
A Review of the Media in Croatia in 1997 Freedom Stymied

STJEPAN MALOVIĆ

Freelance journalist, Zagreb

Summary

During 1997 Croatian mass media came under much scrutiny of both Croatian and world public. It was an eventful media year, full of scandals, trials, new products, failures, international awards but also of censure on home turf, of the international community's pressure on our government because of the restrictions of freedoms, of accolades showered on successful media and the government proclamation on the total freedom of media.

Notwithstanding the hardships, restrictions and the pressures, the situation has been improving. Is such optimism premature? The answer to this will be given by those who are to give an account of the state of the media in 1998.

1. Introduction

Who does not remember the tragic death of Princess Diana? It was a planetary event. There were no newspapers, TV or radio station that did not inform us in the tiniest detail on everything surrounding her death — before and after it actually happened.

According to the international survey by Associated Press, its 119 subscribers from 43 countries on six continents, proclaimed Princess Diana's death the most interesting event of 1997.¹ Most Croatian media also regard her death as one of last year's major events. This was also the event which focused public attention on the issues of mass media ethics. Were the media directly responsible for her death or she subsisted and thrived on the glare and fame they provided? Thus the controversies and the dilemmas surrounding mass media were given maximum prominence. To what extent do mass media control our lives and influence our attitudes? Do they have the right to this? Are they really so important? Which is the true role of mass media in today's world? The answers to these questions are inevitably touched upon when analysing the present state of the Croatian mass media.

¹ *Vjesnik*, 21 December, 1997, p. 24.

So, what was happening on the Croatian media scene in 1997? Croatian mass media came under much scrutiny of both the Croatian and the international public. It was an eventful media year, full of scandals, trials, new products, failures, international awards but also of censure on home turf, of the international community's pressure on our government because of the restrictions of freedoms, of accolades showered on successful media and the government proclamation on the total freedom of the media.

And the general impression? Positive — despite everything. Notwithstanding the hardships, restrictions and the pressures, the situation has been improving. Is such optimism premature? The answer to this will be given by those who are to give an account of the state of the media in 1998. Until then, let us have a look at 1997!

The best introduction into the events of 1997 was November of 1996, when 120,000 inhabitants of Zagreb spontaneously gathered on Ban Jelačić Square in support of the popular local radio station "Radio 101", which had been denied the right to a frequency by the Ministry of Transport and Communications. This magnificent and dignified popular demonstration was not only a sign of support for "Stojedinica" (One-o-one) but a manifest protest against the suppression of the freedom of the media. This caught by surprise not only the government but the journalists as well. Not many of them had expected this sort of public support. Obviously, the freedom of the media is one of the focal political issues in Croatia, both for its citizens and its politicians.

This was corroborated a year later, through another journalistic initiative. "Forum 21" did not rally people on the main city square, but it prodded into action the torpid public who almost unanimously voiced its support for this institution's demands regarding public television and professional journalistic standards.

What other positive developments occurred on the Croatian media scene in 1997?

Several new publications were launched: a political weekly *Tjednik*; the *Ultra* magazine, a new project by Denis Kuljiš; the new dailies — *Karlovački list* and *Dan* — while the ever popular *Večernji list* now includes some coloured pages (since May 28). Some Croatian journalists received international prizes: Viktor Ivančić for his fight for the freedom of the media, and a team of the second programme of the Croatian radio (Šiljak-Radić) were the recipients of the *Ondas* Award.

The concessions for the frequencies became cheaper, which may be viewed as a victory of the profession over the administration. The popular "Radio 101" finally (!?) resolved its dispute with the authorities.

Naturally, there were much more bad news. Veljko Vičević, the editor-in-chief of *Novi list*, died, the man who made journalistic history in the nineties with his open and democratic editorial policies. Trials against

journalists were resumed; *Feral's* Ivančić and Čulić again had to go to court, once again charged with libel (against President Tudjman). The litigious record of a sort was set: twenty-two (22) ministers, together with Prime Minister, sued a *Globus* journalist Davor Butković for libel, an unprecedented case world-wide. There was also a libel suit against Ivan Zvonimir Čičak; he was charged with slandering the President in a newspaper interview. At the end of the year, there was a very grave assault on Nenad Hlača, editor-in-chief of the *Karlovački list*.

This short account of the events proves that it was a turbulent year, indeed. Thus, the attention accompanying all these events is not surprising at all.

