

# PROMEDIA

## INTRODUCTION

ProMedia has successfully concluded projects in six of its seven countries since its inception in October 1995 through June 1, 1996, the period covered in this report.

The first month of activity consisted of an assessment visit to each of the program countries by senior ProMedia staff. These visits provided important information for the preparation of a detailed work plan. They also provided an opportunity for the AID missions in these countries to meet the ProMedia leadership to discuss strategy and general objectives. The next two months were devoted to drafting a detailed work plan and to seeking approval from the USAID missions. In the meantime, ProMedia was able to begin initial program preparation for most of the countries.

During this time, all three of the resident advisers envisioned under the approved work plan were hired and two had assumed their roles in Bratislava and Bucharest. The third, for Bulgaria, will be on the ground by mid-June. A fourth RA was added to the original work plan and has assumed his responsibilities in Tirana. The arrival of these resident advisers allows ProMedia to quickly implement all other aspects of those respective country work plans.

Other successful ProMedia programs include the following:

- US professional study visit for Albanian political party spokesmen
- Elections coverage program for Albanian journalists
- Expert legal opinion/comment on the draft of the Bulgarian broadcast media law
- Assessment of needs by outside expert for Hungarian television training program
- Print/distribution analysis of print media in Slovakia
- Expert legal review of Slovak media law]

ProMedia eagerly is in the process of initiating the remaining activities as envisioned in the work plan. Many of the remaining programs will be completed over the next few months, while the remainder are expected to be concluded by the end of November 1996.

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## ~ Rationale ~

### **...the media's role in the democratization effort**

Major political, economic and social changes have occurred in the last six years in the former Communist countries of Central and East Europe, but not all of these changes have been momentous. In many cases, these changes have not produced the greater openness and democratization hoped for by most people in these societies. The progress of individual countries toward attaining the mutually shared goal of a democratic and civil society has varied from one country to the next. One important measure of this progress is an independent and economically viable media.

The development of independent media directly corresponds and contributes to the development of a democratic society. Responsible, independent media also serves to counter the type of manipulation and nationalism-based populist appeal that engulfed the former Yugoslavia in bloody wars and that further threatens the peace and security of the entire region.

In the most dramatic example of stunted democratic development, the misuse and manipulation of media by nationalist and opportunistic politicians played a central role in sowing the seeds of fear and hatred throughout the former Yugoslavia. That media's quick and active participation in pushing these people into war illustrates the extensive influence of media in mobilizing popular opinion and the danger for societies without strong, independent, professional and accessible media. The ideology of communism, which indoctrinated and cultured people to rely on collective action and to disregard independent actions, was easily transformed by politicians such as Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic into a collective ideology based on nationalist mythology. Similarly, the Communist systems that dominated Central Europe for more than four decades created a popular culture that resists the establishment of democratic institutions, such as independent media.

In many ways, the political culture that has evolved as a legacy of the Communist era is as much a barrier to the development of democratic institutions as government-imposed obstacles. The effects of this legacy are exemplified by the elections held in each of these countries. While elections have traditionally been the yardsticks for measuring the growth of democracy, the CEE experience has shown that elections by themselves do not signal significant or sufficient progress toward the establishment of a democratic society.

Even when former Communists were voted out of office, the newly elected governments often reverted to many of the prior practices of suppressing dissident voices and maintaining a monopoly on information. Furthermore, the mindset of the people has not sufficiently changed to allow them to demand their "right to know." Most CEE people view the media with a degree of skepticism, but also with an unhealthy expectation that the media must by nature serve the interests of the state or specific political parties and not those of the people. It may well take decades to wean people from the complacency and

passivity of the Communist-era political culture and for a more assertive and democratic political culture to evolve. This process can be sped up, however, through the active participation of independent media. The independent media in these countries must be assisted in developing an understanding of its responsibility to inform people.

Whereas an independent media is not by itself a sufficient guarantee for peace or for the development of civil society, it is most definitely an essential element in the evolution of the type of democratic culture that can minimize the potential for conflict. It also serves as a major influence on popular perception of the transition to democracy. Autocratic (and in some cases totalitarian) instincts of individual governments within the region are most apparent in the way these governments attempt to control or regulate the free flow of information through their media. In order to counter these instincts and habits of the past and to foster the people's right to be informed, it is necessary for the independent media within these countries to become economically self-sufficient and truly independent of all political control while maintaining the highest standards of journalism. Given the current political and economic conditions throughout the region, assistance from outside sources is critical to the establishment of economically-viable, responsible and independent media.

The Professional Media Program (PMP) for Central and Eastern Europe has identified the greatest challenges to the development of independent media in the region and will provide assistance to the newly independent press and broadcast media in a targeted manner suited best to the specific conditions found in each country. IREX -- in partnership with the National Forum Foundation (NFF) and the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ, formerly the Center for Foreign Journalists), and funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) -- has developed a comprehensive plan for assisting independent media in the seven countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia in the initial year of the PMP.

The PMP acts as a cornerstone of the democratization process by helping independent media develop self-sufficiency and financial independence through projects that teach competent media management skills.

It cannot be emphasized enough that those who ultimately will benefit most from CEE media-development programs like those offered by the Professional Media Program are not the journalists or media managers but the ordinary citizens of these countries. With the help of a strong, independent media, it's the people who will make more enlightened personal and political decisions on the path to true democracy.

## ~ Overview ~

### **...the media's needs and the program's goals**

The majority of the media in Central and Eastern Europe is handicapped to a point that most Western journalists and media managers would find unbearable. Each day, however, our colleagues in print and broadcast journalism in CEE slog forward. They confront the likes of problems that media in the United States has not faced in more than 200 years. Without question, their strongest adversary is the political culture. In some cases crafty (Slovakia and Romania) and in others more blatant (Croatia and Albania), governing parties seem to be in the business of building roadblocks to an independent media. As a result, they build a wall between a potential free flow of objective information and the people. After all, the media is the straw through which the nourishment for a democratic society is sipped.

Although specific issues of independent media vary from country to country, there is a certain similarity of major obstacles. In addition to the myriad technical and financial problems that beset all fledgling independent media, one of the most pressing problems common to all countries in the region remains accessibility to readers, listeners and viewers. Government monopolies of distribution systems and printing plants, as well as restrictive or ill-defined media laws, and an underdeveloped professional cadre of media managers, combine to limit the influence and economic viability of independent media throughout the region. These and other problems besetting the media in the region, will be aided through PMP projects that will assist in the professional development of media managers and that will offer specific support for selected projects that will enhance the professionalism, competency and economic viability of independent media in CEE.

Professional development projects are a major component of the PMP and will be designed to address immediate needs. Experienced American professionals will be selected to serve as Resident Advisers in some CEE countries, and through frequent contact and cooperation with local independent media will assist in the design and implementation of professional training workshops and seminars, with a special emphasis on the creation of indigenous training capabilities.

PMP projects will be designed with the intention of assuring maximum outreach to independent media in areas outside capital cities and, where possible, will incorporate any second language and minority independent media. The PMP also will assist media professionals in understanding their role in society and will focus on responsibility to educate the public as to its role and rights regarding the media.

The PMP also can serve as a clearinghouse of information on the state of media assistance in individual countries involved in the program, as well as the entire CEE region. This resource of information will allow for better coordination between various NGOs working in the region and will limit program duplication, while maximizing program compatibility

and cooperation. This resource of information also will benefit American universities and scholars, who are interested in journalism programs in the region.

## **Shared Problems**

As the Professional Media Program gets closer to the CEE media and its problems, it is clear that the lineup is similar -- if not the same -- from country to country. The following list is a direct result of our PMP team needs-assessment visit in November and December. Notice that nearly each of these items is directly related to financial stability. While this report will continue with country-specific problems and plans for solutions, it first is worth noting also that the broad and extensive region-wide list of problems includes:

- Absence of a consensus that independence of the media is absolutely essential to democratic development.
- A Communism-fed political culture that stunts independent media development.
- Restrictive -- even repressive -- media laws.
- Government monopolies of distribution systems.
- Poor or no alternatives to state-run printing plants.
- Lack of experience in running media outlets in the competitive marketplace.
- Weak economies that do not seem to be able to support advertising.
- Lack of understanding of the importance and value of advertising.
- Unwillingness to cooperate with colleagues in forming professional associations.
- Poor educational opportunities, even lack of textbooks.
- No alternative to expensive and subjective state-run wire services.
- Unaudited circulation, which leads to fraudulent circulation figures.
- Too few opportunities to access international news.
- Subsidization of favored papers by advertising from ruling party enterprises.
- Limited or non-existent private broadcast licensing opportunities.
- Lack of the basic tools of the trade.

In the interest of a concise report, we acknowledge that all of our countries share, at least to some degree, this list of problems. What changes by country, however, are the specifics of the problems. For example, while distribution currently seems to reign as the number one expense item and impediment to free media throughout CEE, the incarnation is very different in Albania than it is in Romania or Slovakia. We will address distribution problems in all three of these countries. While borrowing on the same basic knowledge, and perhaps even the same professionals, we will use a different approach in each of the cases.

## ~ Research ~ ...management, and risk-taking

We sat in one-on-one and in group meetings with hundreds of media professionals in CEE as well as local media watchers and users. In the five weeks we spent gathering additional information in our countries, we talked at length with broadcast journalists and station managers; print reporters, publishers and editors. We watched their newscasts and reviewed their newspapers. We were joined in lively roundtable discussions by a variety of media professionals, from state-run wire services to small independent radio stations. We collected enough "visitors' cards" to wallpaper a darkroom. We met with advertisers and ad agency owners. We asked for their advice on how the media could better serve them. We even queried in "man-on-the-street" style the readers and viewers as to their thoughts on the media. We talked, too, with CEE pollsters and researchers. And finally, we talked with the government officials who make the laws and with the dissident journalists who break them.

In the meantime, the PMP staff in Washington was talking with other media-assistance providers and gathering additional information. With that start, we continue to solicit information every day from media in CEE and Western journalists as well as NGOs with CEE media-assistance experience. We are working hard at building relationships with all assistance providers in this area to avoid duplication of efforts and to offer the strongest all-around support system possible to the needy CEE media.

### **Management and Evaluation**

Because the IREX management team is staffed by professionals with extensive CEE area knowledge and journalistic experience, PMP is ideally suited to assess and implement media assistance projects in each CEE country. In addition, it is uniquely positioned to monitor the state of independent media within each of the participating countries, and to place this information within a regional context, thus facilitating project replicability. This ability to obtain a country specific and regional overview of independent media also is extremely useful and vital to any complete and comparative assessment of program efficiency, progress and cost effectiveness.

Projects will be monitored and managed by the IREX team in consultation with USAID Washington staff and country representatives. The IREX team also is responsible for the supervision and coordination of Resident Advisers.

Evaluation of PMP projects will be conducted on a continuing basis. A key objective for the PMP will be its contribution to democracy building within each country as measured by improvements in relative openness of these societies, especially in relation to the ability of the independent media to freely interact with the public and to deliver its product to the public without government interference.

## **Risks**

Thanks to the extensive participation and assistance of the local AID missions, we recently concluded an exhaustive site survey of the local media scene in each of our project countries (with the exception of Lithuania). Based on this first-hand experience, we can state with confidence that the only assurance of a risk-free media project in any of these turbulent emergent democracies is to do nothing at all. We have seen the subversion by freely elected governments of activities that urgently were needed by independent media. Such assistance decisions hardly lose their validity because the realities of a free media have yet to be fully embraced by the successors to the Warsaw Pact regimes.

We carefully are gauging acceptable risk levels for the program by learning from our colleagues in the field and studying the experiences of our predecessors and their beneficiaries. The risks inherent in projects we propose will be carefully calculated and far outweighed by potential payoff.

Indeed, there is no more forceful argument for our continued energetic efforts in this key area of civil society than one of the region's major risk factors: The dismal pattern of pro-democracy candidates who once elected become the new breed of officials seeking to manipulate, regulate and compromise media independence.

# ~ Country & Regional Project Plans ~

The Appendix offers expanded information  
on many of the project themes  
discussed in the following country reports.

## ~ Albania ~

### The Conditions

Albania must be the last great CEE frontier for media-assistance organizations because there seems to be disproportionate current interest. A close look unveils assistance by the International Media Fund, BBC, a Danish journalism school, WBUR in Boston (USIA), Soros Foundation and German broadcasting. Albania needs all the help it can get. The basic journalism skills, which most of the above organizations seem to be addressing, remain sadly lacking. Not enough time has been spent on management and framing sound media business practices.

At least a couple of newspapers have been successful in promoting themselves and soliciting considerable advertising support. We would like to work with them as local experts to help train others. Partner training is a potential tool. There still, however, is considerable distrust among media managers and this approach will need some testing.

While there remains some animosity among the non-owners of the International Media Fund printing press, it is clear this press gets lots of use and without it the publishing situation would be in serious trouble.

### The Plan

1) **ELECTION COVERAGE** - With elections quickly approaching, ProMedia had received requests from journalists for information on how to cover democratic elections. In cooperation with the Open Society office in Tirana, ProMedia organized a working visit to the United States for 4 political party spokesmen. In addition, a follow-up program with the party spokesmen and political leaders is being prepared and will compliment a series of roundtable discussions and face to face consultations organized by the ProMedia Resident Advisor and American elections coverage specialists. This program began in **March and will run through May.**

2) **RESIDENT ADVISOR** - A resident advisor with broad broadcasting experience and experience with media in Albania will be hired to serve a six month stint providing on-site consultations to Albanian journalists and media, organize and implement ProMedia

programs and assist coordination with the US embassy and other media donor groups. This will begin in **April**.

3) **RADIO TRAINING** - A broadcast law is expected to be passed in Albania soon and potential entrepreneurs are ready to move into the radio news business. Unfortunately there are not many trained radio managers, technicians or news people to fill the spots that will open up. That is changing slowly with an American journalist and others training at the university. We will work with the Soros Foundation in Albania to devise a radio news training program for future radio journalists. We **already** have spoken with several radio professionals with CEE experience; some even have been to Albania. **June** is the target date for this program.

4) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - A distrustful league of media managers spends too much time watching the competition and not enough time watching their own businesses in this country. Albanian managers -- because of the lack of a broadcast law this applies primarily to print -- are ripe for media management workshops. We will begin in **June** planning media-management workshops, first in the capital, Tirana, and later outside the city. Our method will be to start all programs with a workshop that will be followed by one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses.

## **Management**

The PMP Washington team will be in frequent contact with USAID and USIS regarding our activities in Albania. We expect to continue to build relationships with Soros as well as the media center being set up by Arhus University's journalism school in Denmark. Through these contacts and on the advice of trainers and experts we send to Albania we will keep abreast of media activities. The PMP also can rely on assistance from our IREX field office in Macedonia when useful.

## **Albania Project Budgets**

### **Albanian Press Spokesmen**

Travel (Domestic -- for participants and NFF staff)	\$4,300
Per Diems (participants, interpreters and NFF staff)	\$5,900
Lodging	\$7,000
Insurance	\$1,000
Interpreter fees	\$10,000
Cultural/book allowance	\$1,220
Total	\$29,420

NFF Indirect	\$8,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$37,600</b>

**Resident Advisor**

Stipend	\$18,400
Rent	\$3,600
International Travel	\$1,600
Local Travel	\$1,500
Insurance	\$120
Interpreter Fees	\$1,500
Office Supplies	\$300
Telephone/Fax	\$500
Pre-departure Orientation	\$1,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$28,720</b>

**Elections Coverage Workshops**

International Travel	\$4,000
Per Diem	\$6,200
Facilities	\$2,500
Travel Allowance	\$1,200
Local Transportation	\$1,500
Interpreters Fees	\$4,000
Interpreter's Expenses	\$2,200
Honoraria	
\$4,200	
Supplies	
\$300	
Telephone/fax	
\$500	
Total	
\$26,600	

**Radio Management Training Program**

International Travel	\$1,500
Per Diem (3 people x 14 days x \$128)	\$5,376
Local Travel	\$1,500
Interpreter Fees	\$1,000
Supplies and Photocopying	\$400
Telephone Fax	\$300
Total	
\$10,076	

**Staff Travel**

	International Travel	
\$3,500		
	Per Diem and Lodging	
\$1,500		
	Total	
5,000		

**TOTAL**  
\$107,996

# ~ Bulgaria ~

## The Conditions

Development of independent media in Bulgaria has received relatively little attention from western NGOs working in the region. While the International Media Fund and USIA have provided some broadcast equipment and done occasional print and radio management programs, much more technical assistance is needed.

The media, however, seems to be remarkably successful as far as advertising goes. Just one of the most popular Bulgarian newspapers seems to have more advertising than exists in all of the newspapers in Zagreb. The market seems to understand the value of advertising. More training in the area of media management will help some of these newspapers focus and grow. It is a country where it will be tempting to work with team trainers from both the US and Bulgaria.

Bulgarian journalism -- because of its often sensational nature -- is suspect here and while there has been much discussion by NGOs and media journalists and managers on how to improve style, we believe we must first concentrate on helping them hone their business practices. We hope to show media managers that by testing a less sensationalistic and more objective style of news writing, they may attract even more advertising and readership. Discussion of market research will be an important part of media management training in this country.

## The Plan

1) **RESIDENT ADVISER** - We are looking **now** for the right person to fill the post of Resident Adviser in Bulgaria. We hope to find a professional media talent with skills in the area of management and association building. Since we will work with both print and broadcast in this country, the person could come from either field. Experience in both will be preferred, along with some CEE experience, preferably in Bulgaria. Local language skills also will be an asset. This person must be prepared for a minimum six-month stay with frequent travel within the country. We expect to place a person by the end of **February**.

2) **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION ~ NETWORKING** - There is much to be done in this difficult area in every CEE country. We would like to start in Bulgaria by working with a new association formed by a group of independent television stations. These non-competitive stations have much to gain and little to lose from working with each other. We feel we can help them particularly in two areas: association building and advertising networking. If these stations work together to solicit advertising they have a much better chance of competing with state television on national accounts. We would like the RA to be able to get this project off the ground quickly, calling on our volunteer network for additional support as needed. We will begin **immediately** following up on initial discussions with this group of TV broadcasters.

3) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - The PMP will offer well-organized and carefully structured professional media management workshops in both Sofia and Varna, as well as other outlying cities if interest exists. Although there are many independent newspapers and broadcast stations throughout Bulgaria, professional development to date has focused largely on limited workshops in Sofia. The PMP will begin in **February** planning media-management training workshops for small radio and print outlets. We anticipate that separate radio and newspaper workshops will be held this **Spring**. Our method will be to begin all programs with a workshop that will be followed by one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers and radio stations in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses.

4) **MANAGING GROWTH** - While in some ways an offshoot of media management, this area seems well suited for specific Bulgarian media outlets. A newspaper in Varna was the only one in our seven CEE countries where we were asked questions about "zoning." Zoning news is a practice that has existed for at least 50 years in the United States, however, the profitable technique of zoning advertising is a relatively new concept even in the US. We were impressed by the amount of special sections and additional products many of the newspapers produced and by their interest in developing more. We would like to conduct a workshop, followed by one-on-one consultations, with a limited number of news organizations seriously interested in growing their businesses. Managing growth is not easy. There are many talented business development experts who can help in this area. We already are talking to some. We expect to plan this workshop for **April**.

### **Management**

The Resident Adviser will report regularly to the PMP staff in Washington. This active relationship will allow the PMP staff to frequently update AID Washington on the project's progress. The RA will be available for consultations with the AID mission and relevant country team members. This six-month plan is a living document, and PMP management decisions may lead to adjustments, additions, or deletions based on what is most appropriate for the advancement of an independent, viable media in Bulgaria.

# ~ Croatia ~

## The Conditions

The media is under relentless political assault, given the ruling party's attitude that "there are no opposition papers in Croatia, only anti-Croat papers." Indeed there seems to be only one truly independent daily. Various economic tools used by the authorities to reward friends and punish enemies include making opposition papers pay in advance for the use of the state press (the only option for daily papers) while charging friendly papers little or nothing; and subsidizing friendly papers by channeling massive advertising funds from state enterprises. Therefore, it is of particular importance that print media develop skills necessary to survive financially.

The Croatian Journalists Association, blessed with a confident and competent young leadership and the economic security of a wholly-owned building from which it draws rental income, is the logical co-sponsor for workshops in Croatia. It also is a useful outlet for all media within the country, and as such, would provide a good focal point for ProMedia programs.

## The Plan

1) **NEWSPAPER WORKSHOPS** - These sessions are designed to help publications compete in the dual competitive marketplaces of economics and ideas, with the heavy focus on financial viability. The approach will include two days of structured workshops followed by up to three days of one-on-one consultations, either at individual newspapers if distance does not pose logistical or travel problems, or with the individuals in available, suitable space.

Plans call for workshops to be held in **Zagreb** and repeated in **Osijek** and **Rijeka**. It is anticipated that the Croatian Journalists Association will serve as a co-sponsor of the workshops, will help draw up invitation lists, will help with ground arrangements in both locations and will host the Zagreb sessions in the Association building. The workshops will not be simply sessions for newspapers in the two cities selected as venues, but should be considered regional meetings.

General approach for the sessions will be collegial rather than professorial. The US participants are management personnel (a publisher and an advertising director) from mid-size newspapers with experience in various aspects of supervision, in particular advertising and marketing. The team will include a moderator who will direct the sessions and two additional experts. All three will be available for the individual consultations cited above. Further, one of the Americans has association expertise/involvement (member of the Board of the Newspaper Association of American and the Associated Press), to be shared with the Croatian Journalists Association and any publishers association, in being or in formation.

It is worth emphasizing that although journalism skills may take years to teach and to learn, experience has shown that much can be taught about the business aspects of media - general management, organization, advertising, marketing, etc--in a relatively short period of time. Indeed, follow-up visits to Russian newspapers participating in sessions similar to those planned for Croatia and following the same time frame showed measurable positive results.

A sample agenda follows, which will be shared with the Journalists Association for comments and suggestions, with the final agenda tailored to the perceived needs of the Croatian newspapers. Please note that the opening of the workshop calls for comments from the participants about their specific problems and interests; it is anticipated that the workshops will be adjusted to address those points.

The one-on-one sessions will be of particular importance to the Croatian participants, giving them an opportunity to have a consultant address their specific concerns.

The timetable would call for the US team to arrive in Zagreb the Saturday before the first workshop and to include on the weekend a country briefing by appropriate USG personnel (AID, USIS, etc). First workshops will be in Zagreb, with repeat performances in Osijek and Rijeka.

## **DRAFT NEWSPAPER MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP AGENDA FOR ZAGREB, OSIJEK AND RIJEKA, CROATIA**

### *Day One*

10:00 AM	Introductions
10:15 AM	Overview of print media in the US Audience comments re Croatia print media problems*
10:45 AM	Newspaper organization for greatest efficiency and return
11:30 AM	Community relations as a business necessity
12:00	Lunch
1:00 PM	Newspaper advertising: A. Classified: importance of classified to newspaper readership; philosophy of pricing; classified vs display classified.  B. Retail display: general classifications; differences/comparisons re classified; seasonal influences; developing marketing partnerships.
3:00 PM	Break
3:15 PM	Newspaper advertising: A. Inserts: advantages/disadvantages to profit, revenue stream, retailer; general pricing theories; operations and problems.

B. Coupons: use in advertising and as a marketing measurement tool

- 4:30 PM Market research  
Importance as a selling tool; designing and using questionnaires; collecting readership and retail information; competitive analysis.
- 5:30 PM Adjourn

*\* The audience comments noted in the opening is a helpful key to successful workshops, with much of what follows tailored to address the issues raised by the participants.*

*Day Two*

- 9:00 AM Advertising department organization, including basic approach to market and publication; recruiting sales people; compensation; relations with advertising agencies; sales measurements and controls.
- 9:45 AM Developing rate cards, including basic information re various classifications; frequency discounts; policies; contracts; adjustments.
- 10:30 AM Break
- 10:45 AM Basics of selling: sales process of presenting features and benefits; handling objections; closing the sale; instilling value; customer service; competitive and combination selling.
- 12:00 Lunch
- 1:00 PM Niche and other special publications.
- 1:30 PM Marketing and promotion: how to find and keep an audience; how to sell the newspaper
- 2:30 PM Competition: how to succeed in the world of print vs broadcasting.
- 3:00 PM Break
- 3:15 PM Professional associations: how they function in the US; importance to the establishment and maintenance of a free press.
- 4:00 PM General discussion.
- 5:00 PM Adjourn

## Newspaper Management Workshops Budget

Program Costs	Total
A. Per diem (12 days x 230 x 3 trainers)	\$8,280
B. Insurance, etc...	\$250
C. International Travel	\$3,600
D. Ground Transportation	\$1,200
E. Interpreter	\$2,000
F. Workshop supplies	\$700
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>\$16,030</b>

### 2) PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT IN CROATIA

#### A ProMedia Project Proposal prepared by The International Center for Journalists

**Project Overview**—The purpose of this project is to assist in the further development of the professional journalists' association in Croatia to serve the needs of the print and broadcast media both in media management and journalism. It would essentially transform the association from an informal membership association into a full-fledged media resource center capable of serving most Croatian journalists and their news organizations. The project initially is proposed to be carried out in two phases.

**Professional Journalists' Association**—The first phase of this project will be a series of meetings with the leaders of the association to outline a 12-month program agenda and a plan for expanding the range of the association's professional services. Items which might be outlined in this agenda include:

Specialized Reporting Workshops

- Business & Economics
- Investigative Reporting
- Elections & Politics
- The Media and Ethnic Conflict Coverage

Skills Training

- Computerbased Reporting
- Interviewing Techniques
- Planning a Coverage Strategy
- Improving Newsroom Efficiency
- Desktop Publishing

Public Relations for NGO's

English-Language Courses for Journalists

Weekly "Debate Club" Speaker's Program

Editors Roundtable

Cooperative Advertising Strategies

Fellowship Opportunities Abroad

## Weekly "Movie Night" Social Events

The second phase would follow an analysis of each of the proposed projects by the consulting faculty team. The team would draw up model syllabi and models for carrying out the programs, including the identification of the necessary resources to carry out the project. Then the team would return to Croatia to help develop a workplan and business plan for carrying out the final agenda. This would be a process of training trainers, preparing local relevant materials and scheduling faculty.

**Participants**—The targeted participants in this project will be leading journalists and editors in Croatia who are in the position of being able to play a leadership role in this developing professional association. The number of participants would not be large and would be carefully selected.

**Training Faculty**—The training faculty and consultants used in both projects would consist of teams drawn from the ranks of existing professional associations in the United States and Europe, such as the American Press Institute, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, Radio & Television News Directors Association, National Association of Broadcasters, American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Newspaper Association of America, the National Newspaper Association, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, the International Journalism Federation, or the many strong region-wide associations for media professionals. These experts would have a strong background in the establishment of a professional association and its operation. Ideally, they will have had experience in the CEE/NIS region.

**Program Schedule**—Professional Journalists' Association  
Phase I would begin in the early fall. Phase II would begin several weeks thereafter.

**Budget**—Phase I & II - Professional Journalists' Association Conference and Consulting Project - \$27,000

## **SAMPLE WORKSHOP SYLLABUS** **Part I - Professional Journalists Conference**

### *Day One*

Welcome and Introductions

Presentation: Overview of Media Development in Croatia

Presentation: Goals and Challenges for a Professional Journalists' Association

Panel Discussion: Where do we go from here?

### *Day Two*

Presentation: Models for Associations

Topical Discussion:

Goals and Priorities

Range of Possible Activities

Competition v. Cooperation

Developing a Strategic Plan

Targeting Potential Membership  
Publicity for NGOs  
Developing a Follow-up Plan for the Next Six Months

**3) MID-CAREER SKILLS TRAINING** - ProMedia proposes a program of intense mid-career training for media managers and journalists. The program will be organized in partnership with the Croatian Journalists Association and the Zagreb University journalism faculty.

There is a great need for journalists, who are more than 30 years of age, already working in the profession to have the opportunity to hone their existing skills and to develop a better understanding of modern reporting techniques. Older journalists often are lacking practical experience with computers, optical scanners and other technology. Likewise, they often need to be introduced to the need for social service and public affairs reporting. Similarly, these journalists need to develop an understanding of the interaction of new technology and basic reporting skills. The mid-career skills training program will allow journalists well into their careers the opportunity to familiarize themselves with new technology and its enhancement of basic reporting skills.

**Training Plans** - Mid-career skills training workshops will be held in three cities (Zagreb, Osijek and Rijeka). Each will be designed (in close consultation with the Croatian Journalists Association) to best meet the needs of the local community of journalists within each of these three regions. The workshops will last 5 days and will include up to 25 journalists in each location. They are designed to provide the participants with an intensive immersion into the principles, techniques and technology being presented in the workshops. At the same time they will minimize the participants' time away from their regular work schedule, this will allow journalists from small media outlets an opportunity to become involved in the training.

A second component of the program would involve having the trainers conduct on-site visits to individual media outlets in order to provide additional time for one-on-one interaction and consultation for program participants. Special efforts will be made to offer these consultations to smaller media outlets, which given their limited staffs may not be able to fully participate in the workshops.

Follow-up will involve close monitoring and additional consulting provided by Pro Media and the Croatian Journalists Association.

**Trainers**—In addition to Sherry Ricchiardi, the Zagreb Media Center Director, other Americans available to serve as trainers for this program are Michael Berens of the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, who was a Pulitzer finalist last year in the investigative category for computer assisted projects; and Donna Fox, a former journalist trainer for NPR, and an experienced mid-career skills trainer. We will also seek to build the resources and confidence of the Croatian Journalists Association, by including several of their members as trainers for this program. Stjepan Malovic, a nationally respected journalist,

educator and member of the association has indicated his willingness to assist with this program. Association President Jagoda Vukusic would also be asked to serve as a trainer.

