement while he was in prison, trading freedom for control of the media empire, and so forth. The results are well known. Both oligarchs have lost control of their media empires. Both of them are abroad and they cannot return to Russia because they are justifiably afraid of being arrested and sent to jail. Is it as simple as that? No, the situation is a bit more complicated, but to understand it I will have to explain the very strange phenomenon of media oligarchs in my country.

The media oligarch - and Gusinsky and Berezovsky are classical examples of the media oligarch - is a very strange figure, a figure who owns media of course, but mostly he is a power-broker who uses his power affiliations in order to gain economic results and he uses his media in order to gain a more solid position in policy-making and vice versa. I will give you an example of how the media oligarchs, Gusinsky and Berezovsky, would use their independent media, the channels that they owned.

The infamous "information war" of 1997 was waged because at that time about 25 per cent of the state-run Syazinvest telecommunications company was offered for privatisation, and Gusinsky and Berezovsky had agreed that this should go to Gusinsky. Previously, all the other companies that had been privatised were dealt with in this manner, in some dark room with government officials, but this time the government of so-called young reformers said "no", it must be an honest deal. Whoever offered more money would

get the 25 per cent stake in the company. And the deal was probably more or less honest, because it went to Vladimir Potanin's empire. Potanin proposed a huge sum at that time, approximately US\$ 1 billion. Over US\$ 1 million more than Gusinsky had proposed.

This started the information war, which was really a dirty campaign of character assassination by the two media oligarchs against Anatoly Chubais and the so-called young reformers. This campaign was waged for several months and was an act of revenge by the two media oligarchs. They changed the government because they did not get the deal they wanted. So this is an example of how the media is, or was, being abused to pursue political and economic interests.

In the 1920s, there was an episode when Lenin was already near death. He was isolated somewhere near Moscow and he was not getting any real information from the outside. Even the newspaper Pravda printed a special issue for him, with different contents of course. So Lenin would get from his copy of Pravda a very different picture of the country than the other people were getting. But what Gusinsky and Berezovsky did was even worse, I would say, than this special issue of Pravda, because they used the whole media to send a message to only one person, to the President. They would start a media campaign against this or that minister or prime minister, they would create a kind of public mock trial, and all this was done only to ensure that President Boris Yeltsin got the message that, "Society is really against this guy, so you must change this guy". This is how the media worked under the oligarchs.

So Gusinsky and Berezovsky tried to do the same thing with Putin when he came to power. They were so arrogant, they had had so many political victories, and the weapon of the media was so strong, that they believed they could speak to President Putin in the same way. After all, he was a young guy who was in a way made by Berezovsky. But this time it did not work. This time, the government and the Kremlin used all their opportunities, all the dirty tricks, all the strong weapons they had, to eliminate the oligarchs. So this is a chapter that was closed with very controver-

sial results. On the one hand, it is a very sad blow to pluralism, because there is almost complete governmental control of the electronic media, at least. On the other hand, I would say that readers or viewers do not see very much difference in what, for example, the new NTV shows, as compared with the NTV of Gusinsky's time.

So let me ask a question. There is governmental control of the media, but what sort of control? How total is the control gained by the Kremlin? In our country, we remember well the real control that existed before Mikhail Gorbachev, some 15 years ago. This was real, totalitarian control, when every publication and every word practically was controlled by censorship. Is there any ideology propagated in the state-controlled or Kremlin-controlled media today? No. Until now, at least, there is no ideology, whether that be communism, fascism, nationalism, religious fundamentalism, etc. There is state control today, but state control for what?

In Russia today, the state means the President, not the prime minister, the parliament, or other groups of politicians. The state is equal to the President only, but we do not see the results of that control, other than the knowledge that when the next election comes, then of course this control will work very effectively. Then all the pressures will be put in place and then all this media should work for the sake of the presidential candidate, President Putin.

Strange as it is, this control is of a different type at least than it was during Communist times. Strange as it is, we can say that it is a type of democracy, because this tool should be used only during election campaigns and in no other situations, and it should be used for the presidential candidate, the present President. So it is a democracy, a very strange democracy, a very weak democracy, but nevertheless a democracy.

So let me finish with the very strange conclusion that despite all these things we are living in a democracy, we are living with a certain amount of pluralism, and we are living with freedom of the media. Of course, one must ask, To whom does this freedom of the media belong?

Newspaper Ownership Structures



Richard Steyn,
*former Editor-in-Chief,
The Star, Johannesburg*

I suppose I should begin by stating my qualifications for being on this panel. It was a dispute over editorial independence that led to my resignation and departure from journalism after 20 years spent editing two South African newspapers. The issues surrounding my departure are directly relevant to the topic under discussion today. I confine my remarks to the print media, about which I have some direct experience, but they are relevant to the electronic media as well.

My circumstances were by no means unique and may be briefly outlined. Throughout my editorial career I had operated under a tried and tested system - whose value had been proven during the apartheid years - of shared responsibility between editor and general (or commercial) manager, who were co-responsible to the board of directors for the performance of the newspaper. There was a strict division between church and state. As editor I had to determine the paper's political direction and uphold editorial integrity and standards. The general manager was responsible for advertising and circulation and it was our joint task to ensure profitability. While editorial quality was my primary concern, commercial considerations were never far from my mind and I worked productively and profitably with a succession of general managers.

The value of this system lay in the protection it gave to an editor when influential forces in government or in business tried to bring untoward commercial pressure to bear on the newspaper's management. From time to time there were actual cases where chairmen of newspaper companies disregarded short-term economic considerations and stood alongside editors against powerful politicians in defence of press freedom. On one momentous occasion this alliance successfully persuaded the apartheid government against taking the final fateful step of grabbing control of opposition newspapers.

The arrival of a new democratically-elected government in the mid 1990s and

the replacement of one powerful political force by another did not seem to me sufficient reason to tamper with a system that was not perfect but, like democracy itself, had proven to be better than any alternative.

New political circumstances and foreign ownership together wrought many changes in the South African newspaper industry, some for better and some for worse. In the case of the venerable Argus newspaper group, the largest newspaper chain in the country with the Johannesburg Star as its flagship, the new owners immediately set about making their titles more profitable by driving more deeply into the middle/mass market, cutting costs and making editors subject to the dictates of commercial managers rather than the board. I had been consistently opposed to the latter development and, when it came about on the Star, had no hesitation in folding my tent. I did so with the words of an Australian business consultant ringing in my ears: "There's nothing special about a newspaper; it's like a fruit machine... you just key in the variables, pull the lever and out pours a bucket load of money". That was not why I had spent two decades in journalism. What happened thereafter, and over time, was instructive. The content of the group's newspapers became heavily influenced by market research (and by some of the inanities of "reality" television), editorial budgets were cut, foreign bureaus were closed, the training of journalists was all but discontinued, the preferences of long-standing readers were sublimated to those of the new target market, cover prices went up - and circulation went down. But profits rose, enabling the new owners to claim, with some justification, that they were doing exactly what shareholders required of them.

Five years later there was a fascinating sequel. A series of pro-government advertisements suddenly appeared in the group's newspapers countrywide defending the South African president's highly controversial stance on HIV/AIDS. It subsequently transpired not only that the government had

not paid for the space, but also that none of the group's editors had been aware that the ads would be appearing in his newspaper. Management had cut a deal behind their editors' backs to run official propaganda free of charge. The loss of credibility was immense, but hardly surprising. Such are the fruits of allowing managers rather than editors to run newspapers.

Of course mine was not an isolated case. Editors around the world regularly fall foul of commercial pressures. And as these pressures increase in this electronic age, so the aims of editors and managers come increasingly and relentlessly into conflict.

Let me say at once that I have considerable sympathy for the predicament of managers, particularly those in public companies whose shareholders are fixated on short-term profits and on maximising returns on investment. As an editor, it was often far easier to sound off piously about the short-sightedness and apparent indifference of management while leaving the latter with the unenviable task of satisfying proprietors whose real interest in newspapers often ran no deeper than their own egos and their company's bottom line.

And management's predicament is heightened as editorial competition from electronic and other media grows, as television cuts ever more deeply into print advertising budgets, as newsprint and other costs rise, as weaker currencies depreciate and - in my country - as the clamour for (racial) transformation becomes more insistent. In these circumstances something has to give and more often than not that something is editorial quality.

What, therefore, is to be done? Various remedies have been suggested, from better training of the editors to the drafting of editorial charters to greater care in the selection of editors and board members of newspaper companies. Yet the answer, I believe, lies in the nature and structure of newspaper ownership rather than the qualities of individual people.

It is no coincidence, to my mind, that the best and most respected newspa-



Newspaper Ownership Structures

pers, in the English-speaking world at any rate, have been owned by great publishing families or by trusts. The reason is not hard to find. Their *raison d'être*, their guiding principle, has always been a combination of public spiritedness and the pursuit of profit. Great publishers have understood that a newspaper, as a commodity, is far more than a cake of soap or a can of soup. A newspaper is, in part, a public or common good. Newspapers worthy of the name give their readers both what they would like to know as well as what they ought to know. In return for the privilege of access, a newspaper helps to set the public agenda; it advances ideas and arguments; it explains and takes sides on important issues; and it acts as a watchdog over powerful interests. Newspapers are the recipients of the public's trust, a trust that cannot be adequately discharged if their motivation is to pander to the lowest common denominator in taste in order to deliver outstanding returns to shareholders.

That does not mean, I must make clear, that newspapers should be taken out of private hands, given government subsidies or be freed from market forces. Good newspapers are expensive to run and must make good profits. Newspapers that are not subject to the constraints of the market and do not take account of what readers want are invariably self-satisfied, out of touch and boring - with government-owned newspapers and television stations the most boring of all. In the media, as elsewhere, commercial competition is good as long as it leads to a greater end, that of good quality - and I do not necessarily mean upmarket - newspapers.