What is so intriguing about the Croatian mass media that the national and the international public have taken so much interest in them? Are they fundamentally different from those in Western Europe, for example? Or from those in the former Soviet bloc countries? Are they similarly assessed by the Croatian and the international public? Are Croatian media free or strictly government-controlled? Is ethics on the wane and sensationalism on the rise? Is professional know-how evanescing? Is apologetic journalism gaining the upper hand? Is it just by accident that in the *Novi list's* New Year's poll for the person of the year there were as many as three journalists among the first seven?

The aim of our analysis of the media events of 1997 is to try to answer these questions, much debated in Croatia and abroad. Due to the up-to-dateness of this paper it was difficult to obtain all the relevant data on individual media, particularly about the circulations and the ownership relations, so we had to conjecture about those.

Since the trials of journalists or individual media has had enormous repercussions on the media scene in Croatia, Vesna Alaburić, a lawyer and an expert for media law writes about this in a separate article.

2. *Freedom of the media*

Freedom of the media is one of the central issues of democracy. The level of this freedom is a measure of freedom in a country in general. The freedom of the Croatian media is the fundamental issue that the international community refers to when discussing the degree of democracy in Croatia. Last year, Croatia was faced with extremely serious threats by the international community; one of the reasons was the state of the media.

Thus, the European Parliament adopted the Resolution on the State of the Civil Society in Croatia in which it condemned "the attacks by the Croatian government, by legal and other means, on the independent non-

governmental organisations and media. The Croatian government is called upon to “guarantee the existence of free and independent media”.²

President of the World Newspaper Association, Jayme Sirotsky, expressed his concern about the trial of the *Feral Tribune* editors, Viktor Ivančić and Marinko Čulić, in a letter to President Tudjman “in the name of the World Newspaper Association which includes more than 15,000 publications from over a hundred countries. Sirotsky appeals (to President Tudjman) “... to do everything in Your power to uphold the rights of Croatian citizens to freedom of expression.”³

The state of the media was analysed by a research team from the European Media Institute from Dusseldorf who were monitoring the media coverage of the presidential elections. “It is neither unusual nor illogical that the current president enjoys certain media advantage during the presidential campaign. However, in the Croatian elections this advantage was extremely blatant, particularly in the electronic media, to the point of making the elections unfair...”⁴

By analysing the media coverage of the elections and by measuring the minutes and the columns devoted to individual presidential candidates, the Institute’s experts concluded that such coverage is the result of the journalists’ fear of reprisals (losing their jobs, being dragged to court) and that the situation with the media in Croatia should be constantly and closely monitored.

Naturally, this has been done very systematically. The former American ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, explains why: “Regarding the media, we know very well that democracy does not solely mean free elections. It is much more than that, and one of its basic ingredients are the independent media which advocate a variety of attitudes.”⁵

The opinions of Croatian politicians, particularly the representatives of the ruling party, do not coincide with those of the international community. Croatian politicians brandish the constitutional stipulations regarding the freedom of thought, and the Law on Public Informing and other legal provisions. Regarding the repression of the press and particularly legal prosecution of the journalists they claim that such texts would not be tolerated in Western countries as well.

President Tudjman contributed to the debate about the media in his traditional interview with the editors-in-chief of the Croatian media, on the eve of Independence Day, when he was asked the following question:

²HINA, 12 December, 1997

³*Feral Tribune*, 15 December, 1997, “Glede i unatoč”, p. 1.

⁴*Novi list*, 22 June, 1997, p. 5.

⁵*Globus*, 12 December, 1997, p. 83.

“USA and some other foreign powers publish papers in Croatia (e.g. the *Tjednik*) and are trying to wield some influence over the Croatian media. Naturally, America could have published newspapers in the occupied Germany, but does this truly represent consistent championing of human rights if they publish papers in our country which actually contain attacks on Croatia?”

President Tudjman: “You have observed correctly that such practices were understandable in the occupied Germany, but that they are less understandable at the present level of democracy in the world, and in a democratic country at that. The very fact that they do admit they publish newspapers using their own financial resources or the aid of both non-governmental and official institutions, and the statement that the *Feral Tribune* is an example of democratic press, must be shocking for any decent person. This is compromising for those who advocate such democracy and for those in Croatia who serve to such purposes.”

Nenad Ivanković, editor-in-chief of the *Vjesnik*, said at a round table organised by The Freedom Forum that, all things taken together, the *Vjesnik* is a professional newspaper run by a team of young journalists who are soon going to be the nucleus of Croatian journalism. He went on to add: “The catastrophic view of Croatia in these difficult post-war circumstances of the development of Croatia is a stance we do not share in the *Vjesnik*! Not to justify what the government does but because this is required by common sense, especially in comparison with the situation elsewhere in the world.”

