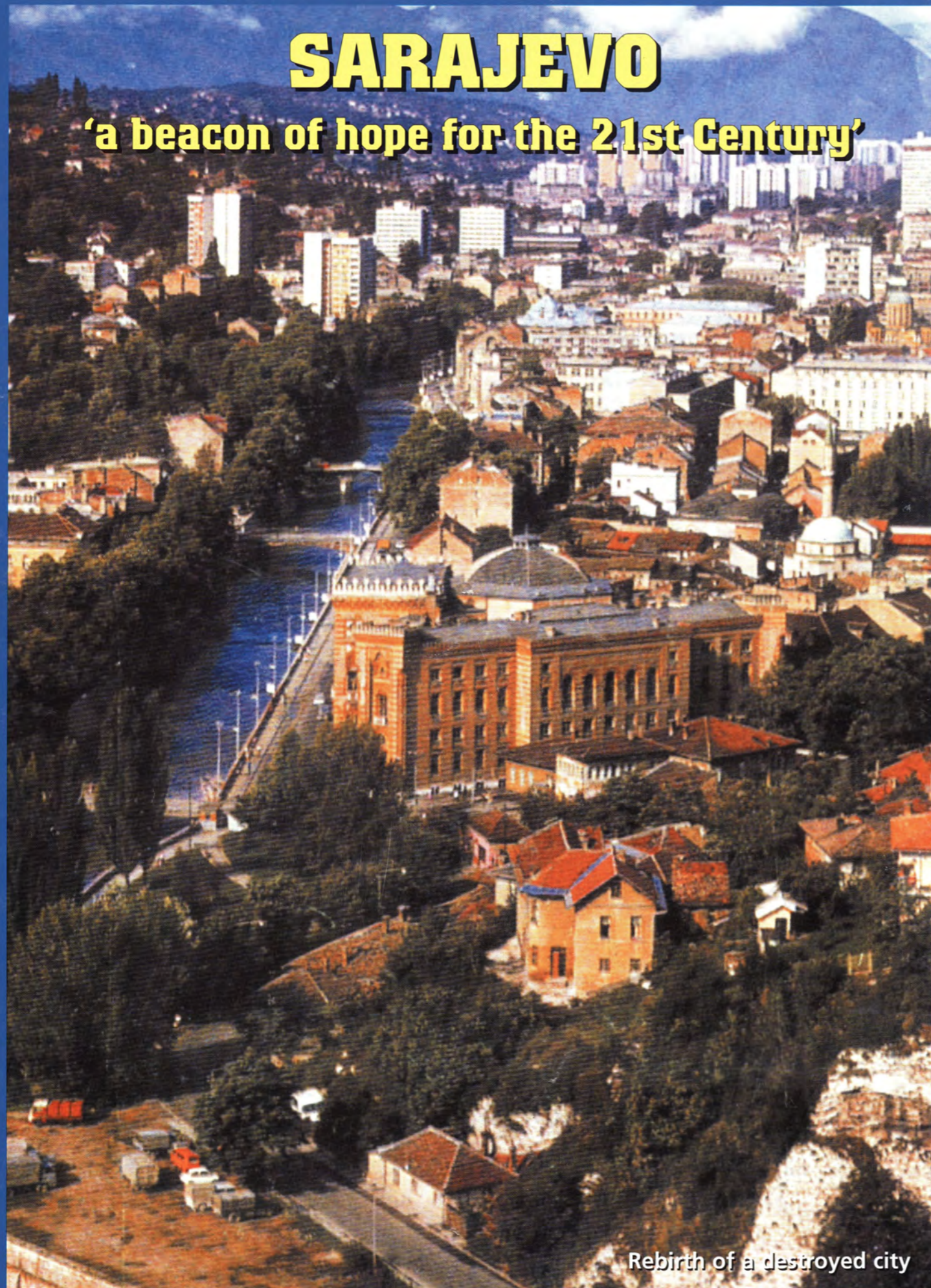


SARAJEVO

'a beacon of hope for the 21st Century'



Rebirth of a destroyed city

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SARAJEVO 2000

A Media World
Assembly

**The media—
a decisive force
in building
a free and just society**

Holiday Inn, Sarajevo
28 September –
2 October 2000

The destroyed building of the
Oslobodjenje newspaper, Sarajevo

HOW SARAJEVO 2000 CAME ABOUT

by William Porter, Chairman, International Communications Forum



William Porter, Chairman, Advisory Council, International Communications Forum



Jan Pieklo, Board Member of the Polish Journalists Association



Senad Kamenica, International News Programmes, RTV Bosnia and Herzegovina

People are at the heart of everything and, in the case of Sarajevo 2000, they were: a Bosnian broadcaster, who had been tortured during the four-year conflict; a Polish journalist who, in frustration with the Bosnian tragedy, put his word processor aside and drove supply lorries there; and myself, a British publisher who, 40 years earlier, came to Sarajevo to court the woman who became my wife and later inspired me to devote my life to bringing a new thinking to the media.

Back in 1984, the Sarajevo Winter Olympics were a triumphant example of a multi-faith society working together to achieve a common goal. This was in the true tradition of the city. Who would have thought that eight years later the Olympic Stadium would be in ruins and the city

under a siege that lasted 1,450 days, with a deadly hail of 4,000 shells a day.

In 1997, Polish journalist Jan Pieklo and I visited Sarajevo to invite media people to the next International Communications Forum, to be held at the Caux Conference Centre in Switzerland. One of those whom we met was Senad Kamenica, the Bosnian broadcaster mentioned above.

Kamenica came to Caux, where he and Pieklo proposed that the ICF initiate a media event, in Sarajevo, that would bring inspiration to the journalists of the region and would also demonstrate to the world's public that there were constructive forces at work in the media. It would be a World Assembly, including positive elements from press and television, and

from those organisations which have contributed to the development of free and professional journalism.

The vision behind the thinking of Senad Kamenica and Jan Pieklo was that Sarajevo, which had been a city of shame in the 20th Century, could become a beacon of hope for the 21st Century. This gained the whole-hearted support of the ICF.

In 1998, serious work began to conceptualise the programme, to attract subject speakers and session chairpersons, to promote the event to media professionals, and to raise the finance. It should be borne in mind that the ICF is not a foundation with reserves of money, but an informal association of individuals who contribute what they can. Each event is the subject of a money-raising campaign and, in the case of Sarajevo 2000, there was a budget estimate of \$100,000. Much of this would be to enable people to take part from East and Central Europe, the Balkans and the developing world, who were on low salaries and had no foreign exchange. In the event the money was raised, but not without stressful days for those who undertook financial commitments without any money in the bank. Major thanks are due to three Swiss sources who contributed some three quarters of the amount.

Much credit is due, in the final and practical stages of preparation, to ONASA, the news agency associated with the Independent Union of Professional Journalists of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They also handled sending out invitations to the former Yugoslav countries and to processing the response.

From 28 September to 2 October, we met in the Holiday Inn, the same hotel where foreign journalists holed up during the siege, and for us a symbolic setting.



The Holiday Inn in 1996

Emmanuel Ortis/CORBIS

WHO SET UP, CAME TO AND SPONSORED SARAJEVO 2000



Czech Senator Jaroslava Moserová officially represented UNESCO

One hundred and sixty-seven journalists and media professionals from 21 countries took part. Sixty came from 15 countries abroad and the others from six

states of the former Yugoslavia. A group travelled from Nizhny Novgorod, Russia's third city. Others came from Nagaland in North-East India, Nigeria, Jamaica and the USA and from Central and Western Europe.

Czech Senator Jaroslava Moserová, President of the General Conference of UNESCO, represented that organisation. Madame Jolanta Kwasniewska, the First Lady of Poland and President of the foundation 'Communication Without Barriers', spoke of the role of the media in promoting actions to protect and alleviate the life of the world's children. Ellen Hume, one of the USA's top women journalists and wife of the American Ambassador in Prague, was joined by fellow Americans Ed Baumeister, Vice-President of the Independent Journalism Foundation and Dave Hess, an officer of Washington DC's renowned National Press Club and four others. Armand de Malherbe, a Former President of the European Advertising Association came from France; also Andrzej Krajewski, Vice-President of the Polish Association of Journalists and Editor of the Polish *Reader's Digest*; ARK Mackenzie, former British Ambassador and press spokesperson for the British United Nations delegation; Andras

Sugar, a senior Hungarian Television commentator; Hans Verploeg, General Secretary of The Netherlands Association of Journalists and Tomas Vrba from Prague representing the Association of European Journalists. Other media personalities, who were also assembly speakers, are mentioned later in this report.

Mehmed Husic, President of the Independent Union of Professional Journalists, was joined by colleagues from the major newspapers, magazines, and news agencies and from radio and television throughout Bosnia. Participants came from 12 cities in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia. A large delegation came from the Media Plan Journalism School in Sarajevo and other journalism trainees took part.

Those who gave generous contributions and support to make the Assembly possible were:

- The Cantonal Government of Sarajevo
- Centrotrans, Sarajevo, for providing transport
- LogoSoft, Sarajevo, for providing computer equipment
- The Robert Hahnloser Foundation, Switzerland
- MRA Initiatives for Change, USA
- The Karl Popper Foundation, Switzerland
- The Swiss Foreign Office, Global Peace Policy Section
- Média Participations, France
- The Caring Initiative, Great Britain

The event was an initiative of the International Communications Forum in association with:

- The Independent Union of Professional Journalists of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- The International Federation of Journalists
- The World Association of Newspapers
- The European Journalism Centre
- The Association of European Journalists
- The Polish Association of Journalists
- The Society of Professional Journalists, USA
- The Committee of Concerned Journalists, USA



Francoise de Mulder/CORBIS

Sarajevo in September 1992

ISSUES RAISED BY THE MEDIA WORLD ASSEMBLY



Torben Krogh, Chair, Danish School of Journalism and recent Chair, General Conference of UNESCO summarises:

The commercial factor:

- The challenge of working as a journalist in a market economy (*Ellen Hume p.11*)
- The power of money. Consequences of mergers, creating huge media empires, controlling all parts of the communication chain (*ARK Mackenzie p.11*)
- The commercialisation of media (*Mogens Schmidt p.19*)

The impact of new technologies:

- New information technologies as both an asset and a threat.
- Will it widen the gap between rich and poor? (*ARK Mackenzie p.11*)—‘Yes, it has already done so’ (*Hopeton Dunn p.16*)
- Also, it could lead to a globalisation from below. New IT has changed the role and working routines of journalists.