## **PROPOSED MID-CAREER SKILLS TRAINING SUBJECT MATTER**

### *Day One*

Relationship of Media and Government in a Free Society

Sources of Information in a Free Society

- Developing Sources
- Government Sources
- Traditional Sources
- The Internet and Computer Sources

Writing the News Story

- Fact-Based Journalism
- Alternative Writing Styles and Strategies
- Structures of the News Story

Writing the Feature

- What do Readers Want and Need?

### *Day Two*

- Coaching Writing: Making Reporters Better Writers
- Coaching Editing: Making Editors More Effective Critics
- Redefining News
- Creating New Beats: Going Beyond the Ordinary
- Interviewing Techniques
- Interviewing Practices

### *Day Three*

- How to Manage the Juggling Act
- Newsroom Organization
- Newsroom Scheduling
- Newsroom Personnel
- Newsroom Evaluation
- Staff Development

### *Day Four*

- Media Ethics and the Need for Guidelines
  - Case Studies from the U.S. and from Croatia
  - Guidelines for Developing Ethics Codes
- Photojournalism: Tips and Techniques
- Graphic Design

## **Mid-Career Skills Training Budget**

<b>Program Costs</b>	<b>Total</b>
A. Per Diem (20 days x \$230 x 4)	\$11,040
B. Expenses (insurance, etc..)	\$250
C. International Travel	\$3,600
D. Ground Transportation	\$1,500
E. Interpreter (to be cost-shared w/ Association)	\$2,000
F. Workshop supplies and materials	\$700
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>\$19,090</b>

## The Budget

Newspaper Workshops	\$16,030
Mid-Career Training	\$19,090
Administrative	\$35,645
<b>Total program allocation</b>	<b>\$100,000</b>

## Management

The ProMedia team will maintain close contact with US media experts in the field, including the Knight International Press Fellow assigned to Zagreb and the Indiana University faculty responsible for the Media Center at the University of Zagreb. The ongoing input from the AID mission and USIS/country team will provide invaluable and continuing in-country guidance. ProMedia also will maintain close contact with its in-country partners, such as the Croatian Journalists Association.

# ~ Hungary ~

## The Conditions

While several NGOs have done media training in Hungary, they have focused primarily on Budapest. The PMP will work together with organizations such as the new Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest to change this trend.

The heavy concentration of foreign-owned publications in Budapest is believed to be the highest in CEE. Major national newspapers, and some regional, are owned by foreign investors with the capital needed to establish them on sound footing. Because of this, we believe our professional newspaper management training efforts should be directed elsewhere, in Pecs and Szeged, and possibly Debrecen and Győr.

The broadcast situation is somewhat different, with Hungary being the last of the major CEE countries to have passed a broadcast law in late 1995. A previous national administration licensed a little more than 100 radio and television stations, all of them so extremely limited in power so as to make financial viability questionable, particularly for television stations. At this time, it is not completely clear whether the new legislation will have an impact on the previously licensed stations. Assuming that there is no major change, the PMP anticipates holding broadcast and possibly cable management workshops in the above cities.

While Hungary enjoys a relatively well-developed state of journalism, small local newspapers and broadcast stations face many of the same problems as their counterparts throughout CEE. National television remains a monopoly though small local stations and cable systems are offering their audiences an alternative source of news.

## The Plan

1) **LOCAL TELEVISION** - In cooperation with the Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest, we will work on a project to foster the development of local television journalism by sponsoring a television documentaries competition. In **February**, the center will assemble a jury of leading television journalists to award grants to winning proposals for documentaries on themes important to the Hungarian public. Ideally, a general theme of "local solutions to local problems" on the challenges and successes of participatory democracy at the local level could serve as an overall thematic guideline. The winning documentaries will be given to local stations throughout the country before being made available to national state television. Sub-projects include:

- The development of a national distribution system for similar public affairs programming to local stations as part of association development.

- On-site journalism training at local stations using US and nationally-recognized Hungarian broadcast journalists with appeal to the emerging generation of Hungarian journalists.

-- Management training at local stations by experts in various business aspects of station management (advertising, marketing, personnel, etc.) may run from **February to September** on a monthly basis in Budapest (CIJ) and more important, in major cities outside the capital.

2) **ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT-** The Hungarian Publishers Association needs developmental assistance to respond to such issues as: "How can membership fees be adjusted to cover activity costs without pricing out all but the largest members, many of which have foreign ownership." This association-development project will include expert advice on setting up a database for print media, as well as developing a broadcast trade association. Our target date is **March**.

3) **CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT-** The Hungarian Journalists Association ("MUOSZ") has been the traditional sponsor of the School of Journalism, which is foundering and badly in need of modernization. An academic specialist and a top professional panel recruited by CIJ Budapest will evaluate the feasibility of revitalization assistance as opposed to abandoning the School of Journalism in favor of more viable alternative sources of professional training for Hungarian journalists. This will be tied to the major educational initiative described in the regional section under Education. Start date: **February**.

3) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT-** A series of professional management workshops for regional newspapers -- both on-site and at CIJ Budapest -- will run from March through September using experts recruited for PMP and working closely with Budapest CIJ.

## **Management**

The PMP enjoys a special relationship with the Budapest Center for Independent Journalism and will maintain close contact throughout the course of this plan with respect to implementation. CIJ Budapest is in close contact with the entire country team, so we are assured of the best in-country input on an ongoing basis.

# ~ Lithuania ~

## The Conditions

Lithuania faces serious problems in developing and sustaining its emerging independent media outlets. The political culture seems to be the biggest problem impeding the development of independent media, which must tackle direct and indirect pressures from the ruling party.

Currently, in Parliament, there is draft legislation that would restrict media reporting and legal rights. This legislation would add to other present-day pressures felt by the media, including the unequal distribution of government subsidies.

Subsidies are being distributed to particular government-friendly newspapers and radio stations. With passage of a fair media law supporting independent media in Lithuania, media outlets would have more confidence to proceed forward.

## The Plan

1) **MEDIA LAW REFORM** - We are searching for an organization to hold training seminars in drafting media legislation in the areas of libel, copyright, privacy and obscenity. Possible venues include but are not limited to the Lithuania Free Speech Center, the Lithuania Free Speech Foundation and Vilnius University. The Free Speech Center and the foundation were established by indigenous heads of independent media sources. These organizations have become self-sufficient, but their biggest concern is media law reform. Vilnius University has a training center within its Journalism Department. The dean of the Journalism Department founded the training center and remains active. We will conduct more research into other possible organizations before a final decision is made.

The seminars, although held in Vilnius, will draw key media figures from Lithuania's provinces in order to help educate these specialists and managers in the best methods in drafting legislation. Seminars would be conducted by Western experts already living in the Baltics. We also will draw on the expertise of the president of the Federal Communications Bar Association, who serves as the PMP legal adviser. Start date: **February**.

## Management

The PMP Washington team will be in frequent contact with USAID and USIA regarding our activities in Lithuania. We expect to build relationships with indigenous and Western media organizations and NGOs already established in Lithuania. Through these contacts and on the advice of experts in Lithuania we will keep abreast of media activities. The PMP also can rely on assistance from our IREX field office in Vilnius when appropriate.

# ~ Romania ~

## Executive Summary

The Professional Media Program (PMP) for Romania represents an on-going effort to enhance the financial and commercial viability and professional development of the country's independent media. With the overall goal of advancing Romania's democratic transition, the Program seeks to create a better-informed citizenry and thus increase civic participation by strengthening independent media outlets that provide news and information.

The Program is operated by a consortium of three Washington, DC-based organizations consisting of The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) as the managing partner, The International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) and the National Forum Foundation (NFF). To provide continuous engagement, flexibility and a quick-response mechanism, the day-to-day project activities will be coordinated in Bucharest by a Resident Adviser (RA), an American media professional. The RAs will be rotated periodically throughout the term of the project (every three to six months) and will be carefully selected to insure that their skills and experience correspond to the training priorities targeted by the project. Once assigned, the RAs will be responsible for coordinating the implementation of all PMP activities in Romania, including workshops, seminars and on-site consultative training. During the course of the program PMP also will provide experts to conduct on-site training. The Bucharest-based IREX representative for Romania, Jeff Pennington, also will play a key role in this program.

PMP has a cooperative and collaborative relationship with the Bucharest Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ). The CIJ, founded by the Independent Journalism Foundation in New York, is part of a network of highly successful media support facilities also located in Bratislava, Budapest and Prague. CIJ is a leading journalism center in Romania that conducts training programs throughout the year. CIJ will provide office space for the RA, and also will be the site for much of the Bucharest PMP classroom and workshop training. In addition, all training program designs, schedules and activities will be planned in consultation with CIJ to insure that our combined efforts reinforce rather than duplicate one another.

The National Forum Foundation (NFF) has been assigned primary responsibility for management of PMP programs in Romania. NFF President Jim Denton will travel to Bucharest early in May to plan in-country activities.

With Romanian broadcasting as a primary focus, PMP efforts will have two purposes: to help develop commercially viable programming of a caliber that will attract advertisers, and to help make the stations financially viable by teaching general management, advertising, marketing, personnel practices and financial controls.

## **The Plan**

PMP has conducted an extensive needs assessment of the independent media in Romania. A PMP team, consisting of Carole Brennan and Csaba Chikes of IREX and Jim Denton of NFF, participated in several Bucharest roundtable discussions with journalists and media managers from throughout Romania, along with representatives of USAID and USIA. In addition, the delegation met with the editors and managers of various key print and broadcast organizations in their offices, including specialists at the Center for Independent Journalism. In all, the delegation conducted interviews with more than 60 Romanian publishers, station owners, journalists, business managers, advertising and sales directors, editors, producers and reporters from a wide-cross section of the country's print and broadcast outlets (See partial list, Enclosure 1).

AID Bucharest responded to the PMP initial draft work plan. Based on that response, PMP will give first priorities to television news production training (aiming at commercial viability and sales) and media management training, including advertising and sales (for financial viability). With regard to association development, although PMP does not propose any formal programs to support directly such activity at this time, we believe that it is in the long-term interest of Romania's independent media--and the democratic transition--for associations such as ARCA to develop as the market evolves and defines itself. Therefore, in cooperation with CIJ, PMP plans to help this evolutionary process by organizing low-cost events for the media community to meet to discuss their common interests and concerns.

We also hope to demonstrate the importance of trade associations during our workshops, pointing out, for example, the activities of the state broadcasting groups and the National Association of Broadcasters in the U.S. The importance of such groups--including ARCA in Romania--cannot be overemphasized. Properly organized, professional associations can serve many functions, including working as responsible, unified national opposition to government encroachment on press freedoms; serving as the beginning of all-industry cooperative ventures to help in the establishment of services to compete with state monopolies; serving as a focal point for training programs; and developing means of standardizing industry norms.

## **Background Conditions in Romania's Media: Problems and Opportunities**

**Problems**—American and foreign media report that the Romanian government frequently uses licensing, official audits, tax codes, tariffs and control of newsprint supplies to apply pressure on unfriendly media and their advertisers. Although it is rare, journalists also have been arrested and reportedly put under surveillance for coverage of the ruling government. And, the current penal code states that “damaging the reputation of a public figure” and spreading false information capable of undermining national security or foreign relations are punishable by up to five years in prison.

While these political pressures are menacing, the most life-threatening and immediate problems of Romania's media is the lack of business management skills and professional journalism training. According to representatives of even the most financially secure operations, there is a consensus that media managers would benefit from training in management practices, business planning, organizational structure, personnel practices, advertising sales, marketing and financial controls to become financially solvent and to protect their independence.

Although the relatively high cost of a newspaper is a major factor (driven by inflation and the government's control and occasional manipulation of newsprint supply), most journalists also believe that the low journalistic standards have played a significant role in Romania's declining readership. The editor of one leading daily refers to "the readers' sensationalism fatigue."

If the press is to be trusted by the public and be a force for democratic reform, several publishers argued that the journalists and the media they represent must earn the respect and confidence of the public. Although the market eventually may play a useful role in correcting this problem, training in professional standards, particularly the art of factual, detached, and dispassionate reporting, is essential for the future financial viability of Romanian media.

**Opportunities**—There are many private, albeit weak, newspapers that have struggled through and survived the most difficult years of Romania's transition. In spite of the large numbers (estimates are as high as 2,000 publications), according to one survey, these newspapers' combined circulation may be as low as 2 million--not even 10% of the population. The impact and reach of the print press does not approach television from which some 85% of the population gets its news and information.

In recent years, the Romanian government has issued hundreds of broadcast and cable licenses. The majority of these operators are local, small, ill-equipped, badly financed and dispersed. Nonetheless, they have the potential to grow into viable independent voices, especially given opportunities for collaboration, networking, pooled resources, cooperative advertising and training in management and production.

While the prospects for the cable networks are promising, the most dramatic media developments are taking place among the Bucharest-based broadcasters. Until December 1995, Channels One and Two, the state's television channels--with their undisguised pro-government bias--have enjoyed the exclusive right to broadcast nationally. Fully half of Romania's population, living in rural areas, had no access to any non-government print or broadcast media outlet--not a particularly healthy condition for a developing democracy.

Recently, with American investment, Romania's media landscape changed. In an awesome display of the power of technology, ProTV launched its national broadcast service via satellite and, almost overnight, thrust the development of Romania's television market into fast forward. For the first time in Romania's history, the general population was given an

alternative to state-sponsored television news and information in their own language. It is difficult to overstate the significance of this development and what it represents for the independent media and for Romania's future.

State TV is reeling; its audience is abandoning the tired institution in the face of the more modern and independent alternative. And, in order to keep pace with ProTV, Antenna 1 and Tele7abc, the other two major private broadcasters in Bucharest, are scrambling to hold market share and retain advertising revenue and their own financial viability.

Even though Antenna 1 and Tele7 plan to launch their own national broadcasts by early May, both are painfully aware that their new programs, in their current form, cannot measure up to ProTV's quality. Top executives from these two private stations have strongly and urgently requested an American professional to help train their news and production teams, as well as overhaul their news programs. The managers pointed out repeatedly that many of ProTV's popular news personalities and producers had been trained in the United States.

## **Objectives and Indicators**

In keeping with AID's strategic objectives, the PMP goal in Romania is to advance the country's democratic transition by creating a better-informed citizenry and increase civic participation by strengthening independent media outlets for news and information. The program will play a supportive and an instrumental role within the Romanian media to increase the quantity and quality of unbiased information available to citizens by:

- a. assisting in the development of new media outlets, particularly television
- b. strengthening the country's independent media
- c. helping to improve the quality of news and public affairs broadcasts
- d. training working and aspiring broadcast journalists

Key indicators that will serve as appropriate measure of PMP's success in achieving the objectives and intermediate results are identified below. As a result of this program it is anticipated that:

- a. The Romanian media community will begin to view itself as professional as evidenced by stronger and more frequent interaction and joint initiatives conducted for the profession's common good;*
- b. increased numbers of television public affairs newsmaker-type programs will be offered, including debates, forums and magazine programs;*
- c. an improvement in the quality of television news and information broadcasting will develop over time, particularly at the weaker, less competitive private broadcasters;*
- d. an increase in the quantity and the quality of independent television coverage will take place during upcoming elections;*

- e. independent broadcasters will work toward stronger nationwide networks with local stations that produce more and better news and information programs;*
- f. trained advertising sales teams at print and broadcast media outlets will be developed.*

## **The Work Plan: Priorities and Design**

The workplan is designed to strengthen the commercial viability of Romanian media to help insure the creation of a competitive and robust environment for independent news outlets. In light of the rapid developments and opportunities unfolding in the broadcast media, and in response to the direct requests made by senior management and news directors, in the early months PMP will give top priority to training the news teams at the private broadcasters, with the specific objective of improving the quality of the stations' news and information programming and their overall image. The RA assigned for the start-up phase of the project will reflect that priority. Future RAs will provide expertise in advertising sales, marketing and other aspects of media management.

The second priority during this start-up period will be to provide financial viability (advertising and sales) plus election reporting training, each of which will be featured in workshops and on-site training in several cities throughout Romania in late spring and summer of this year with media management following in the fall. Business management and journalistic ethics will be a recurring theme for PMP.

During the program start-up, the RA will provide on-site training at Bucharest-based private broadcasters, primarily Antenna 1 and Tele7. The RA's training will continue for six to eight weeks, providing a minimum of 10 hours per week per station. If the RA determines that it is useful to continue on-site training at these facilities beyond this two-month period, it is likely that the responsibility will be assigned to a PMP volunteer. Training of the broadcasters in Bucharest and elsewhere will focus on the needs identified below as raised by broadcasters at the December meetings:

- a. News management and production, including editing, scheduling, and anchor and reporter on-air training. ("How do we choose the stories to cover? In what order do we broadcast them? How to present them? How long should segments be? What should on-air talent wear?)*
- b. Image-making and studio design. ("How do we create a unified theme as ProTV did? How do we market it? What color should our studio be? How do we unify our management, marketing and image?)*
- c. News and information talk broadcasts. ("How can we make them lively and interesting? How should we organize them? How do we choose guests?")*

d. *Research and archival systems.* (“When should we use stock footage? Where do we get it? How do we organize it?”)

In recent weeks the PMP consortium has reviewed various applications and interviewed several candidates. Accordingly, we recommend Gina London, former associate producer of Fox Morning News (resume attached, Enclosure 2). She is a freelance writer and reporter for CNN. She has experience in both print and broadcast news. In addition, her past work on political campaigns will be useful in developing PMP’s election reporting program later this spring. She has agreed to arrive in Bucharest during the first week of May and remain for a minimum of three months.

The RA will be based at CIJ. After completing an orientation program during which she will meet with representatives of the media, the Embassy staff and other appropriate people, the RA will conduct these activities:

- a. provide regularly scheduled on-site training, initially at Antenna 1 and Tele7 on:
  - (1) news management and production
  - (2) programming and scheduling
  - (3) studio design
  - (4) research and archival systems
- b. develop/implement training and professional development programs, including
  - (1) on-air talent training for TV (at CIJ); purchase basic video equipment
  - (2) joint PMP-CIJ training curriculum for September-June
  - (3) a guest lecture series for professional development at CIJ
- c. coordinate/schedule PMP workshop series and other non-Bucharest training on:
  - (1) special reporting covering politics and elections
  - (2) print management
  - (3) advertising and sales
- d. identify training needs appropriate to PMP and develop creative and cost-effective responses
- e. coordinate the requests and monitor the assignments of PMP volunteers
- f. coordinate the requests and monitor the assignments of short-term trainers for targeted special training.

All training will be supported by PMP consortium resources. Additional support will be drawn from trainers in neighboring countries, the U.S. and local talent in Bucharest.

PMP volunteers will be assigned to support specific training needs identified throughout the term of the project. We expect that the average PMP volunteers, all of whom will be professional media managers for journalists, will typically work on-site for up to four

weeks. Besides their transportation costs, volunteers will receive a modest stipend. We anticipate that the volunteers will represent a valuable and highly cost-effective program resource.

In addition, PMP will provide targeted special training. We anticipate that these trainers will be required to support short-term training needs that cannot be met with existing talent provided through the RA or regular volunteers. This training might be required, for example, to support a technical consulting need concerning satellite links, the development of a business proposal for a printing plant, cable networking, etc.

PMP workshops typically will be coordinated locally by the RA. The PMP team will assemble the U.S.-based trainers and develop the curricula and agendas. The workshops usually will be conducted successively in two or three cities. The standard workshop model will consist of approximately two to three classroom days followed by three to four days of on-site consultations. Maximum effort will be made to conduct two-way interactive training, complete with role playing, etc. In addition, guidelines and handouts will be available, along with other reference material.

In consultation with CIJ and others are appropriate, the workshops will begin in June, break in August and resume in September. In addition to Bucharest, workshops will be held in various cities, including Brasox, Cluj, Constanta, Iasi and Timisoara.

## **A Training Model for Romanian Journalists**

Draft Course Outline for Specialized Reporting Covering Politics & Elections

June 1996

Prepared by The International Center for Journalists

### **Session I: Introduction**

- Instructors' introductions
- Participant self-introductions
- Justification for this course
- Agreement on course objectives, description, training method
- Review of agenda
- Gauging the needs
  - oral and written exercises (Case Study 1)
  - role playing
  - coverage samples

### **Session IA: Supplementary Introductory Session**

- Video: History of the American press
- Overview of the media in a democracy
- Summary notes on the world press
- Subtopics
  - Structure of a democratic system
  - How the election process works
  - The structure and purposes of elections

- Voting and the voting process

### **Session II: Overview**

- Framing the Issue: Covering Politics & Elections
  - What is different about covering this topic
  - Current obstacles to coverage
  - Defining the ideal standard (participant field assignment)
  - Adapting the ideal to local reality
  - Revising course objectives
- The Topic: Politics and Elections
- The Technique: What is needed to cover this field?
- Practical Exercise: Written test of skills developed so far

### **Session III: General Reporting**

- Discussion and Exercise Session: Basic Reporting Techniques Review
  - Observations Skills (class exercise)
  - Capturing the five W's
  - Interviewing by phone and in person
  - Interviewing rules
  - Note-taking and recording
  - Analyzing the press release
  - Maintaining reliable sources
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
  - uses of polling data
  - dirty tricks and gimmicks
  - accountability of candidates
  - issues versus personalities
  - researching candidate backgrounds
  - balance and fairness
  - readers' desires vs. readers' needs
  - coverage strategy timeline
- Reporting exercise

### **Session IV: Specialized Reporting**

- Test and review
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Specialized Reporting Techniques
  - Important skills
  - Dealing with experts
  - Capturing mood and color
  - Story planning and organizing files
  - Research options (computer assisted reporting)
- Mock reporting assignment on subtopics

- Critique of Assignment

### **Session V: General News Writing**

- Basic writing techniques
  - Separating news from analysis
  - Story approaches and structure
  - Using neutral language
  - Using statistics
  - Using quotations
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Writing exercises
  - Approaches and formats
  - Identifying the lead

### **Session VI: Specialized News Writing**

- Test and review
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Specialized techniques
  - spot news writing
  - feature writing
- Writing analysis articles
- Writing opinion articles, essays and editorials

### **Session VII: Assignment**

- Story assignment (out of class)
- Assignment critiques (group and one-on-one)

### **Session VIII: Wrap-up**

- Final review
- Program Evaluation
- Follow-up
- Award of Certificates and Farewell

### **Supplemental Session: Trainer Training**

- Post program workshops for local trainers to provide multiplier effect

## ----- Budget Estimate for ICFJ Training Model -----

### FACULTY

<u>Transportation</u>		
International travel 2 (U.S.) x \$1,500	\$3,000	
Ground travel 2(U.S.) x \$200	400	
Immunizations & health insurance	400	
<u>Per diem</u>		
2 (U.S.) x \$282 x 30 days	8,490	
1 (local) x \$47 x 30 days	1,410	
<u>Fees</u>		
Fees 2 (U.S.) Trainers @ \$100/day x 30 days	3,000	
Local Trainer 1 x 30 day	1,500	
Facility Rental \$200/day x 10 days	2,000	
Interpretation \$100/day x 15 days	1,500	
Translations	300	
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$22,000</b>	
<u>Participant Costs</u>		
Coffee breaks/lunches \$10 x 20 x 10 days	2,000	
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>	
<u>ICFJ COSTS</u>		
Program supervision (5 days x \$445)	2,225	
Communications	400	
Printing/Mailings	150	
Indirect Rate	9,371	
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$12,146</b>	
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>\$36,146</b>	

## PMP Future Workplan Timeline

### *May*

RA arrives at CIJ (during first week of May)  
 PMP coordinator arrives in Bucharest for project commencement  
 RA/PMP coordinator participate in orientation with CIJ  
 RA starts on-site daily training at three local broadcasters  
 Identify equipment training needs for on-camera studio needs at CIJ  
 Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
 RA coordinates scheduling, logistics for June-July workshops  
 Develop a guest lecture series for professional development with CIJ

### *June-July*

Explore launch of association development program with ARCA and submit proposal  
 RA continues regular on-site training at local broadcasters  
 RA purchases video equipment package for on-camera training at CIJ  
 On-camera studio designed at CIJ

Start on-camera training at CIJ  
Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
Assign first PMP volunteer  
Begin guest lecture series for professional development (theme: journalistic ethics)  
Implement political communications roundtable series at CIJ  
Conduct two election reporting workshops (Bucharest and various cities)  
Conduct two advertising and sales workshops (Bucharest and various cities)  
Develop comprehensive Fall training strategy, curriculum  
Recruit second RA (with advertising and sales or management expertise)

### *August-September*

Assign second RA  
RA participates in orientation with CIJ  
Prepare and begin comprehensive training calendar for September-June  
Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
Conduct two print media management workshops  
Continue guest lecture series for professional development  
Continue political communications round table series at CIJ

## **Notes on Strategies and Program Concepts for Future Consideration**

Based on our understanding of the status of media developments in Romania, we will be guided by certain basic assumptions and principles which will be evident in all of our programming. Some of these concepts, along with some thoughts on future project ideas, include:

- a. Although we will not exclude anyone from our training, our target audience is primarily the younger professional journalists (22-35 years).
- b. PMP will be careful to extend training programs to local communities around the country. The workshop series will be conducted primarily outside of Bucharest. In addition, those training programs conducted in Bucharest will draw participants (trainees) from throughout Romania; the budget allows for their modest travel and housing costs. At the same time, because of the special circumstances in the broadcast media in Bucharest (and because this activity advances our objectives to increase the sources of information throughout the country), the RA's emphasis will center on the newly emerging national broadcasters during the first six to eight weeks.
- c. We believe that communication between government officials and journalists should be improved. We believe that PMP should play an active and creative role in bringing government officials together with leading journalists on a regular basis. This activity is consistent with similar initiatives conducted by consortium members outside the immediate PMP project, and, we anticipate possible linkages to those efforts for the common good.
- d. We are committed to providing extensive on-site training, well beyond that conducted in conjunction with the workshops. This will be made possible by placing

emphasis on recruiting and assigning media managers that are able to work in Romania on a voluntary basis.

e. We intend to be responsive and flexible, anticipating issues and opportunities, and stay ahead of the curve.

## ENCLOSURE 1

### Romanian Contact List

Igor Antip, News Producer, ProTV  
Petre Mihai Bacanu, Editor in Chief, Romania Libera  
Aron Ballo, Deputy Editor in Chief, Szabadsag Newspaper  
Andrei Bodiu, Member Brasov Regional Council, Romania  
Sorin Bogdan, Editor, Evenimentul Zilei Daily  
Luigi Brasoveanul, Advertising Manager, Transilvania Expres  
Florin Bratescu, Director General, Antena1  
Cezar Caluschi, Vice-President, Nord-Est  
Tiberiu Cazacioc, Library Director, Center for Independent Journalism  
Mihai Cernat, Marketing, Mediafax  
Doina Chirea-Doru, Editor and Newswriter, Pro TV  
Constanta Chirilescu, Director of Programs, Center for Independent Journalism  
Lorita Constantinescu, Program Coordinator, Soros Foundation  
Radu Cosarca, Director Department Actualitati, Tele 7abc  
Dana Cristescu, Advertising Manager, Adevaruis  
Florin Danciu, Editor in Chief, Mesagerul  
Vasile Dobrin, Advertising Manager, Romania Libera  
Mike Enik, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy  
Andrea Esca, Nightly News Anchor, Pro TV  
Gabriel Gafita, Secretary of State, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Calin Georgescu,  
Ambassador Mircea Geoana, Romania's Ambassador to the U.S.  
Dan Ghibernea, Director of International Relations, Foreign Ministry  
Marius Ghilezan, Journalist, Romania Libera  
Gabriel Giurgiu, Talk Show Host, Reporter, and Producer, Romanian Television  
Mirella Hagiopol, Director, Council of Europe Information and  
Documentation Center  
Catalin Harnagea, Editor in Chief, Press Agency  
Sean Hillen, Director, Use Euro Med  
Richard Hough, Representative, Agency for International Development  
Alexandru Lazescu, President, Nord-Est  
Gilda Lazar, Journalist, Romania Libera  
Bogdan Lefter, Director, Radio Free Europe  
Liviu Man, Managing Director, Delta Press Ltd.  
Bogdan Masala, Market Analysis, R Society  
Tatiana Maxim, Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Department  
Bruce McGorrill, Maine Radio and Television Company  
Simona-Mirela Miculescu, Press Attache, Embassy of Romania  
Madalina Mitan, Redactor - Department Extern, Cronica Romania  
Liviu Moraru, Director General Adjunct, Omega Press Investment S.A.  
Irina Negrea, Editorial Manager, MediaPro Group - Publishing House Pro  
Radu Nicolau, Director General Adjunct, Romsat Tele 7abc  
Sorin Novac, Director Publicitate, Omega Press Investment S.A.  
Sorin Oancea, Advertising Manager, Antena1  
Mark Parkinson, World Learning  
Dan Petrila, Program Manager, Antena1  
Catalin Popa, News Producer, Antena1  
Dan Preisy, Chief of Political Department, Tele 7abc  
Dragos Sabadeanu, Parliament Expert, Parliament of Romania Chamber of

**Deputies**

**Maria Sandor, Director, Women in Development Romanian UNDP Project**

**Paul Scanteie, Program Editor, Antena 1**

**Cristina Simion, Radio Manager, Radio Nord Est**

**Vasile Sofineti, Director, Head of the Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania**

**Gabriel Stanescu, Deputy Chief Editor/ Professor: Ethic of mass media, The First Romanian Daily Newspaper**

**Sorin Rosca Stanescu, General Manager, Ziua**

**Iolanda Staniloiu, Director, Center for Independent Journalism**

**Iolanda Stanieloine, Director,**

**Lucian Stirbu, Advertising Manager, Tele 7abc**

**Sorin Strutinschi, General Manager, Telegraf**

**Sorin Tapai, Deputy Chief of Foreign Department, Evenimentul Zilei**

**Anca Toader, Anchor & Producer, Tele 7abc**

**Sergiy Toader, News Producer, ProTV**

**Ancuta Vamesu, Phare Assistant, European Union - Delegation of the European Commission in Romania**

**Laurie Weitzenkorn, Information Officer, USIS Bucharest**

**Robert Whitehead, Political Counselor, United State Embassy**

# ~ Slovakia ~

## The Conditions

This country may be able to claim the most sophisticated approach to thwarting the development of a free press. Opponents are frozen out or bought out while friends are subsidized through ads from pro-state enterprises and other business maneuvering. It gives PMP pause, and causes us to consider carefully how best to spend our assistance dollars in Slovakia.