But, in a better-ordered world, newspapers would not be owned by remote, multinational conglomerates, many of whom are driven solely by profit and show scant regard for local or national interests, or by proprietors who are not prepared to assume the special responsibilities that owning a newspaper entails.

There are various ways in which newspapers could be kept in "sympathetic"

hands, whereby their commercial viability could be balanced against their role as protectors of the public interest. Some of these might include limiting share-ownership in newspaper companies and distributing parcels of shares among thousands of small investors; making it easier for journalists and media workers to hold shares in the companies they work for; creating newspaper-owning trusts directed by businessmen who truly understand the value of having an independent watchdog to guard against the excesses of governments, business and other powerful vested interests.

Coming from a continent with a poor record of accountability and having spent most of my working life in the newspaper or corporate media world, I remain acutely aware of the power of the media as a force for good, provided that the other elements of good governance - such as an effective judicial system - are also present. No other institution possesses the media's ability to keep the powerful on the straight and narrow, which, incidentally, is why I would make the existence of a free press a pre-requisite for the receipt of foreign aid.

I do not believe it to be beyond the wit of man to devise new ownership structures for this essential element of a well-functioning democracy, or to devise new regulations that prevent newspapers from becoming the plaything or mouthpiece of any one shareholder.

It ought be possible, for a start, to persuade public-spirited corporations of the value of investing in a free and independent press. As experience in countries like the United States, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia has proved, business flourishes in an open and democratic environment. Large companies spend millions on social investment in health, welfare, education and other fields. It might be unrealistic to expect them to spend a portion of that investment on protecting the marketplace of ideas, on seeking to ensure that the business environment remains open, honest and free from the overweening power of vested interests. But companies may well be persuaded to invest

in a type of interest-bearing investment, a debenture, say, or corporate bond with coupon attached, that would give them a real though limited return on their money. An arrangement of this kind would enable a public-spirited corporation both to protect its market place and make some money from its media investment. The recipient, in turn, would be subject to commercial disciplines and would need to make a profit, but not the level of profit that an equity-based investment would require, a level that currently serves to distort the operations of so many newspapers.

When it comes to setting and upholding standards, press regulation is generally not a good thing, unless it is self-regulation. But I see less harm in industry-wide regulation, which holds newspapers to a set of standards commensurate with their special responsibilities, in a democratic society, to the general public.

It seems to me common cause that the balance between commercialism and the public interest has tilted too far and that commercial interests now predominate. The ills of modern journalism, which we are concerned with today, are the result, I believe, of too much rather than too little competition, of too much power being concentrated in the hands of too few people. If that is the case, then surely it is time to re-examine the foundations of the media industry in order to determine how our newspapers might better serve the public interest, the democratic interest. And if the case for alternative ownership structures holds water, to come up with some well thought out financial engineering and sensitive regulation that is appropriate for this global age.

I quite agree with Michael Prowse of the Financial Times who wrote in a recent column that the media's problem in the modern era has more to do with weak structures, than with weak editors or weak people.



Sunday, 12 May 2002

SESSION V

PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS IN REGIONS OF CONFLICT

Grand Hotel Union

CHAIRPERSON

Richard Tait, Editor-in-Chief, ITN,
London

KEYNOTE STATEMENT

Chris Cramer, President, CNN
International Networks, Atlanta

PANELISTS

Robert Cox, President, Inter American
Press Association (IAPA), Miami
Ronald Koven, European Representative,
World Press Freedom Committee, Paris
Rafael Marques, Freelance Journalist;
Country Director, Open Society
Foundation, Luanda
Rodney Pinder, Editor, Video News,
Reuters, London
Aidan White, General Secretary,
International Federation of Journalists,
Brussels

"Journalists and those who support them are more in harm's way today than ever before. And those of us who manage and assign them have a greater than ever responsibility to ensure we do everything possible for our staff. For the last few years some of us in positions of responsibility have been urging the entire media profession to wake up to the issue of safety training for our staff. I have to tell you that for a long time we felt that our pleas were falling on deaf ears."

Chris Cramer



AP Photo



AP Photo



AP Photo



Making our Profession Safer



Richard Tait,
Editor-in-Chief, ITN, London

The areas we propose to discuss today are practical, but also political. What can we do as practitioners to make our profession safer. What should we do to ensure that those who kill or maim journalists are brought to justice. What can we do to create an environment - a political environment, a military environment - in which journalists are safer. And whether you, as the representatives of some of the world's leading media, are doing enough in your own organisations to ensure that the people who work with us and for us are as safe as they can be in our profession.

If you have read the World Press Freedom Review for 2001, at the back there is the melancholy section called the "IPI Death Watch" of 55 journalists and media workers who were killed. If you read each one of their stories you will find that they all have two things in common. The first is that they were killed because they were journalists or cameramen. The second thing is the person who killed them or the people who had them killed have not been caught, have not been brought to justice. There may have been an investigation, but no one has been arrested, no one has been jailed. So, the second part of our discussion is, in a sense, how do they get away with it and what we can do to stop people getting away with killing journalists?

We are going to begin this session with two pieces of video tape. The first is a piece by David Shukman, one of the BBC's foreign correspondents, which looks at the current dangers encountered by journalists covering conflicts and what steps have been taken by some media organisations to try and minimise these. Immediately after that, we will have a keynote state-

ment from a very distinguished international journalist, Chris Cramer, who is the President of CNN International Networks in Atlanta. Sadly, Chris cannot be with us today, but he is a great supporter of IPI and he sends us this statement from his base in Atlanta.



In Harm's Way



Chris Cramer,
*President, CNN International
Networks, Atlanta*

Firstly, my sincere apologies that I could not join you in person to discuss this critically important topic. However, I am there very much in spirit. I cannot think of anything more central to discuss in the world of media today than that of the safety of our staff. Put simply, we have had a dreadful year. Whatever figures you care to use - from the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), from The Freedom Forum, or from our own grisly records - the past 12 months will go down as the worst in living memory for our profession. Somewhere between 50 and one 100 members of the media have died doing their jobs. Eight in Afghanistan last year in a single week. More journalists killed at one time in the so-called "War Against Terror" in that country than members of the armed forces. And then came the appalling and pointless murder of the Wall Street Journal's Daniel Pearl. Executed, mutilated on camera, by an obscure and ugly group of terrorists in Pakistan.

Whether we like it or not, the issue we all need to confront is that we are now seen as legitimate targets by an increasing number of individuals and factions around the world and this trend can only get worse. For some of these murderers we represent very easy targets - targets for robbery and then murder. (We tend to carry very large amounts of cash with us.) For others we represent the extension of the enemy - the United States, Britain, the West, Capitalism - and for still others we are just a nuisance, to be eliminated, removed from the scene.

Journalists and those who support them are more in harm's way today than ever before. And those of us who manage and assign them have a greater than ever responsibility to ensure we do everything possible for our staff. For the last few years some of us in positions of responsibility have been urging the entire media profession to wake up to the issue of safety training for our staff. I have to tell you that for a long time we felt that our pleas were falling on deaf ears. Very few broadcasters

and even fewer newspapers and magazines have guidelines for their staff when it comes to working in hostile areas. This cannot be allowed to continue.

During your debate today, I would challenge you to join CNN, the BBC, ITN, Reuters, APTN and a few others in agreeing that it is unforgivable to deploy our staff into hostile areas without proper training, proper equipment, protected vehicles and adequate insurance. And all of this should cover the staff on our payroll and the freelancers who work in our name. We should be drawing no distinction between staff or freelancers. At CNN we have tightened our own very stringent policies and we now insist that every person working for us must go on a hostile environment course before they go to a war zone. And those of our staff who have had years of practical experience in the field are not exempt, they will be sent on courses as well.

This month we are running courses in Europe, Asia, and the United States. By the end of the year, we estimate that more than 300 hundred CNN staff and freelancers will have been trained and many others are going on refresher courses. That includes domestic and international news gatherers as well as programme makers and production staff. They are going to receive practical advice on how to operate in a war zone, lessons on the different type of armaments, landmines and the like. And, crucially, they will learn battlefield medical expertise, so as to save their own life or that of a colleague. They will also learn that journalists, too, like aid and rescue workers and members of the armed forces, can suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder and that that is okay. How could we not be affected by what we cover? Flak jackets are very rarely a protection from mental anguish.

These are just some of the things that we are doing here at CNN. It is exactly the same for staff at other broadcasters and agencies, like BBC, ITN and Reuters. Tragically and dangerously, we are still

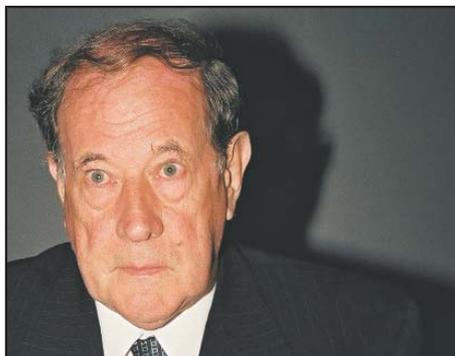
among the minority of organisations around the world who take safety seriously. There are still media organisations, maybe some represented among you today, who refuse to confront the issue, who refuse to protect and train their staff, who refuse to spend the very little money on keeping their staff safe. So my message to them is very simple, they should be ashamed of themselves, and they should do something about it before their staff are injured or worse.