The responsibility of journalists:

This subject was at the core of many interventions.

- How difficult is it to work as a journalist in times of war and conflict? Even the responsible journalist has a hard time verifying information given to him (*Mehmed Halilovic p.18*).
- Another problem: journalists acting as tools of those in power and becoming propagandists and parts of the conflict. The Assembly listened to a number of interesting case studies: Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Balkans, Northern Ireland, Nagaland, Nigeria, Eastern Europe. They all threw light on the difficulty of maintaining high standards of journalism at times of crises. They also

contributed to understanding the problems in societies with a newly-won right to freedom of expression.

What is a journalist?

- Journalism should be seen as a public service function (*Bernard Marguerite p.10*).
- To report just the facts is not enough (*Faustina Starrett p.12*).
- It is important to look at trends instead of events. We must go beyond giving fair, accurate and adequate information. Media is not—and cannot be—neutral (*Vichalie Chasie p.14*).
- We should be bridge builders in society, presenting stories that give hope and lift the spirit.

The role of education:

- Education and training of journalists are very important. There is a need for historical insight and knowledge. The changing role of journalists due to new technologies. How to cope with the dubious reliability of content on the internet? (*Krogh/Schmidt p.17*)

Self-examination:

- The Media World Assembly reached the conclusion that it was high time for a ‘self-examination’ of the media, but that this should lead to the acceptance and practice of new standards for the media to serve society with dignity and responsibility in the 21st Century. To that end, a ‘Sarajevo Commitment’ was adopted by the journalists present.

‘THE MOST SIGNIFICANT GATHERING OF JOURNALISTS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN THE LAST TEN YEARS’

The Assembly was opened by Mehmed Husic, President of the Independent Union of Professional Journalists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed by Mersad Kebo, Governor of the Canton of Sarajevo, who welcomed the participants. The Foreign Minister, Jadranko Prlic, gave an evening reception.



Mersad Kebo



Mehmed Husic



Jadranko Prlic

Mersad Kebo:

I am grateful that you chose Sarajevo as your venue, both for symbolic and moral reasons. Symbolically, since Sarajevo, on the boundary line of civilisations, having endured 1,450 days of siege, once more hears the Islamic call for prayer and the bells of churches heralding culture, dialogue, prosperity and hope. Morally, since only truth, wisdom, knowledge, mutual understanding and respect, freedom and equality have real merit.

The road to achieve those ideals may be hard, but it is the right way. I deeply believe that, in the building of a just society, the media are the essential factor in shaping public opinion and stimulating human effort in this direction. To achieve this, the media also have to change and I am sure that this Assembly is an effort in that direction.

Your experiences will be useful to Sarajevo and I hope that you will tell the world who we are, what we are, in which direction we are going and how we can be helped. And we know we have to begin with change in ourselves.

Mehmed Husic:

We are taking part in the most significant gathering of journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last ten years.

During the difficult days of war, hundreds of our colleagues from all over the world were here, sharing our sufferings and anxieties and risking their lives. They fought with words of truth to defeat the evil that had engulfed us, and I pay them our respect and gratitude.

Journalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a centuries-old tradition. It developed within different systems and under different regimes, but

it maintained the dignity of the written word when freedom was under attack. However, now after the fall of communism, we are threatened with the bonds of nationalism. In spite of this, many of our journalists have worked to preserve independence and professionalism and to develop democratic values in the minds of the people. Of course, there are also evil media who still spread hate and nationalism among the peoples of the former Yugoslavia.

War was threatening to destroy media values, but we showed that the survival of newspapers, of radio and television could become a symbol of resistance, of the hope of survival and of faith in a better future. That, in spite of the breakdown of physical communications, of water and electricity being cut off and the absence of computers. We demonstrated, especially in Sarajevo, that the determination to provide the truth cannot be prevented. And so newspapers were published and programmes broadcast at the worst times and under unbelievable conditions.

In the post-Dayton period there has been a dramatic expansion of the media and there are now more than 200 radio stations, 88 TV stations and approximately 150 print media publications. This is too many, as our catastrophic economic situation cannot enable them to survive, and we want to encourage a reduction in numbers, so that levels of quality and objectiveness can be ensured. We want to enable our citizens to understand events and to make the transition to the new millennium.

The international community did much to maintain and develop our media during the war and in the post-war period. It has been a dilemma as to whether some media should be

imposed by them or whether the development of the domestic media should be encouraged. I am for the second solution. And this meeting is taking place to exchange opinions, to confront ideas and to find the best solutions.

Jadranko Prlic:

Primarily you (of the media) belong to the profession that most directly—even more than politicians themselves—deals with the present time. Depicting promptly the actual situation, criticising bad practice, bad attitudes and the sins of individuals and structures on the one hand, whilst on the other you are promoting desirable values, and so, much more than politicians, create the very future of the world.

I believe that it is extremely important that this year you have gathered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because this part of Europe, and particularly Sarajevo, has been a landmark of European and even world history. During the last decade, including three years of war, the universal solidarity and peaceful capacities of the international institutions have been tested.

It seems that the basic issue and message that you are preparing to send to the world will articulate the aim for the media to be real generators of the postulate on which a free and just society is built. You are right when you point out that journalists should be the creators of the ambiance in which lies the foundations of this free and just society, and in which formerly confronting groups tend to conciliation.

I raise this glass in honour to your profession, to all those who have created the history of journalism, and to you who continue in its construction by your unselfish engagement.

LEARNING FROM THE BALKANS CONFLICT

At what cost to civilisation?



The burnt out shell of Bosnia's National Library, 100 years to the date after its construction began; 300,000 documents and volumes destroyed

What is the media's role?

The state-controlled television networks of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are said to have had the same policy—"We are right. They are wrong. The truth is not important."

Columnist William Pfaff wrote in the *International Herald Tribune* (2 November 2000) under the headline 'At last, reason is now at work in the Balkans': 'Under the influence of a nihilistic nationalism, multiplied in effect by the relentless diffusion of its propaganda by Serbian and Croatian television in particular (when will there be a war crimes tribunal for journalists and media executives?), people turned to slaughtering one another to no valid or even profitable purpose. And then it stopped.'

In war, the media reported on the battleline between opposing military forces. It is time that the media began reporting on the battleline of civilisation between the forces of good and evil. It may yet be that, out of the cauldron of the Bosnian and Kosovo conflicts, journalists may arise who will report this battle and inspire the triumph of good. ■



The aftermath of the massacre in the marketplace, Sarajevo, May 1994

THE WORLD'S MEDIA— RESPONSE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Jan Pieklo, a Polish journalist from Krakow, spoke of his experiences of reporting the Bosnian conflict and his conclusions on the role of the foreign media:

The free media of the West contributed to the destabilisation of the Balkan situation. Technology allowed journalists to do what was unimaginable only a few years ago. They could broadcast live from Sarajevo under bombardment, showing people being murdered and in agony, and send thousands of reports by satellite. I would like to point out some errors committed by us, the journalists from different democratic countries, in covering the conflict.

The first error was chasing the sensational. As they travel from one world hot spot to another, reporters concentrate on finding sensational images but which may explain nothing to the viewers. Such a reporter flew into Sarajevo wearing a bulletproof vest, unable to speak the language, ignorant of the history of the region. He regarded himself as a professional; he hunted for attractive pictures of civilians who had been shot and he filmed puddles of blood on the sidewalk and in homes shattered by shell fire. A Polish journalist, a reporter of *Polish Gazzeta*, recalled how some of his colleagues from the media paid Serbian soldiers in Pale to shell a designated building at a given time. They got material for the evening news in this way. The question of why the war started in the first place was irrelevant for them.

The second error was oversimplification, especially at the beginning of the conflict. Journalists saw in black and white terms. The Serbs, hard-line Communists and aggressors, were stigmatised with every possible evil, while first the Croats, then the Muslims were noble warriors for the great cause of freedom. Reports from these journalists remained partisan and fuelled the conflict.

Feeling that they were being discriminated against by the world media, the Serbs began treating the foreign reporters as enemies. They simply fired at them. On the other hand, frustrated by the failure of Western mediation

efforts, the Bosnian Muslims accused journalists of cynically exploiting their suffering and of using the blood they shed for cheap sensationalism. Foreign correspondents, not all of them but a lot of them, quickly lost the respect and trust of all sides in the Balkan conflict, and unfortunately some of them also lost their lives.

The third error: concentrating on politicians, who did not care about the interests of the people who lived in the Balkans. When I was travelling through the former Yugoslavia I talked to simple people in Belgrade, Skopje, Sarajevo, Pristina, Split, Uzice and other places and I asked them the same questions: 'Who are you? What nationality are you?' In some cases, especially in Sarajevo, I was told: 'We used to think that we were Yugoslavs. Now we have no idea. I feel I am a citizen of this city, a citizen of Sarajevo.' People who answered this way were afraid, they had lost their homeland and now any of the warring sides could declare them to be traitors. They had been drawn into the hell of war against their will. I am afraid that only a few journalists took any interest in this phenomenon.

The fourth error was ignorance. Few reporters took the trouble to prepare for the difficult assignment. Most knew nothing about the historical origins of the conflict. They were unfamiliar with the history of the establishment of the Yugoslavian state, following World War I. In Bosnia I met a reporter from a generally respected Polish newspaper who asked me who was fighting whom, because he could not figure it out.

The fifth error was fragmentation, showing particular images unconnected with each other and not placed in any overall context. This made it easier for journalists to practice manipulation and to evoke sympathy for one side or the other of the conflict. A reporter could supply his audience with a whole range of various bits of information, which were like pieces of a big jigsaw puzzle but they had no chance of fitting them together and understanding the whole context.

And the sixth and last error was over-using the Sarajevo perspective. The simplest thing to do, obviously, was to fly to Sarajevo in a UN plane and file reports from there. It was far safer then to drive to Srebrenica and other warring parts of Bosnia.

So, in such a way the image of the Bosnian



conflict as seen exclusively from the perspective of Sarajevo, was only a part of a much greater and under-reported whole.

How can we prevent the spread of the Balkan syndrome to other conflict areas? For sure there can be no question of building a unified Europe without solving the Balkan problem. If the republics of the former Yugoslavia are left out of the process of European integration, then the vision of a peaceful and prosperous Europe is unrealistic. ■



Sarajevo 1994. Children dodge sniper fire as they cross a cemetery after seeking food from the local hospital kitchen.