What do professionals have to say about all this? Here are the findings of a poll about the freedom of the media carried out among the members of the Association of Croatian Journalists by the *Puls* agency. “The results of this poll show dissatisfaction with the freedom of the media in Croatia. Up to 65% of the respondents think that the Croatian media are not free to a satisfying degree. ...It might be said: the media in our country are free, but journalists rarely find them so.”⁶

This is a rather disheartening finding, to a large extent corroborating the international criticism of the Croatian media. In order to give a complete picture about the freedom of the media, we should distinguish between different types of media, since the situation is not the same on *HRT* or in *Novi list* or on *Croatian radio* or *Radio 101*. The level of freedom depends on the type of ownership, the level of professionalism and the editorial policies.

Freedom is greater in the newspapers, where practically anything can be published. There are almost no legal obstacles to starting a private paper. Hundreds of recently launched newspapers or magazines jostle for

⁶*Novinar*, No. 6-7, June-July, 1997, “Profession: journalist”.

space at the kiosks and try to attract new readers. In such a merciless race there are fewer and fewer scruples. Newspapers vie with each other how to discover “secrets”, they smoke out sensations, find out exclusive news, shocking stories. Very often the texts are below any professional standards and are based on dubious moral grounds. The newspapers offer a broad range of political attitudes, from those toeing the government line to those utterly opposed or hostile to it.

Ninoslav Pavić, Chairman of the Europapress Holding Board, speaking about the topic “Are there press moguls?” at the Freedom Forum’s round table “Otvoreno”, confirms this assumption: “Our publishing house is an oasis for all those journalists who “felt uncomfortably” in some other papers. Here, they are completely free in their reporting. *Globus* has been sued several times, but nobody has been convicted. Nor imprisoned. So I claim that in Croatia there is freedom of the press, which is not the case with the electronic media, particularly with the national television. However, in my opinion, the great danger lies in restricting the freedom of entrepreneurship.”

Unfortunately, the influence of the press is small, almost negligible, in comparison with HRT’s. Some studies by the European Institute for the Media claim that only 8% of the Croatian population buy newspapers. In recent studies this figure is bigger, but the VAT introduced in 1988 will make the papers more expensive and affect the circulations.

The freedom in the electronic media is restricted not only by the ownership structure, but by the right to a frequency as well. HRT is a consummately controlled institution. Thanks to its majority in the parliament, the ruling party may appoint all the key figures in that important institution. Small private TV and radio stations do not have sufficient range, resources or staff to increase their influence. The isolated independent private TV and radio stations cannot sway public opinion.

The sign of the importance and the scope of this problem, a sore point for journalists all over the world, is the Declaration adopted at the World Conference of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) by the representatives of journalists from seventy countries. According to that Declaration, journalists “...must adopt new strategies in their struggle against intolerance and violation of journalists’ rights. All journalistic associations have to reaffirm the independence of editorial policies and the right of journalists to be free in their work from all internal or external pressure. Such freedom of expression should be checked by the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. An article inciting hatred is not acceptable.”⁷

⁷*Novinar*, No. 4-5, April-May 1997, p. 3.

The freedom of the media cannot be taken for granted nor officially decreed. It must be won primarily by professional work, knowledge and a marketable product. The freedom is not going to arrive in a diplomatic briefcase nor on the wings of democratic organisations. It is a product of social developments and only here, on this territory, Croatian journalists can seek the right to the freedom of thought and expression.

3. *Ownership: are monopolies crumbling?*

Privatisation swept through the Croatian media as well. The ownership map is dramatically changing. More and more media are privately owned; also, the potential media moguls are securing an increasingly bigger share of the media scene. Nevertheless, and despite all this, some good old monopolies do not die. Most resistant are the distribution and the sale of newspapers and the transmitters and communications — the preconditions for the normal functioning of mass media; newspapers cannot be without a good distribution and sale, and radio or television cannot operate without the transmitters. When you add to this the unfortunate crescent shape of Croatia, then the significance of the monopolistic firms dealing with the distribution and the transmitting increases manifoldly. For the time being there have been no signs that these firms are to be privatised or get competition.

The state is still the major media owner (See Table 1). The term “state” is here taken in a broader sense and includes all those types of ownership in which the state, its agencies or institutions with a predominantly state ownership, are the sole or a majority owner of a media. The purest state ownership is that of HRT, where everything is regulated by special laws and where the state wields all the decision-making rights. Having in mind the fact that the ruling party, Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) has the majority in *Sabor* (Parliament), which means that it can bring laws independently of other parties and form single-party cabinets, we may say that there is a sort of synonymy between the state and the HDZ. It means that HDZ is the major force on HRT, an extremely important fact, since television is the most influential source of information for ordinary citizens.