Newspapers and magazines here in the U.S., in Europe and elsewhere, have been the slowest in making this a priority. There are some notable exceptions, but too few to make a difference. Print reporters and photographers tell me that they do not need this kind of protection, they travel in small groups or by themselves, they are less of a target. All I can say to them is remember Danny Pearl. We are all targets.

My challenge today is very simple. Come away from this IPI gathering with firm guidelines on safety for our journalists. Create a culture in your organisation where safety is as much a part of an assignment as choosing the right reporter, or camera or lens. As an industry, we have to reduce the risks our staff are facing and we have to understand that some of them may feel the effects of what they cover and they also need our support. Our people are our most important resource, it is the least we can do for them.



Publication Can Save Lives



Robert Cox,
*President, Inter American Press
Association (IAPA), Miami*

Twenty-one years ago I went to the only other IPI meeting that I have been to. I had just got out of Argentina. At that time in Argentina the important thing was getting the news out, because you had a situation there where self-censorship was going on, intimidation and everything else. But everybody in Argentina knew very well that people were disappearing. Journalists, of course, were primary targets. So you have had targeted journalists for a very long time. In Latin America, we have been dealing with it for a long time.

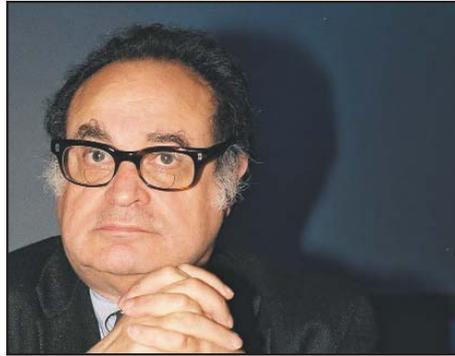
What we have got to consider is that it is not just CNN, not just the "big boys" who are under threat. It is in countries that we perhaps do not know enough about. What happened to Danny Pearl has happened to hundreds of journalists in Latin America and possibly thousands in the world.

We have got to focus on all these things, and we have to give it tremendous priority, tremendous visibility, so that everywhere you go and every time you write, it means that you can save lives. I discovered that publication can save lives and this works all the time. Even the worst kind of government does not like to have bad press.





Common Sense Training



Ronald Koven,
*European Representative, World
Press Freedom Committee, Paris*

I am rather surprised that at this late date we are still called upon to discuss a topic in which the word "protection" appears. The word "protection" elicits a vision of armed policemen or soldiers flanking each journalist, making it hard to interview anyone freely in a tense situation. And I do not think that any journalist worth his salt would want to be "protected".

I am rather disappointed that Freimut Duve, the OSCE Special Representative on Freedom of the Media, who was scheduled to take part in this panel, is not here. He had advocated a special badge for journalists that he likened to the Red Cross. Others objected that such a symbol would simply serve as a target. There is the further difficulty of who would issue such a badge and what criteria would be used to decide who would get it.

It is understandable that there should be now new concern for the safety of journalists after the killings in Afghanistan of eight of our colleagues, but the circumstances of their deaths make it clear that no badge would have helped them. If you examine the deaths of journalists in conflict zones, you will see that they were either targeted deliberately or else they were the victims of so-called collateral damage. I have never seen an instance in which a badge or a special international journalist's card would have made the slightest difference.

In 1985, the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) undertook a study of killings, assaults, arrests, imprisonment, expulsions and other kinds of harassment of journalists. It was the first such general study of its kind and was done for a Round Table in Switzerland for the International Committee of the Red Cross in the midst of the protection dispute that was part of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate centred around UNESCO. Alain Modoux, who is here

today, was the one who organised that meeting. The idea at UNESCO was to create an international commission to decide who is a journalist and to issue licence cards, and a code of conduct with procedures to ban and/or refuse membership in the international journalism fraternity. Concern for the safety of journalists is a quite different proposition than that of protection.

The most recent manifestation of the concern for safety is the Charter for the Safety of Journalists Working in War Zones or Dangerous Areas that was elaborated by Reporters Without Borders (RSF). We at the WPFC worked very hard with the RSF to turn it into a set of practical guidelines on matters like training courses, insurance, sensitisation of editors to danger, and so forth. It stresses in effect that there should be free and informed choice by the journalists themselves in assessing risks in tension zones.

But the WPFC had to point out that the military authorities also need to learn how to avoid putting journalists in danger. There was a French army training-film that was shown in the midst of the discussions about this Charter, which showed the French army with a group of journalists, whom they had put up in camouflage uniforms and were teaching how to scale cliffs, and so forth. We had to point out that that was absolute defiance of common sense, that the journalists were being put into great danger by being placed in uniform. Even at this late date, common sense training, common sense remarks, are still needed.

We also need to recognise that it defies common sense that a major news gathering organisation, like the Italian newspaper that lost a correspondent in Afghanistan, did not provide for her insurance. The Charter is meant to point up such anomalies and address itself to the very complex and difficult problem of safety concerns for freelancers.

Every conflict has special circumstances, so the safety tips that various

organisations have issued can sometimes in fact be contradictory. The main thing is to bank on the common sense that is sharpened by experience and to remember that no story is worth the life or limb of a reporter or cameraman, and that a journalist put out of action cannot provide the story.



Protection of Journalists in Civil Conflicts



Rafael Marques,
*Freelance Journalist;
Country Director,
Open Society Foundation, Luanda*

In most African regions, journalists have very little protection, especially in situations of civil conflict, in which journalists are usually on one or the other side of the conflict. A main problem is also how these conflicts are covered by the international media. Taking the case of Angola, for instance, where there is only government media, journalists tend to protect themselves through self-censorship. The question is how to address that issue so as to enable journalists to perform their duties as such.

In 1999 we saw a different trend in Angola, whereby the government pressured journalists even more. And the international media was kind enough to pay attention to the issue of press freedom, and focus on the issue of freedom of the press in Angola as a way of guaranteeing the safety of journalists.

The Angolan conflict has been going on for almost 40 years and if the government does not invite journalists, then essentially there is no direct coverage of the conflict. That is why the Angolan conflict, like many other conflicts, is simply underreported by the local media, unless reported through government press releases or those of rebel officials. That is also one of the questions that I would like to bring to your attention. How international coverage of the underreported conflicts can not only help to end these conflicts, but also increase some understanding of what is happening in such countries as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Angola, and other places.

I think one of the most important issues with regard to Africa and ensuring more protection of journalists is to address the issue of democracy and the rule of law. If that is not done properly, if institutions are not in place to enforce law, then there is very little that can be done to ensure the protection of jour-

nalists. I think that it is especially important in conflict areas. If the conflict in itself is not addressed and if issues like democracy are not properly addressed, then the conflict tends to be a breeding ground for more human rights violations and for impunity. And journalists are just one of the prime targets of that impunity.



Practical Guidance



Rodney Pinder,
*Editor, Video News,
Reuters, London*

I must stress, as a founder-member of the broadcast safety group, that so far it is only broadcasters. We have failed in attracting one single member of the press or print business to commit themselves to our code of practice, which is aimed solely at ensuring the safety of journalists in conflict situations. This is a great disappointment to all of us.

I would also like to stress, in the light of what was said earlier, that we are certainly not talking about escorted journalists, we are not talking about badges, we are not talking about licenses. We are talking purely of a commitment to practical measures to protect our people in the field. We are talking about training. Chris Cramer mentioned this. At Reuters, we have put 500 staff and contract freelancers through these training courses and we are still putting people through a course every couple of months.

This sensitises people, it sensitises editors and it creates practical guidance for journalists in the field on how to cope with situations from hostage-taking to gunfire, and it works. One of our best cameramen, Mark Chisholm, escaped the ambush in Sierra Leone that killed Kurt Schork, a Reuters correspondent, and Miguel Gil, the Associated Press Television Network photojournalist, precisely because of the training he had received in this course. He knew exactly what to do and he did not do the sort of things that the untrained would have done in such a situation, and it saved his life. This has happened time and again. This is practical training and it works.

I would also stress that the broadcast safety group, in its code of practice, specifies that journalists should not go out on their first assignment into a combat zone, unless accompanied by senior journalists of experience. This is one specific clause in the code of practice that we have adopted.

We also seek to supply "flak jackets for the mind". We are acutely conscious of that. We commit ourselves to providing

counselling for our staff who have been in those environments. We seek counselling for assigning editors who have been responsible for assigning a reporter who has met death or injury or any other stress. That is very much part of what we are doing in the broadcast safety group.

One other point I would like to make is particularly an appeal to the print media. I think as journalists we do our colleagues a huge disservice in paying little attention overall when journalists are threatened, or imprisoned, or killed, or beaten up by authorities and other forces. Occasionally, as in the case of Daniel Pearl, it was terrific the sort of publicity it was given, but we forget that the vast majority of journalists who are punished for their work are not great international reporting stars. They are people working in their own countries, exposing huge wrongdoings, and we do them all a huge disservice by not reporting this.

As journalists, our best protection, the only thing we can do, is to create a fuss. And frankly, on too many occasions, we are not even prepared to do that. When one of our cameramen was arrested - and he is still being held in the West Bank after two weeks with no explanation given - we were told in no uncertain words that if we created a fuss that would be the worst for him. Well, the hell with it, we created a fuss, we got one man out, we are still trying to get the other out. So, if journalists cannot create a fuss, what good are we to anybody.



Launching an International Initiative



Aidan White,
*General Secretary,
International Federation
of Journalists, Brussels*

To be honest, I think that Chris Cramer said it all. I think Chris and a few others have been pioneers in this area for years. We are not meeting here for the first time to discuss this issue. We have been banging about this problem for a decade. The fact of the matter is, and I have to be really quite clear about it, I do believe it is really time the industry got off its backside and took the issue seriously. The major network organisations, ITN, CNN, the BBC, Associated Press, Reuters, have woken up to their responsibilities, they have codes of conduct, they invest money in the safety of their staff. Three cheers for them!