The independent media in Slovakia is in urgent need of professional assistance before the government successfully completes its effort to reduce the press to subservience.

At one point in our discussions in Slovakia a media pundit suggested that perhaps the most PMP could do is to continue to help with the professional development of journalists and media managers, encouraging them to "hang on" until the political climate has improved. Some of that is necessary, but we must also take some risks to move the media beyond a protective crouch.

## The Plan

1) **RESIDENT ADVISER** - We **currently** are looking for the right person to fill the post of Resident Adviser in Slovakia. This person must be a talented, multi-faceted media professional with business-side experience. Since we will work with both print and broadcast in this country, the person could come from either field, although both would be helpful. We are looking first for a person with some CEE experience, preferably in Slovakia. Local language skills or a working knowledge of German would be an asset. This person must be prepared for a minimum six-month stay with considerable travel within the country. We would like to place a person by the end of **February** at the latest.

2) **DISTRIBUTION** - The state-controlled distribution system, PNS, not only controls the delivery of newspapers to kiosks but also almost all other circulation functions, including the mailing lists and home delivery through the state postal system. This was a cry we heard from all papers. There has been at least one success, however, within the ranks of weekly newspapers. *Trend*, the well-regarded weekly business newspaper, managed to work with its own subscription department, bypassing PNS and going straight to the postal system. That, at least, allowed them control of their own -- very valuable -- mailing list. Since some of the talented and hard-working staff of *Trend* has left, and will move to an existing daily publication in **February**, we will work with them at trying to take control of that daily's mailing list. This would require sending a distribution professional by the end of **February** to review the situation and its possibilities. Once we know the cost and possibility for success, we would move on offering needed assistance. Our mission will be to test alternative distribution approaches and, if successful, they will be used at other locations in Slovakia.

3) **COMMERCIAL EQUIPMENT** - The independent newspaper *SME* has requested and we currently (**January**) are considering working with them to purchase a phototypesetter that would allow the newspaper to move seriously into the commercial print business. *SME* has had tremendous financial setbacks because of the government, but diligently tries to move forward. *SME* is working with the new Soros-backed Open Society Media Fund to secure a large loan to purchase refurbished Goss Community presses from Germany. At least one other lender -- a bank -- also is involved. We have talked several times with Soros about its commitment to the paper. Working with the USAID office in Bratislava, we will first pursue a loan from outside PMP's budget for the approximately \$70,000 piece of equipment. If that does not work, then PMP will work with *SME*. We also have talked with the Open Society Media Fund director about assisting with training costs for *SME* employees on the new equipment. Those discussions continue.

4) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - We will begin in **February** planning media-management training workshops for small radio and print outlets outside the capital city as well as Bratislava. We plan to work in Kosice in the East and Banska Bystrica in Central Slovakia. While our method will be to begin all programs with a workshop, we will extend it to include one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers and radio and TV stations in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses. The workshops will be divided between broadcast, newspapers and possibly cable.

5) **INFORMATION NETWORK** - In meetings with the many small radio stations that call themselves independent it became quickly apparent that the portion of their success that does not depend on government regulations is most strongly attached to the development of a computer network that would allow the sharing of information. This also is true for small newspapers. We will work with the Independent Journalism Foundation to support at least part of a program set up to make available Internet access and the sharing of local news to make these small media outlets more competitive. We **already** are looking at IJF plans, which tie closely to conclusions we drew on our needs assessment visit to Slovakia. This project will be **ongoing in the first six months**. It is hoped also that it will lead to the formation of a group of broadcasters or newspaper publishers who will work together to solicit national advertising. (**Second six month-plan.**)

6) **MEDIA CENTER SUPPORT** - Continue the tradition of close cooperation with the Center for Independent Journalism, which has been assisting with the training and development of an independent media in Bratislava for more than three years.

## **Management**

The Resident Adviser will report regularly to the PMP staff in Washington. This active relationship will include constant updates with the AID staff in the field, as well as AID Washington. This six-month plan is a living document, and PMP management decisions may lead to adjustments, additions, or deletions based on what is most appropriate for the advancement of an independent, viable media in Slovakia.

# ~ Regional Project Plans ~

## Education

Training techniques for new generations of journalists in CEE in many cases are a major impediment to the long-term professional development of independent media in the region. There also is an absence of well-staffed educational institutions in the region. Where universities do exist, instructors are generally the same individuals who taught journalism as a propaganda instrument of the state just a few years ago.

The only full-time academic presence in the PMP countries offering a curriculum in western-style journalism is American University (AUBG) in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, two hours from Sofia. AUBG has been active for four years, recently graduating its first class. It is a complete educational institution, with students coming from several countries and courses offered in many disciplines, including journalism. The majority of the instructors are Americans.

In addition, the US-supported journalism centers in the region -- notably Bratislava, Bucharest, Zagreb and the new center in Budapest -- have educational components. The Bratislava center, for example, is housed in the journalism building of Comenius University and has close ties to the university.

The PMP proposes to capitalize on the investment in, and the experience of, both AUBG and the journalism centers. (The PMP team met with AUBG in Washington on 4 January 1996 to discuss relationships.) The PMP believes that there is or should be a natural symbiotic relationship between the centers and educational institutions. PMP will focus this tie on the democratization process. As one such example in the area of democratization, the centers and the educational institutions might use parallel approaches to the issue of the "people's right to know," a major journalistic concern. The topic should be part of the university journalism program while the centers might conduct workshops or discussion groups on the subject, inviting students to attend, and encouraging working journalists to write on this theme to educate the public. In this way, the two areas -- professional and university -- would work together on the same common target.

Meetings of CEE journalism school representatives occasionally have been held, notably sessions held after a Freedom Forum-sponsored educational survey. PMP is considering a several-step approach to improving CEE journalism education by bringing the centers into a more active relationship with the universities. Here is the approach:

-- A meeting of key representatives from university journalism faculties in PMP countries will be held in Blagoevgrad, hosted by AUBG and chaired by a PMP representative. (Transportation and other costs will come from the country budgets where

universities with journalism departments exist; the Bulgarian budget would be tapped for ground and host costs.)

-- Invitations also will go to universities interested in starting journalism programs.

-- AUBG and other universities with a record of strong journalism programs will be called upon to make an academic presentation of teaching methods and curriculum.

-- Journalism center representatives also will be urged to participate, particularly the director of the Bratislava center, who for many years was a professor of journalism at Comenius University, and the head of the Zagreb center, an Indiana University journalism professor.

From this meeting, including an expression of needs of the participants, the PMP anticipates developing a master educational plan for the region to be implemented in the second six months of the program.

## News Services

One of the most serious impediments to the development of completely independent media in CEE is the state monopoly over national distribution of news through control of the primary news agencies serving most print and broadcast outlets. The principal problems in breaking these monopolies include:

- Unwillingness of the governments to lose this means of information control.
- Cost.
- Trained and knowledgeable personnel to start news services.

Morris Rosenberg has served as a news service consultant to USAID, USIA, the International Media Fund, and other organizations working in the region. Most recently, Mr. Rosenberg did a survey trip in CEE for AID, submitting his report last spring.

As a starting point for working with indigenous independent news agencies and potential news services, PMP plans to have Mr. Rosenberg visit the covered countries to:

- Update evaluations of existing and proposed news agencies.
- Explore the possibilities of assisting existing independent agencies.
- Explore the possibilities of helping to start new independent news agencies.

On his return, Mr. Rosenberg will prepare a detailed report and will meet with members of the PMP. Future activities in this area will be based in large measure on the report and the meeting. This approach has been discussed in detail with Mr. Rosenberg, who agrees with its intent and is willing to travel to CEE in **February**.

# ~ Appendix ~

This section offers general support information for some of the country plans, as well as new information on regional issues PMP is addressing.

## Index

- 1) Association Development
- 2) Election Coverage
- 3) Equipment
- 4) Professional Development
- 5) Resident Advisers

## 1) Association Development

The need for professional association development is equally applicable for print and broadcast media and is necessary for all CEE countries. Some countries have no such associations; where they do exist, strengthening is needed. Speaking directly to our primary concern for the financial viability of CEE media, we believe these groups should be trade associations organized along the lines of the National Association of Broadcasters and the Newspaper Association of America in the United States. While journalist associations also are important, when we get involved in this area we will concentrate efforts on management associations. There should be at least two separate organizations in each country: newspapers and broadcast, since the two fields do not share many issues.

Properly organized, professional associations can serve many purposes, including as a:

- Responsible, unified, national opposition to government encroachment on press freedoms, either directly through repressive press or broadcast laws or indirectly through taxation and other measures.
- Stepping stone to all-industry cooperative ventures to solve such problems as newspaper production and distribution, to help in the establishment of news services to compete with state-run monopolies, and to cut costs through cooperative buying.
- Focal point in the organization of various media training programs.
- Method of standardizing various industry norms, such as the Standard Advertising Unit (SAU) used by newspapers in the United States to permit advertisers to use the same ad in multiple publications.

- Substitute for private broadcast networks. Non-competitive broadcast stations in various parts of a country can offer themselves as a network equivalent in the area of ad sales for a national audience.
- Clearinghouse for local news stories and programs, enhancing the importance and value of each local outlet.
- Mechanism for the establishment of professional codes of conduct and ethical guidelines.

### **Organizational Structure**

Depending on the size and geography of the country and the number of media outlets involved, the associations could be organized on a national or regional basis, with the latter effectively two or more branches of the same organization. For example, Croatia might have one broadcast and one newspaper organization, both based in Zagreb, while Slovakia might have associations with branches in Bratislava and Kosice.

### **Organizational Needs**

Initial needs for these trade associations are not onerous:

- A part-time director, preferably with media background.
- Office space, possibly in the office of an organizing member or in a J-center.
- A computer to publish a regular newsletter.

### **Organizing the Organization**

The best and most necessary assistance can and should come from the existing organizations in the US with which the PMP maintains close relations. As one such example: Charles Sherman, senior vice president-television of the National Association of Broadcasters, has an extensive background as a television station manager in the US. He also has been involved in training programs in the CEE and has traveled in several of the countries. The NAB already has promised its support to the PMP partnership and has expressed its willingness to provide assistance. It is anticipated that John Sturm, the new President and CEO of the Newspaper Association of America, also known to the PMP team, will provide similar cooperation and support.

## 2) Election Coverage

One area of news reporting with which the CEE media generally is not familiar is democratic election coverage.

Although many elections have been held in the post-Communist era, the role of the press - both print and broadcast -- in the campaign period and in the election process itself is at once unknown and uncertain. Indeed, in the US-sponsored election coverage workshops that have been held in CEE, there has been a great deal of interest in how elections are covered in the US. It will take a long time before the CEE press reaches the degree of basic fairness generally demonstrated by the US press in covering elections but PMP believes that a start must be made.

PMP plans the following approach:

- About six months before major elections are scheduled in an assigned country, workshops will be scheduled to include discussion of campaign coverage.
- Efforts will be made to have workshops not only in capital cities but in major population centers throughout the countries.
- Whether handled separately or together, print and broadcast coverage will be fully covered. (Experience has shown considerable interest in CEE about the legal restrictions on broadcast election coverage as opposed to print coverage.)
- Although aimed at the press, PMP will consider inviting political parties and government officials to participate in these workshops.
- PMP plans to coordinate these workshops with other US NGOs to avoid overlap and duplication.

## 3) Equipment

Although allocated funds will not permit large purchases of equipment, the PMP is mindful of the fact that even small expenditures can be extremely helpful in the development of independent media in CEE.

For example, an initial grant of about \$50,000 in equipment helped put a leading Slovak newspaper, SME, in business. Even smaller amounts have helped other publications and radio stations. Therefore, as a matter of policy, all PMP projects in CEE will include consideration of equipment grants.

## 4) Professional Development

The PMP team looks upon professional career development as a most important aspect of its program in Central and Eastern Europe.

We believe that media-management training deserves the highest priority to work toward the financial viability and survival of an independent print and broadcast press in the region. Media managers in the PMP countries and their neighbors have never properly learned such basics as how to work for a profit-oriented venture in a market economy. In most cases they have not learned how to price and sell advertising, how to run an efficient operation, or how to compete in a multimedia market.

Basic management issues covered in this program will include such subjects as general management, advertising, marketing, community relations, personnel selection and compensation, public relations, relations with the advertiser, and surviving and growing in the competitive marketplaces of ideas and economics. Specialized training will cover such important subjects as broadcast programming, schedules and formats, niche publications, couponing, newspaper inserts, etc.

All training will be done by media specialists with extensive, professional, hands-on experience. For example, the PMP proposal lists professional print and broadcast committees organized to work on CEE training.

Wherever possible, country orientation will take place in Washington before trainers travel to CEE. In addition, on-site briefings will be requested in countries where training will take place. These briefings will be arranged with local AID missions.

It is anticipated that much of the training will be done outside the capital cities, in the smaller towns in the provinces that frequently have been ignored.

A new element will be introduced on an experimental basis -- training the trainers. We will seek out qualified local communicators in each of the countries who eventually will become trainers themselves. It is anticipated that training for these people will include active participation in the sessions planned, traveling with the American trainers to various communities and workshops and, we hope, learning enough to be able to handle training sessions themselves.

Another new element will be follow-up visits about six months after the training has been completed, in an effort to quantify successes, such as increased newspaper advertising lineage, while seeking ways to improve future training.

Although emphasis will be on management training as noted above, journalism training will not be ignored. Initially, the journalism effort will focus on such key areas as election coverage and move to economic coverage, journalistic ethics and investigative journalism.

Finally, although certain journalism sessions can be held for all media, management sessions cannot be combined. Radio is not television is not cable is not print. Although each is in business to serve the public and make money, the differences are so great that attempting to offer business training for all media in one room ultimately will serve no one.

Three to four-day media management workshops have proven to be professionally successful and cost-effective while taking advantage of the frequently limited time available from the individuals who will do the training as well as those who will receive it. The newspaper or broadcast team will include from two to four professionals, one of whom would serve as the discussion leader and moderator. A typical newspaper team will number two or three people, bringing various skills to the sessions, while the typical broadcast team will include at least one person from radio, one from television and, as appropriate, one from cable.

The "formal" part of the program -- actually a collegial discussion -- will take from a day and a half to a few days. This will be followed by an equal amount of time devoted to one-on-one consultations with participants requesting such sessions. The individual meetings, which have proven to be of great value and importance since they address the specific needs and interests of a station or newspaper in a private rather than a public forum, will be held whenever possible at the newspaper or station requesting the consultation.

## 5) Resident Advisers

The Resident Advisers will serve as in-country representatives of the PMP team to assist in the completion of the basic mandate of helping to establish and maintain independent media in CEE. Commitments of funds and specific activities will require PMP approval. The RAs will be assigned to one country but may be required to be involved in activities in other CEE countries. These arrangements would be worked out in advance of any travel with AID missions in the countries to which the RA is assigned. Specific duties will include but not be limited to:

- Continuous monitoring of all domestic activities related to media.
- Making recommendations for activities such as training, education, equipment grants, etc.
- Arranging for and participating in these activities, including media management workshops.
- Serving as an on-site professional expert/consultant to indigenous media outlets.
- Maintaining contact with principal media and media organizations and with appropriate government officials in the assigned country.
- Updating the US government country team as well as Washington.
- Maintaining regular communications with the PMP staff on all of the above.

## INTRODUCTION

ProMedia has successfully concluded projects in six of its seven countries since its inception in October 1995 through June 1, 1996, the period covered in this report.

The first month of activity consisted of an assessment visit to each of the program countries by senior ProMedia staff. These visits provided important information for the preparation of a detailed work plan. They also provided an opportunity for the AID missions in these countries to meet the ProMedia leadership to discuss strategy and general objectives. The next two months were devoted to drafting a detailed work plan and to seeking approval from the USAID missions. In the meantime, ProMedia was able to begin initial program preparation for most of the countries.

During this time, all three of the resident advisers envisioned under the approved work plan were hired and two had assumed their roles in Bratislava and Bucharest. The third, for Bulgaria, will be on the ground by mid-June. A fourth RA was added to the original work plan and has assumed his responsibilities in Tirana. The arrival of these resident advisers allows ProMedia to quickly implement all other aspects of those respective country work plans.

Other successful ProMedia programs include the following:

- US professional study visit for Albanian political party spokesmen
- Elections coverage program for Albanian journalists
- Expert legal opinion/comment on the draft of the Bulgarian broadcast media law
- Assessment of needs by outside expert for Hungarian television training program
- Print/distribution analysis of print media in Slovakia
- Expert legal review of Slovak media law]

ProMedia eagerly is in the process of initiating the remaining activities as envisioned in the work plan. Many of the remaining programs will be completed over the next few months, while the remainder are expected to be concluded by the end of November 1996.

## **NARRATIVE SECTION: ALBANIA**

### **I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996**

ProMedia in close cooperation with the USAID mission in Tirana, has developed, organized and initiated the following programs for Albania:

- An assessment team of Senior ProMedia representatives visited Albania from 19 to 23 November 1995, and met with journalists, editors and publishers from a wide spectrum of Albanian media. They also explored program ideas and program coordination with the USAID representatives and other US Embassy officials in Albania.
- A detailed draft work plan for Albania was developed and forwarded to the USAID mission in Albania for approval on 16 January 1996. (See Appendix)
- 28 February, Rich McClear named as ProMedia Resident Adviser in Tirana, to begin work 1 April.
- 9-21 March, at the request of the US Embassy in Tirana and in cooperation with the Soros Media Training Center in Tirana, ProMedia organized and implemented a US professional study visit for Albanian political party spokesmen. (See Appendix for participant list, schedule and participant evaluations)
- 22 April to 10 May, Warren Talbot arrives to organize Elections Coverage Program. Rich McClear serves as program coordinator. (See Appendix for Talbot CV, program outline and news articles produced by program participants)

### **II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORK PLAN**

#### **A. Completed Activities**

During the period of time through June 1, 1996, ProMedia has completed five major activities: conducted an on-site assessment, drafted a detailed work plan, hired a resident adviser, organized a US professional study visit for Albanian political party Spokesmen and conducted election coverage workshops. Several remaining programs are being considered and may be held in the next six months.

Senior ProMedia staff conducted an assessment mission to Albania from 19-23 November. They met with representatives of various Albanian media, local and central government agencies and other institutions involved with media activities. They also met with US Embassy officials, including those of the USAID mission, to discuss program objectives and design. The information collected during this visit was used to develop the detailed work plan.

In mid-January a detailed work plan was faxed to USAID (both Washington and Tirana). After an exchange of ideas and extended discussion, elements of the plan were put in action, while others were further defined and developed. A further revisiting of the initial work plan is being conducted at the writing of this report.

Rich McClear, an experienced radio broadcaster and journalism educator began his tenure as resident adviser in Tirana on 1 April. McClear immediately began on-site consultations with Albanian media members and participated in several media seminars and roundtable discussions organized by international sponsors. McClear also immediately began coordination of the election coverage training. Throughout his stay, McClear maintains close communication with the USIS and USAID offices in Tirana, with whom he is currently in the process of revisiting the work plan.

In response to a request from the US Embassy in Tirana, ProMedia agreed to organize and conduct a 12 day US professional study tour for Albanian political party spokesmen. The four party spokesmen met with a variety of government and media representatives involved in elections and election processes in the US. The group was also able to view first hand the Illinois primaries and gained valuable insight into the American elections experience, as well as the role of party spokesmen in the two main US political parties. A follow-up roundtable discussion was organized and held in Tirana on the eve of Albanian elections, allowing participants to put their American experience into an Albanian context.

During the Albanian campaign period and elections, ProMedia Consultant, Warren Talbot, and ProMedia Resident Adviser, Rich McClear conducted a complex elections coverage program. The program consisted of a workshop for journalist covering the elections in Albania, on-site consultations, a joint publication by Albanian journalists and journalism students of a special elections supplement, and the monitoring of the elections. Despite the flaws and shortcomings of the Albanian elections, the election coverage program successfully encouraged the responsible participation of Albanian journalists in the elections process and published a well-received and balanced news supplement.

## **B. Future Activities**

In addition to the completed activities listed above, ProMedia in collaboration with the USAID and USIS officers in Tirana is considering how best to use the remaining portion of the budget most effectively. These possible additional action items are:

1. **Radio Training Workshops**—This program will introduce Albanian broadcasters to American styles of broadcast management. Workshops are to be organized in Tirana and several other cities and a series of on-site management consultations will occur simultaneously. A potential joint action with other western institutions would establish a radio training facility in Tirana. The program is currently scheduled to begin in July.

2. Professional Media Association Development—Following the framework of the plan of action drawn-up by the International Center for Journalists, on the recommendations of USAID Tirana and in agreement with the leaderships of the two Albanian journalists associations, ProMedia hopes to strengthen and bring together for closer cooperation the two associations. This program will begin in September.

### III. TIMETABLE FOR ACTIVITIES YET TO BE COMPLETED

#### Radio Training Workshops

- Workshops in Tirana, Skodra and other towns: July - August, 1996
- On-site consultations: July - August, 1996

#### Professional Media Association Development

- Workshop for association leaders: September 1996
- On-site consultations: September/October 1996

# ~ Country & Regional Project Plans ~

The Appendix offers expanded information on many of the project themes discussed in the following country reports.

## ~ Albania ~

### The Conditions

Albania must be the last great CEE frontier for media-assistance organizations because there seems to be disproportionate current interest. A close look unveils assistance by the International Media Fund, BBC, a Danish journalism school, WBUR in Boston (USIA), Soros Foundation and German broadcasting. Albania needs all the help it can get. The basic journalism skills, which most of the above organizations seem to be addressing, remain sadly lacking. Not enough time has been spent on management and framing sound media business practices.

At least a couple of newspapers have been successful in promoting themselves and soliciting considerable advertising support. We would like to work with them as local experts to help train others. Partner training is a potential tool. There still, however, is considerable distrust among media managers and this approach will need some testing.

While there remains some animosity among the non-owners of the International Media Fund printing press, it is clear this press gets lots of use and without it the publishing situation would be in serious trouble.

### The Plan

1) **ELECTION COVERAGE** - With elections quickly approaching, ProMedia had received requests from journalists for information on how to cover democratic elections. In cooperation with the Open Society office in Tirana, ProMedia organized a working visit to the United States for 4 political party spokesmen. In addition, a follow-up program with the party spokesmen and political leaders is being prepared and will compliment a series of roundtable discussions and face to face consultations organized by the ProMedia Resident Advisor and American elections coverage specialists. This program began in **March and will run through May.**

2) **RESIDENT ADVISOR** - A resident advisor with broad broadcasting experience and experience with media in Albania will be hired to serve a six month stint providing on-site consultations to Albanian journalists and media, organize and implement ProMedia

programs and assist coordination with the US embassy and other media donor groups. This will begin in April.

3) **RADIO TRAINING** - A broadcast law is expected to be passed in Albania soon and potential entrepreneurs are ready to move into the radio news business. Unfortunately there are not many trained radio managers, technicians or news people to fill the spots that will open up. That is changing slowly with an American journalist and others training at the university. We will work with the Soros Foundation in Albania to devise a radio news training program for future radio journalists. We **already** have spoken with several radio professionals with CEE experience; some even have been to Albania. **June** is the target date for this program.

4) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - A distrustful league of media managers spends too much time watching the competition and not enough time watching their own businesses in this country. Albanian managers -- because of the lack of a broadcast law this applies primarily to print -- are ripe for media management workshops. We will begin in **June** planning media-management workshops, first in the capital, Tirana, and later outside the city. Our method will be to start all programs with a workshop that will be followed by one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses.

## Management

The PMP Washington team will be in frequent contact with USAID and USIS regarding our activities in Albania. We expect to continue to build relationships with Soros as well as the media center being set up by Arhus University's journalism school in Denmark. Through these contacts and on the advice of trainers and experts we send to Albania we will keep abreast of media activities. The PMP also can rely on assistance from our IREX field office in Macedonia when useful.

## Albania Project Budgets

### Albanian Press Spokesmen

Travel (Domestic -- for participants and NFF staff)	\$4,300
Per Diems (participants, interpreters and NFF staff)	\$5,900
Lodging	\$7,000
Insurance	\$1,000
Interpreter fees	\$10,000
Cultural/book allowance	\$1,220
Total	\$29,420

NFF Indirect	\$8,200
Total	\$37,600

**Resident Advisor**

Stipend	\$18,400
Rent	\$3,600
International Travel	\$1,600
Local Travel	\$1,500
Insurance	\$120
Interpreter Fees	\$1,500
Office Supplies	\$300
Telephone/Fax	\$500
Pre-departure Orientation	\$1,200
Total	\$28,720

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**Elections Coverage Workshops**

International Travel	\$4,000
Per Diem	\$6,200
Facilities	\$2,500
Travel Allowance	\$1,200
Local Transportation	\$1,500
Interpreters Fees	\$4,000
Interpreter's Expenses	\$2,200
Honoraria	\$4,200
Supplies	\$300
Telephone/fax	\$500
Total	\$26,600

**Radio Management Training Program**

International Travel	\$1,500
Per Diem (3 people x 14 days x \$128)	\$5,376
Local Travel	\$1,500
Interpreter Fees	\$1,000
Supplies and Photocopying	\$400
Telephone Fax	\$300
Total	\$10,076

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**Staff Travel**

International Travel  
\$3,500

Per Diem and Lodging  
\$1,500

Total  
5,000

**TOTAL**  
\$107,996

**VISIT OF ALBANIAN POLITICAL PARTY SPOKESMEN**  
**MARCH 9-21, 1996**  
Sponsored by the Professional Media Project  
(Updated 3/22/96)

**Saturday, March 9**

10:25 p.m. Arrive Newark Airport  
Overnight: Days Inn Newark-Airport  
450 Route 1 South  
Newark, N.J. 07114  
201-242-0900

**Sunday, March 10**

10:25 a.m. Arrive Washington Dulles Airport  
Check into: The Virginian  
1500 Arlington Blvd.  
Arlington, VA 22209  
703-522-9600, Fax: 703-525-4462  
3:00 p.m. Trolley Tour of Washington, DC

**Monday, March 11**

9:30 a.m. Welcome  
10:00 a.m. Overview of the American Press  
Wayne Dillehay, executive director, International  
Center for Journalists  
Location: The Virginian  
1:00 p.m. Lunch  
2:30 p.m.- Roundtable: Role of the Press Secretary  
4:00 Chuck Greener - executive vice president, Porter Novelli  
former communications director, Republican National  
Committee  
Richard Mintz - senior vice president, Ogilvy Adams & Rinehart  
former spokesman, Transportation Secretary Frederico Pena  
David Beckwith - director of government relations, EDS Corp.  
former spokesman, Vice President Dan Quayle, Senator Kay  
Bailey Hutchison  
Location: Ogilvy Adams & Rinehart, 1901 L St., N.W.

**Tuesday, March 12**

9:30 a.m.- Overview of the political process and presidential election  
10:30 Mort Kondracke, Executive Editor, Roll Call  
Location: 900 Second St., NE  
10:45 a.m.- Republican Senatorial Committee  
11:15 Nancy Ives, press secretary  
Location: 425 Second St., N.E.