The state, via its ministries, has set up a broad publishing network. For example, the Ministry of Defence publishes the *Velebit* and the *Hrvatski vojničnik*, the Ministry of the Interior the *Halo 92*. These are professionally well run newspapers, with clear editorial policies that serve as the mouthpiece of these structures. The unequivocal ownership structure can be also found in HINA, the Croatian Information Newspaper Agency, established by the government of the Republic of Croatia.

A much more ambiguous ownership structure exists in the *Vjesnik*, “the largest daily”, in which Hrvatska tiskara (Croatian printing company)

became the majority owner by buying the shares from Privredna banka, but in fact, it is state-owned. This state-ownership is disguised, but the editorial policy makes it clear that this is a paper with close government ties.

The *Večernji list* broke down one of the last monopolies — that of the printing offices. Until 1997, in Croatia one could hardly publish a more serious daily since there were no free printing capacities. After many efforts and tribulations, *Večernji list*, together with *Glas Koncila*, launched a new printing office and thus put an end to the monopoly of Hrvatska tiskara (previously Vjesnikova tiskara). This move has paved the way for several new dailies as well as for publishing the *Slobodna Dalmacija* in Zagreb.

The *Večernji list*, the most widely circulated daily, has recently been sold. Its majority owner, the Pension Fund, offered its shares for sale. It will be interesting to see how the privatisation of this extremely influential daily is going to end and whether the new owner will change the editorial policy and in this way make a dent in the ruling party's political clout.

The Catholic church has become a major publishing magnate. In the former system, the Church published the widely read *Glas Koncila* and owned a publishing house, Kršćanska sadašnjost, with a great number of titles, but they could not be sold in kiosks. Thus the majority of their publications were sold in churches, which was very efficient and cheap, and is still practised today, though religious publications can be openly sold.

Even in the new circumstances, the *Glas Koncila* has maintained its editorial policy. It has been given a boost when it became a co-owner of a printing office (together with *Večernji list*). This move proves that it has also secured its technological independence. It should be pointed out that *Glas Koncila* was the first Croatian media to have its Web site page on the Internet, a further proof of the vitality of its editorial policy.

Disappointed with the coverage of its activities it had received at the hand of other media, the Catholic church founded IKA (Information Catholic Agency); it also applied for, and obtained, a national frequency for a radio station. The Catholic radio has been gaining influence, despite the initial problems of technical and personnel nature, but it will certainly become a major influence on radio waves in Croatia. By setting up its own transmitters, it partly broke down the monopoly of the firm *Odašiljači i veze* (Transmitters and communications). If the Church launches its TV station, then its role on the media scene is going to be even more enhanced.

However, 1997 will come down in the annals as the year of two potential Croatian media magnates — Pavić and Kutle, though numerous critics claim they are just paper tigers. One way or another, the list of

the media with a more or less visible traces of their ownership is really imposing. If they manage to penetrate the film (by purchasing Jadran-film), they will round off their media empire.

Miroslav Kutle began his media ascent by purchasing Slobodna Dalmacija and in this way secured the ownership of enviable publishing, printing and selling capacities. The power house of this empire is the daily *Slobodna Dalmacija*, the absolute ruler of the southern Croatian market, but which has also made successful forays abroad (it is printed in Frankfurt), and has an excellent bureau in Zagreb. In December, they launched the Zagreb edition (printed in Zagreb), so that the *Slobodna Dalmacija* will be sold in northern Croatia. His empire expanded to radio and TV. The biggest step was the launching of *Mreža* (Network), a TV production house, co-owned by Pavić. *Mreža* is an absolute novelty on the Croatian market. The snares and pitfalls of frequencies, transmitters and other aggravating circumstances were successfully dodged. *Mreža* churns out programs which are bought and broadcast by local TV stations. News on *Mreža* are a refreshment in comparison with those on HRT and, although brief, a successful rival to the official TV.