But major mainstream media, also in broadcasting, have yet to sign up. The record of the press, the international press, is frankly scandalous. I think that it is very difficult to imagine any other industry where people are expected to move into dangerous areas in the interest of their company or their enterprise, and where they are not even given basic training before they go.

We have to try to change the culture within the industry, but there are massive problems. It is not just a question of training. We have to look at the fact that most of the victims are local, they are not international correspondents. Many of the victims are freelancers. Many of the people who work in journalism these days, or support journalism, are freelancers. They have a vulnerable set of circumstances in which to work.

Another problem is the sheer expense of a safety training programme. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) organised earlier this year some training for journalists in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Palestine, around 200 journalists altogether. It was prohibitively expensive, around US\$ 400 to 500 dollars a head, to organise that safety training. For a freelance journalist or for a small media enterprise this is just too expensive. When it comes to that bottom-line, we have to find a way of addressing the problem.

We also have to recognise that journalists and media people need materials. Flak jackets, of course, are a good idea. The problem is that it is not just a question of whether or not I will use a flak jacket, or helmet, today.

The fact is that they are expensive. So, it is also a question of access to these materials.

So what can we do in very practical terms, rather than just ring our hands every year when we unfortunately produce the lists of those killed and injured? The international organisations, media organisations specifically, have a responsibility. When the international media organisations and professional organisations work together they can make a difference. Ten years ago, in this very hotel, the World Association of Newspapers, IFJ and other organisations got together to set up here in Ljubljana a centre to assist independent media and journalists in the terrible events that were taking place in this region, and for five or six years that centre provided real practical assistance and real help.

I represent an organisation, which many of the people in this room will find sometimes, at a national level, to be a real pain in the neck. And there are many issues on which we disagree with each other and I know that, and I understand that. And you will be happy to know that I am not going to talk about any of them.

I think that the most important thing with regard to this issue is to build industry solidarity and to build professional solidarity around a common programme. And I would like to suggest that the IPI and the IFJ very seriously consider the launching of an international initiative designed to pool resources; to bring together the knowledge and experience which is being gained now about risk awareness and training; to create resources which will allow freelancers and small, medium-sized media enterprises to be able to take part in this whole range of activities to minimise risk; and, perhaps most important of all, to take initiatives which will make the possibility for safety not just a First World privilege for journalists working for big companies, but take it into the regions where the locals are most at risk.

If we could do that, over the next two or three years, raising money, raising profile, giving political weight to this issue, I believe we could begin to make a difference. The IFJ is really ready to take such an initiative. I

hope that the IPI and others would be ready to join us. Because I think it is long overdue that we convert this discussion into a practical programme of action. So if it can be done, let us do it.

Discussion on Impunity

Rafael Marques:

Let me just give an example of how difficult it is for local journalists to follow up on the fates of their colleagues. Last year, an administrator of a province in Angola killed a journalist. In that particular province, because of the conflict, it was very difficult for journalists to take a plane to go and verify the story. So in essence, no one really knows why the journalist was killed. All we know is that it was a government official that killed the journalist and that he was not punished. If pressure is not brought directly on the government and especially by international organisations, there is nothing that can be done. Because those who then dare to go to that particular province, to follow up on the story, face the very same risk.

Just another example. In 2000, I personally went to follow up on a story of a colleague who had been jailed on charges of espionage for an article he never published. A draft article was found on his desk and he was arrested for that. I went to that particular province and stayed at a local hotel, which belonged to the local governor. At one o'clock in the morning he came to the hotel to remove me.

So these are the kind of difficulties that we find in Africa. Sometimes you do not even have a place to stay, you do not even have the possibility to fly to a specific area, to provide support for a colleague. To fly to that specific area, I had to make a deal with the World Food Programme, which has regular flights, promising that I would write a story for them in exchange for a seat. So these kind of situations need to be fully addressed by international media organisations. But that work must be done as a prevention, not as a response to what happens with journalists in Africa.



Discussion on Impunity

Richard Tait:

I think Rafael has absolutely put his finger on the issue, which is enforcement, investigation. Aidan, in your experience, why do they get away with it and what can we do to stop them getting away with it?

Aidan White:

They get away with it because it is politically expedient to allow them to get away with it. And often, unfortunately, the authorities themselves are directly implicated. I think, therefore, we have a serious problem of trying to make governments aware of their responsibilities. I am very worried about this, because it is not just a problem of governments that are not democratic. There is also a complacency within governments that are in the settled democracies of the world.

We were extremely worried about the decision to subpoena a journalist to give evidence at the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. It seems to me that the idea of calling a journalist, instructing a journalist, coercing a journalist, to give testimony about what he or she has seen as a result of an assignment calls into question the whole safety of journalists. I think that lack of regard and lack of respect for the role media play in reporting conflicts exists everywhere within the political communities. Therefore, I think this question of impunity is one where we really have to get a political commitment to respect the values of journalism and then to follow it through. And that means that governments that fail to investigate properly murders of journalists, or attacks on media, should be held to account. And there should be a framework for calling them to account. At the moment there is not, but I think that political complacency certainly has to be challenged.

Tait:

Robert, there is a large number of names in the "IPI Death Watch" from Latin America. Why do they get away with it in Latin America and what can be about it?

Robert Cox:

Well, we hope they are not getting away with it. In this instance, I think Latin

America is ahead of everybody else. For years now, we IAPA have an anti-impunity project, which consists of going back to those appalling cases when journalists have been murdered and writing about them. You can see it on our Website (www.sipiapa.org). The investigations are done by journalists working in those particular countries where the journalist has been murdered. It means going and talking to the judges. We have had success in a number of cases, not as many as we would like, but we have had successes in which the government even recognised their culpability.

It is not just a question of democracy either. In so-called democratic countries, there is an enormous problem with the judiciary. Judges are extremely loath to investigate. Our next project is to hold a summit in Washington, DC, in June. We are bringing all the Supreme Court Justices of the Americas to Washington to discuss this problem. The impunity exists because judges simply do not punish those responsible and the investigators do not go into it.

Tait:

Rony, do you think you make enough of a fuss?

Ronald Koven:

IAPA's anti-impunity campaign was long overdue and something that we have supported as much as we could. It is time to have a world anti-impunity campaign. It should not just be for Latin America and it should not only be for the extreme case where the journalist gets killed. I remember going to Armenia and all the journalists were telling me the story of the Armenian defence minister who did not like a story a reporter had written, called him into his office and beat him. This was not reported in the Armenian press. We need to sensitise everybody. We need to use the resources that we have. We have the IFEX International Freedom of Expression Exchange and so forth, but we need to do even more about that.

We need also to tell governments that not only is it too politically costly to kill journalists, but that there is another safety prob-

lem that governments get us into. A lot of them have no compunction about using journalists' credentials to mask agents of different kinds. And that is as much a danger to the safety of journalists as the question of revealing sources.

Tait:

Rodney, from Reuters' perspective, a major global news organisation, what success have you had in investigating the assaults on your staff?

Rodney Pinder:

Well, I can really say that it comes back to the point I was trying to make before. My belief in this can be summed up in three words: publicity, publicity, publicity. I think that it is no accident that when we had two cameramen picked up in Hebron, Mazen Dana, who is relatively well known (he received the CPJ's international press freedom award last year), was released almost immediately, whereas his sound man, who is not at all known, is still being held somewhere. So, the more publicity the better.

I would also like to address the problems facing poorer news organisations, who cannot afford the sort of money that it takes to put 200 or 300 journalists through practical training courses, and that of freelancers. When the Afghan war started up, freelancers were being quoted insurance premiums of US\$ 12,000 a week to protect them if they went anywhere near Afghanistan. The Rory Peck Trust, which handles freelance issues in the UK, is beside itself in trying to get some insurance cover for freelancers. I think that news organisations which are relatively well off and international bodies, such as the IPI and others, might well consider practical steps taking a lead in some sort of fund or some sort of arrangement to help freelancers and our poorer cousins, who need help in training and equipment. It might be something practical that organisations like this could provide, in addition to providing that essential pressure on governments to behave decently.

2002 FREE MEDIA PIONEER awarded to Danas, Belgrade

Johann P. Fritz

This year, the winner of the IPI/Freedom Forum award is the independent Belgrade daily Danas.

Launched on 9 June 1997 by 17 editors and journalists from leading independent media, Danas (Today) has managed to provide an accurate, impartial view of events occurring in the region while standing up to constant pressure from the Serbian authorities.

The newspaper withstood threats, administrative harassment, stiff fines and censorship during Slobodan Milošević's war on the independent media. It was banned by the Serbian Ministry of Information in October 1998 for violating a decree on "Special Measures in Circumstances of NATO's Threats With Military Attacks Against Our Country", which forbade reporting that, in the government's view, was "unpatriotic" or fomented "defeatism, panic and fear" in the face of possible Western military intervention over Kosovo. It was able to resume publishing soon after the ban was imposed by registering and printing in Montenegro, where the decree did not apply.

In July 2000, a Danas correspondent, Miroslav Filipović, was sentenced to seven years in prison for espionage and spreading false information after writing a series of articles that documented atrocities committed by the Yugoslav Army in Kosovo. He was released within days of opposition leader Vojislav Koštunica's swearing in as the new president of Yugoslavia in October 2000.