11:30 a.m. Lunch  
12:45 p.m. Arrive State Department  
1:00 p.m. State Department press briefing  
2:00 p.m.- State Department briefing with Chris Hill, director, Office of  
3:00 South-Central European Affairs  
Location: Room 5221  
4:30 p.m. State Department meeting with Tim Wirth, Undersecretary, Global Affairs  
Location: Room 7250

### Wednesday, March 13

9:30 a.m. Tour of C-SPAN  
Angie Hunter - 626-4868, fax 737-3323  
11:00 a.m. Nuts and Bolts: How the Job is Done  
Kathy Gest, press secretary, Senator Bill Cohen  
Location: Dirkson Senate Office Bldg., Aging Committee Conference Room  
12:30 p.m. Lunch, Senate Cafeteria  
2:00 p.m. More Nuts and Bolts  
Bob Stevenson - press secretary, Senate Budget Committee  
Chris Madison - minority press secretary, House Internat'l  
Relations Committee  
4:00 p.m. Election Coverage  
The Freedom Forum  
6:30 p.m. Pick-up at The Virginian  
7:00 p.m. Dinner at La Brasserie  
Jim Denton, NFF President  
Paula Gibbons, NFF Director of Programs  
Kathy Gest, NFF Special Consultant  
Carole Brennan, ProMedia Assistant Director, IREX  
Paul McCarthy, Program Officer, National Endowment for Democracy

### Thursday, March 14

9:30 a.m. Covering the White House  
William Neikirk, White House correspondent, Chicago Tribune  
Mara Liasson, White House correspondent National Public Radio  
Location: 1325 G St., N.W. Suite 200  
11:00 a.m. - Hearing on Challenges to Democracy in Albania  
1:00 Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe  
Room 311 Cannon House Office Building  
1:00 p.m. Lunch  
2:45 p.m. Voice of America, 330 Independence Ave., SW  
Dr. Elez Biberaj, Director, Albanian Service - 619-2223  
4:00 p.m. Democratic National Committee, 499 South Capitol St., Suite 104  
Andy Solomon - 488-5064

### Friday, March 15

9:30 a.m. Politics, Elections and the Media

International Center for Journalists  
Location: 11690-A Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, VA  
12:00 p.m. Lunch  
1:00 p.m. 1996 Campaign and the Primary System  
International Center for Journalists  
3:30 p.m. Depart for airport  
6:30 p.m. Depart for Chicago  
American Flight 697  
7:35 p.m. Arrive Chicago  
Check into: Allerton Hotel  
701 N. Michigan Ave.  
312-440-1500 fax: 440-1819

**Saturday, March 16**

7:30 a.m. Meet Lisa Shydowski, Executive Director, Cook County Republican Central  
Committee  
8:00 a.m. 43rd Ward meeting with Committeeman Brian Kasal  
Location: 816 West Fullerton  
9:30 a.m. Polish breakfast for Lt. Governor Bob Kustra  
Location: 13 Colonies Restaurant, 8300 Belmont, River Grove  
12:00 p.m. 31st Ward organization meeting and lunch with Lou Kasper, City  
Chairman, Cook County Republican Central Committee  
1:30 p.m. St. Patrick's Day parade  
7:00 p.m. Showboat  
Location: Auditorium Theater

**Sunday, March 17**

12:00 p.m. Dole campaign event at Michigan Ave. Presbyterian Church  
1:30 p.m. Dole rally  
Location: Thirteen Colonies Banquet Hall, 8301 W. Belmont, River Grove

**Monday, March 18**

9:30 a.m. The Strategy Group, Democratic Consultants  
Peter Giangreco  
Location: 730 N. Franklin, Suite 601, tel: 312-944-7737  
11:00 a.m. Michael Guinan, Cook County Democratic Organization  
Location: 30 N. LaSalle, Suite 2432  
2:00 p.m. Gary Mack, Press Spokesman for Governor Jim Edgar  
Location: Thompson Center, 100 W. Randolph  
8:00 p.m. Dinner, Greek Islands

**Tuesday, March 19**

10:00 a.m. Free Press program, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University  
Professors Richard Schwarzlose and Jon Ziomek  
Location: Fisk Hall, Sheridan Road, Evanston campus

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Lunch  
2:00 p.m. John McGovern, Press Secretary, Illinois Republican Party  
Location: 188 W. Randolph  
4:00 p.m. Thom Shanker, Editorial Board, Chicago Tribune  
312-222-5011; fax 222-2598  
Evening Dick Durbin Senate campaign election night suite  
Location: Drake Hotel  
Dole campaign election night suite with Gov. Jim Edgar  
Location: Sheraton Hotel

**Wednesday, March 20**

9:00 a.m. Depart Chicago  
American Flight 1548  
11:45 a.m. Arrive Washington National Airport  
1:00 p.m. Evaluation at International Center for Journalists  
With Kathy Gest, Paula Gibbons, Whayne Dillehay, Carole Brennan

**Thursday, March 21**

10:00 a.m. Wrap up at National Forum Foundation  
10:45 a.m. Meet at 322 Hart Senate Office Building  
Proceed to Senate Armed Services Committee hearing  
Location: 222 Russell Senate Office Building  
Photo with Senator Bill Cohen (R-Maine)  
11:30 a.m. Lunch with Dr. Elez Biberaj, Voice of America  
12:45 p.m. Arrive White House  
1:00 p.m. White House Briefing with Press Secretary, Mike McCurry and Deputy  
National Security Adviser Sanford Berger  
Briefing following with Jim Fetig, deputy press secretary  
4:00 p.m. Depart for Dulles Airport  
7:05 p.m. Depart Washington Dulles  
Swiss Air Flight 129

## Albanian Delegation of Press Spokespersons Sponsored by the Professional Media Program

### **Ben Blushi**

Director, Soros Media Training Center  
Tirana, Albania

Mr. Ben Blushi (Born: 1/1/69) is the Director of the Soros Media Training Center in Tirana, Albania. Prior to his work at the Center, Mr. Blushi was a journalist at *Rilindja Demokratike*, the first opposition newspaper in post-communist Albania, and served as an editor and political columnist at the independent daily, *Koha Jone*. Prior to his journalistic experience, Mr. Blushi was an instructor at the Youth Department in the Albanian Ministry of Culture. Mr. Blushi received a degree in language and literature from the faculty of history and philology at the University of Tirana in 1991.

### **Uk Zenel Bucpapaj**

Spokesman, Democratic Party  
Tirana, Albania

Mr. Uk Zenel Bucpapaj (Born: 6/9/58) is the Spokesman for the Democratic Party of Albania. Prior to his position with the Democratic Party, Mr. Bucpapaj was a lecturer at the English Department of the Faculty of Foreign Languages of the University of Tirana. Mr. Bucpapaj received a Fulbright Scholarship to study at the Comparative Literature Department of the University of Iowa in 1992/93. He received a degree in English language and literature from the Faculty of Foreign Languages of the University of Tirana in 1981.

### **Blendi Fevziu**

Spokesman, Democratic Alliance Party  
Tirana, Albania

Mr. Blendi Fevziu (Born: 5/18/69) is the Spokesman for the Democratic Alliance Party of Albania. Mr. Fevziu also serves as editor-in-chief of *Aleanca*, the Party's weekly publication. He has had over four years of media experience as a journalist for *Rilindja Demokratike* and the independent daily, *Koha Jone*. Previously, Mr. Fevziu was Director of the Youth and Sports program at the Albanian Ministry of Culture. Mr. Fevziu received a degree in language and literature from the faculty of history and philology at the University of Tirana in 1991.

### **Kastriot Islami**

Spokesman, Socialist Party  
Tirana, Albania

Mr. Kastriot Islami (Born: 8/18/52) is the Spokesman for the Socialist Party and a Member of Parliament of Albania. Mr. Islami previously served as Speaker of Parliament (from 1991-1992) and was a professor at the Natural Sciences Faculty of the University of Tirana for over ten years.

### **Plator Nesturi**

Spokesman, Social-Democratic Party  
Tirana, Albania

Mr. Plator Nesturi (Born: 7/19/66) is the Spokesman for the Social-Democratic Party of Albania and Political Editor of the publication, *Alternativa SD*. Mr. Nesturi previously served as Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Populli Po* and as Editor-in-Chief of the daily, *Dita Informacion*. Mr. Nesturi also worked as a journalist for the daily *Koha Jone* and for the youth publication, *Zeri I Rinise*. Prior to his work as a journalist, Mr. Nesturi taught high school literature in Northern Albania. Mr. Nesturi graduated from the faculty of history and philology at the University of Tirana in 1988.

# NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION

511 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 543-3515 Fax: (202) 547-4101 e-mail: NFF1@aol.com

## ProMedia Sponsored Political Communications Program for Albanian Party Press Spokespersons

### EVALUATION FORM

Please write your answers clearly to the following questions. If you need more space, please continue on the reverse side of the page. We appreciate your candid and thorough remarks.

- 1) Give a brief evaluation of the segment of the program in Washington, DC. Include specific comments on which briefings were, and were not, of value to you. What was the most useful part of the program?

#### Kastriot Islami:

The meetings in Washington D.C. were overviews and academic presentations on the role of the spokesman, press secretary or the press in general and broadcasting. The most interesting meetings were with Whayne Dillehay, Richard Mintz and David Beckwith at the Ogilvy, Adams and Rinehart and the meeting with William Newkirk of the Chicago Tribune. In the political portion of the program, the meetings with Mr. Chris Hill and Under Secretary Timothy Wirth were very interesting.

#### Blendi Fevziu:

The program was valuable and put together very well. It was a big experience to understand how a press office functions, the role of a spokesman, and his two way relations with his boss on one hand and reporters on the other. The most useful meetings were the meeting at Ogilvy, Adams and Rinehart, the meetings at the Center for International Journalists and the meeting with Mr. Timothy Wirth.

#### Uk Bucpapaj:

The program in Washington D.C. was rich, busy and variable. All the meetings and dialogues were very valuable for us, since they always offered us experiences and important discoveries in doing our jobs better and more efficiently.

- 2) Please give a brief evaluation of the segment of the program in Chicago, IL. Include specific comments on which briefings were, and were not, of value to you. What was the most useful part of the program?

#### Kastriot Islami:

The meetings in Chicago were mostly of a practical character to understand the different activities in the primary elections. At the same time we were given

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overviews on the role of the spokesman or the journalist and the cooperation between the spokesman, his boss and the media. The meeting with Tom Shanker at the Chicago Tribune, and the meetings at Northwestern University were interesting. Peter Giangreco at the Strategy Group gave an excellent presentation on the combination of political advertisement, political strategy during an election and polling. Participating in the rallies for Bob Dole and Bob Kustra were very interesting because they gave us the opportunity to see how different events were organized, such as the Polish Breakfast, and waiting for the election results at the event in the Sheraton.

Blendi Fevziu:

The program in Chicago had mostly practical values. It gave us a more complete information on the electoral campaigns in the United States and how they were organized by political parties.

The most interesting meeting was with the advisers of the Office for Campaign Strategy.

Uk Bucpapaj:

The segment of the program in Chicago had undoubted practical and informative values.

Following the work of the press secretaries, especially participating in primary rallies to determine the candidates, was very important for us.

The most valuable part of the program here was the meeting and understanding of the responsibilities of the Strategy Group.

- 3) In general, were you satisfied with your program? How will this experience benefit you professionally? Would you recommend this program to others?

Kastriot Islami:

I am personally very happy with the program which I found very interesting. The program was something in between a working visit and a seminar. Different elements of the program can be applied to our work in Albania, but because of the technical needs, many of them can be applied only with some effect or through a longer period. It would be of interest that this activity be followed with a workshop and then a longer-term training.

Blendi Fevziu:

The program was exceptionally interesting and I am happy with it. It is a better opportunity to perfect our work. Yes, the program will be valuable for other representatives from Albania and Eastern Europe.

Uk Bucpapaj:

In general, and in particular, we are very happy with the program.

This experience will help us professionally in order to understand the role of the press secretary as an intermediary between the leaders and the public.

Yes, of course. Others from Eastern and Central Europe should participate in this program as well because they can learn from it.

- 4) Give concrete examples that illustrate how you will do your job differently based on this experience.

Kastriot Islami:

I was impressed mostly with the fact that there is no "ethical code" for the press in the United States, and in a sense the political government always feels pressured from the media, whereas the media feels quite free from the government. The cooperation between the triangle - Party leadership, spokesman, and the media was done in quite an intelligent and smart way, and this is an example I will try to apply as soon as possible.

Blendi Fevziu:

I will reorganize my press office on the principles that I have learned during my visit here. I will organize my boss's campaign better and I will organize for him direct contacts with the press. I will try to incorporate an atmosphere of punctuality and correctness in our everyday work.

Uk Bucpapaj:

1. Strengthening relations with the press and mass media.
2. Increasing trust by being open, fair, honest and flexible while receiving, sending and preparing the information.
3. Understanding correctly the role and responsibilities of the press secretary to benefit the prosperity of the job and avoid any abuse of the freedom of speech and press, to inform the public beyond sensation, lies and the artificiality of the tensions in the political battle.
4. Strengthening fair working relations with the leader, the reporters, and the public.

- 5) Was the NFF staff organized, professional, and efficient?

Kastriot Islami:

I will be very brief in this evaluation:

Professionalism - perfect, (the entire staff)

Efficiency - perfect (Kathy, Paula, Therese)

Organization - perfect (all the staff): I would like to add (in humor) that the reception held by the President of the NFF was not simply a reception but a meeting and an exchange of ideas.

Blendi Fevziu:

The staff was perfect. We thank them once again for the concern and dedication they have shown towards us.

Uk Bucpapaj:

The staff of the NFF was organized, professional and efficient in their work.

They should be more careful in selecting interpreters, since they should know their native language and English very well.

6) This program was designed to achieve specific long-term training objectives. Please write the appropriate number from 1 to 4 indicating the degree of success achieved by the program on the lines below. (1 = very good; 2 = good; 3 = adequate; 4 - inadequate)

\_\_\_\_ Established new professional ties or links with American individuals or organizations.

2 \_\_\_\_ Kastriot Islami

1 \_\_\_\_ Blendi Fevziu

2 \_\_\_\_ Uk Buçpapaj

\_\_\_\_ Enhanced your technical skills (writing press releases, preparing press briefings, etc).

2 \_\_\_\_ Kastriot Islami:

2 \_\_\_\_ Blendi Fevziu:

1 \_\_\_\_ Uk Buçpapaj:

\_\_\_\_ Familiarized you with a general code of ethics observed by American politicians, spokespersons, and media.

1 \_\_\_\_ Kastriot Islami:

1 \_\_\_\_ Blendi Fevziu:

1 \_\_\_\_ Uk Buçpapaj:

\_\_\_\_ Familiarized you with the American political campaign process.

2 \_\_\_\_ Kastriot Islami:

1 \_\_\_\_ Blendi Fevziu:

1 \_\_\_\_ Uk Buçpapaj:

\_\_\_\_ Enhanced your understanding of how a spokesperson interacts with an independent press.

1 \_\_\_\_ Kastriot Islami:

1 \_\_\_\_ Blendi Fevziu:

1 \_\_\_\_ Uk Buçpapaj:

Thank you for your comments.

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TO: Csaba Chikes  
FROM: Jim Denton  
DATE: March 29, 1996

1. Attached find the translated evaluations submitted by the recent Albanian participants in the ProMedia sponsored program. Unfortunately, one of the participants, Plator Nesturi, in spite of his promises to do so, never produced an evaluation. Based upon these comments and others that we have heard, it seems the 12-day program was successful.

2. Especially in light of the very short time fuse given for this activity, I would like to thank all who contributed to this effort. We're particularly grateful to Allen Docal and Charles Walsh of USIA/USIS who were extremely responsive, prompt, and efficient. Also, Wayne and his people did a great job of pulling together a day and a half of presentations.

3. Very, very special thanks goes to Kathy Gest, a friend and colleague who has often helped us out on short notice. But this time, she went well beyond the call of duty. And, you should know that because she didn't want to be on two payrolls at the same time, she wanted to volunteer all of her time. However, I have insisted that she accept pay for her work on weekends and after hours. I'm very pleased, incidentally, that Wayne is apparently going to use her services in the follow-on component.

4. Lastly, I want to acknowledge Paula Gibbons here at NFF who took this project on when she was already swamped. She really did a great job on managing the overall program and communications flow to ensure that all concerned were singing from the same sheet of music.

I've also attached the group's final agenda, the press release, and the bios of the participants.

CC: Steve Bauser  
Wayne Dillehay  
Allen Docal  
Kathy Gest  
Charles Walsh

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## RESUME

Name: Warren H. Talbot  
Age: 45 (DOB, \_\_\_\_\_)  
Home address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Work Address: The Patriot Ledger, 400 Crown Colony Drive,  
Quincy, Mass., 02169  
Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_  
Home phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
work phone: 517-786-7026

### WORK HISTORY

1. October 1980 to present: The Patriot Ledger, Quincy, Mass. (Circulation 90,000 plus, largest afternoon daily in Massachusetts) Currently, Senior News Editor charged with management of newsroom from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. Primary duties include selecting local, state, national and international stories and photos for publication, especially for page 1. Duties also include editing and rewriting, working with reporters and other editors on story development, assist in page design, assist in assignment of stories, coaching reporters. Since we are an afternoon newspaper the bulk of the production is accomplished late at night and early in the morning. Have also written editorials, commentaries, and book reviews. In addition have been called upon to plan coverage of special events such as elections, and edited special sections. Have also been Evening City Editor, City Edition Editor and South Edition Editor.
2. January 1980 to September 1980: United Press International, Washington, D.C.: General Desk Editor and Reporter. Assigned to Democratic National Convention.
3. 1976 to 1980 : United Press International, Boston: Bureau Chief/State News Editor.
4. 1974 to 1976: United Press International, Providence, R.I.: Statehouse Reporter.
5. Late 1971 to early 1974: The Boston Globe, Boston, Mass.: Suburban Correspondent in charge of covering Middlesex County communities and Middlesex County government.
6. During college years (1968-1971) employed at The Boston Globe as editorial assistant and summer intern, and at WOBH-TV and WHDH-TV.

## EDUCATION

Northeastern University, Boston, Mass.: 1971, B.A. English, political science.

University of Massachusetts-Boston, (1990-present): Candidate for M.A. in American Studies. Completed 30 credits course work. Expect to finish thesis by spring 1994.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Periodically employed as part-time journalism instructor at Northeastern University and Boston University.

Selected for 1992 IBCC-CFJ Fellowship: Two week reporting trip to Japan.

Hobbies: Photography, fishing, reading history. Enjoy coaching youth football, baseball and soccer.

Date sent: Fri, 12 Apr 96 10:33:49 +0200  
From: "Alla, Gazmend P" <gpatira@usia.gov>  
Organization: USIA  
To: okesic@irex.org  
Subject: Fwd: Error in delivering message.

Unknown destination host or workgroup: x @ gate {okesic@irex.org}

Returned message follows:

I'm leaving today, I told Ben to make the reservations at Made in Italy and arrange a pickup To Obrad and Whayne  
Fm Rich McClear  
Re Monitoring Project  
Dt April 11, 1996

Here is a talking paper on the monitoring project. Please pass this on to Warren.

Participants: Warren Talbot will be here April 22. USIS is bringing in two people in May. Students will participate as monitors and translators. Albanian journalists on the team will be carefully selected. There should be no people with political party ties. The project must be completely impartial.

Beginning the week of April 29 the team will monitor coverage of the election, including objective analysis, like column inches given to parties, and more subjective analysis, like balance of stories. The analysis will include outside political activities of journalists. There will be a team monitoring electronic media coverage and some of this information may be useful to our team.

We're concerned that printing a weekly media review could become an issue in the campaign with different newspapers using it to attack other papers and the parties they represent. This would direct coverage away from issues and toward the "horse race." We're now planning twice weekly roundtables in which the team will present, in a social setting, findings to groups of journalists and discuss the coverage of the campaign. To improve attendance we may tie weekly awards to the roundtables, with an award for the best coverage each week and a best overall coverage award selected from the weekly winners after the campaign. We should offer a prize of value, like a lap top computer. At the

end of the campaign we'll publish our findings to leave a permanent record of our work.

Time line for Monitoring Project:

Week of April 22 Charles, Ben, Warren and others finalize plans and make logistic arrangements.

April 27 Monitoring Begins.

May 4 First roundtable discussion

Every Wednesday and Saturday the round tables continue.

May 26, First round elections

June 2, Second round elections.

June 7, Final roundtable, debriefing and award. Publication of findings for Warren at the airport. I left the schedule both with Ben at Soros Media Center and with [USIS. Here is some material on the monitoring project. It is still a draft and subject to change.

Take Care

Rich

Date sent: Thu, 23 May 96 10:43:23 +0200  
From: USISTIRA <usistira@usia.gov>  
Organization: USIA  
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To Interested People  
Fm Rich McClear  
RE Election Newspaper  
Dt May 23, 1996

The special election supplement of three newspapers was distributed yesterday, in both Albanian and English language versions. Here is the English rundown of the paper. It has none of the graphics. It was 8 pages

Page 1 (articles continued on pages 3, 4 and 5)

\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED ENGLISH VERSION\*\*\*

In the North, The Vote will Go to the Man, Not to the Party

By Altin Rraxhimi

TAMARA--Nikolin Pecaj, 31, talks energetically with friends in one of the nine bars opened in the last four years in this town. A tape player first tries some techno-pop music, and later changes to music from the area. Outside, more than nine Democratic Party election posters are stuck on the walls, and people wait on the square for a vehicle to go to Shkodra or Vermosh.

"We're forgotten here, nobody cares for us," said Ndue Nacaj, a former truck driver from Selca. "Our MP came here only for the elections. They make their debates only to arrange themselves better, and not to do anything for the people."

Like most of the country, newspapers do not reach Tamara, and the Radio Tirana repeater station only works sometimes. Nonetheless, everybody here talks about politics.

"In a family of five, three are politicians here," said Ndok Pellumbi, dentist in Tamara. "Even the goat and the sheep are

politicians."

Pecaj sips a bit of fernet. "The candidate of the Democratic Party is going to win in Kelmend," a biology teacher and member of the Democratic Alliance said. "I'm going to vote for him. But this time it will be a vote for the man, not for the political party he represents."

The Democrats will compete with the Social-Democrat senior leader Gjergj Rrakaj, and a Republican, as the Socialist Party left the zone vacant.

The Democrats won more than 70 percent of the vote in the last three ballots in the 6,500-person community, but many people, like Pecaj, think now is the time to vote for a person, and not for a party.

Many felt cheated by the former deputy of the area who, they said, promised that in the last four years the population was going to eat seven types of bread, and each village was going to have telephones. Neither of those things happened.

"He had to do more here," said Sokol Pretashi from Lepusha. "No road opened, no border check-point opened, no telephone was installed. But as for the seven types of bread, you have to make them with your own hands."

The new DP candidate, Rrok Smajli, from Kelmend, a professor at the University of Shkodra, was more careful, and all he promised was that if elected, he would devote himself to the problems of the citizens.

Tamara, like much of Kelmend, is sunk between two rocky mountain ranges by the Cem river. Many people moved here from neighboring villages, just as those who moved to Tirana in the last 50 years, increasing the capital's size from 30,000 to half a million.

Like Tirana is for the nation, Tamara is the wealthiest place in the county. Most people work for the government--school teachers, local government employees, police, and health care employees. A government job is highly appreciated as the income it generates is well above the average income of normal family.

"Seventy percent of the people here are below subsistence level, while only ten percent have prospered," said Nikolle Nilaj, administrator of the state assistance in the county of Kelmend, which encompasses the northernmost villages of Albania.

Investment has been insignificant, and there are only six businesses in an area equal to that of Lezha district, and with much less land to work on. Aid also has been close to non-existent. Charities sent some clothes twice, a few years ago.

An Italian Franciscan friar, Father Livio, has occasionally given some clothes, food, and medicine. And the Malteser Hilfsdienst, the German branch of the relief organization Order of the Cross of St. John, sends three graduates of medicine to visit the sick once a week.

"We tell people to get sick only Mondays, when we go there," said one of the doctors working with the organization.

"Do you know that Pope Clement was once here?" said Father Livio, sitting around the table with some villagers in a restaurant in Tamara.

The road from Shkodra to Tamara, and then Vermosh, goes up and down steep rocks more than 50 meters high. Half of the 111 kilometer road is unpaved, but still in better shape than those which go to Dukagjin, across the eastern line of the mountains.

The average land per person is about 200 to 400 square meters, much of it not arable, and the villagers said that it can maintain their living expenses for only four to six months.

Lepusha, like neighboring Vermosh, is under snow five to six months out of the year. The two villages remained blocked from snow for a month and a half until the end of March this year, the first time ever.

The government has provided financial aid to 1,100 of the 1,600 families in the area, county officials said, which according to the law had to be between 2,700 and 4,800 Lek. But the funds dropped to a total 1.05 million Lek a month for Nikolle Nilaj to administer. The commune then decided to give to 80 families full aid, and what was leftover was distributed at about 200 to 800 Lek monthly, said Nilaj. He said the county needed a fund of 2.5 million Lek to fill all the needs of financial assistance.

"It doesn't serve us for anything," said Ilir Grishaj, 23, from Lepusha, who has to take care of his family, his mother and two sisters by planting his 200 square meters land with potatoes.

"During Communism there was the psychological fear of saying the wrong thing, now there is the economical fear of starving." He said he ran out of money last month, and borrowed some from friends to keep going. Grishaj would make 30,000 Lek annually, or an average 2,500 Lek monthly, besides the 600 Lek assistance he gets from the government, and a loaf of bread costs 50 Lek.

The lucky 30 percent that have bread and enjoy a moderate standard of living, take pride in the 338 satellite dishes in the area, as well as color TVs and, for a few, electric stoves and

refrigerators.

"I am going to vote DP," said Kole Aliaj from Lepusha, according to many the richest man in the village who has a business of selling wood to wood processing companies.

"Everybody is free to think and talk, and can be sure of bread to eat if he wants to work," Aliaj said.

But not every well off man in the village thinks like Aliaj. Luigj Nishi, who owns a shop in the village and is a Socialist Party activist, said he was voting for the other candidate, the Social-Democrat Gjergj Rrakaj.

"I will vote for no party this time," said Ndue Nacaj of Selca, meaning he was not going to vote. Nacaj said he voted DP in the March 1991 and 1992 elections. "Each party that gets to power thinks only of stealing," he said.

\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION\*\*\*

Jobs, Roads, Mine on Tepelenans Minds

By Enkelejda Muça

TEPELENA--People in this southern city live these days in fear. Lack of investment has left people discontent. Tiredness shows in their faces. It's said that hope is the last to die--it doesn't appear anywhere in Tepelena.

"None of the parties can solve our problems, because all of them have corrupt leadership," said Dh.P., owner of a small general store downtown. He was not willing to give his full name.

Many others in this city of under 20,000 residents expressed similar opinions.

Fatime Lushkaj, 38, works in a soft drinks factory. "There are a lot of jobless people. You can see them everywhere on the streets. It's like a desert here, and there is no hope of things getting better," Lushkaj said.

The Vjosa River follows the road to Tepelena. It's an impressive natural presence with its green, changing color. People relax under the trees lining the bank, trying to find some shadow on a hot day.

The town is quiet. The streets are lined with coffee bars full of people who don't seem to pay attention to the time as

they drink their coffee. Close by is the city hotel, the city bank and some private business. The modest shops are simple and well kept.

Three-story buildings dominate the town and its view. Some of these, like those close to the castle of Ali Pasha of Tepelena, are in very bad condition. Their windows are broken and green from the humidity, and give a sad view to the town.

Fatime Lushkaj lives in one of those buildings. "In Tepelena there is no more life. If work could restart at the mine, then the situation could get better. Then our men could find jobs again."

The mine of Memaliaj, not far from Tepelena, used to be the most important employer for the townspeople. But now the mine works at just one-third of its capacity.

Lushkaj, who has dark hair and eyes, said her husband is out of work. "I earn 150 new leks per day, around 3,800 leks per month, and I have to raise three children, two girls, 12 and 13, and a boy of six."

About the elections she initially seemed indifferent. But then said she favors the left parties. "I believe in Fatos Nano, as an intellectual and economist".

Party campaigning is active in Tepelena, with many rallies and meetings. The Socialist and the Democratic parties, whose offices are in the same building, are the most active.

"I can't do anything personally for the jobless people," confessed Socialist Party candidate Hamit Gjoni. "But my party has, in its social program, the aim to reactivate work at the Memaliaj mine." He said his party favors privatizing the mine.

"We aim to build factories for processing milk from rural zones and villages. Professionals will be put in charge of administration. A teacher will not become a policeman anymore. We will fight the tax evaders, collaborate with customs officials to eliminate corruption," Gjoni said.

The Democratic Party also had ambitious goals for Tepelena's future. "Our town will become a transit center and crossroads. The mine of Memaliaj will be privatized," said Muin Hyseni, head of the local DP.

"Total privatization is the right solution. We have a total lack of infrastructure. Many villages cannot communicate with each other because there is no road yet. But we plan to construct this network of roads in a short period," he said.

For the milk processing factories, the Democratic representative is cautious because of financial support. "The

financial support policy needs guarantees, which do not exist. It's not yet the right time for a protectionism policy against imports. Protectionism could eliminate competition, but the risk of long lines could reappear," Hyseni said.

For some of the elderly, it's not easy to forget the past. "Nothing has remained from what we built," said an old man who asked not to be identified. "You [young people] have demolished this country. Things will change for the better. Just stay out of the way."

Vitani Velaj, 56, is cleaning spinach in her doorway. "We lack many things, and many problems have to be solved," she said. "In all the parties there are good men. Although I think I will vote for the Socialist Party, the best thing would be if the parties got together."

M.T., a 26-year-old man having a drink in a bar near the city hotel, expressed indifference regarding the election. "I will not vote," he said. "I know my life is there, in Greece. So I don't care who's going to win."

\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION IN ENGLISH\*\*\*

Kavaja Democrats confident, but Socialists say they'll take at least one zone

By Merlinda Prendi

KAVAJA--This city in west-central Albania is generally considered a Democratic Party stronghold. Besides winning the March 1992 elections with over 98 percent of the vote, they also won big in the local elections of July that year.

Sali Berisha, at that time DP chairman, was elected deputy in a Kavaja district. The party's current national chairman, Tritan Shehu, has chosen to run for deputy in Kavaja, too, hoping to enjoy the same good fortune as his predecessor.

"I will vote for the Democratic Party and President Berisha. In these four years they have brought us 30 years ahead," said Kavaja resident Bujar Dimri. "I don't think the government did anything great for Kavaja, but we hope for better."

With this year's election knocking on the door, at the Democratic party offices in Kavaja there are a lot of people. They come and go, take orders, pass out elections posters and

other propaganda materials. Some just come looking for an answer for their own problems.

At the Socialist Party headquarters things are much quieter. For the Socialist Party workers, campaigning is done quietly and in small groups. There is less of the kind of public campaigning done by the Democratic party.

"Kavaja is and will be a symbol of Albanian democracy. We aim to keep it as such. To respect Kavaja, we decided that the chairman of the PD has to run for deputy in Kavaja," Shehu said. "Also because Kavaja wants it."

"I had very good relations with the people of Kavaja. Now and in the future these relations will be strengthened. I will be more responsible for their problems," Shehu said.

But Socialist party candidate Ejup Tabaku said Kavajans really don't want such a close relationship with the DP. "Yes, Kavaja is the stronghold of the DP, but not because the people want it, but because the government and its officials want it. Tirana wants to keep Kavaja. Our town is their salvation."