NEWSPAPER UNDER FIRE



by Kemal Kurspahic,
Editor-in-Chief of
Oslobođenje during the
siege of Sarajevo

During the 1992-95 siege of Sarajevo, *Oslobođenje* was produced under fire. Never before had a daily paper been produced within 150 metres of artillery, sniper and machine gun positions.

When the basement of our ten-storey building was under construction in the early '80s, we asked, 'Why do we need a nuclear shelter in a modern glass and aluminium building?' At that time nuclear shelters were built in all large public buildings in former Yugoslavia, for fear of Soviet invasion.

When artillery ammunition set fire to our building on 20 June 1992, the basement turned out to be the only place where we could produce the paper. We improvised a newsroom-cum-bedroom in the shelter where ten journalists and ten printing press workers slept and worked for seven days.

A fireman was killed in the blaze and a journalist was wounded by a sniper as he helped to put the fire out. Meanwhile, in the nuclear shelter, the journalists put the paper together. The fire was out by 6am, printing started at 6.05am and soon after we were on sale in the city. People had seen on the late night news that our building was on fire and no one had expected us to come out that day.

During the war there were many acts of incredible individual sacrifice in the pursuit of professional journalism. Kjasif Smajlovic reported for *Oslobođenje* from the small Bosnian town of Zvornik, bordering Serbia on the banks of the river Drina. He sent his last report on the day before the Serb forces crossed the river and entered Zvornik. It was headlined, 'Three Arkan men caught in Zvornik'—Arkan was the leader of a Serbian paramilitary unit which committed crimes in Bosnia, and who was later assassinated. In the article, sub-headed, 'Soldiers say they

came to Zvornik because they were worried about the armament of Muslim militias', Smajlovic gave a voice to the opposing side to his own.

In so doing, under imminent threat to his life, he showed the highest imaginable level of professional objectivity. The next day he was at his old-fashioned typewriter in his ground-floor office when he was seized and tortured to death. We learnt about it 15 days later, from a neighbour who had seen his body being dragged out by the feet and loaded on to a truck. He was one of some 90 people killed that day in his town.

We had many challenges at that time. There were no vans or trucks to deliver the paper, so journalists would load 400 or 800 copies into the back of their cars and become newsboys for two hours. There was no power and no petrol stations. We had to buy—on the black market—the 100 litres of diesel we needed to run the generators, to type and print the paper. We were not making money, but fortunately we received some international awards, which we spent on buying fuel from UN soldiers.

At that time, our paper and most of the Sarajevo media were still reflecting our tradition and history of tolerance, both in their content and in their personnel. That became more and more important, and some of it survives, though some was destroyed.

Five years after the Dayton agreement, our peace resembles those greetings cards which say on the outside, 'You are the answer to my dreams', and on the inside, 'But you are not exactly what I dreamed of.'

In the same decade that the world was celebrating the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the fall of apartheid, we, under international sponsorship, experienced a new apartheid, in an area that had a history of respect for differences.

Today we are separated by language,



Oslobođenje's newsroom during the siege of Sarajevo

developing separate TV channels in our different languages, even though they are essentially the same and we can understand each other. I fear that if each group only watches its own channel, this will destroy communication. Each community and tribe will hear its own message, without knowing what the people around us think and feel. This threatens the survival of the idea of respect and accommodation.

When I read a paper or watch TV, I would like to be unable to recognise whether the author is Serb, Croat or Bosnian. It is time for people to recognise each other for their professionalism, their fairness in giving voice to others and their compassion for people irrespective of religion or ethnicity. We need to respect our own identities. But these will not survive by excluding the other.

One measure of our readiness to respect the times we have gone through would have been to mark the anniversary of Srebrenica, a safe haven in Bosnia that was conquered in June 1995 with the loss of 7,414 lives in one week. I desperately sought for the media in the Serb part of Bosnia or in Serbia proper to mark this anniversary by telling the people what actually happened.

When war criminals are indicted in The Hague, the media too easily say it is a violation of their people. But it would be better to report what the war criminals are charged with and convicted of. The crimes were horrific. We cannot live in amnesia and expect reconciliation.

I have no right to ask for an apology from anybody. So many people suffered more horrifically than I did. But there is a need for the truth to be told, so that innocent people on all sides can reach out their hands and live as neighbours in tolerance and respect.

We used to live like that in our city of four religions. There were no problems. On the contrary, we were all the richer. That is the Bosnia I would like us to experience again. ■



by Henryk Wozniakowski,
President, ZNAK Publishing
House, Krakow

I begin with a few examples of how the media contributed to the Iron Curtain's downfall.

1) Radio Free Europe, despite permanent jamming, was the first source of political information and opinion for millions of us. We could follow the crucial moments of our regions' history, such as the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, the Prague Spring in 1968, the Gdansk workers' rebellion in 1970, the birth of Solidarity in 1980 and others, censored and distorted by the regime's media.

2) Emigrants significantly shaped the political mind and position of the elite that gave birth to the opposition of the 1970s and 1980s. Publications were smuggled illegally, with great risk, into Poland. Depending on the period and determination of the communist power the arrested 'smuggler' risked all, from cancellation of passport to years in prison.

3) Underground publications started in the second half of the 1970s and lasted to the end of the 1980s. More than 400 regular underground periodicals were published at different stages, hundreds of books printed and distributed, an unaccounted number of leaflets produced on more or less primitive machines or smuggled through Polish customs by our courageous western friends. Some of them paid for their contribution to our fight, spending many months in Polish prisons, where they had to stand trial as criminals.

As we are often told, the media are the fourth power. This banal statement has a specific meaning in the post-communist countries because of the particular role of the media under communist regimes. What allows us to compare the media to constitutional powers—legislative, executive and judiciary—is the fact that, in the process of transition from communism to democracy and capitalism, they were not only an object but also an active subject of this transition. The media have undergone great

MEDIA AND THE FALL OF THE IRON CURTAIN

changes in the process of transition, and at the same time, they have been actively shaping this very process.

But changes are more important than heritage. In all our countries the basic political and economic conditions for media independence and for freedom of expression have been created. In Poland the press was fully privatised in less than two years after 1989. In most print media sectors the newly created newspapers have been the most successful.

By the end of 1992, an act was passed on radio and TV broadcasting, allowing us to set up private radio stations and, later on, private TV channels. Consequently, private radio broadcasting is flourishing and much more popular than public radio. Furthermore, private TV audiences are growing much faster than public ones.

Though this picture is rather positive, it is not so bright and several reminders of the old system still exist. They may be observed at a structural/legal level and in the behaviour of both politicians and journalists. Public TV remained an immense bureaucratic machine with 6,000 employees, a wonderful hiding place for thousands of old devoted communist journalists, the ungovernable empire where unclear financial operations are accompanied by unclear political interests.

But a worse heritage of the old regime is a tendency of almost all political forces to control the media and to use them for their purposes. This tendency is particularly strong in the ranks of the post-communist parties.

Journalists who spent an important part of their professional lives under the communist regime, and adapted the information they conveyed to the system's requirements, could

hardly adapt to freedom of expression. They used to keep two extreme positions: some of them were looking for a new master to listen to and interpret. In the case of Poland this new master was either the new government, the Solidarity trade union or the Catholic Church.

The other group of journalists felt happily liberated from their old duties towards the propaganda of permanent success and, in order to prove their independence, they jumped from the constant justification or praising of the old regime activities to the permanent criticism of the new power, regardless of its true achievements. In doing so they collaborated tacitly with their colleagues who remained in communist service, doing their best to discredit the successive new parliaments, governments and individual politicians. This unbridled journalistic criticism was to some extent responsible for 'social disappointment' and for the subsequent victory of the post-communist parties in Poland and other countries of the region.

I don't expect the media to be 'a powerful tool in the capitalist struggle'. All I ask of them is to bring me unbiased information and wise commentary. I expect them to ensure social communication and contribute to the creation of public opinion—or multiple opinions. The media system is never ideal and in a free country there is always a lot of trash beside valuable networks, newspapers or journals. We have to pay this price for freedom. But in general the media situation, their economic position, legal frame and role in social life, reflect well the general situation of freedom, democracy and political culture. ■



The Berlin Wall comes down in 1989

MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

The oxygen of a just society



Bernard Margueritte,
French Foreign
Correspondent for East
Europe, Warsaw, Poland

As Lord Nolan said a year ago in London at an ICF-*Financial Times* conference, the time has come for media 'self-examination'. We have to recognise what we have done wrong, and remember what we should be, what is our responsibility, and move toward clearly stated goals. This is of paramount importance, not only for each of us in the media, but also for the whole of society. What is at stake is nothing more than the fate of democracy itself.

First of all, we have to recognise our faults. There is no better place to do it than in Sarajevo, in the heart of the Balkans. Should we be proud of what the media did at a time of conflict? Sure, we have good examples of courageous and dedicated journalists who—in spite of all the risks—continued to work for the truth. But there is no doubt that the vast majority used the media to fuel hatred, to provoke people against each other, to look only for sensationalism at all costs. The fact is that each of us is personally responsible for the illnesses of the media.

We, in the media, are privileged people, who can inform and bring people together, making them know each other, understand, respect, and maybe love each other. But we have failed.

We, in the media, are mediators, go-betweens. But we have failed.

We, in the media, have the honour and responsibility of carrying the Word, which was at the Beginning. But we have failed.

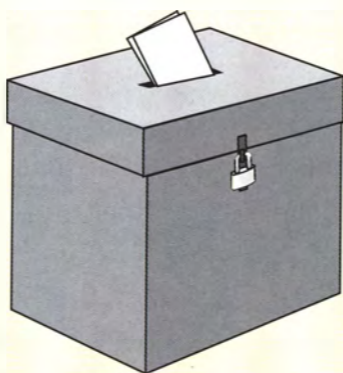
And we already see the consequences. Roughly only 17-18 percent of people around

the world say they 'respect journalists'.