Ninoslav Pavić exchanged an exceptionally successful journalistic career for an even more successful career in publishing, which may serve as a possible model for the prototype of Croatian media moguls, similar to Murdoch or Maxwell. It began with the *Globus* and the co-operation with his colleague Denis Kuljiš and a business partner Zdravko Jurak. The success of the *Globus* meant the end of this partnership: Kuljiš left, launched the *National* (which he also left) and started the *Ultra* magazine; Pavić paid off his partners, took over *Globus*, and turned Europapress Holding into a respectable media mammoth. Today, this is a publishing house with a diversified publishing profile; it has also branched into the sales, advertising, manufacturing and contracting. Taught by the debacle in his contest with "Radio 101", when he formally got the frequency, but encountered condemnation of a hundred thousand citizens, his potential readers, Pavić withdrew and sought out new venues. *Mreža* is a paradigm for those new sort of activities. Free of legal restrictions, unburdened with frequency considerations, transmitters, office space, and alike, Pavić and Kutle have forged a new image for TV. The same procedure is applied to Jadran film, a potential haven for a TV production house.

However, Pavić has gone a step further. Kutle is already an experienced press publisher thanks to the *Slobodna Dalmacija* and Pavić knows that a daily is *the* thing to do in journalism. The end of 1997 was marked by his preparations to launch the *Jutarnji list*. Does this mean that finally, for the first time in Croatia, a new and quality daily is to be launched? If this project meets with success, this will represent a true change on the Croatian newspaper scene.

Table 1 shows that there is a series of more or less successful private and independent owners.

The most important private ownership is that in the field of the press. *Novi list* i *Glas Istre* have made a clever use of the Law on Privatisation and became employee-owned public limited companies. This resulted in an independent editorial policy whose fruits are highly visible. The *Novi list* has grown into the most respected independent daily in Croatia. The recipe for the co-operation of the *Novi list* and the *Glas Istre* was applied in the case of the recent *Karlovački list*. We are faced with a very interesting symbiosis of these three dailies which share the pages devoted to home and foreign news, and the rest of the papers is devoted to local topics. Perhaps this model will take root in other parts of Croatia.

However, most owners do not have the means or resources to hold their own with the state or the moguls, so many of them are on the brink of collapse and have problems with collecting the money from their sales and the advertisements. The tally is paid by the journalists, who the owners cannot pay for their work regularly and handsomely. It is obvious that the Croatian media market still does not function and is burdened with the power of the monopolists and the state interference in the market competition. The Croatian market is small, purchasing power weak and all this is reflected on the consumption of the media. In 1998 it will be even more difficult since the papers are saddled with the VAT. If someone wants to buy a daily, they have to spend 150 kunas a month, a hefty portion of the average salary of about 2,000 kunas, and much more expensive than the TV subscription of 45 kunas. This makes the fate of numerous independent private media uncertain; the market will be dominated by the powerful, who get income from several sources.

The economic picture of the electronic media is not any better. Numerous small radio and TV stations have found themselves in financial straits due to the unreasonably high concession fees.

“Until the end of 1997, 115 concession contracts were signed”, said Dominik Filipović, assistant minister of transport and communications (in the *Večernji list* of 4 January 1998). According to him, of 104 radio stations, 62 are faced with objective problems in paying their dues. The situation with TV stations is even worse, since 8 out of 11 stations — or almost two thirds — have such problems. So the Council for telecommunications agreed to lower the fees by 60%.

4. Professionalism: the light at the end of the tunnel

This sombre picture becomes a little brighter when the professional values of Croatian journalists are analysed. After the hectic years in which their profession was faced with the aggression on Croatia, a cruel war in which 14 journalists paid with their lives for their professional engagement in reporting about the defence of their homeland, Croatian journalists dabbled in ideology, the freedom of the media, they sought new paths.

During the Days of Croatian Journalism in Zaton (in October 1997), for the first time they talked more about the professional and ethical issues than ideology, more about the significance of education than political affiliation.

Dražen Vukov-Colić, our eminent columnist, summarised his professional principles in the following way: “Facts are sacred, opinions inviolable; personal dignity must remain inviolable. By this I do not mean criticism of a person. We should be guided by tolerance. We are contaminated with hatred, imputations, untruths, fame-hunting, both of political or editorial nature.”⁸

The attitudes of Croatian journalists are summed up in the seven provisions of the Resolution of the Days of Croatian Journalism:

- the modification of the Penal Code shall be demanded;
- the negotiations about and the preparation of the collective contract for journalists shall be demanded;
- necessary support shall be provided to the members in securing the rights ensuing from the Law on the Rights of Croatian Defenders;
- the status of the Council of Honour of the Croatian Journalist Society shall be fostered;
- the procedure for the establishment of the Council of Ethics shall be initiated in cooperation with the publishers;
- a catalogue of professional norms shall be promulgated;
- the education of professional journalists shall be stepped up and upgraded.