For Shehu, the situation today in Kavaja is as it was four years ago. "Kavaja will remain a Democratic city because the aspirations for the right democratic values, freedom and market economy here is very strong. The history of the fight of these people against the dictatorship, and its old ties with the West, makes it definitely in the camp of the Democrats."

But for the socialist Tabaku, the feelings of the voters are not as one-sided as before. He said today it's easy to distinguish strata among the voters.

"In 1992, it was the anti-communism issue that pushed people to vote for the Democrats. Now things have changed. The parties will each take a part of votes, as the voters feel differently about the different issues. That is the reason the SP will take the half of the voters in the city," Tabaku said.

"We are attempting to have one of our candidates win in the first round, and the other after the second round." To do that, the SP must defeat Shehu, one of the most important candidates of the DP.

According to city government statistics, the population of Kavaja is not more than 32,000 people. Of those, 3,500 are state employees and 4,700 are employed in the private sector. The city counts at least 1,000 private enterprises and activities. No fewer than 500 families get financial support from the government and unemployment is low; there are 2,922 jobless people. About 3,100 private vehicles are registered in the city and its

suburbs.

Kavaja was a region ignored by the old regime. The city seems to be changing every day, in part because of investments that have been made in the region in the past four years. The German government, in particular, has paid special attention to this small Albanian city. In the past four years, 19 million deutschmarks have been invested in the Kavaja area.

"Besides the German help, the state invested almost 464 million leks for industry, agriculture and health care, 72 million to construct new houses and apartments, and 5 million US dollars to build new roads," Tritan Shehu said.

But for the socialists of Kavaja that is not enough: "Many things were improved, but that's not due to the Democrats. The people are smart enough to understand that these benefits don't come from the parties. During those years there have been improvements but they are still minimal. More must be done for Kavaja," said Tabaku.

Neither the Socialists or Democrats have done polling in the area, according to party candidates. The Democrats say there is no need to do polling because they are confident of a victory. The Socialists claim their standing has improved but have no polling results to back them up.

A group of pensioners sitting and talking on a parkbench near the mosque in downtown Kavaja would not say which party they will vote for. "We will wait for the election day, and cast our ballots in privacy," they said.

One woman, who asked that her name not be used, said she doesn't think everyone should vote for the Democrats. "I have seen the campaign on the TV, but I haven't decided yet for whom to vote. Nothing has been done for Kavaja. Sali [Berisha] did nothing for us that we cannot expect to be done by the others. They just waste words. The votes should be spread around rather than just for the Democratic Party, as they say in Kavaja, and make a coalition government."

It was only Socialist Party members who seemed comfortable saying they would vote for the opposition. "I will vote socialist because I am socialist, and I feel the SP is defending the interests of my life," said Edmond Kariqi, 24.

"I will vote PD," said Selim Gjeci. "It brought many good things. My soul is with the Democratic Party. Before, under the communists, we suffered too much."

For another Kavajan, voting for the PD is a family matter. "We will vote Democratic as a household. As long as I'm alive, my

vote will never go for the socialists," said Harun Gjeli, 53. "Today what we really miss are the poor people on the road, as before in 1991."

"There is no security," complained another man, who also asked to remain anonymous. "The vote is private. I can't say for whom I will vote."

\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION IN ENGLISH\*\*\*

## Tirana Voters Decide Political Turns

By Driton Ibishi

With 19 voting districts out of 115 nationwide, Tirana is a major battleground in the upcoming election.

The country's industrial center, and the city where the social and cultural life of the country is concentrated, Tirana may hold the key to the makeup of the next parliament. And more than ever, political parties are singing praises to Tirana voters.

The biggest fight is taking place between the Democratic and Socialist parties. A few days before the election, both parties' headquarters are full of people. Militants, party members and ordinary people come in and out, handing out posters, flags and other political symbols. There is lots of commotion everywhere.

Guards are everywhere. A journalist trying to get into the offices of officials is stopped, the secretaries telling him to wait, sometimes up to three hours. Journalists working for foreign agencies seem to get preference.

Bardhyl Zekja, the Socialist Party press officer, said, "Victory is ours." But he adds that Socialists are prepared to respect the vote of the people. "If the Democrats take the majority, we'll shake hands with them."

The DP also predicts victory. "We always had the majority in Tirana. The capital is the biggest intellectual center. And the intellectuals know how to vote," said Albert Brojka, the local PD chairman.

SP has protested to the government because voter lists were not published by the deadline of 30 days before the election, which is stipulated in the election law. "But we had no answer from the government," Zekja said. "And this will influence the

final result of the elections."

The Democrats will run candidates in all 19 Tirana districts. For Socialists, 15 districts were enough. They left four so-called "free zones," where they didn't field a candidate. According to Zekja, they are leaving those seats for candidates of the Center Pole coalition, the National Union Party and the Agrarian Party.

For Socialist aspirations, the most difficult district may be Zone 57, where Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi is running for deputy.

Brojka is running in district 51, considered one the Waterloos of Tirana's polling zones. Against him are strong candidates from the Socialists--Thoma G%ollçi, the editor-in-chief of the Socialist Party newspaper "Z%ori i Popullit"--as well as Zef Bushati, chairman of the Christian Democrat party, and other candidates.

Zone 51 is situated in the center of Tirana, which includes the neighborhood where former high communist leaders lived. The villas of are now used as government-owned residences for international agencies.

Unlike under the dictatorship, Tirana's people can now enter this previously forbidden zone. They can relax in the garden of the former dictator Enver Hohxa, where there now are a few modern restaurants. Zone 51 is the neighborhood most sought out by businessmen and it remains the most preferable place to live.

Brojka for DP and G%ollçi for SP are both sure of victory. The Socialist journalist said he is playing a winning game. But Brojka said the people in the zone know him because he was born there and calls it his old neighborhood.

Although the campaign is in full swing, ordinary people outside the party offices find life seems to flow normally. Many Tirana inhabitants say they feel indifferent toward politics, but they will go to vote, anyway.

"The campaign started? I didn't know that," said Dalip Pellumbi, who lives with his wife and several children in a tent just outside downtown Tirana. He is concerned more about his tent than about politics. The rain is flowing inside, and his life is getting difficult.

"I will vote the party which promises me a house," Pellumbi said.

Socialists and Democrats are inviting Kosovars with dual citizenship to participate in the election. For Brojka they have the right to be elected. Zekja, of the Socialist party, said, "It

is normal for Kosovars to vote. They must help us to ease the Albanian-Kosovar relationship.

"I'm not voting, even though I have the right to do it," said Ali Ukaj, a Kosovar and journalist for a daily Albanian newspaper. "I have different problems at the moment. I don't care who's going to win. I want a democratic Albania, no matter who's going to lead it."

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\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION IN ENGLISH\*\*\*

Everyone Owns A Vote

By Dasara Dezdari and Enkelejda Muça

At 7 a.m. on May 26th, Albanian citizens will begin exercising one of their most significant rights in a Democratic society.

Polling centers will open all over the country allowing residents from cities, towns and rural villages to cast their votes for members of parliament.

Election day is a national holiday and polling centers will stay open until 8 p.m.

There are more than 1,000 candidates for parliament, from which 140 will ultimately be chosen. Those who are elected will be the leaders of Albania for the next four years.

The elections will also be a test of how well the country's election law works and whether citizens of Albania understand their rights under the law.

The election law was passed in February 1992, and has had several amendments. It is aimed at insuring that all eligible voters are guaranteed the right of privacy in their political preference.

WHO CAN VOTE?

The law is complex, but from the standpoint of voter eligibility it is fairly simple. With few exceptions all residents who have reached the age of 18 by election day have the right to vote.

Lists of eligible voters are kept at polling centers and procedures have been established that are intended to prevent citizens from voting more than once--meaning that everyone owns one vote and that it can be recorded only by the person who owns it.

Lists of voters must be drawn up 30 days before the election. If a voter does not find his or her name on the list, that voter has the right to request his or her name be restored. The voter can make a written request to local polling committees seeking to correct mistakes.

According to the election law, the places where residents cast their ballots must be established no later than 20 days before the election.

## THE CAMPAIGN

During the campaign each candidate and citizens have the right to hold and attend rallies, but the publication of propaganda which encourages acts against the public order is illegal. In addition, the publication of political polls is prohibited starting eight days before election day.

The Albanian Parliament has 140 members. A total of 115 are directly elected by the vote of the people on a majority basis. The other 25 members are selected from lists provided by the political parties, based on the percentage of votes cast nationwide for the parties. A party must have 4 percent of the national vote to elect a candidate from the list.

Under the Albanian election law all candidates must end their campaign activities 24 hours before election day.

## ON ELECTION DAY

Voters will get a two-part ballot. On the left side of the ballot, the names of the candidates for that district will appear in alphabetical order, along with the symbols of their parties, or the words "independent candidate." On the right, the names and symbols of the parties participating in the proportional voting will appear. The voter must cross out the names of the candidates and parties she or he does not want to vote for and must leave only the name of ONE candidate on the left side of the ballot and ONE party name on the right.

Albanian citizens living outside Albania, but who are present within the territory of Albania on election day, can be

recorded on the voter registration list of the zone where they lived before they left.

On election day, each voter must prove his or her identity by presenting an ID card, military document or international passport.

The law prohibits anyone other than the voter from entering a voting booth while the voter is casting the ballot. The one exception is if a voter needs help because he or she is unable to fill out the ballot alone. The voter may have a person of his or her choice present to help. Voting outside the booths is not permitted. Ballots marked outside the booths will be invalidated.

Political parties have the right to send one of their observers to each voting center, but are not allowed to campaign inside the centers.

Each voting center has a commission with representatives of each party. The commission's job is to assure the free and peaceful conduct of the election and to register complaints and requests of voters or candidates and to issue decisions on those complaints.

All voters who are inside the polling place at the 8 p.m. deadline will still be allowed to cast their ballots.

## AFTER THE VOTE

Ballots will be counted at the voting center.

The law provides for a second round of elections in those cases where none of the candidates wins more than 50 percent of the vote in a district. The two candidates who receive the greatest number of votes in the first round will be presented as the candidates for deputy in the second round. The second round must be held within seven days of the original election date.

## BOX

## MARK IT RIGHT

1. The ballots are invalid if:
  - a) They are not properly shaped, measured, colored and made of the same paper.
  - b) other names are added on a ballot .
  - c) the ballot is so damaged that it is not understandable.
  - d) there are signs or other writing that can identify the voter.

- 2) The votes for the candidates are invalid if, in the left part of the ballot, more than one candidate is not crossed out, or if all the candidates are crossed out.

The votes for the parties are invalid if in the right part of the ballot more than one party is not crossed out or if all the parties are crossed out.

\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION IN ENGLISH\*\*\*

## Candidates Show a Range of Backgrounds, Professions

By Jahi Jahiu

The nation's political parties don't appear to have a fixed criteria in choosing their candidates for future deputy according to their professions.

Of nearly 800 candidates running for election May 26, there are 24 different professions represented. The most common profession, declared by 151 candidates, is educator, according to data from 11 political parties. Second is engineers with 119, followed by economists with 99, and doctors with 79 persons running.

Surprisingly, the number of attorneys running for office is low--only 21.

For the two main parties of the country, the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party, the majority of candidates call themselves economists.

Of 115 candidates running for the DP, 26 of them, or 22.6 percent, are economists. Among 107 SP candidates, 21 of them, or 19.6 percent are economists.

Teachers come in second in the DP (20 candidates), and third in the SP (17 candidates). The second most common profession in the SP is engineers (18), while they are third in the DP.

There are four attorneys running for PD deputy, and three running on the SP ticket.

The top professions at the Republican Party are engineers (22), doctors (19) and teachers (18).

At the Social-Democrat Party, teachers make up the top profession (28), followed by engineers (14) and doctors (12).

The Democratic Alliance Party is running more engineers (18) than teachers (16) or economists (10).

Not surprisingly, 46 percent of the 59 candidates running on the Agrarian Party ticket are agronomists (27). The AP is also running the most students of any party (8). It's also putting up eight economists, five zoologists, and four veterinarians.

Thirteen former or current members of the military are taking part in this month's election. Four are running for the Democratic Alliance, three for the Human Rights Party and two for the Socialist Party.

The Democratic Alliance has the youngest slate of candidates, with an average age of 38 years old. The oldest candidates show up in the Party of Social Democrats, where the average age is 52.8 years old.

(ON this page we had a pie chart with the candidates by profession for the 10 largest parties)

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\*\*\*THIS IS THE FINAL EDITED VERSION IN ENGLISH\*\*\*

## Foreign Observers to Monitor Albania's Third Free Elections

By Dasara Dezdari

Election monitoring missions came to Albania for the first time in 1991 for the elections held in March of that year. This month, for Albania's third free elections, hundreds of foreign monitors will return to observe the voting.

The Central Elections Committee said around 400 monitors will be involved. Mark Power-Stevens, a monitor for the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, said the number is more likely to be under 200.

The role of the monitors is defined in article 89 of the electoral law, which considers the following people to be monitors:

--Parliamentary representatives of the member states of OSCE, of the Assembly of the European Council, of the European Parliament and of other organizations that deal with human

--Authorized representatives from foreign or national organizations trained in electoral campaigns.

The law allows the free movement of monitors around Albania in order for them to follow and monitor all activities during the electoral campaign and on election day.

Article 90 of the law gives them the right to ask questions, to collect data and to make public their unbiased opinions.

But to do their work, the monitors must carry an identification card issued by the central election committee, which decides on rules governing the participation of national and foreign monitors in the elections (article 36).

According to article 44 of the electoral law, monitors are free to take part in the public meetings of the electoral committees. At the same time they can make critiques that will be noted in the minutes of the meeting of the committee.

According to the law, monitors are forbidden to wear badges or symbols of the parties or of groups of parties and must not take part in campaign activities or political propaganda.

#### Interview with a monitor

Between 100 and 200 election monitors from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute of the United States, and other organizations and foreign governments, are in Albania this week to participate in the May 26 election. A small number, perhaps one-third of the total, will stay for the June 2 runoff.

Mark Power-Stevens, 33, is here as an observer on behalf of the OSCE. He is from London, and writes on Middle East politics for the British magazine Middle East International. He was interviewed by Suela Shala and Zara Dedi May 17 at the Tirana International Hotel.

Q: What is the role of an election monitor?

A: The primary responsibility is to observe the election process in an impartial manner. Observers tend to find themselves in places where there is an election for the first time, or in places where democracy is still in its infancy.

One of the functions of the observers is to increase the confidence of people in the election process, and the confidence

of the international community in Albania.

Q: Have you been an election monitor before?

A: Yes, in Palestine, working for the European Union. I was there for three months.

Q: What, specifically, will you be doing?

A: The first thing is to make contacts with election authorities. You can develop understanding of the election law and the electoral system, make contacts with people involved in the election process and also political parties and any other organizations involved in the elections. You ask their opinion of the election law, the whole process.

An observer has ears and eyes, but no mouth, because he has his voice only after the elections. We can see and hear everything and put them together in a report after the elections.

On the election day, an observer will witness the opening of the polling stations, then will travel around during the day observing voting in the other stations and will conclude by being present for the closing of the stations and the subsequent counting process.

Q: Can voters who see problems go to observers?

A: Observers talk to voters on election day and voters often report to observers if they believe there is a problem, but ultimately problems with elections should be dealt with by the election authorities and/or by the state authorities.

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American Political Scientist Studies Albanian Campaign

By Steven Gerencser

The elections in Albania have drawn the interest of people from around the world. Many governments have sent official observers to the country, but also many journalists and political scientists have come to study the Albanian exercise in democracy. While these observers will report back to their own countries about what they have seen in Albania, some Albanians are interested in what the outside viewers think of the elections

process here.

I am a professor of political science at Saint Olaf College in Minnesota, in the United States, traveling in Albania on a program funded by the United States Information Service. I am impressed with what I've seen. There is an excitement about politics here that is refreshing. So much has been accomplished so quickly and, compared to the beginning of many new regimes, peacefully. The groundwork of competing parties and secret ballots have been well laid.

I am also cautious in my assessment of the elections. An open and fair election process is of great importance. But the next equally important test of democracy in Albania is how the parties and the people respond to the results of the election.

Democracy is a difficult form of government; at its best it is inefficient because all decisions must be accountable to the people. I fear that if too much is expected too fast, people will be disappointed and then cynical about democracy itself. But of course, in a democracy people have the right to expect and demand the best from their representatives.

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Page 6

Survey Shows Albanians Want Women Candidates  
By Sonila Laci

Albanians are ready to vote for a woman candidate. While more women are willing to vote for a woman, many men think the same according to a nationwide survey conducted the last week in April by the Organization of Albanian Women (the Women's Center).

Some men think that women are able to deal with economic problems, but more than half of them express concern about a woman's ability to deal with political problems. The Albanian mentality is that politics belong to men.

These are some of the first results of the survey concerning participation of women in the Albanian parliament.

The results from the survey show that 80.7 percent of the people interviewed are ready to vote for a woman candidate against 18.2 percent who said they are not.

Which must be the main qualities of a woman deputy? Seventy-

one percent think that her main qualities must be the ability to keep promises, while 37.9 percent think that she must be a significant leader or to have a successful professional career. Only 34.9 percent look for her to be of their own party. Other qualities were considered less important.

In the May 26 election, there are only 34 women candidates among 800 candidates from 10 major parties.

Women appeared more likely to vote for a woman candidate. Eighty-six percent of them responded positively while 75 percent of men gave the same answer. The results from the survey show that on this point there was little difference between the rural and the urban areas.

Just over half of the people believed women would soften the antagonism of political life. In spite of this, only 38.4 percent of them said they know a woman suitable to be elected deputy.

Of those responding to the survey, men come in first in dealing with political problems. Just over 51 percent of those asked believe men do this better while only 13.2 percent believe that a woman is better able to handle these problems.

One of the problems that most disturbs Albanians is the economy. Can women be stronger deputies in this field? Thirty-two percent of the people answered yes, but 21.4 percent think that the men deputies are stronger in resolving economic problems. The rest of the people think it doesn't matter if the deputy is a man or a woman.

Less than half the people asked, 41.8 percent, said that women candidates are better able to resolve social problems. Meanwhile, 36.6 percent said gender made no difference on ability to deal with social issues.

Some surveyed believe political parties are not paying enough attention to women's participation in politics--22.4 percent expressed this idea.

Results were mixed on how well women will do in future elections. Fifty-six percent said the future parliament must be 25 percent female. Twenty-five percent of the respondents think that six percent of the parliament must be female. Almost 18 percent of those asked agree with a 50 to 60 percent level of participation of women in the parliament.

This survey was published by a non-government Albanian organization working in a program called the Network of Democracy in Tirana. The questionnaires were delivered in 10 different regions of the country. Three regions in the North, three in the South and three in middle Albania including Tirana. The number of

people surveyed was 1,369.

### Leaders of four major parties express their opinions on the participation of women in the Albanian Parliament

"From the beginning, the Democratic Party has paid a lot of attention to the role of women in the democratic movement. After the decision of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, which agreed to having 25 percent women in its leading structure, I think that this important element took a more obvious place in new developments. In my opinion a law for the percentage of women is not useful. It is a political party's duty, and the duty of other electoral organizations and of different state organizations, and the duty of everybody, to think of promoting the participation of women in Albania's life."

--Tritan Shehu  
Democratic Party  
Current field of candidates:  
Male.....106  
Female.....9

"The Republican party wants to open the way for women and we really want to do a concrete job. The fact of percentages especially for the political parties, seems to me like an old issue. Probably such a percentage is used more for electoral propaganda. We promote the participation of the women in politics and we do have the forum of the Republican women around the country, which in the future, of course, will be independent from the party.

--Sabri Godo  
Republican Party  
Current field of candidates:  
Male.....110  
Female.....0

The Socialist Party believes that the participation of women in politics is a factor of the democratization. The level of women's participation is actually low. I think that it is not

time for Albania to speak of a certain percentage of women's participation in politics. Otherwise, we would have a contradiction between the legal figures and the social reality. For the next elections we have predicted a relatively bigger number for the women candidates, but it always will depend on the voters. If all political forces will work in this direction, a day will come, even for us, like for the Scandinavian countries, where women's participation in politics is clearly defined by law.

Namik Dokle

Socialist Party

Current field of candidates:

Male.....101

Female.....6

"Democratic Alliance will not come out with a special program because that's not a political problem, because during this transition period the woman is the one that has suffered the biggest losses. In the past, women appeared only as "window dressing" of state power. Today this is a problem, but worse than that, it influences the fact that political war is developing out of morals and ethics.

--Neritan Ceka

Democratic Alliance

Current field of candidates:

Male.....93

Female.....0

Source: Bulletin No. 4 of the Albanian Woman's Center

## Women Candidates Face Barriers to Election

By Sonila Laci

In electoral zone 45, Vjolica Ibro is running for deputy. She is one of only six women candidates nationwide for the Socialist party. But one voter in that zone will likely cast his vote for one of her opponents.

"Women should stay at home, raise the children, and obey

their husbands. In feasts and celebrations they should wear beautiful clothes to honor their men," said an old man, 80, who is the head of an extended family. Northern by origin, he is now living in the eastern part of the Tirana district, an area which includes the students' town.

He refused to give his name, and he is not the only one. Trying to get concrete opinions about women candidates, many people are reluctant to speak. Although they said they enjoy the freedom that democratic elections represent, they said they are afraid for their workplace, and for their residence.

However, in the corridor of a student dorm, now used as a living place for people who were politically persecuted in the past, one woman broke this trend.

Vjollca Ahmeshi, 26, an economist who is currently without a job, said she is not afraid to give her opinions publicly on her desire for women in government. "I would like to vote for a woman, but Albanians are more attached to the parties, rather than to candidates," she said.

Though some women said they are independent in their political choice, many still think the political impact of their husband is considerable.

"People are becoming more individual about their political choices, but that's not true for women. They aren't yet convinced that voting for a woman candidate is best for them," Arta Memaj, a 35-year-old worker said.

Some men spoke kindly of women. They said they value their balanced behavior and a woman's practicality. For men, these are values the future parliament members should have.

"The parliament should have more women deputies. Women's thought is emancipated. By being sensitive and soft they could resolve conflicts," said Lllazar Lipe, 40, a Tirana lawyer.

For some, it doesn't matter if the deputy is going to be a man or a woman. It is important for their deputy to belong to the party they like.

Blendi Shehu, 22-year-old student said women will find a bigger presence in government only when the party that runs her as a candidate is important in national politics.

According to Aristotle, "A woman in power becomes a dictator and violent." But no one interviewed for this story echoed the opinion of the ancient philosopher. Instead, they focused on the human, feminine qualities might tend to make her a good leader.

Date sent: Tue, 28 May 96 13:47:58 +0200  
From: USISTIRA <usistira@usia.gov>  
Organization: USIA  
To: okesic@irex.org  
Copies to: warrent3@aol.com  
Subject: From Rich McClear

This is the third feed of the newspaper.

## WOMAN Candidates

### Socialist Party

1. Ermelinda Meksi, zone No.52, Tirana.  
Economist Degree: Assistant professor
2. Arta Dade, zone No.76, Lushnje  
English teacher
3. Rajmonda Prifti, zone 81, Fier  
Doctor
4. Antoneta Cunaj, zone 79 Fier,  
Lawyer
5. Iliriana Kercuku, zone 36, Durrës  
Doctor
6. Vjollca Ibro, zone 45, Tirana  
Professor at the Agricultural University

### Democratic Party

1. Josefina Topalli, zone 9, Shkodra  
Professor, University of Shkodra
2. Roza Pati, zone 17, Lezha  
Teacher
4. Natasha Shehu, zone 29, Dibra
3. Nela Moisiu, zone 36, Durres.
5. Margarita Qirko, zone 50, Tirana  
Professor, Polytechnic University
6. Marjeta Pronjari, zone 55, Tirana  
Athlete
7. Zana Panariti, zone 53, Tirana  
Minister of Industry, economist
8. Kozeta Menkulasi, zone 86, Berat

9. Ariana Nati, zone 61, Kavaja.  
Economist

Republican Party  
No women candidates

Christian Democrat Party

1. Giljana Rragullina, zone 8, Shkodra  
Chemist
2. Teuta Kaçaku, zone 79, Fier  
Zoologist
3. Silva Qesteri, zone 54, Tirana  
Teacher
4. Agentina Prela, zone 31, Kruja  
Teacher
5. Mimoza Fusha, zone 63, Elbasan  
Athlete

Party of the Union for the Human Rights

1. Luiza Vujoshi, zone 7, Shkodra  
Teacher
2. Marie Gjinaj, zone 11, Puk%  
Teacher
3. Leonora Qerama, zone 37, Durr%  
Economist
4. Arta Jica, zone 56, Tirana  
Teacher
5. Vasilika Bardhi, zone 70, Gramsh  
Economist
6. Frosina Raco, zone 72, Librazhd  
Sociologist

Democratic Alliance Party  
No women candidates

Social Democrat Party

1. Ingrit Shukli, zone 59, Kavaja  
Professor at the Economic Faculty
2. Zhaneta Harka, zone 55, Tirana
3. Ciljeta Pasholli, zone 56, Tirana  
Dentist
4. Liljana Rrapo, zone 60, Kavaja  
Economist
5. Lavdie Hasani, zone 58, Kavaja  
Biochemist
6. Luli Papajani, zone 51, Tirana  
Veterinarian

#### Albanian Democrat Union Party

1. Enkelejda Berliku, zone 39, Tirana

#### Albanian Renaissance Party

1. Margarita Ikonomi, zone 37, Durrës  
Teacher

#### Albanian Agrarian Party No women candidates

The information was gathered from 10 parties, for a total number of 34 women candidates.

This page also had a graph on woman candidate statistics.

Page 7 (these stories were continued on page 8)

First Time Voters Might Change the Future

By Suela Shala and Zara Dedi

Although on May 26 they will be eligible to vote for the first time in their lives, many young people say this new right does not excite them very much.

According to most of the 50 people between the ages of 18 and 20 interviewed for this story, this is because people feel much more free than in the past, so true excitement is harder to find.

"Real excitement is out of the question," said high school student Endrit Mara. He puffs at his Karella, sitting on the curb facing the cafe "Beautiful." As he looks at the friend next to him, his facial expression is of a person who's got no more to say.

Others express a similar indifference, even to the extent that they don't plan to vote in the election.

"To vote, or not to vote, that is the question. In my opinion, to vote means to waste the vote." It's not clear whether Ygert Dino, 19, student, means what he says, or just because he wants to impress his attentive girlfriend with his coolness.

None of those interviewed considered politics their hobby, and said that a political preference was necessary to make their vote meaningful.

"I cannot vote as long as I'm not sure about my own political convictions," said 18-year-old high school student Ardita Kastrati.

Elda Kaceli, also a high school student, said, "No party has yet convinced me, therefore none of them seems to deserve my vote." Despite a strong sense of apathy expressed by many young people, at least a few did look forward to casting their first vote.

"My vote makes me feel important," said Spartak Dauti, 18, student at the Petro Nini Luarasi high school.

Rovena Ishmi, 18, agrees. "Now, I feel myself a part of the society, for with my vote I influence its future."

Among the young people interviewed for this story were high school and university students, and some who roam the streets unemployed. None were over 20 years old.

While they may act independent, in most cases it's an illusion. Economic dependence on the family intrudes on their independence to a great degree, a fact that cannot help but affect their political convictions.

"My vote can't be fully individual as long as my family is my provider. So when I vote, I have its interests in mind," explains Akil Ndrenika, 18, a student at Partizani high school.

For another, dependence on the family for political guidance comes from his lack political maturity. "My father gives me a sort of direction, because in my mind, I'm not very clear about many things," said Rovena Ishmi.

For others, this influence is only partial. Elda Berberi, 20, a student at the College of Economics, said, "My family's influence upon me is as strong as that of my social environment, since the time I pass at home is equal to the part I pass away from home."

There are a few, however, who claim to have complete control over how to cast their vote. "My vote is individual, because I'm at the age to decide for myself," said Spartak Dauti.

Twenty three of the 50 people interviewed consider the candidate something more than simply a representative of the party, and said they would evaluate the person when they decided, rather than simply choosing a party.

"I vote for the candidate because I believe in his credibility and not in that of his party," said Bukra Kastrati, 21, a student at the College of Natural Sciences.

Manjola Kurati, 18, student at Petro Nini Luarasi high school, said it's important to have strong candidates for a better government. "The Albanian parliament should have members whose authority among the people is strong, no matter what party they belong to. They can do a lot regarding the future of the people."

For the other 27, the candidate is still merely a representative of his or her party's ideas. Roland Berberi, 18, student at Harry Fultz high school said, "I vote for the party, because the candidate cannot stand alone."

Henrik Baci, 18, student at Petro Nini Luarasi high school justifies his vote for the party by saying, "I find my political convictions represented in the party's program and not in the promises of one of its candidates."

For some, this is due to a non-political reason: they don't even know the candidate. But regardless of how much they know about individual candidates, young voters appeared ready to support the country's two major parties.

"Why should I cast a vote for the minor parties when everybody knows that they will not win?" said Oriola Koci, 18, student at Partizani high school.

Among those few who intend to vote for the minor parties, two see the fulfillment of their families' interests through the parties' programs as a reason for their choice. "I'll vote for

the Republican Party because it is the only one to restore the property to their former owners," said Erion Kuqo, 18.

Dritan Selami, student at the College of Medicine, said that he will vote for the Legality Movement because he wants Leka Zogu (the son of the late Albanian King Zog) to come to power.

Others, however, said they will do that just to take votes away from the major parties. "Enough quarreling between the two parties," said Sheila Ivanaj with frustration.