Despite the change in government, Danas predicted that the new authorities would be still inclined to treat the media in the same way as their predecessors did under Milošević and this prediction was soon confirmed. Danas has been verbally attacked by officials on several occasions because of its critical reporting on President Koštunica, but it continues to provide readers in Serbia, Vojvodina, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia with free and independent



Johann P. Fritz,
Director of IPI

Radomir Ličina,
Chairman of the Board/Senior Editor,
Danas, Belgrade

news from Yugoslavia while pursuing its declared aim: "To strive for pluralism and dialogue, for the complete and thorough protection of basic human rights, as well as the rights of all sorts of minorities - national, religious, cultural, and others."

Because of all this, Danas has been named our Free Media Pioneer for the year 2002 and I would like to call on its co-founder, chairman of the board and senior editor, Radomir Ličina, to come up and receive the award.

Radomir Ličina

"Nobody likes the man who brings bad news," Sophocles wrote almost 2,500 years ago. It stood to reason, therefore, that many people in the former Yugoslavia did not like the group of journalists, assembled at the Belgrade daily Borba, who were the first to raise their voice against the policies of Slobodan Milošević and warn against the growing tide of nationalism and hatred and tendency to blame others for all existing problems. Although not liked by the new political messiahs, submissive colleagues or broad mass of readers, they were determined to go on.

These journalists were the real pioneers of a free press, not only in the former Yugoslavia, but also in Central and Eastern Europe. They literally blazed a trail into unexplored frontiers. They transferred a former Communist organ into the first politically independent newspaper. They created Nasa Borba when the regime took over their daily at the end of 1994, and they started Danas in June 1997 when Nasa Borba became the victim of selfish private interests.

These journalists, or the media they established, were persecuted, threatened, accused of being traitors and mercenaries, banned, expelled from the premises of their newsrooms, fined, sentenced, imprisoned, and even killed. Yet they were not stopped. Was it just a coincidence that Danas was the most heavily fined newspaper during the Milošević era? Was it only a small political mishap when President

Koštunica claimed that Danas was treating him incomparably worse than it ever did Milošević? Is it just an accident when former Yugoslav president Dobrica Cošic sues Danas and seeks 100,000 Euro in damages for his "mental suffering", almost as much as we were forced to pay in total under the notorious Serbian public information law? Again, it will not stop us from performing our duty. We consider it a mission and more than just a job.

Years of long experience tell us it would be naive to expect the current leaders to be nobler than Thomas Jefferson or for them to agree with his preference for newspapers without a government over a government without newspapers. But if Serbia's new rulers really want to be different than their predecessors, they will have to implement those European and Western values and rules they officially embraced and stop treating the media like they are errand boys or political mouthpieces.

Again, it stands to reason that under the current political and social circumstances in Serbia, the critical and independent media voices are not popular, much less adored. Determined not to push new dirt under the carpet, we are aware that our task is just as tough and challenging as it was under Milošević. We see this award as a sign of appreciation for what the above-mentioned group of journalists did over the past 15 years. But, at the same time we say thank you, we have to issue another warning. International institutions must be aware of the realities in Serbia and the sad consequences if the independent media were allowed to disappear. If this were to happen, the international institutions would become accomplices in new dramas that would produce unending bad news in the Balkans.



Sunday, 12 May 2002, 14.30

SESSION VI

TERRORISM- THE NEW THREAT TO GLOBAL SECURITY

Grand Hotel Union

CHAIRPERSON

H.D.S. Greenway,
Columnist, The Boston Globe,
Boston, MA

"Al Qaeda is a true example of globalisation. They may have more bureaus in more countries in the world than the Associated Press."

H.D.S. Greenway

PANELISTS

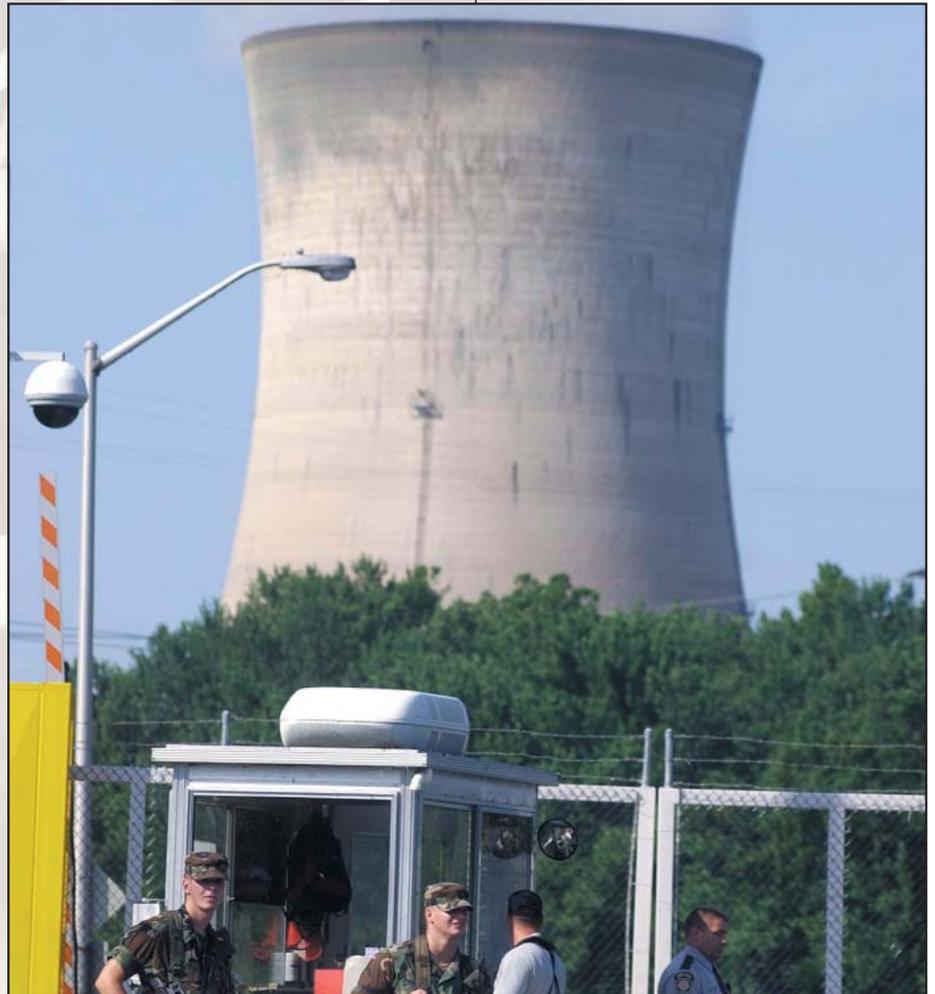
Owais Aslam Ali,
Chairman, Pakistan Press International
(PPI), Karachi

Melissa Fleming,
Senior Information Officer, Division of
Public Information, International Atomic
Energy Agency (IAEA), Vienna

Yosri Fouda,
Deputy Executive Director, Al Jazeera
Satellite Channel, London (UK) Bureau

Fernando Reinares,
Professor and Chair in Political Science,
King Juan Carlos University, Madrid

AP Photo





Globalising Terror



H.D.S. Greenway,
*Columnist, The Boston Globe,
Boston, MA*

There was a time when lethality belonged exclusively to nation-states, but now terror has been privatised and small groups have the ability to obtain weapons of mass destruction. Al Qaeda is a true example of globalisation. They may have more bureaus in more countries in the world than the Associated Press. They have been able to link the pockets of Islamic discontent that previously were separated - the Middle East, South Asia, Kashmir, East Asia.

Islam does not have a monopoly on terror, nor is all terror based on religion. We see now in the Middle East that you have secular terror and religious terror. Europe has seen its terrorist times. It was not too long ago that left-wing terrorists - the Baader-Meinhof Gang of Germany and the Brigade Rosse of Italy - were on the rampage. Latin America is going through a period of tension now.

Some terrorists can be persuaded to take a political path. So far, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) has embarked on a new course of trying politics rather than terror. But one of the most stubborn groups in Europe are the Basque terrorists, ETA. Although most Basques do not approve of them and although the Basques enjoy perhaps more autonomy than any other minority in Europe, the terror still continues.

Some of you may have heard of an organisation called The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA). This was an American group in the 1980s that believed that terror would bring the Messiah to earth quicker. They had hoped to poison the water supplies of major American cities. Happily, they were caught before they could do so. They also had a plan to blow up the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. They did not get around to it, but that deed was accomplished by somebody else.

We have here today an interesting panel, including my friend Owais

Aslam Ali. With the attention moving from Afghanistan to Pakistan, Pakistan's leader has made an historic decision to move his country away from Islamic extremism. Owais Aslam Ali will tell us whether he can succeed.

A Culture of Militancy and Terrorism



Owais Aslam Ali,
*Chairman, Pakistan Press
International (PPI), Karachi*

A couple of years ago, the U.S. State Department came out with a report determining that South Asia had become the main focus of terrorism and terrorism concerns. I would like to go into a couple of reasons for the culture of militancy and terrorism in South Asia, which are a consequence of actions by the former and present super powers.

Pakistan became independent in 1947 after a long struggle by the British Muslims of India for a homeland. India was partitioned into two parts, India and Pakistan. The British, however, left undecided the fate of the Muslim majority state of Kashmir. Many believe that this was in line with an established "divide and rule" policy of the British government and it has had a devastating consequence for South Asia and the rest of the world, as we are finding out. Within a year, both countries had gone to war over Kashmir and since then Kashmir has set the pattern of relations between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan felt insecure about facing a rival many times its size and made two basic, fundamental policy decisions that have shaped the fate of the country. The first was to become part of the various anti-Communist alliances created by the United States. The second was to establish a close link with the Muslim countries. It was felt this would give the country more strategic depth. Since Independence, Pakistan and India have fought three wars over Kashmir. When they are not at war, they are either close to war or they are on the brink of war and this has been the unfortunate pattern of behaviour. This terrible state of affairs was taken to a new dangerous level by the nuclear explosions of 1998, by both India and Pakistan. The two countries have ignored the terrible poverty and filth in favour of military might and the decision to actively pursue a nuclear and a missile programme may have condemned our future generations to poverty.