What were the media supposed to be? John Paul II said in Poland that 'the media should defend freedom but also respect the dignity of the person'. The Bureau Chief of *The New York Times* in Washington, presented the same truth in a different way during a speech at Harvard. The media, he said, 'were supposed to find out and understand and explain what was going on here and abroad so that the public could understand and make an informed judgement'. Hubert Beuve-Mery, founder of *Le Monde*, used to say that the main role of the journalist is not to express his (or her) own view. He has to remember that the reader, the listener, the viewer is always more intelligent than he is. His role thus is to present the facts with accuracy, but also to explain where they come from (the economic, historical, sociological background), how they are relevant for us now, and what solutions to the problems are proposed. Then the reader will have all the elements to make up his/her own view and so be, properly, a citizen. As Bill Kovach, from Harvard and The Committee of Concerned Journalists, says, 'The essential mission of journalists is to be a public service for democracy'.

Alas, we are not fulfilling our mission. The media have indulged in 'infotainment' and 'showbizzification' of the news. Paradoxically at a time of globalisation, at a time when progress in information technology is such that we can report life from any point in the world, we are less and less interested in each other, we know each other less and less, and indeed we are reporting ever less about world affairs. CBS has only five correspondents around the world and a third of the journalists covering foreign affairs than they had 10 years ago. What a strange and disturbing evolution! Why is this so? Professor Colin Sparks, from the London School of Communication, reached this conclusion in *The Journal of Communications*: '...the structure of the market-led press is one that inevitably excludes the bulk of the population from the kind of public information essential for the exercise of the role of citizens and is fundamentally anti-democratic.'

Betrayed by the sensationalism and lack of responsibility of the media, the people express distrust of the media, read less and less, stop to care about public affairs and the common good and finally don't even bother to vote. Democracy then is just a fake, reserved for a self-proclaimed 'elite'. Davis Merrit wrote in his book *Public Journalism and Public Life*: 'It is no coincidence that the decline in journalism and the



decline in public life have happened at the same time. In modern society, they are co-dependent; public life needs the information and perspective that journalism can provide and journalism needs a viable public life because without one, there is no need for journalism.'

Indeed, we, in the media, should always remember that we are not producers, among many others, selling goods to consumers with the only goal to make as much money as possible. We are human beings and citizens addressing human beings and citizens. This is quite another dimension we should not have forgotten.

What kind of person, what kind of media for what kind of society? We cannot look at the media as separate from the kind of civilisation we are living in. As Hugh Nowell, ICF Secretary, pointed out: 'We are in need of establishing new norms for society. The building of a constructive media is dependent on facing up to the prevailing dictates of the market and consumerism.' Indeed, how could we possibly have honest and responsible media in a materialist, hedonistic, consumerist society?

As the Chief Rabbi of the Commonwealth, Dr Jonathan Sachs said, 'We have mistaken freedom from and freedom to, freedom to build a new covenant.' In the 20th Century we have built the political pillar of freedom (democracy) and the economic pillar (market economy, hopefully with solidarity). We still have to build in the 21st Century the most important pillar of freedom: the moral and spiritual pillar.

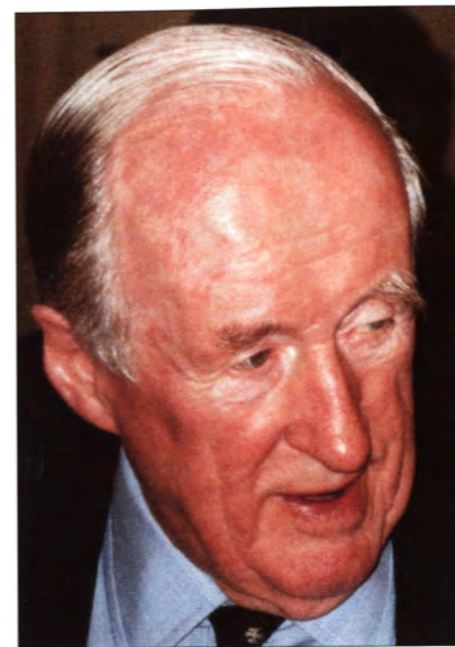
We should never lose sight of this broad picture: ultimately we will have a dignified media only if we move toward a society of respect for the dignity of the human person.

This calls for a transformation from within the heart of each of us. Our goal is clear: we should do everything to improve, *hic et nunc*, the dealings of the media. It is our duty and responsibility if we want to save democracy. But we should also be engaged in a moral rearmament, leading to the building of the civilization of the dignity of the individual. This is not an abstract task. It can only be done if I start with myself, by transforming my own heart.

Indeed each one of us is everyday saving democracy and building not only the new media but the new society in his/her own heart. ■

**...a society of respect
for the dignity of the
human person**

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MEDIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY?



ARK Mackenzie,
Former British Ambassador

My own experience as a government press spokesperson began at the Hot Springs Conference in 1943, which set up the World Food and Agriculture Organisation. The conference was a star example of closed diplomacy. Although the subject matter was far from explosive, the conference centre was surrounded by soldiers to keep the media at bay. Journalists were allowed into the hotel for one press conference. There was a tremendous thunderstorm, all the lights went out and the press conference ended in chaos.

Two years later in 1945, I was at the San Francisco Conference that set up the United Nations and everything had changed. The conference centred on an opera house and almost everything was open.

The following year, when the UN was set up at Lake Success near New York, we saw how the power of the media had grown. Even the shape of the Security Council table was decided to suit the TV cameras. It was an arc, instead of a circle that would have been much more logical for direct discussion. Because it was an arc, delegates spoke to the cameras rather than to each other. There was much more posturing than real discussion. And so some of the complexities of totally open diplomacy were exposed.

But the increased influence of the media had come to stay, and in 1950 the world had its first experience of war policy being decided in the open before TV cameras. The Korean War marked another historic advance. Diplomacy used to be a written art, then it became a spoken art. Now it became a visual art.

Then in the 1970s we reached another stage,

when not just the issues of war but the war itself—in all its drama and brutality—was played out on television in Vietnam, then the Gulf, Kosovo, and Africa. We saw on our screens not only soldiers but media representatives being killed and wounded.

The invasion of war-theatres—if I may call it that—has had serious consequences for governments. The *invasion* is made for the highest reasons—in the interest of truth. But it makes it much more difficult for any democratic government to conduct a war or to be seen losing a battle: the body bags phenomena.

Whether we like it or not, we are now in the era of instant global communication; and that provokes a whole new set of questions, far reaching in their implications.

1) Will the technological revolution widen the gap between the rich world and the poor world? Especially because of the vast sums of money needed for the latest technology. This is a serious possibility.

2) Are we now getting too much information? Can we cope with it, mentally and emotionally?

3) Is the sheer speed of modern communication becoming counter-productive, thus losing accuracy, perspective and sense of balance?

4) Is money becoming too influential and even sinister? The equipment of the media industry is becoming more and more expensive every year. This leads to mergers, to make savings of scale. Vast wealth can be made quickly. It can also be lost quickly. Does that endanger truth and objectivity?

5) Does this technological revolution mean that the risk of deception is on the increase? We read that subliminal advertising made its appearance in the American Presidential campaign. What about the risk of 'spinning'?

In brief, how do we compensate for the unavoidable problems arising from instant global communication? I want to offer two suggestions. First, to compensate for the merciless speed and stress in the modern media, is there a need for silence, for quiet reflection—however we get it? Do we need to build times of reflection into the pattern of our daily lives? Refreshment can come out of a bottle. Perspective comes from silence. Second, although the revolution now underway means that the media seems to become more and more technically shaped and controlled, there are always moral values involved. Increased influence means increased responsibility. So I believe Kofi Annan was right in his Millennium report to call on world leaders for a 'moral recommitment' in the UN context: and I wonder if that is something that the media profession needs to think about as well. ■



Ellen Hume, writer and
journalist, USA

In a democracy information is power. We need some trusted guides through the thicket of information, propaganda and entertainment-journalists, to watch and ask the right questions. If those in power refuse to answer these questions, or shut the questioners down, then others need to step in and keep asking those questions.

It is possible to overstate the virtues of the technologies of freedom—the media and Internet communications that educate and connect us. If tyrants use television to spew lies, create a monopoly over the hardware or software, or tax the Internet and fax/phone lines or television licenses so that no one can afford to use them, they gain temporary advantage. But they are like the Dutch boy who put his thumb in a hole in the dike. He will grow tired as the water grows stronger. Sooner or later, the creative flow of information will pour through that crack and break the wall.

Perhaps the most important difference between Old Media (television, radio, print) and the Net is the fundamentally different way they engage the user. In old-style European education, a book or a teacher is the authoritative source of knowledge.

So it is with television, radio and print. It may be far more entertaining and emotionally engaging than a stuffy professor, but these Old Media still offer typically a top-down, one-way communication of a fixed body of material. On the Internet, a more democratic relationship is created. The user is as important as the provider. The serf surfs the Web and has new

Continued on p.12 ►

access to the wider world. The information itself has a different status, too. There are no incentives for the user to master static facts, but rather to master the fact-finding process.

The same technology that has liberated the flow of information has also undermined the traditional influence of the journalist. We used to be the gatekeepers and definers of news, the ones who declared what was important. But now, on the Internet, everyone can be a journalist, creating and disseminating content.

What is the role of the journalist in such an environment? How should we operate? From what will we draw power, if we are not the exclusive sources of news any more?

Even though people act as their own newsgatherers, most want help in figuring out what is true and important. They are sceptical of the quality of media communication. There is a challenge not just in determining what is real in a world of propaganda and digital magic on television, but also in the gossip racing around the world on the Internet, destroying all our old familiar landmarks of time, space and place. Media technologies also have made available to more audiences extreme hate speech and pornography, making the worst content more common and thus, seemingly, more legitimate.

The temptation is to complain that, after having too little, we now have too much free speech, too much information, too much freedom. We need good journalists—to test the rumours and separate the real from the unreal. The Internet, with its massive storage capacity, speed and global dissemination enables the journalist to do a better job than ever before. Now journalists can offer not just a set of selected facts, but a road map to deeper information, through links to original documents and related information on the Web. There is still an important role for journalists who believe there is too much at stake in the world to simply offer circuses, and no bread.

How do we ensure that the public will be able to recognise this consumer-orientated journalism and reject the distractions? First, you must clearly define your own mission as a journalist and share that definition with the public. Declare your ethics, admit to unconscious biases and vulnerabilities, and then describe what you are trying to do. Apologise for mistakes as they are made and let others express their views, keeping in mind always that people are entitled to their own opinions, but not to their own set of facts.

Some shake their heads at discussions like this conference, saying that journalism always has been, and always will be, just gossip and propaganda. It is funny. It is a game. It brings profit to the providers. But in any community there are moments when honest news can make the difference between justice and injustice, between politics by the ballot or politics by the bullet, between powerlessness and power, even between life and death. ■

FROM OTHER CRISIS AREAS:

1 Northern Ireland



Faustina Starrett,
Media Studies Department,
NW Institute, Derry.