Sitting at one of the wooden tables of the cafe "Beautiful" with his eyes fixed on the hot sidewalk, Ilir Toto he speaks with a tired expression on his face. He is 18 years old and a student at the art high school, and also a first-time voter.

He is very handsome, like his friends sitting around him. They expect the elections to make their dreams come true. Their concerns are various: school, employment, and even the public security.

"We expect the elections to give us opportunities of employment during the summer, in order to afford, at least, a motorcycle. We spent a lifetime walking, Toto said.

They said their main concern is school. Like their peers of Petro Nini Luarasi high school, they would like the government to make it easier for them to enter the university.

"No school means no job. Just tell me, what can we do?" said Stela Rama.

Public safety is also of special concern to young voters. "I want to be safe when I my walk on the streets," said Manjola Kurati. She added that many of her women friends feel the same way.

According to Akil Ndrenika, newcomers to Tirana from other cities are creating a crime problem. He said he often fears for his safety late at night when he leaves a discotheque. Ndrenika also complained that police don't do enough to catch criminals, and that many people who commit crimes are never caught.

While the youngsters interviewed expressed different concerns, they agreed that they want their requests to be taken seriously. In spite of being the youngest voters, they represent a considerable number of votes that can have a great impact on the election's final results.

"I don't feel myself as a teenager anymore," said Rovena Ishmi. "With my vote I feel I can change my country's future."

## Vote? No Thanks

By Altin Fortuzi

A number of people are choosing not to vote in the coming elections. The most common reason they give is that they are not happy with the decisions of the government.

According to Tiranans, there are many reasons to boycott the elections. They range from indifference to the highest level of political consciousness.

Andi Mehmeti, who is eligible to vote for the first time, said, "The political part of my brain is in chaos. Politically I feel like a virgin. I watch the electoral campaign on TV, but I'm getting confused, and I'm not yet ready to say to whom I will give my vote."

At least Mehmeti is conscious of his political ignorance. For others the problem is much more complicated.

"I decided not to vote. I consider this a political decision. I feel responsible to my country, and I'm not trying to avoid the responsibilities of voting," said Arben Semanmi, owner of a little kiosk near Rinia Park in Tirana. "It's simple: none of the parties has convinced me to give them my vote and my faith."

If the political parties in an electoral campaign fail to present a serious program of ideas for ordinary people, there is a risk that the number of people joining the "Non-voters Party" will increase.

"I don't like any of the political spots of this campaign," Enton Punavia, 23, said. "I'm not going to give my vote to any of the parties in competition."

Some people find the rallies and political meetings of the parties ridiculous and not very interesting. Andi Mehmeti said, "In Democratic rallies many stupid things are said. I got scared by the Socialist rallies. They make noise like they're going crazy."

"I don't like it, it reminds me of the people of the communist regime. The Democratic Alliance misses the real alternative. The Right Front does not exist, and don't ask me about the Social Democrat Party.... That's the reason I decided not to vote," Mehmeti said.

The mass media seems to be very engaged in the campaign, but many think it's not doing a good job and blame it for their decision not to vote.

"I don't have full information on what is going on with the political programs and the candidates of the parties," said Elda Bejtja, an economics student. "The media hasn't helped either. Especially the party newspapers seem to me more like horror magazines day after day. No, I don't want to vote," she said.

Aida Baro, a student from Fier, said she's gotten little information from the media, but she said the reason is she doesn't care much for politics. "I don't think I will vote. I never had any special political interest."

Alban Nimani, a former student who now works as a waiter, said his interest in politics has waned over the last two years. "It's the same for many young men in Albania. They don't identify themselves with current Albanian political issues. That's the reason I will not vote."

Steven Gerencser, an instructor of political science at Saint Olaf College, Minnesota, in the United States, has come to Albania to observe the run up to the May election. He said the non-voter phenomenon is the result of indifference of people to the political situation in a country.

"If a voter feels related to the system, he or she has to vote," Gerencser said. "If the percentage of participation in elections is low, there is no reason to take the result of the elections seriously."

Artan Sina, 25, a worker in a mini market, said politics and elections are very important for a democratic system. "But if I'm not sure and I find difficulties in selecting a candidate or a party, then it is better to quit and not to vote. I'm of the opinion that the parties don't deserve the vote and the faith of the people. That's the reason I don't vote, buddy."

## Elderly Voters: Same Preferences, New Reasons

By Suela Shala

Although Ramadan Delia has just reached the age of seventy, the prospect of voting in the upcoming election makes him feel young.

"I feel like a 22-year-old who votes for the second time," he said, "because the elections under communism were just a formality."

Voting was compulsory under communist rule, and there were

hard sanctions against those who didn't vote. "We were to gather at the voting centers at 5:50 a.m. and it was all over at 6:00 p.m., with 100 percent participation," pensioner Aferdita Kristo, 65, recalled.

The voting booth was useless because, as pensioner Sokol Kapaj, 72, explained, "In most cases, you couldn't even know the candidate you were voting for."

But those times are past. Luan Memiu said, "I didn't believe that this time would ever come."

Many elderly people said they have the same political convictions that they had in the elections of 1992.

Mustafa Kastrati, a 62-year-old pensioner, said today's higher living standard was justification for his unchanging political persuasion.

Gezim Kalaj, 62, said he would like to have seen the Democratic Party's program realized more completely, but "we have to give it another chance, in order to harvest what it has sown. DP still has more to learn, because, so far, it has just completed the elementary school. Let's give it another chance to complete the secondary school also."

To Qani Lefteri, 71, a pensioner and sympathizer of the left wing, some long-held principles are no longer valid. "For example," he explained, "I don't accept the principle of exclusive reliance on our own forces, as I did four years ago."

People of many ages said political convictions are no longer as ardent as they were in the previous elections. As a 55-year-old football coach explained, "Four years ago these passions were to abolish the roots of communism, whereas now they are to raise the living standard." He asked that his name not be used.

But for some, these convictions are not independent from the politics of younger family members.

"I cannot help but be influenced by my children, because they were the ones who made the revolution in Albania." This is the opinion of Gezim Zaloshnja, 68.

To Emin Kadriu, 70, this influence goes both ways. "I try to pass down my convictions upon my children, in order to show them the right way," he said.

As for whether they considered the party more or the individual when they voted, most said that party affiliation was the most telling thing about a candidate.

"I wouldn't blame the party, if a single person is corrupt, because time will catch up with him," said Mustafa Kastrati

## NARRATIVE SECTION: BULGARIA

### I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996

ProMedia, in close cooperation with the USAID mission in Sofia, has developed, organized and initiated the following programs for Bulgaria:

- An assessment team of Senior ProMedia representatives visited Bulgaria from 26 November to 1 December 1995 and met with journalists, editors and publishers from a wide spectrum of Bulgarian media. They also explored program ideas and coordination with the USAID representatives and other US Embassy officials in Sofia.
- A detailed draft workplan for Bulgaria was developed and forwarded to the USAID mission in Sofia for approval on 16 January 1996. (See Appendix)
- Search begins for qualified and available candidates for the Bulgaria Resident Adviser in January.
- Upon the request of the Bulgarian Parliament and the USAID mission in Sofia, ProMedia began an examination of the draft versions of the Bulgarian Broadcast Media Law in February 1996.
- 6 March, The Washington, DC law firm of Covington & Burling agrees to provide consultation on broadcast law. (See Appendix for letter of agreement)
- 30 March to 2 April, Laurel Miller of Covington & Burling - Brussels makes initial working visit to Sofia concerning broadcast media law. (See Appendix for short biography)
- 1 April, William Woestendiek proposed as the ProMedia Resident Adviser for Bulgaria (USAID/Sofia approves appointment on 10 April) (See Appendix for CV)
- 17 April, search for a local assistant for the Resident Adviser begun in Sofia through e-mail.
- 28 April to 3 May, Kurt Wimmer of Covington & Burling - Washington conducts final working visit to Sofia concerning the media law. Presents final comments/recommendations to Bulgarian Parliament delegation. (See Appendix for CV and final report)
- Early May, Steve Bouser Senior Media Adviser for USAID Washington conducts a working visit to Bulgaria and provides ProMedia with overview of potential programs, concentrating on professional media association development.

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- 8 May, The International Center for Journalists completes draft of professional media association development plan. (See Appendix for plan)
- 24 May, orientation for Mr. Woestendiek held in Washington, DC.

## II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORKPLAN

### **A. Completed Activities**

During the period of time through June 1, 1996, ProMedia has completed four major activities: conducted an on-site assessment, drafted a detailed workplan, provided assistance through expert advice to Bulgarian parliamentarians on the drafting of a broadcast media law, and hired a resident adviser for a four-month tenure in Bulgaria.

Senior ProMedia Staff conducted an assessment mission to Bulgaria from 26 November to 1 December 1995. They met with a wide spectrum of Bulgarian journalists, editors, publishers, government officials and others involved with media activities. They also met and discussed program objectives and design with US Embassy officials, including the USAID mission. The information collected during this time was of tremendous use to ProMedia in the establishment of a detailed workplan.

In mid-January a detailed workplan was faxed to US AID (both Washington and Sofia). After an exchange of ideas and extended discussion, parts of the plan were put into motion, while others were further refined. The work plan for Bulgaria called for the undertaking of four action items: the hiring of a resident adviser, professional media association development, media management assistance and assistance in managing growth. Subsequently, ProMedia also was asked to provide expert consultation to Bulgarian parliamentarians proposing differing versions of a broadcast media law.

ProMedia was successful in obtaining the cooperation of two leading media law specialists, Laurel Miller and Kurt Wimmer of Covington & Burling in providing advise and expert opinion on the three proposed versions of the Bulgarian broadcast media law. From March until early May, after on-site visits and lengthy discussion, Mr. Wimmer submitted a written expert opinion on the proposed law. This opinion was submitted to the Speaker of Parliament, the parliamentary commission drafting the law and to US officials.

In early January ProMedia began a systematic search for qualified candidates for the resident adviser position in Bulgaria. William Woestendiek was selected and agreed to serve as the resident adviser for a four-month period beginning on June 18.

### **B. Future Activities**

In addition to the completed activities listed above, ProMedia has initiated several other activities and expects to complete them during the next 6 month phase of the

workplan. Woestendiek's arrival in Sofia in mid-June will facilitate the implementation of the remaining action items of the workplan. These action items are:

1. Professional Media Association Development—following the framework of the plan of action drawn-up by the International Center for Journalists in May and on the suggestions of Steve Bouser, Bill Woestendiek will make his major priority accelerating the implementation of this plan of assistance to the association of independent broadcasters. ProMedia expects the second phase of activity as outlined in the attached draft plan to begin in June and for the entire project to be concluded by November 1996 (with the possibility of follow-up activity in 1997).

2. Media Management and Management of Growth—Immediately upon his arrival in Sofia, Bill Woestendiek will conduct a series of on-site consultations with media managers throughout Bulgaria, he will also, in consultation with USAID Sofia, begin the planning of a series of management workshops to be held in mid-summer and early fall. Other American media management specialists have been contacted and are prepared to participate in these seminars.

### **III. TIMETABLE FOR ACTIVITIES YET TO BE COMPLETED**

#### Professional Media Association Development

- Preliminary on-site consultations: June 1996
- Workshop for Media Managers Association members (Phase I): late July 1996
- On-site consultations (Phase II): mid-September 1996

#### Media Management/Managing Growth

- On-site consultations by ProMedia Resident Adviser: June-July 1996
- Management workshops: July-October 1996
- Follow-up consultations: July-October 1996

# ~ Bulgaria ~

## The Conditions

Development of independent media in Bulgaria has received relatively little attention from western NGOs working in the region. While the International Media Fund and USIA have provided some broadcast equipment and done occasional print and radio management programs, much more technical assistance is needed.

The media, however, seems to be remarkably successful as far as advertising goes. Just one of the most popular Bulgarian newspapers seems to have more advertising than exists in all of the newspapers in Zagreb. The market seems to understand the value of advertising. More training in the area of media management will help some of these newspapers focus and grow. It is a country where it will be tempting to work with team trainers from both the US and Bulgaria.

Bulgarian journalism -- because of its often sensational nature -- is suspect here and while there has been much discussion by NGOs and media journalists and managers on how to improve style, we believe we must first concentrate on helping them hone their business practices. We hope to show media managers that by testing a less sensationalistic and more objective style of news writing, they may attract even more advertising and readership. Discussion of market research will be an important part of media management training in this country.

## The Plan

1) **RESIDENT ADVISER** - We are looking **now** for the right person to fill the post of Resident Adviser in Bulgaria. We hope to find a professional media talent with skills in the area of management and association building. Since we will work with both print and broadcast in this country, the person could come from either field. Experience in both will be preferred, along with some CEE experience, preferably in Bulgaria. Local language skills also will be an asset. This person must be prepared for a minimum six-month stay with frequent travel within the country. We expect to place a person by the end of **February**.

2) **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION ~ NETWORKING** - There is much to be done in this difficult area in every CEE country. We would like to start in Bulgaria by working with a new association formed by a group of independent television stations. These non-competitive stations have much to gain and little to lose from working with each other. We feel we can help them particularly in two areas: association building and advertising networking. If these stations work together to solicit advertising they have a much better chance of competing with state television on national accounts. We would like the RA to be able to get this project off the ground quickly, calling on our volunteer network for additional support as needed. We will begin **immediately** following up on initial discussions with this group of TV broadcasters.

3) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - The PMP will offer well-organized and carefully structured professional media management workshops in both Sofia and Varna, as well as other outlying cities if interest exists. Although there are many independent newspapers and broadcast stations throughout Bulgaria, professional development to date has focused largely on limited workshops in Sofia. The PMP will begin in **February** planning media-management training workshops for small radio and print outlets. We anticipate that separate radio and newspaper workshops will be held this **Spring**. Our method will be to begin all programs with a workshop that will be followed by one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers and radio stations in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses.

4) **MANAGING GROWTH** - While in some ways an offshoot of media management, this area seems well suited for specific Bulgarian media outlets. A newspaper in Varna was the only one in our seven CEE countries where we were asked questions about "zoning." Zoning news is a practice that has existed for at least 50 years in the United States, however, the profitable technique of zoning advertising is a relatively new concept even in the US. We were impressed by the amount of special sections and additional products many of the newspapers produced and by their interest in developing more. We would like to conduct a workshop, followed by one-on-one consultations, with a limited number of news organizations seriously interested in growing their businesses. Managing growth is not easy. There are many talented business development experts who can help in this area. We already are talking to some. We expect to plan this workshop for **April**.

## **Management**

The Resident Adviser will report regularly to the PMP staff in Washington. This active relationship will allow the PMP staff to frequently update AID Washington on the project's progress. The RA will be available for consultations with the AID mission and relevant country team members. This six-month plan is a living document, and PMP management decisions may lead to adjustments, additions, or deletions based on what is most appropriate for the advancement of an independent, viable media in Bulgaria.

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March 27, 1996

Mr. Csaba Chikes, Director  
The Professional Media Program  
International Research and Exchange Board  
1616 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Csaba:

I, my colleagues working on this project and the firm as a whole are very pleased to be representing the Professional Media Program and the International Research Exchange Board ("ProMedia/IREX"), in providing advice to the Parliament of Bulgaria concerning a new media law.

There is one administrative formality that needs to be dealt with, as required by the relatively recent D.C. Rules of Professional Conduct for attorneys. It is this engagement letter which confirms that, in this representation, ProMedia/IREX, is our client, that we will provide you services on the basis described below, and that this letter will apply to any expanded representation that may be undertaken in the future, unless we otherwise agree in writing.

We have agreed to undertake this representation on a pro bono basis, that is, we will not charge you a fee for the professional services of our lawyers and paralegals. You have agreed to reimburse us for our usual and customary disbursements and charges for support services incurred on your behalf, such as printing, duplicating, transcripts, computer research, telecommunications, mail, deliveries and the like, as well as out-of-pocket costs such as travel. In circumstances where substantial or unusual third-party payments are required we reserve the option either to forward the third-party's invoice to you for direct payment or to obtain advance funds from you to cover the costs. Our statements are payable within 30 days of the date rendered. If you should have a question regarding a particular charge or other aspect of a statement, of course, please do not hesitate to call us.

We have confirmed from our records that we do not have any outstanding adverse representation of another client on any matter that is substantially related to the representations described in this letter, and we undertake that we will not,



**PROFESSIONAL RESUME**

of

**LAUREL ELENA MILLER**

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**EDUCATION**

**University:** Princeton University (AB, with honors, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 1986)

**Professional:** University of Chicago Law School (JD, cum laude, 1992)

**Other:** Rotary Foundation Graduate Fellow at University of Delhi (1988-1989)

**EMPLOYMENT**

Covington & Burling (Washington, D.C.): Associate, 1993 - present

Judge Cynthia Holcomb Hall, United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit  
(Pasadena, California): Law Clerk, 1992-1993

Covington & Burling (Washington, D.C.): Summer Associate, summer 1991

Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz (New York, New York): Summer Associate,  
summer 1991

Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro (Los Angeles, California): Summer Associate,  
summer 1990

Centre for Science and Environment (New Delhi, India): Researcher/Writer, 1989

The Japan Times (Tokyo, Japan): Staff Reporter, 1986-87

**BAR MEMBERSHIP**

Admitted to California and Washington, D.C. Bars

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**FAXEL**  
3-28-96

## RESUME OF WILLIAM J. WOESTENDIEK

HOME ADDRESS: 16002 N. 50th St., Scottsdale, AZ 85254-1670

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William J. Woestendiek was the director of the University of Southern California School of Journalism from 1988-1994, during which time he played a key role in increasing the School's visibility and prestige throughout the country and was instrumental in raising funds for both the School and the University.

Woestendiek spent the fall semester of 1994 on sabbatical in Russia after being awarded a Knight International Journalism Fellowship to work with and train Russian journalists.

During Woestendiek's tenure at USC, his accomplishments included:

Playing a key role as a member of a five-person faculty team responsible for securing a \$125 million grant from Walter Annenberg for the creation of a Center for Communications.

Securing a grant of \$250,000 from the Times Mirror Foundation to establish a state-of-the-art electronic newsroom for students.

Established the Selden Ring Award for investigative reporting, a \$25,000 annual prize (highest monetary award in journalism at the time) and administered the awards, including bringing in the nation's leading editors to serve as judges.

Represented the School at many professional and academic meetings throughout the country, serving on several panels and workshops.

Instrumental in bringing in prominent professionals for special public lectures. These included Diane Sawyer, Walter Cronkite, Geneva Overholser, Arthur Sulzberger, Tom Wicker, Michael Gartner, Judy Woodruff, Nina Totenberg and many others.

Prior to going to USC, Woestendiek had spent most of his professional life as editor, publisher and assistant to the publisher at five different newspapers in addition to having been the editor and producer of television news for public television and editor of a magazine.

Woestendiek was the executive editor of The Plain Dealer in Cleveland, Ohio, one of the nation's largest newspapers, before going to USC. Prior to that, he was executive editor of The Arizona Daily Star in Tucson for six years, during which time he directed coverage which won that newspaper's first Pulitzer Prize.

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Woestendiek began his journalism career in 1948 in Winston-Salem, N.C., working his way up to city editor. He joined Newsday in 1955 as editorial director and assistant to the publisher, Alicia Patterson, with whom he worked in the overall direction of the newspaper. He organized and directed Newsday's first Washington Bureau. He won the 1962 Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Foreign Correspondence Award for his reporting on the Soviet Union.

Following three years as managing editor of The Houston Post in the mid-sixties (during which time he directed coverage that won The Post's only Pulitzer Prize), he was hired by IBM as editor of its then prestigious THINK Magazine. He later served as editor of THIS WEEK, a national newspaper magazine published in New York City.

In 1969 Woestendiek joined public television station WETA-TV in Washington, DC, where he organized, produced and served as anchor for NEWSROOM, a nightly hour-long news program.

Woestendiek returned to newspapering as the editor and publisher of The Colorado Springs SUN. During his six years there, The SUN doubled its circulation and won many state and national awards. Woestendiek's daily column was named "Best Column of the Year" in 1974 by the American Newspaper Association.

Woestendiek has been an active member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication. He has served as president of the Colorado Press Association, the Arizona Press Association and the Associated Press Association of Arizona, California, Hawaii and Nevada (APACAHN). He is a Phi Beta Kappa, member of Sigma Chi and a Rotarian. He serves on the board of trustees of New Directions for News and the Foundation for American Communications. He has traveled in and written extensively about South Africa, Mexico, Israel, China, Korea, England, Scandanavia, Russia and Canada.

Woestendiek has been an editor-in-residence at many journalism schools, including North Carolina, Kansas, Texas, NYU, Arizona, Missouri, Colorado and California. He has been active at the Poynter Institute and the American Press Institute. He has served as a Pulitzer juror on four occasions.

Woestendiek is a native of upstate New York. He is a graduate of the University of North Carolina (where he serves on the Board of Visitors) and has a masters degree from the Columbia School of Journalism. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard in 1954-55. He is a veteran of World War II and the Korean War, where he served as an intelligence officer.

Woestendiek and his wife, Bonnie, have five children. A son, John, investigative reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer, won the Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting in 1987.

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**Kurt A. Wimmer**  
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## Experience

**Covington & Burling**, Washington, D.C. Partner, 1995 to date; associate, 1991-1995. Representation of personal communications companies, cellular telephone companies, new technology entrepreneurs, public and private broadcasters, and cable television companies before agencies, Congress and the courts and in negotiating commercial transactions; appellate and first amendment litigation

*Board of Editors, Communications Lawyer (ABA Forum on Communications Law)*  
*Barrister, Prettyman-Leventhal American Inn of Court, Washington, D.C.*

**Locke Purnell Rain Harrell**, Dallas, Texas, 1988 to 1991. Libel defense and related first amendment litigation for electronic and print media clients; public utility regulatory litigation; protection of intellectual property; complex and appellate litigation

*Board of Directors, Legal Services of North Texas, Inc., 1989 to 1991*

**Sidley & Austin**, Washington, D.C., 1986 to 1988. Communications-related litigation on behalf of broadcast and cable television clients; general appellate litigation

Judicial Clerk to the Hon. Jerry Buchmeyer, Chief United States District Judge for the Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, 1985 to 1986

## Education

Syracuse University College of Law, Syracuse, New York

J.D., *magna cum laude*, 1985. Class standing: 5 of 216; [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

*Syracuse University Graduate Fellowships (highest honor) and College of Law Scholarship*  
*Notes Editor, Syracuse Law Review; Order of the Coif, Justinian Society*  
*Teaching and Research Assistant to Richard D. Schwartz, E.I. White Professor of Law*

Syracuse University, S.J. Newhouse School of Public Communications

M.A., 1985. Telecommunications and Public Policy emphasis; [REDACTED]

*Thesis published & presented to Ass'n for Education in Journalism & Mass Communications*

University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, Missouri

Bachelor of Journalism, 1982. News/Editorial sequence; GPA 3.7/4.0

*Hal Boyle/Associated Press Scholarship (highest honor), 1981-1982*  
*SDX/Society for Professional Journalists Scholarships, 1980-1981*

## Publications

"A Legislative History of Amendments to the Communications Act of 1934," Associate Editor (Oxford University Press, in progress)

"Competitive Bidding and Personal Communications Services: A New Paradigm for FCC Licensing," *CommLaw Conspectus* 1:3 (1995) (with L.J. Tiedrich)

"Global Data Transmission Beyond Wired Boundaries Through the Advent of Personal Communications Services," *Globalization of Computer and Communication: Perspectives for Developing Economies* (N. Seshagiri, et al., eds; Tata McGraw-Hill, New Delhi, India 1993)

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**Presentations**

"Media Law: Reporter's Privilege," College Media Advisors/Associated Collegiate Press National Convention, Washington, D.C. (November 3, 1995).

"Privatization," Personal Communications Industry Association Annual Meeting, Orlando, Florida (September 20, 1995)

"Protecting Your Rights Under the Satellite Home Viewer Act," National Association of Broadcasters Annual Convention, Las Vegas, Nevada (April 11, 1995).

"The Reporter's Privilege: Protecting Sources and Information," Student Press Law Center/Associated Collegiate Press, Third Annual Student Press Law Conference, Washington, D.C. (September 30, 1994).

Panel Moderator, "International Implementation of PCS: Global Opportunities for U.S. Companies," American Bar Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana (Aug. 7, 1994)

Panel Moderator, "Lessons Learned from Abroad," Personal Communications Industry Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, Washington (Sept. 23, 1994)

Panel Moderator, "International Issues and Standards for PCS," Telocator Annual Mobile Communications Marketplace Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana (October 1, 1993)

Panel Moderator, "International Telecommunications: The Next Frontier," American Bar Association/Federal Communications Bar Association, Washington, D.C. (June 8, 1993)

"Technologies of Freedom: Bringing Home the Information Superhighway," Alliance for Public Technology, Fourth Annual Conference, February 25, 1994.

"Political Broadcasting and Cablecasting Regulations," Post-Newsweek Cable Annual Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, February 28, 1994.

"A View From Washington," Presentations to Benedek Broadcasting Company Station Managers Annual Meetings, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin (August 21, 1993; August 18-19, 1994; August 18-19, 1995)

Rapporteur, "Personal Communications Services: An International Perspective," The Annenberg Washington Program, Communications Policy Studies, Northwestern University (November 1992)

Panelist, "What's Hot in Washington: High Definition Television," Texas Association of Broadcasters Annual Convention, Austin, Texas (October 1992)

"Regulatory Reform and the Future of Pluralism in the Mass Media," Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications National Convention, Portland, Oregon (July 1988)

"Telecommunications and the First Amendment: Organizing for Diverse Programming," Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ/National Federation of Local Cable Programmers, Bethesda, Maryland (April 1988)

"Minorities and Media: An Interdisciplinary Look at Deregulation," Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications National Convention, Memphis, Tennessee (August 1985)

**Publications (continued)**

- "Netting Federal Revenues from Thin Air: Issuing Spectrum Licenses by Auction," Communications Lawyer (Summer 1993)
- "International Implementation of PCS and Other New Wireless Communications Services," International Communications Practice Handbook (Federal Communications Bar Ass'n 1993) (with L. Haller)
- "Global Development of Personal Communications Services," *Communications Lawyer* 10:2 (1992)
- "Global Development of PCS," *IEEE Communications Magazine* (June 1992)
- "United States Policy Governing the Creation and Implementation of High Definition Television," International Communications Practice Handbook (Federal Communications Bar Ass'n 1991)
- "Deregulation and the Market Failure in Minority Programming: The Socioeconomic Dimensions of Broadcast Reform," *Hastings Comm/Ent Law Journal* 8:329 (1986)  
*Quoted in Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. Federal Communications Comm'n, 497 U.S. 547 (1990)*
- "The Future of Minority Advocacy Before the FCC: Using Marketplace Rhetoric to Urge Policy Change," *Federal Communications Law Journal* (UCLA) 41:133 (1989)
- "Presidential Signing Statements as Interpretations of Legislative Intent: An Executive Aggrandizement of Power," *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 24:363 (1987) (with M.N. Garber)
- "1989 Survey of Fifth Circuit Defamation and Privacy Law," *Libel Defense Resource Center* (Spring 1990) (with J.H. McElhaney, T.S. Leatherbury and C.L. Babcock)
- "Deregulation and the Future of Pluralism in the Mass Media: Prospects for Positive Policy Reform," *Mass Communications Review* 15:20 (1989)
- "Broadcast Deregulation and the Responsibility to Monitor Policy Change: An Empirical Study of the Elimination of Logging Requirements," *Federal Communications Law Journal* (UCLA) 38:2 (1986) (with T.S. Hagelin)
- "Public Participation in the Administrative Process: Tempering Bureaucracy in the Interest of Democracy," unpublished, 1985 (with R.D. Schwartz)
- "Video Music and the Acceptance of Violence Among Viewers," unpublished experimental design, 1984 (graduate project)
- "Protection of Journalists Through International Licensing: Synonym for Censorship," *WorldScope Magazine* (May 1984)

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"Public Participation: Constitutional Values and Administrative Realities," Northwestern University School of Law/American Bar Foundation, Chicago, Illinois (November 1985) (with R.D. Schwartz)

Canadian/American Communications Law Conferences, 1983-1985, University of Toronto and Syracuse University

Advisor, Harvard University Model United Nations, Information Regulation Committee, Boston, Massachusetts, 1984

### **Communications Industry Experience**

Columbia Missourian, Columbia, Missouri, 1981 to 1982.

Reporter; news editor; art director and designer for Sunday Magazine

Wichita Eagle-Beacon, Wichita, Kansas, 1981 to 1982 (summer & winter)

Editing Intern; copyediting, layout and design, headline writing

Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Missouri, 1980 to 1981.

Photography Intern (summer 1980); correspondent photographer

Topeka Capital-Journal, Topeka, Kansas, Winter 1980 to 1981.

Photography Intern; features, sports, news, page layout

Eureka Herald, Eureka, Kansas, Summer 1979. Reporter, photographer, production

Associated Press, United Press International, 1978-80. Correspondent photographer

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30 April 1996

**COMMENTS ON DRAFT BILL ON RADIO AND TELEVISION**  
**Parliament of Bulgaria**  
**Committee for Radio, Television and Telegraph<sup>2/</sup>**

**I. Legal Context**

These comments, while written by American consultants, do not attempt in any way to impose a viewpoint based on United States law. Rather, these comments are intended to reflect general international law recognized by the community of nations and the expressive freedoms referenced in the Bulgarian Constitution.

As a starting point, it is useful to summarize the general law on freedom of expression that applies in Bulgaria. Article 40 of the Bulgarian Constitution provide that the "press and the other mass information media shall be free and shall not be subjected to censorship." This freedom may only be restrained by an injunction issued by "judicial authorities," and such an injunction only will be permissible in one of four cases: first, "an encroachment on public decency"; second, "incitement of a forcible change of the constitutionally established order"; third, "the perpetuation of a crime" or, fourth, "the incitement of violence against anyone." These four factors are used throughout the Constitution as the exclusive cases in which expressive freedoms may be restrained (see, e.g., Articles 37(2), 39(2); 41(1); 44(2)).