This focusing on the profession and the professionalism came to the fore on the occasion of launching *Forum 21*, a fresh wind on the media scene. This declaration by 24 eminent and popular top professional journalists from the electronic media, put forward the demands for public TV and for bolstering professional criteria.

Their forums galvanised both Croatian and foreign public, and their presence has already been felt.

Here is how the former American ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, commented *Forum 21*: “A cry for free media should not come from diplomats or smaller newspapers like the *Feral Tribune* but from the nucleus of the Croatian mass media. The important thing is that the leading journalists from the national television established *Forum 21*, and that they have been getting support from HINA and other major media.

⁸*Novinar*, No. 10-11-12, December, 1997, p. 24.

This is the evidence that democracy is spreading from within, an encouraging development, hailed by my government.”⁹

The heads of HRT were not happy about the *Forum 21* initiative and have tried to keep the debate on HRT within its walls, pointing out that HRT is by definition public television and that there is no need for underscoring this.

The HDZ Presidency issued its communiqué on 8 Nov 1997 regarding the establishment of *Forum 21* which runs:

“...HRT is a public enterprise, responsible to the *Sabor* of the Republic of Croatia. The programme guidelines of HRT, in line with the European standards, are formulated by the Council appointed by the same *Sabor* among the ranks of the representatives of the parliamentary parties (HDZ, HSL, SDP, HSS, HSP) and national minorities, as well as the representatives of scientific, religious, and cultural institutions. This makes the claim by the so called *Forum 21* about the model of radio and television inherited from the past “totally unfounded.

The professional people gave a vocal support to the initiative of the “forumists”, demanding it expands to include the press. Jagoda Vukušić, President of the Croatian Journalistic Society commented the initiative in the following way: “The *Forum 21* initiative shows that the circumstances have changed and that there is some elbow-room for activity. The journalists who want to change the conditions in their offices and foster professionalism, will be helped by our Society with their codex of professional behaviour which will be different for the printed and the electronic media, and modelled after the American and European counterparts, for newspapers, radio and television.”¹⁰

It is obvious that these troubled times for the newspapers have had profound impact on the work of professional journalists, which was perhaps best summarised by Mirko Galić at the gathering in Zaton: “The truth is the top priority — categorical imperative. It is the ethical imperative in our profession. Those who deliberately report the untruth, forsake ethic and ethicality, betray journalism itself. This applies to each and every journalist who has no opportunity for proper research which inevitably leads them into the twilight zone of untruths. However, a deliberately chosen untruth is one thing, and should be avoided and sanctioned, while the untruth based on unwarranted assumptions and unverified information is something else. Turning our back on this problem can end in circumspction. Circumspection is also a form of poor journalism. But the journalism that takes some pride in itself and the journalists who take pride

⁹*Globus*, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁰*Novinar*, No. 10-11-12, December, 1997, p. 35.

in their work, strive to corroborate the truth with facts, knowledge and other necessary components of such work.”¹¹

5. Media scene in turmoil

The upheavals in the media in 1997 have been more or less described in our analysis of the events. The tables 2, 3 and 4 refer to the state in the newspapers and tables 5 and 6 to radio and television. The data were collected in December of 1997, a rather significant fact since experience has taught us that the data on the Croatian media change extremely fast and get obsolete even more quickly.

References

Novinar, journal of the Croatian Journalistic Society and the Union of Croatian Journalists, No. 1—12, 1997.

A selection of texts and articles from the Croatian dailies, weeklies and periodicals.

¹¹*Novinar*, op. cit., p. 22.

Table 1: Croatian Mass Media — A Review of the Ownership (December 1997)

Owner	Dailies and Agencies	Weeklies and Magazines	TV	Radio	Printing Offices	Transmitters	Advertising Agencies	Distribution & Sales
State, including the majority shares package owned by funds and banks	Vjesnik Večernji list (on sale) Glas Slavonije, HINA	Obzor, Halo 92, Velebit, Hrvatsko slovo, Hrvatski vojnik	HTV (first, second and third programme)	Hrvatski radio (first, second and third programme), regional centres and stations	Hrvatska tiskara; Tiskara VEKON (a large portion of the “Večernji list”)	RO Odašiljači i veze HRTV	EP 64 (owned by Večernji list)	Tisak, Glas Slavonije, Trgoplasman
Catholic Church	IKA	Glas Koncila, MAK, Kana and others	Video production	Katolički radio	VEKON (a large portion of the “Glas koncila”)	Transmitters for Katolički radio		-subscription -in churches
Europapress holding (Ninoslav Pavić)	Jutarnji list (launching)	Globus, Gloria, Playboy, Arena, OK, Studio, Astro	Mreža (co-owned)				Europapress holding's marketing and promotion	
Globus holding (Miroslav Kutle)	Slobodna Dalmacija	Nedjeljna Dalmacija, periodicals cartoons, novels	TV Marjan, Mreža (co-owned)	Narodni radio	Tiskara Slobodne Dalmacije		SD advertising department and Split-Marketing	Slobodna Dalmacija
Small shareholders, private owners	Novi list, Glas Istre, Karlovački list	Tjednik, Ultra magazin Nacional, Vijenac, Moja tajna	OTV, TV Moslavina, Zadar, Nova,	Radio 101, Obiteljski, KL Narodni, Labin and others	Edit, Radin and numerous smaller printing offices		Jadran-McKenna-Erikson	Glas Istre, Distri Press,