I am part of the first generation that grew up in 'the troubles' in Northern Ireland. It is difficult not to use personal experience as the filter mechanism for understanding that situation. If that constitutes a prejudice then I own it. Regarding 'the media', well... that was something outside, looking in, watching us watching them. I felt that our personal participation in the media, as a society, was at an inane level, as we were not really consulted. It had a kind of disconnected feel. We were presented with a set of 'givens', by the media, ways to understand what was happening, that were actually at loggerheads with what we felt and knew was happening. Mine was a most unscientific approach, I thought later, when I tried to wrestle with the idea of objectivity and facts. However, even armed with these ideas, I did not get that much further.

Images from a day that blotted the history books... Bloody Sunday, 1972, like so many that were to follow. Does history start there for me; was that my first touchstone with a sense of belonging to a beleaguered community?

Somehow, personal history is never so one-dimensional. It's not as if you can show something to be unjust and then a process kicks in that will right the wrongs of history. Where does wrongdoing begin and whose fault is it? Can you just name and shame those who are to blame?

And how do you apportion blame when everyone involved has a different relationship with the facts? It is like looking through a prism, you change the angle and somehow you are looking through another perspective.

I went to university, which was a novel idea for my family, whose schooling for the most part was not by the traditional route. It was here that I got around to thinking about the media. The real crisis in the media, then and even now, is still one of representation. Representation of the world to the public and the public to the world. Everything in the media seemed to be one-dimensional, black and white. A bit like the cowboy and Indian films that we flocked to on Saturday mornings. At some point, every side in Northern Ireland got to be the Indians, demonised by association, and labelled. Their violence presented as its own cause and an expression of the innate and unalterably evil nature of the perpetrators. So all Catholics seemed to be Irish Nationalists and Republicans who were probably in the IRA.

And all Protestants were Unionists, and loyal to Ulster and Britain, who secured them a 'Protestant State for a Protestant People' and were probably in the RUC or some other paramilitary loyalist organisation. Of course at the beginning of the '70s we all knew that much of this was exaggerated but eventually as the 'news' got more popular, or maybe just more topical, (since we seemed to be in it more), we started to wonder. Maybe this stuff was all true.

Of all the passions, it is said that fear weakens judgement most. And after Bloody Sunday, most people were afraid of what would happen next. Those closest in witness to the worst injustices were very angry. We were all participants now. Moreover, fear distorts perceptions, creating obstacles and monsters where none exist. It would have been safe to take refuge in some of the media explanations, but really they were second hand opinions for me.

I recall standing in the Diamond with my father, on Remembrance Sunday, for those who had died in the Second World War, at the same time as the hunger strike protest. We were a decade into 'the troubles' then and there was a protest march trying to bring attention to the demands of 13 young Catholic men who were demanding political status as 'prisoners of war', and who were starving themselves to death in the 'hunger strikes', while Mrs Thatcher wore her 'iron maiden' pose and I was no longer wondering whose side I should be on. It was 1982 then,

I was 22, and stuck in the middle of what looked like two 'just wars'. One being remembered and one being fought.

This was no hypothetical scene. It was blood and guts and real people whose lives were on the line.

The hunger strikers did die, the dock's work dried up, the bombing campaigns intensified on all sides, media coverage was censored and people worried how it would all end.

Gordon Wilson, victim of the Enniskillen bombing, lived to initiate a powerful inter-community project for peace and reconciliation that still works in a kind of underground current of movements, which have all contributed to rebuilding and transforming relationships and structures in Northern Ireland. The power of war memorials and their associations to invoke so much love and so much hate set me wondering about how our identities get forged in relation to ideas of who we are and where we belong.

What is a country anyway, that one would get so fixated on saving it?

I know the answer lies in the whole personal geography, demography, history and politics that are tied up with nationalism. I guess when even your basic human rights are under threat and you have no constitutional means of redress, nationalism can look like a palpably rich solution.

I think this is because it draws on aspects of cultural identity that are real as well as great sweeping myths that exploit highly emotional values about freedom, justice and identity. And as a people under siege, all of us, Irish, English, Bosnian, Serbian, were all very vulnerable to easy solutions to complicated problems. That is how we fall into prejudice so readily. It gives us a hook to hang all our problems on.

The slogans went out, we painted the streets, we hung the flags, and we all retreated back behind the barricades. Some of these barricades have a long history—the Berlin Wall, the Irish Partition—and some are relatively new. Moreover, the media love it. It has a bracing simplicity, war reporting. It was all so one dimensional, seemingly. The Northern Ireland reports could be reduced to a simple formula. 'Catholics and Protestants hate each other's guts. They always have. They always will.'

And so, we all clung to the dogma and to hell with the faith. The facts, depending on how they were applied, gave whatever side justification for just about any and every dastardly deed, which is catalogued as part of 'the troubles'. So we had the desolate times, living behind borders, building walls and feeding off our media and it was a vicious circle. In addition, we



Belfast riots, Northern Ireland, July 1998 in support of the Drumcree orange protestors

learned to live without hope. And that is a Godless state. Moreover, we lived out these 'troubles', in the eye of the media. For more in-depth analysis, the reporting went through so many phases of taking sides. Hirman Johnson said that the first casualty in war is the truth. Moreover, it is not just the belligerents who are responsible for the slaying of the truth but often the reporters and the rest of us too.

We have had some very courageous journalism outside of Northern Ireland, which challenged prevailing media myths and laziness, campaigning investigative work to affect profound and meaningful change. But journalists in Northern Ireland mostly buy into press release stuff, especially the 'official information' sources, like the Northern Ireland Office.

They have no real experience of investigative journalism because the nature of the troubles was such that they never did have to go out and investigate stories. As the Editor of the *Derry Journal* told me, 'The stories walked in here on legs', not to mention the fact that newsrooms retreated behind the editorial politics and

policies of their respective owners. It is still, therefore, a process of learning to think, to reflect, to reason and to refine our capacity for judgment and evaluation and news making processes.

Here in Sarejevo we are witnesses to human suffering on a greater scale. An estimated 10,615 people were killed—including 1,600 children—and 50,000 wounded during the 1,450-day siege which lasted from 1992 to 1996. This place is forever sacred as a profound witness to the worst and the best in human relationships where people have suffered so long for so little in return. Here is a chance to acknowledge all the lessons learned from our worst mistakes and failures, our most difficult relationships and regrets.

We have all to get past our history of memories but only by using them to learn from the past can we truly contribute to the future. So, let us build on the lessons and acknowledge the vital part our media will play, in getting the view from the ground, and being a much needed witness to hope. ■

FROM OTHER CRISIS AREAS

2 Nagaland, North-East India

The two most well-known names that have emerged from my region are the Dalai Lama of Tibet and Aung Sang Suu Kyi of Burma.

The Nagas live on both sides of the Indo-Burma international border that was drawn during the time when the British ruled India and Burma. We were not aware then of the future implications that would come from the boundary lines that were being drawn. It has immensely complicated the crisis we are now in because we are in the difficult process of establishing our identity as a people.

Long before the British left in 1929, the Nagas made their position clear: that they would decide their own future whether or not to be part of post-British India. Then just before India became independent in 1947, Naga declared their independence from Britain and notified India. In the midst of the chaos of Partition and the preparations to celebrate India's freedom, nobody in Delhi was aware of the declaration the Nagas had made. About 50 years ago, India responded by sending in the Security Forces to crush the political movement. In due course in 1963, Delhi created a separate State for the Nagas as one of the States of the Indian Union.

Vast amounts of money have since been pumped into the State for the all-round development of the people.

But over the years, the divisions within the Naga family have become extremely disruptive because of inter-tribal, inter-factional rivalries among Nagas. Over the last decades, more Nagas have died at the hands of fellow Nagas than because of the repressive action by the Indian Security Forces. Some of our most promising leaders have been assassinated due to the rivalries.

The Naga conflict with India is the longest running liberation struggle on the Indian sub-continent. But we have today realised that our thinking, tied down in our rivalries, has become totally inadequate for the vastly changed times that have come. Our failure to reach a satisfactory settlement with India has produced many off-shoots—corruption in the running of the 'overground' State Government, and especially serious lawlessness in the form of extortion by all sorts of groups who operate 'underground', giving themselves high slogans.

Now we have started to go to the people of India—Indian civil society—to enable them to

decide what they want is nothing short of refusing to take responsibility for our actions. Sure, fair, adequate and accurate information must be given. The notion of the media serving society means that we take responsibility for what we feed the public. The challenge is how much we care for the society we claim to serve.

One of the questions that often comes to mind is, 'Who will water the spirit in the corridors of power?' We are good at interviewing people and reporting what they say. We also vehemently oppose their wrong actions. These need to be done. But, in situations like mine, it is also crucial that some of us befriend them and help them to become what they are meant to be. Simply opposing them does not always help. It results in more conflict. Giving them ideas and sharing our opinions with them, on a one-to-one basis, often works out better. This may sometimes entail sacrificing a 'scoop' or a good story under your byline. But surely, serving society is the better option.

Men and women of the media are in a position to become the greatest bridge builders in society. We have accessibility to all groups and their leadership. We also have the platform to bring them together and to carry the people along. So, if things are not working in society, part of the blame must be shared by us for not helping to better the situation. True, sometimes

I would like to share with you some of the things I have worked out, drawing on 20 years as a journalist. In a situation where a single wrong word could quite easily invite a bullet and where the norm is to impose your will on others, advocacy and promotion of democratic values like tolerance and respect of each other's views are a must. And this is the first breakthrough we have to look for in a situation.

The media is often blamed for sensationalism and selective indignation. No doubt, these are two of the major weaknesses of the working journalist. But, sometimes, circumstances also conspire to create such an impression quite unfairly. At such times, two things are helpful:

1) to look for trends and to keep the focus there, as opposed to events, isolated or otherwise.

2) To look out for and write stories that give hope. Under intractable situations, the people are feeling depressed, frustrated and angry. To feed them with more depressing news is to only worsen the situation and further remove the prospect of finding solutions. A positive frame of mind is required in the search for solutions.