Of equal importance, Article 41 of the Constitution also provides that Bulgarian citizens are entitled to receive information: "Everyone shall be entitled to seek, obtain and disseminate information. This right shall not be exercised to the detriment of the rights and reputations of others, or to the detriment of national security, public order, public health and morality." It appears intended that this right to receive information be viewed as a prologue to the essential right to "express an opinion or to publicize it through words, written and oral, sound or image, or in any other way" (Article 39).

Finally, the Constitution establishes the right of citizens to participate fully in the democracy it creates. Bulgarian citizens have the "right to lodge complaints, proposals and petitions with the state authorities" (Article 45). The "freedom of conscience" and the "freedom of thought" shall be "inviolable" (Article 37). Politics "shall be founded on the principle of political plurality" and "no political party or ideology shall be proclaimed or affirmed as the party or ideology of the state" (Article 11). The state "shall establish conditions conducive to the free development of science, education and the arts, and shall assist in that development" (Article 23).

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<sup>2/</sup> Kurt Wimmer, Laurel Miller, and Susanne Roggenbuck, Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C., USA/Brussels, Belgium. These comments should not be construed to be the official position of the United States. These comments respond only to the most pressing issues presented by the proposed law, and any failure to discuss any specific provision should not be construed as an endorsement of any provision.

International treaties to which Bulgaria is a party "shall be considered part of the domestic legislation of the country" and "shall supersede any domestic legislation stipulating otherwise" (Article 5(f)). Bulgaria is a party to the European Convention on Human Rights (the "ECHR"). The ECHR, as well as the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights (the "Court"), is legally binding on the parties to the treaty. Article 10 of the ECHR is the key provision concerning communications issues and provides as follows:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.
2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.

It is important to note that paragraph two of Article 10 is not considered a countervailing instrument to be "balanced" against the clear right of expression contained in paragraph one. Rather, the Court has long held that the exceptions to freedom of expression must be narrowly interpreted (The Sunday Times v. the UK, Judgment of 26 April 1979). Therefore, any restriction must meet the following three conditions:

- it must be prescribed by law;
- it must have a legitimate aim toward one of the specific goals set out in section two;
- it must be "necessary in a democratic society" to promote that aim.

In various decisions, the Court has stressed the important dual role of the press as both "purveyor of information and public watchdog." The Court has called the distribution of information a two-sided process in which the press has to impart information and the public has a right to receive it. The press is not restricted to imparting information; it also may communicate ideas and opinions.

Under Article 10, member states not only are required to refrain from interference with freedom of expression, but also are obligated to take action against such interference. The European Commission of Human Rights (the "Commission") has suggested that Art. 10 may be violated when a State fails in its duty to protect against excessive press concentration (see Geillustreerde Pers v. the Netherlands, Commission Report of 6 July 1976, 8 D&R 5 (1976), App. No. 5178/71). The Committee of

Ministers confirmed the member states' duty to guard against infringements of freedom of expression and information. Policies adopted by the states should be designed to foster a variety of media and a plurality of information sources, ideas and opinions (see Committee of Ministers, Declaration of the Freedom of Expression and Information, 29 April 1982). It is in this legal context that the proposed law here is assessed.

## II. Specific Concerns

### 1. National Council

The proposed law creates a National Council for Radio and Television ("NCRT"), which would exercise broad powers over licensing the private media and regulating its content. NCRT also would control the operation of the state media, Bulgarian National Television ("BNT") and Bulgarian National Radio ("BNR").<sup>1/</sup> Our concerns with the NCRT may be grouped into three general categories: (1) its composition and lack of balance; (2) the broad areas in which it is empowered to exercise authority, usurping the judicial function; and (3) the potential for procedural irregularities and secret decisionmaking.

Lack of Balance in Composition. First, the composition of the NCRT guarantees that it will be an agency controlled by the predominant party in the Legislature. This lack of balance poses a grave threat to the ability of the media, both private and public, to report on the activities of the government in an independent manner.

The law provides that the NCRT shall consist of 11 apparently full-time salaried members. All members shall be confirmed by Parliament, with certain exceptions.<sup>2/</sup> Of the 11, four shall be nominated by the majority party and two shall be nominated by the Prime Minister (who also, under the structure of the government, is a member of the majority party). A simple majority apparently is sufficient for election. Accordingly, the structure of the law dictates that the majority party will elect six of the 11 members and thus control NCRT.

A more accepted structure would create balance within NCRT so that one political party would not be empowered to exercise control over the private and public media. There are several alternatives that could implement this potential:

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<sup>1/</sup> The concept of a national commission appears to have broad support, as it was proposed in earlier drafts prepared both by the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces.

<sup>2/</sup> Two elements of the specified structure are very positive. First, the NCRT candidates sponsored by the President and Prime Minister may be appointed without Parliamentary election if they are defeated by votes of Parliament on two occasions (Article 9(3)). Second, the chairman and secretary are elected by NCRT from among its members, which is much preferable to having those officers elected by Parliament (Article 9(4)).

- One alternative would be to require that all members of the NCRT be elected by a supermajority vote of Parliament. Requiring a two-thirds or, better, three-fourths vote to confirm a member appointed from any source would ensure that all members of the NCRT have broad support.
- Another alternative would be to specify that a certain number of the members of NCRT be elected by a supermajority vote. This would create a core of members that could be considered acceptable to more than one party. If this method were followed, the number of such members should not be fewer than four.
- Another alternative would be to remove the extraordinary number of members that could be appointed by the majority party. It could be specified that no more than three (or, at the outside limit, four) members may be associated with any one political party.
- We also would agree with the recommendation of the Council of Europe delegation that the NCRT be comprised of 12 members, six elected by each of the majority and minority parties. The chair would hold two votes and would be elected by the NCRT itself. This would have the benefit of balance, but we do have a reservation that it may be more divisive than a system of requiring two-thirds confirmation of all members and that it may not reflect the party diversity that characterizes the Bulgarian parliament.
- Although we assume that many members of the NCRT would be familiar with journalism and perhaps be former or current journalists, we believe that the committee should give consideration to a proposal for electing at least one member of the NCRT from the ranks of working journalists. This could be accomplished by permitting the journalists' unions to conduct a referendum of their members, or through other mechanisms that the committee may explore. This proposal would have dual benefits: it would provide the NCRT with a valuable perspective on the issues it will consider, and it would give the NCRT a great moral authority with the Bulgarian broadcasting industry.

Regardless of which of these options is considered, the impartiality of the members should be furthered. Impartiality can be furthered by many different mechanisms, and we suggest at least the following be implemented:

- Article 10(3) should be amended to provide that NCRT members not be employed or otherwise directly or indirectly supported by activities of any political parties during their membership on the NCRT. This amendment would be consistent with the act's existing insulation of NCRT members from the media that is to be regulated by the NCRT.
- The prohibition in Article 10(3)(2) that members not also belong to trade unions should be eliminated. Approximately 50 percent of professional journalists in Bulgaria belong to one of two trade unions representing journalistic interests. If this provision stands, at least half of the working journalists in the country will be ineligible for consideration as members of the NCRT.

If the essential defect of creating a national council that would be controlled by one political party is not remedied, it is questionable whether the mechanism of the NCRT would be held constitutional or consistent with Article 10 of ECHR. On a practical level, the validity of the NCRT's actions also would be subject to criticism and lack of credibility based on its composition. This lack of credibility could run over to the media that are regulated by NCRT, thus limiting their credibility and influence as compared to the print and satellite-delivered media.

Usurping the Role of the Courts. Second, the act permits NCRT to conduct functions that appear to be reserved to an independent judiciary under the terms of the Bulgarian Constitution. Under the act, NCRT would be empowered to issue fines for the violation of content-based restrictions (which are discussed below) and even to "close" television or radio stations for period of up to six months (Articles 89 and 90). The Constitution clearly provides that any injunction on a communications medium "shall be allowed only through an act of the judicial authorities" (Article 40). The provisions permitting a legislatively created and controlled body to exercise these functions should not withstand constitutional review.

Even if these provisions were not constitutionally invalid, however, they would be quite unwise and possibly violative of the ECHR. Empowering a legislative body to "close" broadcasting stations would ensure that all media would exercise self-censorship to avoid displeasing that body. The system thus established would not foster free expression or self-information, as envisaged by the Constitution and ECHR. Thus, this issue should be corrected regardless of whether this power is seen as a strict legal defect.

We suggest that it be clarified that all actions alleging violations of the law be initiated in the courts rather than before the NCRT. Such a clause could be added to Article 19 to ensure that all claims against broadcasters, media organizations and journalists be referred only to the courts.

Procedural Protections. Third, the act does not set out a procedural context for decisions of the NCRT. It is crucial that decisions of the NCRT be made in public and be published. It is also crucial that the members of the NCRT be independent during their terms.

To meet these needs, the act should specify that all meetings of the NCRT must be open to the public (and, of course, the media) to prevent it from operating as a secret body. All actions taken by the NCRT should be published in an official gazette (preferably *Durzhaven Vestnik*) so that they may be available to the public and should not take effect until such publication occurs. The quorum for meetings should be higher than the minimal one-half of members specified in the act; two-thirds would be preferable. In addition, the terms of its members should be staggered, if possible, to ensure continuity in its operations as a practical matter.

**2. Content Regulation**

The act embodies a number of values that could be enforced by the NCRT, many of which exceed the specific and narrow limitations on press freedoms specified in the Constitution and the ECHR. These provisions include principles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Article 4, principles 1 and 5 of Article 24, and Article 25. We suggest that these provisions be deleted from the proposed law.

Similarly, Article 3 of the act utilizes language that is similar to that of the Constitution but differs in a fundamental nature. In addition to the constitutional terms, it provides that freedom may be restricted to prevent the "illegal dissemination of information," a ground not admitted by the Constitution and one which is entirely circular -- any dissemination of information that does not comply with the proposed law would be "illegal" and thus subject to restrictions on publication. This provision should be made consistent with Article 40(2) of the Constitution. It also should be made clear that only restrictions that are embodied in laws passed by Parliament may provide the basis for restricting media freedoms.

The reason that these provisions likely violate the Constitution is that many of these goals are so vague that virtually any journalistic effort could be suppressed in their name. They thus become a vehicle by which censorship or punishment for unpopular speech could be exercised. For example, provision of "truthful, thorough and unbiased information," while superficially a laudable goal, is entirely a subjective concept. One person's "truth" may be another person's falsehood. An action taken against a medium for not being sufficiently "thorough," or "unbiased," similarly, could be used as a vehicle to restrict the independence of the Bulgarian media and potentially destroy its credibility both inside and outside of Bulgaria's borders.

Article 37 of the Constitution contains a basis for the provision on the "defense of the personal life of citizens" contained in the proposed law. That provision prevents any reporting on citizens "in a way derogatory to their honor and dignity without their agreement, regardless of their authenticity, except if a court decision enters into force." This provision is quite extreme and would prevent informed journalism by giving subjects of reporting veto power over broadcasters -- if the subject of a report or a source refused to give her agreement to the report, it would be rendered illegal regardless of whether the matter was of public interest and importance. It also would be a clear violation of Article 10 of the ECHR as well as the Bulgarian Constitution. We believe it would be much more effective and more consistent with Bulgarian and international law to protect the legitimate privacy interests of Bulgarian citizens by granting them access to the courts to pursue allegations of invasion of privacy, a model that is followed throughout the Western world.

### 3. Limitations on News and Information

There appear in several places in the proposed law to be limitations on the organizations that would be empowered to produce news, informational, economic and political programs. Article 65(3) specifies that only BNT and BNR may produce such programs that will be broadcast on BNT and BNR. We believe this provision is quite dangerous because it would diminish the viewpoints that would be available to the Bulgarian public and place direct restraints on authorship contrary to international law. (We assume, by the way, that this provision will apply only to BNT/BNR; if it applied to the private media as well it would be blatantly unconstitutional.)

Articles 41(4), 42(6) and 45 prevent news and information programs from being supported by advertising or sponsorship, which clearly would discourage private broadcasters from producing such programs. These provisions are largely unnecessary because the structure of the act ensures that advertisers and sponsors will not be permitted to exercise control over the content of programming. Accordingly, they should be stricken.

### 4. Licensing Provisions

Content-Based Licensing. The licensing provisions of the act are deeply flawed because they empower the NCRT to deny licenses to any entities that have programming plans with which NCRT disagrees. Licenses should be granted on a content-neutral and transparent basis. It is, of course, permissible to specify the categories of individuals and companies that will be eligible for licenses, as the act does. It is less tolerable, however, to specify that licenses will only be granted to those whose program plans are approved by NCRT (Articles 80(1), 82(1), 83(2)) and to specify that these programs only can be changed upon the written approval of NCRT (Article 85). We suggest that the portions of these paragraphs that refer to programming content be deleted.

Restrictions on Public Broadcasting. Article 78 provides that non-profit organizations cannot hold licenses for radio and television stations. This is a serious and unacceptable restriction. It would prevent universities and schools from being able to operate broadcast stations, and it would stop public broadcasting -- which, in some countries, can offer in-depth non-commercial and educational programming to a greater degree than commercial broadcasters -- from emerging as a positive institution in Bulgaria. We strongly recommend that this restriction be removed from the act.

A better approach than providing a list of the organizations that would not be entitled to hold broadcast licenses would be a case-by-case determination by the agency, subject to review by the administrative courts. For example, there seems to be no clear non-political reason why trade unions should be prevented from holding licenses. If there are a sufficient number of stations available, it is possible that NCRT could accommodate all requests for licenses without the possibly divisive impact of denying requests to entire categories of organizations and institutions.

License Revocation. The transition provisions of the proposed law would revoke all broadcast licenses that have been issued under the concessions law. This would be

exceptionally disruptive to the Bulgarian public's receipt of information. It also would send a clear signal to the international community that investment in enterprises of all sorts licensed by Bulgaria is a risky proposition, and it could thus discourage businesses from outside Bulgaria from providing capital to Bulgarian enterprises. We suggest that this provision be deleted and that existing broadcast stations be permitted to continue broadcasting until the expiration of their current licenses. Upon expiration, they should be permitted to seek a new license under the legal structure in place at the time when a new license would be sought.

### 5. Right to Respond

Rights of reply are problematic in many areas. Some countries have eliminated rights of reply because the existence of such rights may encourage broadcasters to avoid discussing certain issues to avoid triggering reply rights. In the majority of countries in Europe, however, rights of reply have become commonplace.

The right to respond contained in Article 33 of the act should be narrowed. As it stands, providing a right of reply to all "individuals or institutions affected by radio or television programs" would require so many replies that (1) broadcasters would have little time to do their own programming and (2) broadcasters would avoid reporting on items that trigger the right of reply, thus diminishing the information that is available to the Bulgarian public.

First, Article 33 should be effectively narrowed by creating triggering events for the right of reply. Other countries have enacted rights of reply that are triggered by a personal attack on the honesty and integrity of an individual, for example, or by a defamatory statement about an individual. It is clear that the trigger should be based on a negative reference to an individual; Article 33, as it stands, would permit rights of reply even to complimentary statements about someone reported in the media. This clearly is overbroad.

Second, those who may use Article 33 to obtain a right to respond should be limited to individuals rather than "individuals or institutions." If rights of reply are triggered by broadcasts about institutions -- whether political, commercial or social -- every newscast will give rise to an enormous number of replies. Institutions typically can have sufficient access to the media to have their views publicized and, unlike individuals, have no need for the state to ensure that they will have broadcast access.

Broadcasters also should have the right to deny requests for responsive time under certain defined circumstances. If, for example, the overall programming of the station has expressed the viewpoint that the response seeks to generate, there would be no public benefit to repeating that viewpoint in a response. In such circumstances, the broadcaster should be entitled to deny the request for a response. The citizen, of course, would have access to the courts if she feels that her request has been denied improperly.

Third, the rights of response should be assessed by the courts rather than the NCRT unless the NCRT is realigned as a politically neutral body. If it is not restructured, its power to order rights of reply could be misused for political purposes.

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Courts would be independent arbiters of these requests and could, particularly if required by statute, rule on them quickly.

#### 6. Administration of BNT/BNR

The issue of how NCRT relates to BNT/BNR is a difficult one because it is highly desirable to have the national television and radio organizations able to exercise editorial independence. This is particularly true in Bulgaria, where these enterprises are the dominant sources of information for the majority of citizens.

First, NCRT will be too highly involved in the internal affairs of BNT/BNR if it elects each member of the very large programming councils that are envisaged by the proposed law. It would be much more effective, and much more practically workable, to empower the managing director of each enterprise to name his or her own programming boards. It also would be preferable to provide that only the managing director may dismiss members of the programming boards. This mechanism would more closely and appropriately guard the editorial integrity of BNT/BNR.

Second, the matter of funding BNT/BNR is crucial to its independence. We agree with the consultants from the Council of Europe that an independent arbiter should determine appropriate funding levels for the agencies to protect them against political inroads into their journalistic independence.

Third, it may be inappropriate and impractical to provide, as does Article 47, the specific number of programming services that must be provided by BNT/BNR. If these allocations are set in stone in an act of Parliament, it will take another act of Parliament to alter them in case either organization wishes to start an additional network or end an existing network or even enter into new lines of business (such as cable channels).

Fourth, we agree with the protections inherent in Article 49 of the proposed law. We would prefer an explicit clarification that exerting political pressure on BNT/BNR journalists would be contrary to the law.

#### 7. Programming Quotas

The programming quotas contained in the act are similar in nature to those established by the European Community. However, they do not contain two important exceptions, without which compliance may become impossible as a practical matter in the early years of the program's administration.

First, Article 5(4) and 23 should specify quotas only "when practicable." This would simply permit stations to avoid being out of compliance with the restrictions when, in fact, sufficient Bulgarian production may not be available to meet the need for domestic content. Second, co-productions without outside entities, under the control of Bulgarian producers, should be permitted, and the products of those co-productions should count toward "Bulgarian content." These modifications will ensure that any lack of programming available from Bulgarian producers does not act to diminish the broadcasts available to the public.

8. Free Air Time to Certain Politicians

Article 67 of the proposed law sensibly limits the amount of free broadcasting time on BNT/BNR provided to representatives of the Parliamentary parties and coalitions to five minutes per month. It should follow the same model or a similar one in limiting the amount of free air time that will be made available to the President, Chairman of the National Assembly and Prime Minister and their representatives. If this right is not subject to some limitations, there is the potential for abuse of the privilege (particularly during election periods). Of course, we do not suggest that announcements concerning legitimate national emergencies should be limited.

9. Foreign Language Restrictions

The foreign-language restrictions in the act are problematic. The best course would be to remove these restrictions to permit the marketplace to determine which programs are demanded by the people. Failing this remedy, we would propose two other modifications.

First, it should be clarified that the exceptions to language requirements stated in Article 22(2) are available automatically, without the necessity of making application to the NCRT to obtain them. Second, some mitigating circumstances should be considered to permit some degree of broadcasting in the mother tongue of minorities that do not speak the Bulgarian language. If no consideration of this factor is given, the act may be susceptible to challenge by such minorities under Article 6(2) of the Constitution. That provision states that there shall be no "restriction of rights" based on "race, nationality, ethnic self-identification," or other like factors.

10. Ownership Restrictions

The proposed law limits companies and individuals from outside Bulgaria to owning no more than 49 percent of a company holding a broadcast license. This provision could handicap the development of a private broadcast industry in Bulgaria by inhibiting the funds that may be used for construction of broadcast stations and provision of high-quality programming for Bulgarian audiences. We suggest that it be deleted. We also find it interesting that a provision permitting up to 40 percent of BNT and BNR be owned by parties other than the state was proposed; because of the issues with funding that have been pointed out by other experts, we believe that this proposal may have merit and should be explored further.

11. Protection of Children

Article 28 provides that programming that could "threaten the psychological, physical and moral development of children and minors" may not be broadcast from 0600 to 2300 hours. We agree with the intent of this paragraph but find that its wording may be vague and difficult for broadcasters to follow as a practical matter. We would suggest a more precise definition or perhaps a requirement that NCRT elucidate by publishing rules defining the specific programming that it intends to channel toward late-night hours. Similarly, the provision in Article 39 requiring that advertising "meet the

requirements for good upbringing of children" should be made more specific so that advertisers will understand the types of advertisements that will be considered acceptable.

12. Public Access to Journalistic Materials

Article 34(3) provides that "parties declaring that they have been damaged by broadcast programs have the right of access to the respective archives and to receive copies of the programs, if they are ready to pay for them." This article should be clarified to specify that it applies only to obtaining copies of the reports broadcast and not to the internal materials and working papers of the journalists that contributed to these reports.

2 May 1996

Hon. Georgi Avramov  
Member of Parliament  
1 Narodno Sabranie Square  
1000 Sofia, Bulgaria

Dear Mr. Avramov:

We very much appreciate you and your delegation meeting with us on Tuesday. We particularly welcome the spirit of openness and cooperation with which you accepted our comments. I believe we are working toward the same goal -- a diverse and open media and a legal structure that is consistent with international norms.

The purpose of this letter is to update the comments that we presented to you at our meeting in light of the additional information you have provided to us. In addition, we supply some concrete suggestions to implement the concerns we discussed on Tuesday. For convenience, we will follow the same format we used in our comments to you of 30 April 1996.

1. National Council. We remain concerned that the national council will be too greatly dominated by the majority party in Parliament. We now understand, however, that several of our suggestions based on electing members of the Council by supermajority votes would be impossible under existing law.

First, we suggest that Article 9 of the proposed law be amended to state that no party can nominate more than six members of the Council in total. That is, if the president, prime minister and majority party in Parliament are the same, that party would be held to six members rather than eight (as the law currently would permit).

Second, we suggest that all actions of the Council be taken by a two-thirds vote. Article 14 should be amended to provide that all actions, not simply actions under the few provisions specified in Article 14, be made by two-thirds vote. This mechanism will ensure that the six members elected by the majority party cannot, in fact, control the Council.

We understand that members of trade unions are not, as we understood, barred from being members of the Council. This is useful. We would reiterate our suggestion that Council members not be directly or indirectly supported by activities of political parties during their term of membership to ensure their impartiality.

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We continue to be concerned that the terms of the law indicate that the Council can take actions against the media directly, rather than referring them to court. We understand your position that the media would have redress to courts to challenge actions of the Council, but that redress would be available to the media only after the Council had restrained the press. We continue to believe that all actions taken by the Council that would limit expressive rights be initiated in court. As another much less preferable alternative, it could be specified that no such action of the Council would be effective until ratified by a court. Finally, we reurge our view that procedural protections, as specified in our comments, be built into the proposed law.

2. Content Regulations. We appreciate your view that your law should be consistent with Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. We continue to believe, however, that the proposed law exceeds Article 10 in several instances, as discussed at page 6 of our comments. In particular, the following provisions exceed Article 10 because they cover areas that are not authorized by Article 10 or are too vaguely defined:

- a. Article 4(1), "compliance with the constitutionally accepted order" exceeds the permissible regulation of the media for legitimate national security concerns, and "generally accepted moral values" is undefined.
- b. Article 4(3), the "provision of truthful, thorough and unbiased information," a provision that clearly exceeds Article 10 and would be susceptible for use as an instrument of censorship.
- c. Article 4(5), the "development of relations of tolerance among citizens," a ground that is not authorized by Article 10.
- d. Article 4(6), prohibition against use of the media for "psychological harassment," which is not authorized by Article 10 and is unduly vague and susceptible of abuse.
- e. Article 4(7), which would prohibit "immoral" broadcasts and programs presenting "cruelty or violence," both grounds that either exceed

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2 May 1996  
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Article 10 or are so vague that they could be used as excuses to censor unpopular programs.

- f. Articles 4(8) and 4(9), the guarantee of "access to national and world cultural values" and "protection of the national and spiritual values of the Bulgarian people," two grounds which would impose a content-related burden on the press that is not authorized by Article 10 and could be used as a pretext for censorship.
- g. Articles 24(1), 24(5) and 25, which would require information to be "thorough, correct and impartial," three criteria that cannot be judged objectively and which would provide opportunities for unpopular news and information to be censored and punished beyond the bounds of Article 10.
- h. Article 32, which would prevent any reporting on individuals "derogatory to their honor and dignity without their agreement, regardless of their authenticity," a provision that clearly would prevent reporting on issues of public interest contrary to Article 10.

As to each of these provisions except Article 32, we continue to believe that the only responsible course of action would be to delete them. It is possible that certain of their subjects could be defined more specifically under certain of the criteria of Article 10, and we would be pleased to work with you in crafting any replacement sections if you do decide to delete the current provisions.

As to Article 32, as we discussed, we recognize that the Parliament legitimately may protect citizens' privacy under the Bulgarian Constitution (and, in fact, under Section 8(1) of the European Convention on Human Rights). As we discussed, however, the current paragraph would protect even government officials from any criticism, which clearly would violate Article 10. We also believe strongly that claims for invasion of privacy should be brought in neutral courts than before a political and regulatory body. Accordingly, we suggest that Article 32 provide that Bulgarian citizens have a right to privacy that can be vindicated in civil actions. This paragraph could be restructured as follows to be consistent with decisions under Section 8:

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Radio and television organizations may be subject to civil suits for damages based on the broadcasting of non-public and highly personal facts or allegations that are not a matter of legitimate public concern relating to a private individual's physical condition, health or personality in a manner that would be highly offensive to a reasonable person.

3. Limitations on News and Information. We understand your concern for ensuring that the national television and radio organizations exercise sufficient control over outside producers. We continue to believe, however, that an absolute prohibition against news, economic and information programming from any outside producers on the only national television channel in Bulgaria is both unwise and legally invalid. Although we understand fully that Bulgaria is a much different case from the U.S., it has been our experience that permitting our public broadcasting organization (which also operates a single national channel) to air many views from outside producers has been an important contribution to media diversity in the United States.

We were pleased to discover that you do not intend to prohibit advertising from being run before and after 30-minute news broadcasts. We would suggest that Sections 41(4) and 43(6) be amended to reflect this understanding by adding "of less than 30 minutes" after the word "news and information programs."

4. Licensing Provisions. First, we were very pleased to learn that you do not intend to revoke the existing licenses of broadcasters that have been licensed under the concession law. We believe, however, that you must amend the "transitional and closing provisions," Section (2), to delete the phrase "for a period of six months after enforcement of this Law" and insert in its place the phrase "for the duration of their current licenses."

You asked the legitimate question of what content-neutral grounds can be used to select licensees for television and radio broadcasting stations. We have had some 60 years of experience with this process and have used the following criteria, among others: (1) broadcast experience, generally measured in years of experience of managers who actually would work at the station; (2) existence of a particularly good broadcasting record, which has been used to grant preferences in some cases; (3) commitment to serve underserved areas,

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particularly those that have not had local broadcast stations in the past; (4) financial qualifications and commitments. We have, in the past, granted preferences to ethnic minorities and women and granted credit to owners who actually would work at the stations in question; these grounds are no longer used. There could, of course, be other criteria (in particular, our Congress has discussed using auctions in some circumstances). The important point is simply that the government should not be the judge of the programming that private broadcasters should air, nor should broadcasters be required to obtain the permission of the government to change programming plans. Again, we would be pleased to work with you in crafting these provisions.

We continue to urge that Article 78 be amended to delete the restriction on non-commercial broadcasters holding licenses for broadcast stations.

Remaining Provisions. We did not discuss specifically our comments under sections 5-12 of our comments. If you have any questions about these comments, please feel free to contact any of us. I, for one, can be reached in the United States by phone at 202-662-5278; by fax at 202-778-5278; or by e-mail at kwimmer@cov.com. We would be pleased to continue this dialogue or to contribute any further provisions that would be useful to you.

Again, we very much appreciate your willingness to discuss these matters with us.

Very truly yours,

Kurt A. Wimmer

# Professional Media Association Development in Bulgaria

## A ProMedia Project Proposal

prepared by

The International Center for Journalists

**Project Overview** The purpose of this project is to assist in the development of a new professional broadcast journalists' association in Bulgaria to serve the needs broadcast media both in media management and journalism.

### Association of Broadcast Managers

This initiative will concentrate on assisting in the creation of a initial development of a confederation of independent television station managers towards the aim of creating a viable professional association which can assist in a wide range of development and assistance projects for the media. The first phase will be a workshop session for a small, carefully selected group of television station owners or managers who are positioned to be able to spearhead the development of an association. The workshops will help identify the purposes of the new association, its goals and its priorities.

The second phase will consist of a follow-up series of one-on-one consulting with individual station managers and with individuals engaged in the development of the association. This phase would take place several months after Phase I. This effort will aim to be a catalyst to further association development and to promote the benefits of this sort of professional affiliation to those not initially involved in the establishment of the organization. Ideally, the faculty who participated in the first phase will also carry out the second.

**Participants** The targeted participants in this project will be leading media managers and editors in Bulgaria who are in the position of being able to establish, initiate and eventually play a leadership role in professional associations. The number of participants would not be large and would be carefully selected in consultation with indigenous media leaders.

**Training Faculty** The training faculty and consultants used in this project would consist of teams drawn from the ranks of existing professional associations in the United States and Europe, such as Radio & Television News Directors Association, National Association of Broadcasters, American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Newspaper Association of America, the National Newspaper Association, or the many strong state-wide associations for media professionals. These experts would have a strong background in

the establishment of a professional association and its operation.  
Ideally, they will have had experience in the CEE/NIS region.

**Program Schedule** Association of Broadcast Managers  
Phase I would begin in mid-summer. Phase II would follow in the late fall.