Table 2: Dailies

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority owner	Circulation *estimated	Editorial Policy
Vjesnik	Zagreb, Slavonska av. 4	Nenad Ivanković	Ivan Božičević	ltd. *Privredna banka	20,000	pro-government
Večernji list	Zagreb, Slavonska av. 4.	Branko Tuden	Branko Lovrić	ltd. Caritas Fund	200,000	pro-government
Novi list	Rijeka, Zvonimirova 20	v.d. Boris Maljković	Zdenko Mance	small shareholders	90,000	independent
Slobodna Dalmacija	Split, Hrv.mornarice 4	Miroslav Ivić	Ante Bušić	ltd. *Miroslav Kutle and Ivana Trump	100,000	pro-government
Glas Slavonije	Osijek, Hrv.Republike 20	Dario Topić	Ivan Šimić	ltd.	20,000	pro-government
Glas Istre	Pula, Riva 10	Igor Brajković	Željko Žmak	ltd. *small shareholders	21,000	independent
Dnevnik	Rijeka, Wenzelova 2/1	Zdravko Businello	Damir Pavšić	ltd. Violčić&Glas Primorja		pro-government
Karlovački list	Karlovac, Lisinskoga 1	Nenad Hlača	Ivan Šoštarčić	ltd. *small shareholders		independent
Dan	Split, Rokova 48	Joško Kulušić	Branko Ljubić	ltd. *small shareholders	12,000	independent

Table 3: Leading Weeklies

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority owner	Circulation *estimate	Editorial Policy
Globus	Zagreb, Slavonska av. 4	Đurdica Klancir	Željko Budić	Europapress holding ltd. *Ninoslav Pavić	160,000	independent, tabloid
Nacional	Zagreb, Vlaška 40	Ivo Pukanić	Ida Šagovac	ltd. *small shareholders	130,000	independent, tabloid
Glas Koncila	Zagreb, Kaptol 31	Ivan Miklenić	Josip Ladika	Archdiocese	50,000	Catholic Church mouthpiece
Feral Tribune	Split, Bačvice 10	Viktor Ivančić	Zoran Erceg	private	50,000	independent, satirical
Obzor	Zagreb, Slavonska av. 4.	Branko Tuđen Mate Piškor, executive	Damir Vučemilović	Večernji list	20,000	pro-government
Tjednik	Zagreb, J. Kaštelana 19	Mladen Maloča	Frane Mesić	private *Coning	20,000	independent
Nedjeljna Dalmacija	Split, Hrv. mornarice 4	Miroslav Ivić Robert Žaja, executive	Ante Bušić	Slobodna Dalmacija *Miroslav Kutle	20,000	pro-government
Velebit	Zagreb, Zvonimirova 12	Ivan Tolj, Major General	-	Ministry of Defence	25,000	Ministry of Defence mouthpiece
Gloria	Zagreb, Slavonska av. 4	Dubravka Tomeković-Aralica	Željko Repe	Europapress holding *Ninoslav Pavić	220,000	independent, tabloid
Hrvatsko slovo	Zagreb, Trg b. Jelačića 7	Dubravko Horvatić	Stjepan Šešelj	Naklada DKH, JP Narodne novine	10,000	pro-government

Table 4: Leading Periodicals

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority owner	Circulation *estimate	Editorial Policy
Arkzin	Zagreb, Rep. Austrije 23	Dejan Kršić	Vesna Janković	private	5,000 (?)	independent
Bumerang	Osijek, Ribarska 1	Goran Flauder	Goran Flauder	private	10,000 (?)	independent
Halo 92	Zagreb, Savska 31	Zlatko Kuretić	-	Agencija za komercijalnu djelatnost MUP-a	15,000	Ministry of Interior Affairs mouthpiece
Vijenac	Zagreb, Matičina 2	Andrea Zlatar	Josip Bratulić	Matica Hrvatska	10,000	independent
Ultra magazin	Zagreb, Medulićeva 4	Denis Kuljiš	Ratko Bošković	private	30,000	independent