Our writings are seldom 'neutral', whatever explanations we may offer. They effect things for better or for worse. So, the usual excuse that the job of a journalist is only to provide the information and the rest is up to the public to



THE NAGA STORY—60 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

by Niketu Iralu, community leader and mediator, Shillong, Meghalaya

understand why we have fought for our beliefs so tenaciously for so long. The response we have started to get from the Indian people is encouraging. With the people of India understanding us, we Nagas also understand the genuine difficulties India faces with regard to our position, a way will be found to find a solution that will be acceptable and honourable. ■



MEDIA AS BRIDGE-BUILDERS ACROSS THE CHASMS OF DIVISION

by Vichalie Chasie, Naga writer and editor, Kohima, Nagaland

even our best efforts may not be enough. But we cannot afford not to try. And we cannot afford not to have a social conscience and still claim that the media serves the society. ■



THE NIGERIAN PRESS UNDER THE MILITARY

Yinka Adeyemi, columnist, Daily Times of Nigeria

Nigeria is Africa's press giant. With its 31 dailies, 60 regularly published magazines, 90 state owned TV and radio stations, it outweighs the media of any other African country. Yet Nigeria has undergone 20 years of military rule, with nine successive coups d'état. Democracy is still a baby.

This is why the talks by two Nigerian journalists were listened to with great interest. For Yinka Adeyemi, President of Image

THE NIGERIAN PRESS IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Choice Okoro, journalist and administrator

Journalist Choice Okoro, who now works in Canada, was preoccupied with Nigeria's present challenge, the role of the media in the reconstruction of civil society. 'Despite positive developments, Nigeria's democracy remains fragile,' she said. Particularly problematic is the challenge of economic rejuvenation in the context of years of corrupt rule and a massive external debt burden, as well as the difficult issues of regional inequalities and ethnic and religious tensions.

'The latest flashpoint to threaten Nigerian democracy is the issue of religious violence, related to the moves by some Muslim northern states to use the new democratic climate to propose the adoption of Islamic law. Religious protests and bloody clashes between Christians and Muslims have fuelled further violent ethnic fighting. In a country where over 200 minorities

FROM OTHER CRISIS AREAS

3 Nigeria—Africa's press giant

Dynamics Communications in New York, the issue of press freedom is frequently a clash between two viewpoints. For those who benefit from the *status quo*, press freedom should be used to support the activities of the government in the enhancement of national interest. For the Nigerian journalists and pro-democracy enthusiasts, the press ought to be free of any hegemonic interference. Such freedom, they maintain, is fundamental to good governance.

Adeyemi described the mechanisms of press control. Although all five successive Nigerian constitutions have included guarantees of free expression, such guarantees don't make democracy. 'Indeed,' he remarked, 'these guarantees were frequently the first casualties of successive military coups d'état. The first action of the new leader is to suspend key sections of the constitution, especially those dealing with fundamental human rights. Next, the military regime would roll in a series of heinous decrees by which it governs the people; decrees which legalise detention without trial, extra-judicial measures, etc.'

The process is subtle, so much so that sometimes nobody sees it coming. 'The first step is a limited short-term toleration, even wooing, of the press for the calculated purpose of consolidating political power and constructing legitima-

cy. Once legitimacy has been attained, the relationship sours and public policy becomes an avenue for dominating, intimidating and punishing antagonistic groups, even as it rewards friendly pro-establishment ones. In Nigeria, rewards come in the form of patronage in advertising, import licences for printing materials, public office appointments....'

Adeyemi described in detail the harsh violations undergone by Nigerian media, including their culmination with the execution of writer and military critic Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine of his colleagues after a sham trial. This, said Adeyemi, was the event that led to the complete isolation of Nigeria and its government, sparking off a series of protests and demonstrations in Nigeria and abroad.

'Mainly because of military fatigue among Nigerians,' concluded Yinka Adeyemi, 'it is highly unlikely that Nigeria would experience another military regime in the foreseeable future. The deprivation of the past, the wanton abuse of basic human rights, the detention of innocent citizens, the murder of opponents, continue to serve as a reminder to all Nigerians that a representative government, accountable to the electorates is a *sine qua non* for stability and growth. It is why the Nigerian press can be expected to keep fighting to sustain Nigeria's nascent democracy.' ■

cohabit, journalists are sometimes the victims of fighting that the state is unable to control. Two journalists were killed in such circumstances in 1999. Moreover, local authorities, apparently more sensitive to criticism, are quick to arrest journalists who now report on all subjects, irrespective of taboos.'

'The Nigerian press,' Okoro continued, 'has always positioned itself as serving the public. Its fervent and committed attack on the military government was carried out under the conviction of a sense of duty. Duty to the common man or woman. In a country where more than 20 years of military dictatorship and regimes have finally eroded citizens' belief and confidence as contributors in a civil society, the media took up that role. And many will say they did a good job of it. My hope is that it will make the necessary adjustments to continue under the new regime.'

'The press, more than any other institution,' she continued, 'is able to add to the knowledge and understanding of vast numbers of individuals. To quote from Stephen Klaidman and Tom Beauchamp in *The Virtuous Journalist*: "It is part of the media's mandate in democracies to provide a public benefit by circulating useful



information and promoting the public's understanding."

Okoro concluded, 'To be effective in the country's next challenge of civil society reconstruction, we in the media in Nigeria need to re-evaluate our roles now.' ■

EMERGING TECHNOLOGY AND THE MEDIA— Threats and assets



Dr Hopeton Dunn, Senior Lecturer, Caribbean Institute of Media and Communications, Jamaica

Dr Hopeton Dunn, from the University of West Indies in Jamaica, pointed out, 'There are positive and negative implications of the emerging technologies for audiences accustomed to conventional media.'

Dunn spoke about the example of the famous handshake between President Clinton and Fidel Castro in New York, in September 2000. It reminds us, at this time of vast telecommunications networks, 'how dramatic the impact can be of simple human contact'. At the same time the *Daily News* of New York presented a fake, composite image of the handshake. According to Dunn, 'Such incidents of misuse of technology in the practice of media today' should remind us that 'it is part of our responsibility to be vigilant in protecting the integrity of our own work, and in the defence of the public's right to free, fair and accurate media representation.'

In other words, the new technologies do not diminish but enhance the need for ethical values in the media. Another connected issue was 'the quality of content available via the new technologies'. The more so that 'many of the sources on the net are unreliable, scandalous and self-serving'. The 'quality of content' of the media remains a major issue. Too often, as we all know, we have in the new media, even more than in the traditional ones, violence, strong language, gratuitous sex or plain sensationalism.

Among other problems, Dunn stressed the dramatic disparity of access to the new tech-

nologies. 'While it is often claimed that certain emerging technologies are global, the real pattern of their distribution is far from being ubiquitous'. In Sweden for example 30 percent of the school children have access to the Internet, while in Africa only 0.14 percent enjoy this privilege. Similar discrepancies (although not so harsh) continued to exist regarding the use of telephones, radio and television sets. Dunn made a strong point: 'The reality is that while in technology terms we talk about a great and empowering convergence of emerging information technologies, in social terms we are talking about a distressing divergence in access between the information rich and the others in some geographical areas and social groups.' Moreover, since this access to information is nowadays a key to development, those discrepancies are further exacerbating already dramatic inequalities.

Nevertheless the impact of new technologies may sometimes be exaggerated. A research study on the impact of the new media carried out in 1999 by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) reaches the conclusion that: 'New media have not had any detrimental impact on conventional radio and television audiences.'

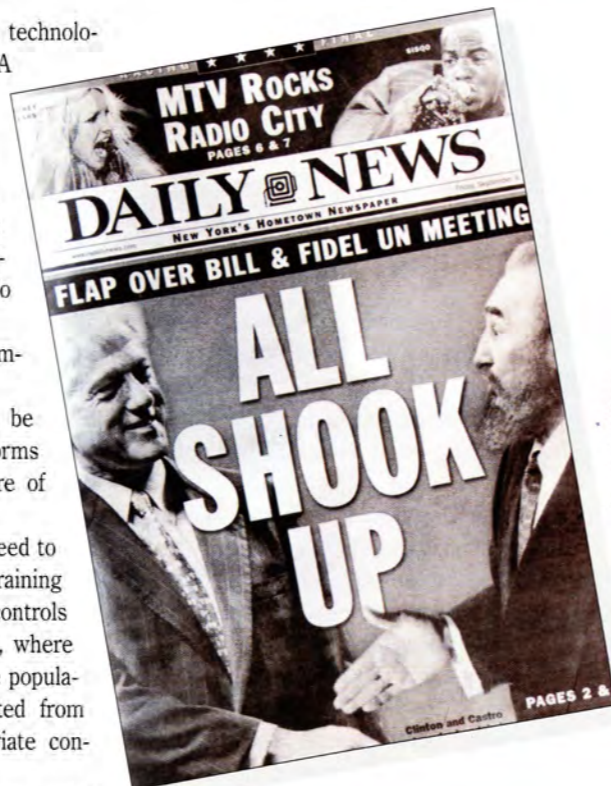
Hopeton Dunn made five recommendations:

- 1) Media practitioners have to be trained to work in a range of media forms to cope with the multi-media nature of existing media markets.
- 2) Strong ethical principles will need to be reinforced in the training and retraining of practitioners, and all regulatory controls have to be reviewed to ensure that, where possible, vulnerable segments of the population, such as children, are protected from unwarranted exposure to inappropriate content.
- 3) A continuing public education is needed about the media and their role in opinion and behaviour of audiences.
- 4) We have to recognise that audiences are

not undifferentiated mass recipients of media content, but are made up of discerning adults and young people with varying tastes and choices, capable of evaluating, over time, the quality and veracity of the media and their content.

5) We have to act collectively, even if some local conditions may differ, to secure the beneficial effects and minimise the negatives of the emerging technologies.

Most importantly, concluded Dunn, we should refuse a 'technopoly': 'A world whose cultures have surrendered to the allure of technology'. We must make sure that, with the use of ethical and regulatory controls, the 'human element' will remain paramount. If so, we will be able to 'transform the negatives and benefit from the positives in this bewildering 'brave new world' of emerging technologies'. ■



Fake composite photo of Clinton and Castro shaking hands on the front page of the New York Daily News, 8 September, 2000

JOURNALISM TRAINING —FORGING THE FUTURE



have turned journalists into manufacturers of a product. And their professionalism is measured according to the audience ratings and circulation figures.