As I see it, the Kashmir issue is the only major issue of contention between

India and Pakistan. I also believe that it is a solvable issue. However, the governments of both countries seem to be caught in a rut and have been unable to have serious and sustained negotiations and dialogues during the last 50 years. Thus, I sincerely feel that the international community needs to do its part to facilitate sustained discussion between the two countries. We have seen that whenever there is a dialogue, the entire atmosphere of mistrust changes perceptibly. In a day or two the transformation is really striking for those who live in Pakistan and India. And the reason is that the two countries, the governments of both countries, have not succeeded in demonising the other. That is a great thing to build on.

A dialogue on Kashmir is the absolute first step to reduce the intense feeling among the Pakistani people, which restricts actions that the Pakistani government can take in tracking down militant extremist groups. There has to be visible progress on the Kashmir issue before the people will support those actions.

The second major international step which had an impact was the Afghan war against the Soviet occupation. This has had perhaps an even greater impact on Pakistani society than the long-standing Kashmir dispute. When deciding upon a strategy on how to oust the Soviet Union, Pakistan and America had to come up with a slogan. They could have chosen a slogan that highlighted Afghan independence or the fight against Communism. They chose neither. Instead, both America and Pakistan jointly decided that the slogan should be the Jihad.

The fight against the Soviet occupation was to be a Jihad against the infidels. By cynically choosing this slogan, the whole infrastructure of the Jihad was built. And this infrastructure was robust enough to defeat the Soviet Empire. Its characteristics - and they have all come back to haunt us - included a decentralised fighting force called the Muja-

hedins, holy warriors controlled by independent warlords.

Secondly, support for the Jihad from Muslim countries. All Muslim countries were asked to contribute volunteers to the noble cause of the Jihad and volunteers came from everywhere, from Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the Philippines. Thus, Pakistan became the international centre for the training of these forces. The Mujahedins were armed with modern weapons, including the famous Stinger missiles. The task of managing the operations was given to the Pakistani intelligence agency, the now famous Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

Finally, and most importantly, an ideological foundation had to be provided for popularising Jihad as a central pillar of Islam. Until the 1980s, the Sufi or Mystic version of Islam was predominant in Pakistan and South Asia. This version of Islam emphasises tolerance and the universality of love, but it is hardly suited for fighting a war. Thus, a militant version of Islam was created and promoted, and this has changed the very character of Pakistani society.

In the negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Pakistan insisted that the withdrawal should be linked to the installation of a Mujahedin government, but those were the days of Glasnost and the Perestroika, and the United States was in a hurry to make a fresh start with the Soviet Union and opposed this precondition. The Soviets withdrew in 1989, but the war between the Mujahedins and the Communist regime of President Najibullah continued for another three years. This was followed by another three years of civil war, among rival Mujahedin groups, and then of course came the Taliban.

After the fall of Najibullah, the international community, particularly the United States, lost interest in Afghanistan, and Pakistan was left on its own to manage the three million refugees and powerful, heavily armed factions. There is no



A Culture of Militancy and Terrorism

question that Pakistan did a terrible job of an already bad situation and made easy but wrong choices. Pakistan felt that it did not have the capacity to control these factions and thus followed a policy of tolerating the armed groups in the hope that the attention of the groups would be focused outwards and not within the country. This was wishful thinking, as Pakistan has been profoundly affected by the terrible sectarian violence and brutalisation of society.

This tolerance gave militant extremist groups the freedom to develop and become financially self-sustaining and viable. Not only through foreign and local funds and trade in drugs, but also through smuggling of illegal goods between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

So what happens now? First of all, the Afghan refugees need to go back to Afghanistan. That is a very fundamental thing that must happen and you need to have a situation where they can return back to their homes in safety. You cannot have any solution to terrorism as long as large numbers of people are moving freely between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Besides this, I would say that in many Muslim countries, including Pakistan, there are many domestic reasons why militant groups find support amongst the people. Of course, a lack of democracy is one of them, but equally important are the terrible inequities within these countries. This dehumanises a great majority of the people and it should be recognised as one of the driving forces why people choose militant ideologies.

Equally important are the bad governments in many countries. Pakistan, a poor country with a population of 140 million, suffers from misplaced priorities. Almost three-quarters of the national budget goes to military spending and payment of international debt. It has to manage development and non-development expenditure from the remaining one-quarter of the budget. These include the everyday needs of health, education, sanitation.

So what has changed? I think the first thing that has changed is the realisation in the United States that problems festering in far away places can have devastating consequences for their security. I think this is a key thing that has changed.

In Pakistan, there has been a basic change in direction. Pakistan put itself on the line in choosing to become a front-line state in America's coalition against terrorism. Pakistan has made a determined effort to tackle militant groups and this is continuing, although the Kashmir issue remains a very big stumbling block.

Thankfully, things have gone fairly smoothly so far. Many times before, Pakistan has tried to tackle militancy but had to back down in the face of determined opposition. This time it did not back down because of American pressure and so the militants, the extremists, were forced to show their hand and it became clear that it was not a very strong hand. They were not able to mass national movement against the change of policy. This is very important. It is important to realise that in all the elections, the fundamentalist parties have never won more than five per cent of the electoral votes. That is why it is important that there should be democracy, that there should be elections. Islamic parties should become a part of the political process. This would help reduce militancy.





The Nuclear Threat



Melissa Fleming,
Senior Information Officer,
Division of Public Information,
International Atomic Energy
Agency (IAEA), Vienna

One of the roles of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the UN's global nuclear body, is to be the accountant for all nuclear material in the world and to know how many facilities are functioning and whether they are functioning safely and with adequate means of security. Let me give you a global overview of the nuclear sector. There are 440 nuclear power reactors in the world, 600 research reactors (these are typically used at universities, although only 200 are in operation) and 504 fuel cycle facilities. Also, one of the key themes regarding nuclear terrorism is the widespread use of radioactive sources. There are tens of thousands of highly potent radioactive sources in use, for example in hospitals for people who need radiotherapy. These are new potential threats we are looking at.

Just to give you an idea what the IAEA is dealing with, our agency is basically the housekeeper or the accountant for 111,000 "significant quantities", that means 111,000 potential nuclear bombs. We do not deal with military, highly-enriched uranium and plutonium. There are 1,000 tons of this in existence in the five nuclear weapon states. And as I mentioned, there are a large number of radioactive sources in medicine and industry, unfortunately with very lax control. One of the major problems is that once they have lived out their lifespan they are often discarded and no one really knows where they are. In fact, there was a news story recently that the nuclear regulatory commission in the United States acknowledged that it was missing about 1,600 radioactive sources and did not know where they were.

So how real is this nuclear threat? You, as members of the press, have been doing quite a good job of making the public aware that it is a real threat, while I, as the spokesperson for the IAEA, have spent a lot of time on the telephone responding to this and convincing our Agency that we have to react, that we

have to take a position and encourage governments around the world to take action. And that is what we did in November last year, when we issued a press release publicly saying that we believed a nuclear attack was far more likely since September 11 than before. We also raised awareness with regard to the issue of so-called radiological dispersal devices, more popularly known as "dirty bombs".

The IAEA in November outlined four areas in which it determined there were threats in terms of nuclear terrorism, the first being our biggest nightmare, namely that terrorists could steal a nuclear warhead. You have probably read stories quoting General Alexander Lebed, who said that there were at least 40 suitcase nuclear bombs missing and that no one knew where they were, and other horror stories about loose nuclear bombs. We believe that this is a very unlikely scenario. Nevertheless, we have called upon the five nuclear weapon states, and the other states that are known to have nuclear weapons, to revisit security of their nuclear weapons.

The second key threat is nuclear material, highly-enriched uranium or plutonium that could be used to manufacture a nuclear weapon, but also highly unlikely. To give you an example of why we think this is unlikely, Saddam Hussein, who, as you know, had a clandestine nuclear programme that was discovered only after the Gulf War, spent ten years and between US\$ 10-40 billion to construct a nuclear weapon and our people determined that he was still two years away. So imagine Al Qaeda, in a cave somewhere, constructing a nuclear weapon, without the means of a state. I want to point out that we have been focusing all of our efforts and money on the diversion of a state from their civilian programme to a clandestine nuclear programme. Very little focus has been on the non-state actors, on the terrorists. It is elusive, we do not know very much

about it, but we believe their ability to construct a nuclear weapon is very low.

Of major concern though is the third threat, which is probably reported in the press the most, namely the threat of using other radioactive material found in hospitals and industry, etc., to create panic, cause terror, make a so called "dirty bomb". This could easily be done. Probably the person who did it would die from radioactive overexposure, but we have seen that terrorists have very little regard for their own health and these things radioactive material are not very difficult to find.

The fourth threat that the Agency sees is the threat against a nuclear facility. After September 11, this was the question of the day from journalists, because of course an airplane flying into the World Trade Centre raises the question of what would happen if a plane flew into a nuclear power plant. There was some speculation that the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania was headed for a nuclear power plant, but we do not have any evidence whether that was true.

I have to say the nuclear industry was scrambling at this point to react, and governments were also figuring out what to do. The U.S. used the military, France used the military. It depended on the threat. We said that nuclear power plants are very robust. When they were designed, they were designed to withstand acts of terrorism. However, in the 1970s, airplanes were smaller, significantly smaller, and carried less fuel. People did not think they would be aimed intentionally at nuclear power plants.