Table 5: Major Radio Stations

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority owner	Circulation *estimate	Editorial Policy
Hrvatski radio - first programme	Zagreb, Prisavlje 3	Ivanka Lučev, chief editor	Tomislav Bakarić *general mnager Ivica Mudrinić	State	entire Croatia	pro-government
Hrvatski radio - second programme	Zagreb, Prisavlje 3	Duško Radić, editor	Tomislav Bakarić	State	entire Croatia	pro-government
Hrvatski radio - third programme	Zagreb, Prisavlje 3	Stipe Čuić, editor	Tomislav Bakarić	State	entire Croatia	pro-government
Hrvatski radio Radio Sljeme	Zagreb, Prisavlje 3	Ivan Jurišić, editor	Tomislav Bakarić	State	Zagreb	
Hrvatski katolički radio	Zagreb, Voćarska 106	fra Mirko Mataušić		Archdiocese	bigger part of Croatia	religious-secular programmes
Radio 101	Zagreb, Gajeva 10	Zrinka Vrabec- Mojzeš	Silvio Vrbanac	ltd. 75% employees, 25% City of Zagreb	Zagreb	independent
Obiteljski radio	Zagreb, Avenija g. Dubrovnika	Sonja Šarunić	Juraj Hrvačić	private	Zagreb county and Zagreb national frequency	independent
Narodni radio	Zagreb, Avenija g. Dubrovnika	-Juraj Hrvačić, counsellor	Veljko Škovraga	private	national frequency	independent
Gradski radio	Osijek, Trg A. Starčevića 7	- Svetozar Sorkanjac, editor	-	private	Osijek and eastern Slavonia	independent

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority owner	Circulation *estimate	Editorial Policy
Radio KL	Split, Put Supila bb			private	Split	independent
Radio Dalmacija	Split, Kralja Zvonimira 14	-	Davor Marić	private *M. Kutle	Split	independent
Radio Labin	Labin, Pulska 2	Gordana Poldrugovac	-	private	Labin	independent
Radio Brod	Slovenski Brod, Trg pobjede 7	Frano Piplović	-	private	Slavonski Brod	independent
Radio Gradska mreža	Split, Trg G. Bulata 6	Vedran Sesardić		private	Split/Dalmatian cpunty	independent
Radio 057	Zadar, C.F.Bianchija 2	Darko Smrkić	-	private	Zadar	independent
Radio Brač	Supetar, M.Vodanovića 3	Andro Filipović	-	private	Brač	independent
Arena radio	Pula, A.D. Petrovskoga 15	-	-	private	Pula	independent
Radio Donat FM	Zadar, Obala Kneza Branimira 12	Tomislav Klarić	-	private	Zadar	independent

Table 6: Major TV Stations

Name	Address	Editor-in-Chief	General Manager	Ownership *majority ownership	Range *estimate	Editorial Policy
Hrvatska televizija	Zagreb, Prislavlje 3	Hloverka Novak-Srzić	Mirko Galić *general manager Ivica Mudrinić	State	entire Croatia	pro-government
OTV	Zagreb, Teslina 7	Boris Jukić	Vinko Grubišić	private	Zagreb	independent
Mreža	Zagreb, Teslina 7	Denis Latin	Zvonimir Repač	private *Pavić-Kutle	production house	independent
TV Moslavina	Kutina, Crkvena 6	Zvonimir Kabelka	Zvonimir Kabelka	private	Kutina	independent
TV Nova	Pula, M. Laginje 5	-	Denis Mikolić	private	Pula	independent
Televizija Slavonije i Baranje	Osijek,	Sonja Marketić Slivka	private	Osijek and its surroundings	independent
Zadarska televizija	Zadar, Molatska bb	Zoran Lokas	Zoran Lokas	private	Zadar	independent
TV Čakovec	Čakovec		Ivan Vinković	private	Čakovec	independent
ATV Split	Split, Put Supavla 21c	Plamenko Bavčević	Nenad Boljat	private	Split/Dalmatian county	independent
MTV Marjan	Split,	Nataša Bakotić	Marin Črnja	private *M. Kutle	Split	independent
Vinkovačka televizija	Vinkovci		Drago Veselčić	private	Vukovar/Srijem county	independent

Data gathered by Gordana Vilović of the Freedom Forum Journalism Library