Obviously such cases provide us with examples of practices which are far away from responsible journalism. The question then is, can something be done in the educational processes to

Students in basic journalism, as offered by schools of journalism, would normally be in their early or mid-twenties, with a set of opinions, attitudes and values. They are not lumps of clay which can be moulded according to some preconceived patter.

This does not mean that they are beyond being influenced by their teachers and, in many cases, they are also heavily influenced by the role models of the contemporary media world. They would be those who are regarded as the most successful television hosts, investigative reporters, interviewers or whatever field was currently in vogue. The journalists of today are assertive and with a greater sense of being powerful players in society than in earlier generations.

More and more journalists are working for large media companies, who regard news and information primarily as a commodity. They

diminish, or even prevent instances of mass media being abused to instigate hatred, prejudice and violent conflict?

The question of ethical standards should be firmly embedded in all journalism training. What should be understood as standards in this context? Often when journalists are criticised by public figures, such as politicians, they demand that the media should behave more responsibly in relation to what they perceive as the general interests of society, should abstain from sensationalism and enable politicians to explain their plans. But to be responsible does not mean to be submissive to those in power or to a set of political values. On the contrary, to be critical in a professional sense ought to be regarded as an integral part of journalistic ethics.

If we are going to forge the future in such a way that journalism is more than just a part of a vast entertainment industry or a submissive



Torben Krogh, Chairman, Danish School of Journalism

instrument in the hands of ruthless powers, it is imperative to convey to young journalists that, in order to carry out their chosen profession in a responsible way, it is absolutely essential to understand that there are no simple guidelines and that each practitioner faces a personal challenge. We should never forget that to be a journalist is a privilege. ■

Changes in the profession, both in the media itself and in working methods, happen at such an increased tempo that journalists must continuously look to updating their qualifications.

There are three good reasons:

- 1) **The professional priority**—if the journalists are not satisfactorily trained in all the different journalistic techniques, they will not be able to secure for the public the necessary information nor enable them to benefit from technological changes.
- 2) **The democratic priority**—only those who have learned and fully understood the ethical codes of the profession can guarantee the honesty of the media, and maintain the media's position as a watch-dog and as a promoter of discussion that is a prerequisite of a democratic society.
- 3) **The economic priority**—only well-trained journalists and up-to-date journalists will be able to use the means of production available to them and so contribute to the best possible economic results for their organisation.



Mogens Schmidt, Director, European Journalism Centre, The Netherlands

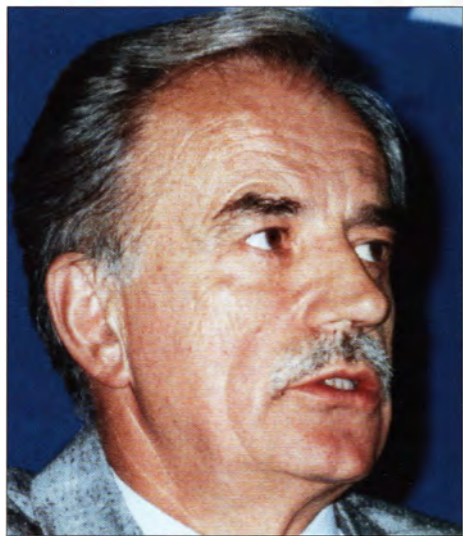
A main characteristic of education today is that you cannot rely upon training or studies once in a lifetime.

One of the few non-changing elements in the media industry is the fact that change is a permanent condition. The journalist of today must also be attentive, a respecter of dialogue and an acceptor of feedback. We all claim the right to criticise others and we often feel it to be our duty to do so. Yet, at the same time, we have to confess that journalists are one of the groups least minded to be criticised. The complex division of labour we find in today's major newsrooms demands a well-developed social intelligence.

We must insist in our training to teach—I almost said preach—the respect of the students for their job and their tasks. And to help them keep high personal standards and a humble attitude about the high-profile position many of them will have in society.

It is important to organise international courses where journalists get together and, through the sharing of their knowledge and experience, develop that kind of understanding and tolerance that will prevent journalists from using xenophobic expressions or even turning to hate speech. ■

ETHICS—THE ROOTS OF THE MEDIA TREE



ETHICS UNDER SIEGE IN SARAJEVO

by Mehmed Halilovic, former Editor *Oslobodjenje*; now a Media Ombudsman for the protection of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina

What is there to say about this topic of ethics, of balance in reporting and of objectivity? What kind of ethics and balance could be applied by the journalists who worked in Sarajevo under war conditions? Unlike their foreign colleagues they could not move around freely, regardless of what side they were on. These journalists compiled newspapers every day under a rain of bombs and bullets. They could not leave the city under siege to verify information or to collect facts from different sources.

They were obliged to share the same fate as their fellow citizens, to experience the scarcity of good and to suffer the presence of evil.

Sarajevo became the victim of irresponsible politicians and soldiers, but also of journalists. It has often been suggested that newspapermen should answer in the same measure as others for war crimes. This topic has been the theme of many international forums and there are reasons to debate it further. First of all, to learn its

lessons and, secondly, to avoid their repetition in the future. In fact some of the errors are still being made. For example, the language of hatred has not completely disappeared from the media of the countries of the former Yugoslavia nor from Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. And this in spite of controls and monitoring and the whole gamut of external influences. The public impact of the media is becoming stronger and stronger and there are many negative examples of this, particularly in our local press. But it is also a fact that many democratic changes have come about during the last one

...compiled newspapers every day under a rain of bombs and bullets

and half years thanks to journalists and the media. This has been particularly true of the political situation in Croatia and there are also hopes on the Serbian scene. The influence of the media is growing and I foresee that it will become a key factor in the democratisation of our society. ■

Mehmed Halilovic followed Kemal Kurspahic as Editor of 'Oslobodjenje' during the final months of the siege of Sarajevo.

tudes of the 20th Century—provide a rare opportunity to take a critical look at our profession. And it is a noble profession since reporting the truth is at the heart of the journalistic enterprise.

The first victim of the lie—the undermining of truth—is the quality of interpersonal relationships. The lie, whatever form it assumes, whether it is manipulation, misrepresentation, indoctrination or propaganda, destroys the personal foundation of truth: trust. We are able to trust one another only in so far as the duty to be truthful, i.e. not to lie, is generally acknowledged. The authentic journalist, the one worthy of this profession, is he or she who can say with Solzhenitsyn: 'The lie may come into the world and dominate it, but not through me!'

The challenge today, as in the past, is not so much objectivity but intellectual honesty. Listening with integrity, with professional accuracy in passing on the circumstances and sources of the story, is but the personal expression of one's attitude to the truth. To embody the truth before speaking, judging, interpreting and communicating it abroad—reveals the inner vision out of which these ideas arise. Just as a nation perishes without vision so also does a profession. And let's not forget that the fish rots from the head down! ■

As someone who was born and grew up in Northern Ireland, and has experienced the insanity of hate and violence, I believe Sarajevo is called to be a witness to hope, despite all her unresolved tensions. By looking to the future, by rekindling your cosmopolitan history, the media here and in Europe as a whole can help to illuminate the mosaic of Sarajevo as a crossroads of interdependent coexistence. Europe needs this witness if she is to become the house of justice and peace for all. Through offering insights from the coffers of your past, wisdom for the present and discernment for the future, we can learn from history not to repeat the dehumanising egoisms that this city has witnessed.

The world has entered a new phase of social existence, and is becoming a truly planetary society. We are experiencing profound changes towards planetary society. These profound changes we are experiencing through the proliferation of new information technologies have the potential for great good. However, globalisation also poses dangers to the dignity of the human person, vulnerable to ideological and commercial pressures. Sarajevo, assisted by the media of social communications, can play no small part in bringing about a globalisation of human solidarity. ■



SARAJEVO AS WITNESS TO HOPE

by William Stainsby, President, the Newman Institute Ireland, Ballina

On the threshold of a new epoch these few days in Sarajevo—a city which has come to symbolise the vicissitudes

THE MEDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY



RUSSIA ON THE BRINK

Natalya Skvortsova, President, Russian Journalists Union, Nizhny Novgorod

educational institutes in her area now taught journalism and that senior journalists in the Union are helping students to obtain legal information, to write about the economy and to apply journalistic ethics. ■

Natalya Skvortsova from Nizhny Novgorod, Russia's third largest city, gave a sober picture of the Russian media at the beginning of this century. In her area, 20 years ago, during the Soviet regime, there were three newspapers, one TV station and one radio station. On average each family took five publications regularly. Since *perestroika* over 400 mass media outlets have appeared. But family subscribers have shrunk to only 240 in a thousand. It would seem that the increase in the variety of publications has not resulted in increased readership. Apart from the commercial problem that this reveals (circulation of local papers has decreased eight-fold and of national papers fifteen-fold), Skvortsova sites other factors:

'There is an absence of information sources and accurate circulation figures, so that it is not clear who really owns and finances a newspaper.'

'The media market is becoming increasingly monopolised by large holding companies, particularly at the national level. Consequently, the media are being used in information wars.'

'The average salary of journalists in the regions is 800 to 1,500 roubles monthly, which is only \$30 to \$50. Moscow salaries are considerably higher.'

'Biased articles and programmes, indirect

advertising and inaccurate information are on the increase.'

'Fewer and fewer people trust the information they receive from the media.'

On the positive side, Skvortsova described the development and influence of the Journalists Union and their efforts to establish a national code of professional journalism and also to encourage company codes at the working level. She said that the idea for a Code sprang from the realisation that there was a decline in spiritual values in society and that this was badly effecting professional standards. She says, 'We are beginning to understand the need for a corporate association that will actively lobby for necessary legislation and work out civilised forms of self-organisation and self-regulation.'

The Union is paying special attention to the problems of journalists' access to information. She cited the cases of the bomb explosion in Pushkin Square, when hundreds of people died, and of the *Kursk* submarine disaster, when much official information was withheld.

The Union is now publishing the names of officials who resist giving information. 'We took this decision with pain,' she said, 'But those in power have to realise that this type of information cannot be regarded as top secret.'

Finally, Skvortsova underlined the importance of media training and said that four higher

all to get access to it—good or bad.

The second trend is globalisation, which reflects the concentration within media ownership. It also poses the issue of distinguishing between international, national and local or regional media. Globalisation has the good effect of giving local media another mission than they had before. In general, there has been an increase in circulation of regional and local newspapers in the last years.

Finally, the third trend is commercialisation, which contributes to placing journalism behind entertainment and sensationalism, if we do not take good care.