I want to spend a little bit of time on giving you an idea of the situation with regard to illicit trafficking in nuclear material globally and to let you know that the IAEA has been tracking this since 1993, when, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, these incidents started to become significant.

We have in our database 596 recorded incidents. Of these, 396 have



The Nuclear Threat

been confirmed by the states who cooperate with us. 175 of these involve nuclear material, that is uranium or plutonium, and 18 of these involve highly-enriched uranium or plutonium, which is the material that one needs to construct a nuclear bomb. 201 of these involve radioactive material and 75% of these cases are within a criminal context.

I have to add that since 1995 or even before the United States has spent a significant amount of money, about a billion dollars a year, in upgrading the security of nuclear facilities and nuclear material in Russia. And that has made a significant difference.

What is the IAEA doing about the nuclear threat? Our focus in the past has been on the threat of the Iraqs and the North Koreas of the world. We are a US\$ 300 million organisation and only US\$ 1 million was devoted to the security of radioactive material.

We have said that there have been three wake-up calls now for the world and our organisation. The first was Cher-

nobyl in 1996. There are some nuclear power plants out there that are really not safe and there have to be global safety standards for nuclear power.

The second wake-up call was Iraq, which pointed to the fact that our safeguards were totally inadequate, that a country could still have a clandestine programme, while inspectors were going around the country.

The third wake-up call was September 11. We have to look at the security of nuclear material.

So what did we do? We convened international experts, we got some seed money, we did a media campaign, and we ended up with an action plan.

We are going to be reviewing nuclear facilities to see whether they are vulnerable to plane attacks or terrorists coming on the ground. We are strengthening physical protection regime, that is, do nuclear facilities have state of the art security equipment, are the people well-trained, could they handle theft or sabotage? We are continuing with our accoun-

tancy and good housekeeping job so that we know every gram of nuclear material in the world that is in civilian programmes and we are working on security of radioactive sources. We are also strengthening our emergency response system. If, in the worst case scenario, something happens, we as an international group would be able to respond with international doctors and a team.

Finally, our message to the world is that an unconventional threat like this requires an unconventional response and the whole world needs to join together to take responsibility for the security of nuclear material. Because radiation knows no frontiers, states need to recognise that safety and security of nuclear material is a legitimate concern to all states. We believe that the surest way to prevent nuclear assault is to go to the source and the best security to prevent terrorists from gaining control of nuclear weapons or materials is to make them secure at the source.



Out of Evil, Good Sometimes Comes



Yosri Fouda,
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A few weeks ago, I was invited by the U.S. Army Southern Command to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Having discovered that I was the only non-Western journalist to have arrived from the other side of the Atlantic, I was approached at dinner by a fellow American journalist. He introduced himself, immediately asking me, in a confused manner, "Why do you folks hate us so much?" Well, I was dumbfounded and did not know at first how to respond to such a profound accusation. I knew that the simple, direct and truly honest answer, "Oh not at all", would never be enough to satisfy a psychologically-wounded American citizen. So I decided to be a little bit more profound. However, the whole evening was not enough for me to even begin what I will be trying to explain here in ten minutes.

To cut a long story short, the simple answer is to be found in the equation, the more you know about something, or someone, the more understanding and the more moderate you become. The trouble is when you do not know much about something, or someone, it is easier for you to develop a hostile attitude towards it, or them, than to take the trouble of trying to know just a little bit more.

That has certainly been the more constant feature of the relation between East and West. But out of evil, good sometimes comes. A little bit came out of the atrocious day which we all now know as 9/11. People who would otherwise never go out of their way to know about Islam, Arabs, or the Middle East, did go out of their way, some for the right reasons, some for the wrong. But they all bought books, logged onto Websites, attended seminars, asked friends, or turned to other media outlets.

One of these, perhaps the most notable, is Al Jazeera. We at Al Jazeera never meant to be part of this picture, but here we are, hopefully for the right reasons. At first, when people in the West heard we were an Arab channel, a Muslim channel, with sole access to the Taliban controlled

territory, they wondered if we could even operate a camera, link it to a cable, to a satellite dish and beam a signal out. Some looked at us suspiciously, some still do, but many were impressed and gradually started to appreciate our work and value our contribution.

Media analysts will always remember that an Arab TV channel called Al Jazeera was at one point the eyes and ears of everyone. And media editors will always remember that a tiny TV channel based in a tiny state Qatar in the tiny Arab Gulf Region was their only available news agency for the best part of an American-led war. A role we never envisioned for ourselves and a role which led some to cruelly label us as Osama Bin Laden's mouth-piece.

But why, if we were so bad, was almost every single news organisation literally queuing up at our door, offering to pay hefty sums of money to rebroadcast the same stuff for which we used to be criticised. It was never about the content of what we were broadcasting. It was about who has the right to broadcast it - when, where, how, and to what end. So patronising and so hypocritical at best. So malicious and so ill-intended at worst.

That is not the way to defeat terrorism. For it is at its heart just another form of terrorism. We have been led to believe that we are out to get the enemies of Western civilisation, but at the same time we have been witnessing that some are trying to get the enemies of Western civilisation by compromising the very essence of Western civilisation. The argument that you are either with us or against us shows a frightening lack of appreciation towards an understanding of the very profession of journalism. I do not want to be either with you, or against you. I just want to do my job as a journalist. Does that make me a terrorist?

The intimidation went on. Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Colin Powell all went on record urg-

ing Al Jazeera to tone down its coverage. A White House spokesman warned every journalist that the colour of Bin Laden's jacket might conceal a coded message. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice made a conference call to U.S. media editors. The same happened on the other side of the Atlantic when Tony Blair's adviser Alistair Campbell summoned British media executives to 10 Downing Street.

Ironically enough, Western media, including CNN, CBS and the BBC, immediately invited us as guests into their own studios. They wanted to ask us in their shows about freedom of the press. In other words, they, the Westerners, wanted us, the Arabs, to defend some precious values that took the West centuries to arrive at and they wanted us to defend them in front of their own governments. This I still cannot fully understand. For the very sad reality of the Middle East and the Arab world in general is the shameful absence of democracy and civil liberties. That is why so many Arab governments hate Al Jazeera.

The first and most unforgivable crime that we committed, thanks to technology, was that we were able to reach Arab citizens in the living rooms of their own homes without prior permission from the Minister of Information. They would never forgive us for so doing. In that sense, by being an eye-opener for millions and millions of people, the majority of whom cannot even read and write, Al Jazeera is not only a media phenomenon, but also a political, a cultural and an educational one.

If we truly believe that ignorance, poverty and desperation are the devil behind terrorism, then we should all do something about the way the so-called Third World is governed. It is a disgrace for Western leaders to even shake hands with a leader they know is in daily breach of human rights, civil liberties and everything that Western civilisation stands for. But America and Europe prefer these kind of leaders. They endorse them, support them, protect them and arm them.

Reflections from Spain



Fernando Reinares,
Professor and Chair in Political Science, King Juan Carlos University, Madrid

I would like to add a reflection on the issue global terrorism, a reflection coming from Spain, but also concerning the role of mass media in connection with terrorism.

I come from Spain and this is a country where people have been affected by terrorism for well over 30 years. We became a liberal democracy after Generalissimo Francisco Franco's death in 1979. Since then terrorism - 90 per cent perpetrated by the terrorist group known as ETA - has been affecting the process of transition, the consolidation of democracy, killing civilians, mainly in the Basque Country, but also in the rest of Spain.

This is also an interesting point of departure because part of the Al Qaeda network has been operating in the country for the past five or six years. It is true that we have indications that the globalisation of terrorism is already there. We had trans-national terrorism in the past and now we have also global terrorism as a further step. September 11 was the most notorious example we have of a single incident of this global terrorism.

Spaniards reacted to this global terrorism event in a way that might interest you, because a public opinion poll was conducted by the centre for sociological research, which is a government-based entity, well respected within the country. The poll was made at the end of September and so we have some reliable statistical data about this reaction beyond intuitions we might have as to how Europeans in general reacted. The poll showed many things, but I will just mention some significant ones. As one would expect, Spaniards followed the events of September 11 with extraordinary interest. But 80 per cent of the Spaniards also openly expressed strong feelings of solidarity with the people of the United States of America. Six out of every ten people thought that the inci-

dents of September 11 were not just another single terrorist incident, but the beginning of a new international terrorism era, the beginning of global terrorism per se. And those who responded to the questionnaire were convinced of the existence of an international terrorist network behind those attacks.

Fortunately enough, Spain is already a consolidated liberal democracy and nearly seven out of every ten people interviewed said that we have to fight against terrorism eroding the civil liberties that we enjoy as citizens of a democratic country. Indeed, as citizens of a country heavily affected by trans-national terrorism (ETA, like many other terrorist groups, already operates across borders), the Spanish are highly supportive of international cooperation. Nine out of every ten of those people polled were in favour of that.

So you see, people affected by terrorism, perpetrated on a systematic basis by trans-national terrorist organisations such as ETA, are highly sensitive to international cooperation. Spaniards know very well that even when you have a successful anti-terrorist policy, it is an internal governmental policy and unless you have international cooperation that policy has limits, or obvious constraints. It is not by accident that the government of Spain has been pushing for international cooperation.

For instance, it was very curious to see in the aftermath of September 11 how all the member states of the European Union were seeking the establishment of a special terrorism unit or branch within Europol. It was very curious for Spaniards because in the first half of the 1990s when the Europol Convention was being discussed by the member states of the European Union, terrorism was not included as an objective. It was finally

included as a result of the pressure of the Spanish government.

When referring to the liberal democracy response to terrorism, we are talking not only about the state's response, but also about society's reactions and this is why I emphasise the public opinion response. But I want to make an additional last point in this sense. We expect the state to respond according to the principles and procedures of democracy and we also expect civil society to react internally and also across countries. Unfortunately, in terms of civil society response, things are not as clear as when referring to inter-governmental cooperation, and the press too often offers examples of this.

For example - and allow me to talk about the American media because I was talking before about the terrorist attacks of September 11 - too often the American media tends to speak about terrorism only when referring to groups or organisations perpetrating acts of terrorism against American interests, American nationals, American citizens. You can imagine how deeply frustrated Spaniards feel when a terrorist organisation like ETA is rarely depicted by the American press as a terrorist organisation. Even when it is systematically targeting journalists and the free media in the Basque Country, and elsewhere.

A few weeks ago, ETA tried to kill a young Basque Socialist politician by putting a bomb under his car. Fortunately, he was not killed, but he lost both his legs. Do you know how the International Herald Tribune reported this incident? The title of the February 20 issue was "Basque Bomb Wounds Politician". What do they mean by "Basque Bomb"? Was my family involved in the plot? There are Basques who are nationalists and there are Basques who are non-nationalists. Among Basque nationalists, you have



Reflections from Spain

democrats and non-democrats. Would it not have been easier to write, "ETA Bomb Wounds Politician"? Or, more precisely, "ETA Bomb Targets Basque Politician", because the target was a Basque politician, a Basque citizen, a Basque representative elected by Basques, who, in 1979, approved by referendum the Statue of Autonomy, in which the Basques formed their own Autonomous Community.

Most of the scholars in the United States know nothing about this when they speak about ETA, so you

can imagine the effect this kind of title and information - where ETA is never mentioned as a terrorist organisation but rather as a Basque party or group - has on the public at large. What would the Americans think if we in Spain, or in other European countries, talked about the Al Qaeda network as global insurgents or an anti-globalisation organisation?

Considering the fundamental role the media has in shaping people's attitudes and in framing people's knowledge about other contests, this

kind of thing can only play into the hands of the terrorists, because then ETA will be able to go to the United States for fundraising purposes and present themselves as the Basques according to the international and American press. So we need cooperation, not only between states, but also between civil societies, in order to fight trans-national and global terrorism.





RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the
51st IPI General
Assembly

on Sunday, 12 May 2002

R R

RESOLUTION

ON THE FORMATION OF THE AFRICAN UNION

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), notes that the nations of Africa are about to form the African Union, a continent wide forum to bring about greater political, economic, legal and social collaboration.

IPI calls on the founding members to ensure that freedom of expression and freedom of the media are core principles of the constitution of this body. IPI firmly believes that strict adherence to these basic human rights and the means to make them enforceable are the keys to its success.

RESOLUTION

ON KENYAN MEDIA LAW

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002) has learned with shock that the Kenyan Government has imposed far-reaching restrictions on newspaper companies and book publishers in a revised law that has raised publishing financial guarantees by 100-fold and criminalizes the sale of publications for which these guarantees have not been executed. Non-compliance of these new measures would lead to huge penalties, including imprisonment of publishers and a total ban on publishing.

IPI views this as a form of censorship, which is designed to restrict the media during the forthcoming General Election, and calls for its immediate withdrawal.

IPI also noted with dismay recent developments in which Kenyan courts have been awarding exorbitant damages in defamation suits. This is likely to put newspapers out of business and IPI calls on the Kenyan Court of Appeal to set the crippling awards aside.



R R R

RESOLUTION ON NEPAL

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), strongly condemns the suspension of fundamental rights, including the right to freedom of opinion and expression (article 12.2 a) and the Press and Publication Right (article 13), that are granted by the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal.

These rights were suspended on 26 November 2001 as a consequence of the declaration of the nationwide "State of Emergency" by King Gyanendra, made on the recommendation of the council of ministers and in accordance with article 115 of Nepal's Constitution.

According to the constitution, such an emergency proclamation can remain in force for six months and may be renewed by Parliament for a further six months. IPI calls on the Nepal Parliament not to renew the State of Emergency and therefore ensure that all fundamental rights and freedoms are granted.

Furthermore, IPI urges the government to release nearly 100 journalists currently held in Nepali prisons as a consequence of the State of Emergency.

RESOLUTION ON SYRIAN JOURNALIST NIZAR NAYYOUF

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), expresses its outrage at the fatwa against Syrian journalist Nizar Nayyof. The fatwa, issued last month by the Alawite sect, the power base of the ruling al-Assad family, includes a US\$ 250,000 reward for killing the journalist.

Due to take part in the IPI Congress, Nayyof, who is in France for medical treatment, was forced to withdraw because he must appear in a French court on 9 May to face criminal defamation charges brought by the former Syrian vice-president, Rifat al-Assad.

IPI renews its condemnation of the harassment and violence against the Nayyof family and calls on the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to halt the ongoing campaign against them. The current fatwa stands in clear opposition to the policies of political reform established at the beginning of his presidency.

RESOLUTION ON VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE MEDIA IN THE PALESTINIAN TER- RITORIES

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), condemns the sustained attacks on media freedom that have been committed both by the Israeli army and the Palestinian authorities against journalists in the Palestinian territories.

Since the beginning of the Palestinian Al Aqsa intifada in September 2000, four journalists have been killed during Israeli military actions. More than 180 incidents of violations against press freedom have been recorded in the region, most of which were committed by the Israeli side.

IPI calls upon the Israeli authorities to remedy the Israeli army's lack of accountability for the actions of its soldiers and the sustained harassment of media workers, primarily in the form of shootings, beatings and arbitrary detentions. It also calls upon the Israeli authorities to reverse its decision on the non-renewal of press accreditations for Palestinians, and to remove obstructions preventing journalists from carrying out their profession. These include restrictions on the media's access to Palestinian areas under Israeli siege or occupation, the deportation of journalists, and the illegal seizure and confiscation of reporting materials and equipment.

There have also been numerous Palestinian violations of press freedom, including the killing of two journalists. IPI therefore calls upon Palestinian civilians and the Palestinian National Authority to cease their acts of intimidation against journalists and the confiscation of their equipment.

RR

RESOLUTION

ON ITN JOURNALISTS AND THE SAVILLE INQUIRY - CONFIDENTIALITY OF SOURCES

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), condemns the decision by Lord Saville to demand that two ITN journalists - working for Channel 4 - reveal their sources to his inquiry into the events of Bloody Sunday in Londonderry (Northern Ireland) in 1972.

IPI fully supports the journalists' refusal to give the names of the soldiers whom they interviewed in 1997 - even though they now face fines or prison sentences.

IPI believes that a free press is seriously damaged if state institutions do not respect the need for journalists to protect their sources - and calls on Lord Saville to reconsider his actions.

RESOLUTION

ON LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HARASSMENT

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), condemns the use of legal and administrative threats to intimidate and suppress the media.

In a number of countries around the world there are governments prepared to divert the institutions that in a democratic society should underpin the rule of law to permit the free flow of information.

Over the last two years, this type of pressure on the media has increased. For instance:

- targeted raids by masked tax police,
- civil laws stipulating that companies cannot run deficits for more than two years,
- disproportionate value-added-taxes on the sale of newspapers,
- government-inspired increases in the price of news print,
- government-instigated attempts to limit private ownership of independent media,
- prohibiting the printing and/or distribution of critical independent mass media, wherever government owned or government controlled printing plants and distribution systems have a monopoly, and
- pressures on independent private broadcasters in countries where they are required by law to use the transmission systems of government broadcasting organisations.

Accreditation is another problem for the media with journalists being prevented from reporting by governments which claim the journalists have failed to meet the demands of overly bureaucratic laws.

Freedom of the media is an essential and fundamental element of any democratic society and governments must do everything possible to ensure that this right is upheld.

Bearing the above in mind, the IPI membership calls on all governments to refrain from suppressing the media through spurious legal and administrative actions.



R

RESOLUTION

ON TERRORISM AND THE NEWS MEDIA

The International Press Institute (IPI), meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, for the IPI World Congress and 51st General Assembly (9-12 May 2002), warned that it is dangerous to limit civil liberties under the pretext of combating terrorism. The best antidote to intolerant ideas leading to terrorist acts is the fullest possible public exposure, both of the false reasoning used to justify those acts and their inhumane consequences.

The struggle against international terrorism has led governments, including some of the world's most established democracies, to seek dangerous controls over the free flow of information, freedom of expression and the freedom of the news media.

IPI firmly believes that the best way to reassure the public is for official policies and actions to counteract terrorism also to be given maximum possible disclosure consistent with the protection of human life.

Official calls for censorship or self-censorship, both of the traditional news media and those using new communication technologies, are at best misguided - as are restrictions on the movements and other newsgathering activities of press personnel.

The members of the IPI are convinced that democratic societies can best defend themselves within the framework of legislation that respects free speech, whether enacted prior to or after September 11, concerning ongoing security concerns and operations.

IPI agrees with the following statement made in the resolution on Terrorism and Media adopted by media professionals and press freedom groups at a 1 - 2 May 2002 UNESCO Conference held in Manila, the Philippines, by media professionals and press freedom groups, "Any

strategy to address the threat of terrorism must promote greater respect for freedom of expression and of the media, rather than imposing restrictions on these fundamental rights."

IPI fully endorses the Manila resolution, which contains provisions on the right to report on terrorism and the safety of journalists. In particular, IPI supports the central tenet of the Manila resolution that "States at peace, as well as all parties to conflicts, should take effective measures to ensure that they, military forces, combatants, as well as secret and intelligence services and other officials engaged in combating terrorism, understand and respect the rights of journalists ... as well as their right to freedom of expression."





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