I have read that journalism might disappear, in the new world of online media, for three reasons. One is the sheer amount of information that we get. It is very difficult to identify what is actually journalism and what is not. The second reason is that we are all virtual producers of news for the Net.

And the third reason is that there is a lack of respect for simple journalistic virtues behind much of the information that we find on Web sites nowadays. You'll find new online media being set up by individuals or by companies who

have no proper journalistic tradition at all and who look more at the financial bottom line, than at their democratic mission.

I think it is not only the profession that is changing. It is also the concept of journalism at a more fundamental level. As the information society promotes more scope for news sources, and as media users like to take the initiative to become news providers, for the first time ever journalism is losing its monopoly on the news. This is a serious matter. We can say it is good. It is good that governments become publishers. It is good that multi-nationals set up their own media outlets. It is good that you and I and everybody can address each other on the Web, but it may be not so good if we do not know where to find serious journalistic products.

Both as consumers and for those of us who have the privilege to work as journalists or with journalists, we have it in our hands: we can choose whether we want to go along this way or if we want to try to preserve some of those classical journalistic virtues we have been discussing. It is back to us. It's our responsibility to maintain high standards of journalism. ■



THE MAJOR TRENDS

Mogens Schmidt, Director, European Journalism Centre, The Netherlands

We have discussed three trends: The first is digitalisation, which means that media information comes in far greater amounts and at a much higher speed than ever before and it is so much easier for us

...lack of simple journalistic virtues

THE SARAJEVO COMMITMENT

At the beginning of the 21st Century men and women of the media register their commitment to integrity and public service. This document was launched at the World Media Assembly, SARAJEVO 2000, and signed by participants on 30 September 2000.

We, men and women of the media—professionals at all levels, from publishers and producers to cub reporters and students of journalism; from the print and digital media, television and radio, book publishing, cinema and theatre, advertising and public relations, music and the performing and creative arts—met here in the bruised, historic and beautiful city of Sarajevo, pay our homage and respect to the millions of humanity whom we inform, entertain and educate.

We look back on a century of brilliance and bloodshed, of amazing technological advance and distressing human misery, of mobility and isolation and of healing and hatred. A century in which two world wars emanated from the so-called advanced and civilised continent of Europe. A century in which we split the atom, but left families, communities and nations divided. A century which ended with some 30 unresolved major conflict situations.

We accept that we in the media, whilst talent and technology enabled us to reach the lives of almost every last person in the world, were not able to create the climate in which problems were solved, conflicting groups and interests reconciled, and peace and justice established.

Now that we confront a new century, many of us, hoping that we interpret the views and feelings of the vast majority of our colleagues, would like to establish a commitment, an undertaking, a pledge, to all those who will live and love and work in these coming hundred years.

We shall inform you to the best of our ability, with clarity and honesty, with independence of mind, of what is truly happening in the world at the level of the individual, the family, the community, the nation and the region. We shall present the facts and explain the facts, and some of us will aim with modesty to interpret them. As we succeed in doing this, we believe that you, the people, will be enabled to make the right decisions, to elect and appoint the best leaders and to build a fair, just and compassionate society.

We seek a world in which everyone cares enough and everyone shares enough so that everyone will have enough; a world in which the work and wealth of the world are available to all at the exploitation of none.

We shall provide the art and entertainment which will inspire, arouse and give hope and a sense of direction to all humanity. We shall be working to raise up and not to drag down. We shall challenge our politicians to work for the next generation and not the next election, encourage our governments to make agreements which are effective in people's hearts as well as on paper; and stimulate our business, industrial and labour leaders to meet the material needs of humankind with fairness and equity.

We shall work to educate, through all the means of communication, generations who will be able to confront the challenges of their age with competence and vision.

We shall combine freedom with responsibility, talent with humility, privilege with service,

comfort with sacrifice and concern with courage. We realise that change in society begins with change in ourselves.

We undertake to apply and demonstrate in our own lives the values that we hope for, and often demand, in others. We shall confront hypocrisy, oppression, exploitation and evil, firstly by our own clarity and straightness and then through the means by which we reach our audiences. We are unlikely to be perfect, but we shall aim to be truthful and free of guile, selfish ambition, perverted behaviour and deception.

We shall not cease to strive until every gun is silent, every injustice righted and every human being enabled to live a life of satisfaction and purpose.

To all these intentions and obligations, we commit ourselves at this time of beginning. May the higher aspirations within us all, be they spiritual, moral or humanistic, enable us to fulfil this commitment.



For the attention of media professionals who were not in Sarajevo:

If you would like to associate yourself with this Commitment please fill in the details below, and send a copy by post or fax. Alternatively please e-mail the address below affirming your association with the Sarajevo Commitment.

Please print name.....

Country.....

Media activity.....

Organisation (optional).....



International Communications Forum,
24 Greencoat Place, London SW1P 1RD, United Kingdom.
E-mail: info@icforum.org Fax: (00 44) 207 798 6001
Web site: <http://www.icforum.org>

THE SARAJEVO COMMITMENT

A loose insert copy of the Commitment is included for your convenience to photocopy and use with colleagues or the media in general. It is being translated into some 30 languages and versions are already available in French, German, Spanish, Japanese and Albanian on the Forum's web site.

FROM THE FLOOR



Thomas Vrba

Thomas Vrba, President, Czech Section of the Association of European Journalists:

'Is there any public enemy number one in our part of the world? Yes, there is and it is called corruption. Journalists are active players in this ugly industry on both sides, in discovering it or being bribed. That is why a lot of journalists feel that it is a must to stop it. Even if it is only a moral gesture it is a good start. I am glad to announce that in October next year in Prague there will be a third international anti-corruption conference.'

Hans Verploeg, General Secretary of the Dutch Union of Journalists:

'Sensation and media are always linked. For the last 200 years they have had a common destiny. I'm sorry to say that, but it's the truth.'

'Concerning the Internet and media independence, we have just had our union's annual assembly when we established a new section of

Internet journalists. Of 9,000 members we now have 1,000 working each day with the Internet. We want to create a watershed between the web site journalists, the owners and the Internet providers. It may take years but we have to establish this boundary between ownership and editorial independence.'

Danko Plevnik, columnist of the Croatian daily, Slobodna Dalmacija:

'Capitalism has hit these regions like a bomb and completely transformed the values in the press and media. We have today in Croatia a *laissez-faire* attitude towards the press in such a manner that newspapers and the press generally show responsibility for their circulation, but not for society or the truth. Vulgar commercialism degrades our profession since, in the sensationalistic press, professionalism does not play any part. The journalist does not exist anymore. You can be the best journalist, you can write the best comments or reports but the editor decides whether it will be published. How can the press and the media, deprived of its integrity and dignity, help the progress and the advance of society? This is the fundamental question to put to this gathering.'

Zoran Udovicic, President, Media Plan, brought a group of his students to the Assembly:

'I belong to the generation which was growing up and developing as journalists in the last 20 or 30 years, under different circumstances to those of today. I feel that we ought to turn a new leaf, not only to accept responsibility for the war but now for peace and the future. For the young



Danko Plevnik

journalists here, this recent period represents not only history but also a big lesson. We must help them to accept their responsibilities—professional, human and civic—so that they can open up some new ways for this long-suffering Balkan and South-East European territory. Mixing and socialising with these young people has restored my faith in the role of journalism.'

Peter Djordjevic, a Serbian student at the Media Plan School for Journalists, Sarajevo:

He asked if the older generation of journalists lacked courage or had no solutions, when it came to the need to develop a new perspective and purpose for today's media. He questioned the speed with which the West was promoting new technology, when it might do better to tackle censorship and more basic issues in the developing world's media. He also asked how we proposed to ensure the Internet provided genuine and clean information, how we would protect truthful news and information from commercialisation. ■



A group of students from Media Plan attend the conference.

MEDIA COVERAGE

As well as those attending the assembly, there were film crews, radio reporters, photographers and newspaper men and women who covered the event. Regular reports were given on the three Sarajevo TV programmes, one taking about 15 minutes of the main news. The ONASA News Agency sent out reports each day throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina and articles appeared in the daily press. Danko Plevnik of Croatia's Slobodna Dalmacija devoted his regular column to the subject. Later items appeared in Nizhny Novgorod, Geneva, Warsaw, Washington DC, London, and Salt Lake City. A full report was given on Polish State Radio.

MESSAGES TO THE ASSEMBLY

From Bill Kovach, Chairman of the Committee of Concerned Journalists, USA:

'Like the members of the International Communications Forum and the journalists gathered in Sarajevo, we at the Committee of Concerned Journalists are vitally interested in the state of journalism in the world and of the need for greater support for those journalists who pursue the highest standards in their work. There is no better place to focus on these standards than in the city whose journalists taught us all we need to know about courage and commitment during the siege of Sarajevo.'

'Civilisation has produced one idea more powerful than any other and that is the notion that people can govern themselves. And it created a theory of information called journalism to sustain that idea. The two rise and fall together.'

'Please extend the wishes of those of us at the CCJ for a successful meeting which will continue to strengthen the solidarity of the world's journalists committed to the service of democratic societies.'

From John D Hopkins, Chairman, International Journalism Committee, Society of Professional Journalists, USA:

'It is very good to know of your meeting and of the people coming together who share your purpose. As you all prepare to return to your homes and offices, I want to commend your dream of building a more sturdy moral underpinning for the practice of journalism and communications around the world. I trust your vision and energy will be catching, and that the dialogue conducted in Sarajevo will be carried forward until all who take up pen or lens have had to consider most seriously the potential and obligations of their craft.'

DENVER 2001

A North American conference will be held at the Renaissance Hotel, Denver, Colorado, from 17 to 21 May, 2001. The theme will be concerned with the impact of the American media on the World Community. Regular information will be available on www.icforum.org.

Best wishes were also received from:

- Timothy Balding, Director General, World Association of Newspapers;
- Martin Bell MP, London;
- Jan Willem Gast, Secretary General, Dutch Newspaper Publishers Association;
- Michael Hayes, Publisher, *Phnom Penh Post*, Cambodia;
- John Owen, European Director, the Freedom Forum, London;
- Doris Pack, MEP, Saarbrücken;
- Jan Schaffer, Executive Director, Pew Center for Civic Journalism, Washington DC;
- Dr Rudiger Stephan, Secretary General, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam;
- Mark Thompson, writer, Oxford.



The opening session of the Sarajevo 2000 conference