**Budget** Association of Broadcast Managers  
Phase I & II - \$31,807

## **Sample Workshop Syllabus**

### **Phase I - Association of Broadcast Managers Workshop**

#### Day One

Welcome and Introductions

Discussion: Overview of Broadcast Development in Croatia

Discussion: Goals and Challenges for a Professional Broadcaster's Association

Assignment: Brainstorming for Day Two

#### Day Two

Presentation: Models for Associations

Topical Discussion:

Goals and Priorities

Range of Possible Activities

Competition v. Cooperation

#### Day Three

Developing a Strategic Plan

Targeting Potential Membership

Publicity for NGOs

Developing a Follow-up Plan

April 29, 1996

## Professional Media Association Development in Bulgaria

### Budget Estimate

#### FACULTY

<u>Transportation - Phase I</u>		
International travel 2 (U.S.) x \$2000		4,000
Ground travel 2 (U.S.) x \$200		400
Immunizations & health insurance		400
<u>Transportation - Phase II</u>		
International travel 1 x \$2000		2,000
Ground travel 1 x \$200		200
Immunizations & health insurance		200
<u>Per diem -Phase I</u>		
2 x \$197 x 6 days		2,364
<u>Per diem -Phase II</u>		
1 x \$197 x 16 days		3,152
<u>Fees - Phase I</u>		
Fees 2 Trainers @ \$150/day x 5 days		1,500
Local Trainer 1 x \$100 x 5 days		500
<u>Fees - Phase II</u>		
Fees 1 Trainer @ \$150/day x 14 days		2,100
Facility Rental \$200/day x 3 days		600
Interpretation		
Phase I - \$150 day x 5 days		750
Phase II - \$150 day x 14 days		1,500
Translations		500
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>20,166</b>

#### Participant Costs

Coffee breaks/lunches \$20 x 10 x 3 days		600
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>600</b>

#### ICFJ COSTS

Program Development, Supervision and Coordination		
Fee (8 days @ \$300)		2,400
Communications		400
Printing/Mailings		150
Indirect Rate		8,091
	<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>11,041</b>
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>31,807</b>

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# Establishing a Professional Media Association

## A Planning Agenda

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Forming an association of journalists is not necessarily difficult, because there are no fixed or universal rules on how to do it. However, there are guidelines, based on the experience of others.

In its most basic form, an association is simply a group of like-minded people who decide to get together from time to time to discuss (and, perhaps, resolve) issues of mutual interest. The right to assemble in groups without interference is inherent in all democratic societies.<sup>1</sup>

The grander the mission, the more difficult the task becomes. For example, if an association is formed with the expectation of representing an entire profession, then it complicates its task enormously. First of all, the founders would need to attract the support and membership of at least the majority in the profession, or that association could not truly be called "representative." Once formed, the association would then have to earn the consensus of its membership on all meaningful principles, practices, and actions. Many associations get bogged down in their own regulations and internal bickering, thus destroying the whole purpose of organizing.

History has shown that it is wiser to start small and grow naturally, attracting supporters on the merits of its cause and performance rather than on its claims of power and influence.

An association is built on a foundation consisting of three layers:

1. **Beliefs** (its philosophy or credo)
2. **Purpose** (its reason for existing)
3. **Function** (its policies and practices)

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<sup>1</sup>In the United States, the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the right to peaceable assembly; it also guarantees free speech, free press, the right to worship as one chooses and the right to complain to government.

These three layers form the governing mandate of the association. In some cases, there are two documents: a "mission statement" (or statement of principles) and the "bylaws," which are essentially the rules of the organization. But there is no reason why they both cannot be incorporated into one comprehensive document. The one overriding precept is that everything flows from that initial, fundamental statement of beliefs.

The governing document(s) must be drafted and agreed to by the founding members. To get the association off on the right footing, it is best that all of the founders agree on the wording of this vital document. Otherwise, the organization will be built on a foundation already cracked by dissent. To accomplish unanimity in this initial phase will likely require compromise -- the fuel that drives all successful membership organizations. To reduce the level of difficulty and to anchor the organization as firmly as possible, it is recommended that the governing document be simple, clear and flexible. If it is complicated, obtuse and rigid, the association will be driven by paper instead of by people.

Here are suggestions on how to go about the process of forming an association:

**1. Get together to plan the association.** The initial meeting is meant for the bedrock fundamentals, not details. A good framework for discussion is the reporter's traditional "five Ws and H" -- Who, What, When, Where, Why and How. Answer these, and the rest is easy. This is the occasion, for example, to agree on a name for the organization. One assumes that by the end of the meeting, those who agree on those basic points will stay, and those who disagree will leave. Thus, those who remain become the founding "Board of Directors." The initial group does not have to be any larger than four or five people, as long as it sees itself as representing a much broader constituency and has the potential to grow.

**2. Elect a leader.** For progress to be made, someone has to be in charge. One leader (chair) is more efficient than two. The leader's authority can be checked by a majority vote of the founders, and the leader chosen at this initial meeting does not have to be the one who ultimately is elected to head the association itself. That will be a broader, more representative and more formal procedure.

**3. Draft a Statement of Beliefs.** This is a simple description of the association's fundamental philosophy. It could be as basic as: "We believe in the principle of self-governance, and that a free press is essential to its success." It may also want to embrace a non-partisan position tolerating different ethnic groups, creeds, genders, religions and political beliefs. It may also want to cover such areas as the responsibility and financial self-sufficiency of a free press. It may also want to endorse high standards of ethical behavior. While it should not be long, the association's credo should be broad enough so that any future policy or action can comfortably fall within it.

**4. Draft a Statement of Purpose.** This is the rationale for forming an association. It, too, should be comparatively brief. To begin with, simply state the reasons for wanting an association of journalists. For example, the purpose may include:

- to represent independent-minded journalists -- yet offer a united front --

in dealing with government and other institutions, both inside and outside the country and thus safeguarding the media's right for a free flow of information

- to share professional information and serve as a forum for self-education, mid-career training and establish the highest professional standards
- to establish a code of conduct for journalists and the news industry
- to promote free-press principles and policies outside the media and to educate the public on the importance of truth and integrity in the media
- to represent journalists in dealing with employers<sup>2</sup>

**5. Outline the Association's Functions.** This part of the governing document, which is a natural transition from the statement of beliefs and purpose, should generally describe what the association plans to be, what it plans to do and how it plans to operate (This will form the basis for a formal set of bylaws, which can be drawn up at a later stage of development by a representative group from the membership). For example, does the association want to represent the broadest possible spectrum of the national media, or will it simply be a voluntary membership association speaking only for itself? It may decide to attract all professional levels, including publishers and station managers, or limit itself to the non-management positions. It may decide to encompass the electronic and print media, or limit itself only to people working at newspapers. Or, it may wish to represent only media directors, thus positioning itself as the voice of the news industry itself. The answers to these questions are usually dictated by "reality," or what is feasible. Besides the make-up of its membership, an operational outline should address the association's:

- status (Is it independent or affiliated? Is it necessary to incorporate with the government?)
- primary activities (advocacy, education, professional solidarity?)
- activities outside its mandate (labor contracts, political positions?)
- main source of revenue (dues, government subsidy, private grants?)
- basic structure (requirements for membership, elections, officers, and meetings)

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<sup>2</sup> This last example pertains more to trade unions, but there is no inherent law in most countries against an association serving in this function. It should be noted, however, that professional issues and "bread-and-butter" issues don't always mix very well, because they tend to get used against each other when setting priorities or engaging in contract negotiations (i.e. "Do you want ethics or food for the family?"). An association can still take positions on journalists' salary, benefits and security without engaging in negotiations.

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**NOTE: Many of these first five tasks should be accomplished in the initial meetings of the founding group.**

**6. Solicit Support.** This next step is aimed at solidifying and expanding the organization beyond its "kitchen table" origins. The key question to be resolved here is whom does the association represent? The answer will ultimately dictate how much impact the association will have. As counselled earlier in this report, it is advised not to be too ambitious or even too visible in the beginning. Even if its initial goals are modest, by reaching them, the fledgling association will acquire credibility for itself. A loud and overly dramatic entrance may also attract unwarranted attention. To gain early support, the association's founders might consider:

- building its membership among like-minded journalists through small solicitation meetings and printed flyers;
- applying for a "start-up" grant from an international agency or foundation;
- inviting experts from abroad to advise the association on structure and activities;
- meeting with media employers and government representatives to explain the purpose of the association and to earn their provisional endorsement;
- appointing research and drafting committees that will firm up the organizational process and give members a sense of participation;

**7. Launch the Association.** Hold initial meetings of the expanded membership, draft and approve the bylaws, elect officers, and initiate association activity.

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This report was drafted by the International Center for Journalists, an independent and not-for-profit professional institution in Reston, Virginia. The information and recommendations in the report come from the documents and experiences of a number of U.S. journalists' associations, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Society of Professional Journalists.

## **BYLAWS FRAMEWORK**

for a  
**Journalists' Association**

-----

### **PREAMBLE**

(This opening section contains the statement of beliefs and purpose.)

### **ARTICLE I Name & Function**

("This entity shall be known as \_\_\_\_\_." One could add here a motto for the association, if desired. In regards to function, one can list the general activity intended for the association.)

### **ARTICLE II Membership**

(This section lists the nature of the membership and the conditions for belonging to the association. <sup>3</sup>Some organizations have institutional, as well as individual membership. Some also have "affiliate" membership for those connected with but not directly working for the media, such as public relations people; they may or may not be given full voting rights)

### **ARTICLE IV Board of Directors & Officers**

(An outline of duties and structure of the association's governing board and its officers. Elements of this section include: (1) powers and responsibilities -- for example, "to adopt rules and regulations, appoint officers, fill temporary vacancies on the board, determine association

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<sup>3</sup>If dues are to be charged to members, a separate regulation and price structure can be adopted outside the bylaws, so they won't have to be changed each time the amount changes.

activity, set the dues structure, and convene general meetings of the membership;" (2) the size of the board -- for example, "no fewer than five and no more than 20 persons;" (2) terms of office -- for example, "the term of office for a director shall be one year, renewable for up to three terms..."; (3) duties and terms of officers -- for example, "the board shall appoint for one-year terms a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer whose purpose shall be to execute board policy and activity plans, collect dues, convene board meetings...")

**ARTICLE V**  
**Meetings, Elections & Referendums**

(If the organization is democratically based, the membership ultimately has the say in choice of directors and overall policy. This section can contain: (1) the number and schedule of regular meetings; (2) the nominating process for board candidates; (3) the election ballot process; and (3) a provision to call for special referendums to amend the bylaws and/or in cases of major disagreement with board policy.)

**NOTE: An organization's bylaws are the rules of operation, and should only be as detailed as necessary. In its initial stage, bylaws should be as brief, clear and flexible as possible to allow room for experimentation and spontaneity . If abuses and "loopholes" later emerge, the rules and language can subsequently be tightened.**

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## **NARRATIVE SECTION: CROATIA**

### **I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996**

ProMedia in close cooperation with the USAID mission in Zagreb, has developed, organized and initiated the following programs for Croatia:

- An assessment team of Senior ProMedia representatives visited Croatia from 14 to 18 November 1995, and met with journalists, editors and publishers from a wide spectrum of Croatian media. They also explored program ideas and program coordination with the USAID representatives and other US Embassy officials in Croatia.
- A detailed draft work plan for Croatia was developed and forwarded to the USAID mission in Croatia for approval on 16 January 1996. (See Appendix)
- ProMedia staff meet with USAID staff and representatives of the Croatian Journalists' Association in Zagreb on 16 to 18 February to explore details of a potential media association development plan.
- 3 April, revised work plan is completed calling for three specific programs: Newspaper Management Skills Program, Mid-Career Professional Skills Training Program and Media Association Development Plan. Work plan is faxed to USAID Zagreb.
- 12 April, USAID Zagreb approves work plan and requests more details concerning association development plan.
- 26 April, dates set for Newspaper Management Workshop and on-site management consultations. Trainers selected and confirmed. (See Appendix for trainer biographies)
- 10 May, The International Center for Journalists completes draft of professional media association development plan. (See Appendix for plan)

### **II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORK PLAN**

#### **A. Completed Activities**

During the period of time through June 1, 1996, ProMedia has two major activities: conducted an on-site assessment and drafted a detailed work plan. Three major programs remain, one of which will occur at the end of June. Most of this initial period was spent coordinating a strategy of action with the USAID mission in Zagreb.

Senior ProMedia staff conducted an assessment mission to Croatia from 14-18 November. They met with representatives of various Croatian media, local and central government agencies and other institutions involved with media activities. They also met with US Embassy officials, including those of the USAID mission, to discuss program

objectives and design. The information collected during this visit was used to develop the detailed work plan.

In mid-January a detailed work plan was faxed to USAID (both Washington and Zagreb). After an exchange of ideas and extended discussion, elements of the plan were put in action, while others were further defined and developed. A revised work plan was faxed to USAID on 3 April reflecting modifications agreed to by both ProMedia and USAID.

## **B. Future Activities**

In addition to the completed activities listed above, ProMedia has initiated several activities and expects to complete them within the next 6 months of the work plan. These additional action items are:

1. Newspaper Management Skills Program - this program consists of two phases: a workshop and a series of on-site management consultations throughout Croatia. Both will be completed by the end of June. Four experienced American journalists and media managers will serve as trainers for the program. This program will be held in cooperation with the Croatian Journalists' Association and the workshop will be held in the Association's building.

2. Mid-Career Professional Skills Program - this program also consists of two phases: a series of workshop and on-site consultations throughout the country. This program has a special focus on journalists outside of Zagreb. It as well will be held in cooperation and co-sponsorship with the Croatian Journalists Association. All activities under this program will be completed by November 1.

3. Professional Media Association Development - following the framework of the plan of action drawn-up by the International Center for Journalists, on the recommendations of USAID Zagreb and in agreement with the leadership of the Croatian Journalists Association, ProMedia will begin this program in September. In addition to providing assistance to the association's drive to create a professional press center, this program will also provide support to the association through a workshop and series of on-site consultations.

## **III. Timetable for activities yet to be completed**

### Newspaper Management Skills

- Workshop in Zagreb: June 17-19, 1996
- On-site consultation in Zagreb, Osijek, Rijeka and other towns: June 20-29, 1996

### Professional Media Association Development

- Workshop for association leaders: September 1996
- On-site consultations: September/October 1996

#### Mid-Career Professional Skills

- Workshops in Zagreb and Osijek: October 15-28, 1996
- On-site consultations in Zagreb, Osijek and other towns: October 15-28, 1996

# ~ Croatia ~

## The Conditions

The media is under relentless political assault, given the ruling party's attitude that "there are no opposition papers in Croatia, only anti-Croat papers." Indeed there seems to be only one truly independent daily. Various economic tools used by the authorities to reward friends and punish enemies include making opposition papers pay in advance for the use of the state press (the only option for daily papers) while charging friendly papers little or nothing; and subsidizing friendly papers by channeling massive advertising funds from state enterprises. Therefore, it is of particular importance that print media develop skills necessary to survive financially.

The Croatian Journalists Association, blessed with a confident and competent young leadership and the economic security of a wholly-owned building from which it draws rental income, is the logical co-sponsor for workshops in Croatia. It also is a useful outlet for all media within the country, and as such, would provide a good focal point for ProMedia programs.

## The Plan

1) **NEWSPAPER WORKSHOPS** - These sessions are designed to help publications compete in the dual competitive marketplaces of economics and ideas, with the heavy focus on financial viability. The approach will include two days of structured workshops followed by up to three days of one-on-one consultations, either at individual newspapers if distance does not pose logistical or travel problems, or with the individuals in available, suitable space.

Plans call for workshops to be held in **Zagreb** and repeated in **Osijek** and **Rijeka**. It is anticipated that the Croatian Journalists Association will serve as a co-sponsor of the workshops, will help draw up invitation lists, will help with ground arrangements in both locations and will host the Zagreb sessions in the Association building. The workshops will not be simply sessions for newspapers in the two cities selected as venues, but should be considered regional meetings.

General approach for the sessions will be collegial rather than professorial. The US participants are management personnel (a publisher and an advertising director) from mid-size newspapers with experience in various aspects of supervision, in particular advertising and marketing. The team will include a moderator who will direct the sessions and two additional experts. All three will be available for the individual consultations cited above. Further, one of the Americans has association expertise/involvement (member of the Board of the Newspaper Association of American and the Associated Press), to be shared with the Croatian Journalists Association and any publishers association, in being or in formation.

It is worth emphasizing that although journalism skills may take years to teach and to learn, experience has shown that much can be taught about the business aspects of media - general management, organization, advertising, marketing, etc--in a relatively short period of time. Indeed, follow-up visits to Russian newspapers participating in sessions similar to those planned for Croatia and following the same time frame showed measurable positive results.

A sample agenda follows, which will be shared with the Journalists Association for comments and suggestions, with the final agenda tailored to the perceived needs of the Croatian newspapers. Please note that the opening of the workshop calls for comments from the participants about their specific problems and interests; it is anticipated that the workshops will be adjusted to address those points.

The one-on-one sessions will be of particular importance to the Croatian participants, giving them an opportunity to have a consultant address their specific concerns.

The timetable would call for the US team to arrive in Zagreb the Saturday before the first workshop and to include on the weekend a country briefing by appropriate USG personnel (AID, USIS, etc). First workshops will be in Zagreb, with repeat performances in Osijek and Rijeka.

### **DRAFT NEWSPAPER MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP AGENDA FOR ZAGREB, OSIJEK AND RIJEKA, CROATIA**

#### *Day One*

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 10:00 AM | Introductions   |
| 10:15 AM | Overview of print media in the US<br>Audience comments re Croatia print media problems*   |
| 10:45 AM | Newspaper organization for greatest efficiency and return   |
| 11:30 AM | Community relations as a business necessity   |
| 12:00    | Lunch   |
| 1:00 PM  | Newspaper advertising:<br>A. Classified: importance of classified to newspaper readership; philosophy of pricing; classified vs display classified.<br><br>B. Retail display: general classifications; differences/comparisons re classified; seasonal influences; developing marketing partnerships. |
| 3:00 PM  | Break   |
| 3:15 PM  | Newspaper advertising:<br>A. Inserts: advantages/disadvantages to profit, revenue stream, retailer; general pricing theories; operations and problems.  |

B. Coupons: use in advertising and as a marketing measurement tool

- 4:30 PM Market research  
Importance as a selling tool; designing and using questionnaires; collecting readership and retail information; competitive analysis.
- 5:30 PM Adjourn

*\* The audience comments noted in the opening is a helpful key to successful workshops, with much of what follows tailored to address the issues raised by the participants.*

*Day Two*

- 9:00 AM Advertising department organization, including basic approach to market and publication; recruiting sales people; compensation; relations with advertising agencies; sales measurements and controls.
- 9:45 AM Developing rate cards, including basic information re various classifications; frequency discounts; policies; contracts; adjustments.
- 10:30 AM Break
- 10:45 AM Basics of selling: sales process of presenting features and benefits; handling objections; closing the sale; instilling value; customer service; competitive and combination selling.
- 12:00 Lunch
- 1:00 PM Niche and other special publications.
- 1:30 PM Marketing and promotion: how to find and keep an audience; how to sell the newspaper
- 2:30 PM Competition: how to succeed in the world of print vs broadcasting.
- 3:00 PM Break
- 3:15 PM Professional associations: how they function in the US; importance to the establishment and maintenance of a free press.
- 4:00 PM General discussion.
- 5:00 PM Adjourn

## Newspaper Management Workshops Budget

<b>Program Costs</b>	<b>Total</b>
A. Per diem (12 days x 230 x 3 trainers)	\$8,280
B. Insurance, etc...	\$250
C. International Travel	\$3,600
D. Ground Transportation	\$1,200
E. Interpreter	\$2,000
F. Workshop supplies	\$700
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>\$16,030</b>

### **2) PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT IN CROATIA**

#### **A ProMedia Project Proposal prepared by The International Center for Journalists**

**Project Overview**—The purpose of this project is to assist in the further development of the professional journalists' association in Croatia to serve the needs of the print and broadcast media both in media management and journalism. It would essentially transform the association from an informal membership association into a full-fledged media resource center capable of serving most Croatian journalists and their news organizations. The project initially is proposed to be carried out in two phases.

**Professional Journalists' Association**—The first phase of this project will be a series of meetings with the leaders of the association to outline a 12-month program agenda and a plan for expanding the range of the association's professional services. Items which might be outlined in this agenda include:

#### **Specialized Reporting Workshops**

- Business & Economics
- Investigative Reporting
- Elections & Politics
- The Media and Ethnic Conflict Coverage

#### **Skills Training**

- Computerbased Reporting
- Interviewing Techniques
- Planning a Coverage Strategy
- Improving Newsroom Efficiency
- Desktop Publishing

#### **Public Relations for NGO's**

- English-Language Courses for Journalists
- Weekly "Debate Club" Speaker's Program
- Editors Roundtable
- Cooperative Advertising Strategies
- Fellowship Opportunities Abroad

## Weekly "Movie Night" Social Events

The second phase would follow an analysis of each of the proposed projects by the consulting faculty team. The team would draw up model syllabi and models for carrying out the programs, including the identification of the necessary resources to carry out the project. Then the team would return to Croatia to help develop a workplan and business plan for carrying out the final agenda. This would be a process of training trainers, preparing local relevant materials and scheduling faculty.

**Participants**—The targeted participants in this project will be leading journalists and editors in Croatia who are in the position of being able to play a leadership role in this developing professional association. The number of participants would not be large and would be carefully selected.

**Training Faculty**—The training faculty and consultants used in both projects would consist of teams drawn from the ranks of existing professional associations in the United States and Europe, such as the American Press Institute, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, Radio & Television News Directors Association, National Association of Broadcasters, American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Newspaper Association of America, the National Newspaper Association, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, the International Journalism Federation, or the many strong region-wide associations for media professionals. These experts would have a strong background in the establishment of a professional association and its operation. Ideally, they will have had experience in the CEE/NIS region.

**Program Schedule**—Professional Journalists' Association  
Phase I would begin in the early fall. Phase II would begin several weeks thereafter.

**Budget**—Phase I & II - Professional Journalists' Association Conference and Consulting Project - \$27,000

## **SAMPLE WORKSHOP SYLLABUS** **Part I - Professional Journalists Conference**

### *Day One*

Welcome and Introductions

Presentation: Overview of Media Development in Croatia

Presentation: Goals and Challenges for a Professional Journalists' Association

Panel Discussion: Where do we go from here?

### *Day Two*

Presentation: Models for Associations

Topical Discussion:

Goals and Priorities

Range of Possible Activities

Competition v. Cooperation

Developing a Strategic Plan

Targeting Potential Membership  
Publicity for NGOs  
Developing a Follow-up Plan for the Next Six Months

3) **MID-CAREER SKILLS TRAINING** - ProMedia proposes a program of intense mid-career training for media managers and journalists. The program will be organized in partnership with the Croatian Journalists Association and the Zagreb University journalism faculty.

There is a great need for journalists, who are more than 30 years of age, already working in the profession to have the opportunity to hone their existing skills and to develop a better understanding of modern reporting techniques. Older journalists often are lacking practical experience with computers, optical scanners and other technology. Likewise, they often need to be introduced to the need for social service and public affairs reporting. Similarly, these journalists need to develop an understanding of the interaction of new technology and basic reporting skills. The mid-career skills training program will allow journalists well into their careers the opportunity to familiarize themselves with new technology and its enhancement of basic reporting skills.

**Training Plans** - Mid-career skills training workshops will be held in three cities (Zagreb, Osijek and Rijeka). Each will be designed (in close consultation with the Croatian Journalists Association) to best meet the needs of the local community of journalists within each of these three regions. The workshops will last 5 days and will include up to 25 journalists in each location. They are designed to provide the participants with an intensive immersion into the principles, techniques and technology being presented in the workshops. At the same time they will minimize the participants' time away from their regular work schedule, this will allow journalists from small media outlets an opportunity to become involved in the training.

A second component of the program would involve having the trainers conduct on-site visits to individual media outlets in order to provide additional time for one-on-one interaction and consultation for program participants. Special efforts will be made to offer these consultations to smaller media outlets, which given their limited staffs may not be able to fully participate in the workshops.

Follow-up will involve close monitoring and additional consulting provided by Pro Media and the Croatian Journalists Association.

**Trainers**—In addition to Sherry Ricchiardi, the Zagreb Media Center Director, other Americans available to serve as trainers for this program are Michael Berens of the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, who was a Pulitzer finalist last year in the investigative category for computer assisted projects; and Donna Fox, a former journalist trainer for NPR, and an experienced mid-career skills trainer. We will also seek to build the resources and confidence of the Croatian Journalists Association, by including several of their members as trainers for this program. Stjepan Malovic, a nationally respected journalist,

educator and member of the association has indicated his willingness to assist with this program. Association President Jagoda Vukusic would also be asked to serve as a trainer.

## PROPOSED MID-CAREER SKILLS TRAINING SUBJECT MATTER

### *Day One*

Relationship of Media and Government in a Free Society

Sources of Information in a Free Society

Developing Sources

Government Sources

Traditional Sources

The Internet and Computer Sources

Writing the News Story

Fact-Based Journalism

Alternative Writing Styles and Strategies

Structures of the News Story

Writing the Feature

What do Readers Want and Need?

### *Day Two*

Coaching Writing: Making Reporters Better Writers

Coaching Editing: Making Editors More Effective Critics

Redefining News

Creating New Beats: Going Beyond the Ordinary

Interviewing Techniques

Interviewing Practices

### *Day Three*

How to Manage the Juggling Act

Newsroom Organization

Newsroom Scheduling

Newsroom Personnel

Newsroom Evaluation

Staff Development

### *Day Four*

Media Ethics and the Need for Guidelines

Case Studies from the U.S. and from Croatia

Guidelines for Developing Ethics Codes

Photojournalism: Tips and Techniques

Graphic Design

## Mid-Career Skills Training Budget

Program Costs	Total
A. Per Diem (20 days x \$230 x 4)	\$11,040
B. Expenses (insurance, etc..)	\$250
C. International Travel	\$3,600
D. Ground Transportation	\$1,500
E. Interpreter (to be cost-shared w/ Association)	\$2,000
F. Workshop supplies and materials	\$700
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>\$19,090</b>

## 2) PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT IN CROATIA

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#### Skills Training

- Computerbased Reporting
- Interviewing Techniques
- Planning a Coverage Strategy
- Improving Newsroom Efficiency
- Desktop Publishing

#### Public Relations for NGO's

#### English-Language Courses for Journalists

#### Weekly "Debate Club" Speaker's Program

#### Editors Roundtable

#### Cooperative Advertising Strategies

#### Fellowship Opportunities Abroad

#### Weekly "Movie Night" Social Events

The second phase would follow an analysis of each of the proposed projects by the consulting faculty team. The team would draw up model syllabi and models for carrying out the programs, including the identification of the necessary resources to carry out the project. Then the team would return to Croatia to help develop a workplan and business plan for carrying out the final agenda. This would be a process of training trainers, preparing local relevant materials and scheduling faculty.

**Participants**—The targeted participants in this project will be leading journalists and editors in Croatia who are in the position of being able to play a leadership role in this

developing professional association. The number of participants would not be large and would be carefully selected.

**Training Faculty**—The training faculty and consultants used in both projects would consist of teams drawn from the ranks of existing professional associations in the United States and Europe, such as the American Press Institute, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, Radio & Television News Directors Association, National Association of Broadcasters, American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Newspaper Association of America, the National Newspaper Association, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, the International Journalism Federation, or the many strong region-wide associations for media professionals. These experts would have a strong background in the establishment of a professional association and its operation. Ideally, they will have had experience in the CEE/NIS region.

**Program Schedule**—Professional Journalists' Association  
Phase I would begin in the early fall. Phase II would begin several weeks thereafter.

**Budget**—Phase I & II - Professional Journalists' Association Conference and Consulting Project - \$27,000

## **SAMPLE WORKSHOP SYLLABUS**

### **Part I - Professional Journalists Conference**

#### *Day One*

Welcome and Introductions

Presentation: Overview of Media Development in Croatia

Presentation: Goals and Challenges for a Professional Journalists' Association

Panel Discussion: Where do we go from here?

#### *Day Two*

Presentation: Models for Associations

Topical Discussion:

Goals and Priorities

Range of Possible Activities

Competition v. Cooperation

Developing a Strategic Plan

Targeting Potential Membership

Publicity for NGOs

Developing a Follow-up Plan for the Next Six Months

## BIOS FOR CROATIA

*Orage Quarles* started his newspaper career as a printer but then moved into sales, holding several positions before becoming advertising director of the *San Bernardino* (California) *Sun-Telegram*. He then became a newspaper publisher, serving in small to mid-sized markets, including *The Coloradoan* (Fort Collins, Colo.) 1987-1990; *The Record* (Stockton, Calif) 1990-96; *Modesto Bee* (Modesto, Calif) since January 1996. Mr. Quarles is a member of the Board of Directors of the Associated Press and a member of the Board of Governors of the Newspaper Association of America, the largest organization of newspaper publishers in the US. Mr. Quarles has conducted newspaper management workshops in Poland and Slovakia.

*Philip Porter* has spent his entire newspaper career in advertising. He was an ad salesman at the *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC) in 1977 and 1978 and has been the advertising director of *The Island Packet* (Hilton Head, NC) since 1979. He also serves as an officer of the Mid-Atlantic Newspaper Advertising & Marketing Executives Association.

*Gene P. Mater* has been a newspaper editor and a broadcasting executive for more than half a century. He served as an editor on *The Sun-Telegram* (San Bernardino, Calif.), *The Star-Ledger* (Newark, NJ) and *The World-Telegram & Sun* (New York, NY). He then went into broadcasting and is a retired senior officer of CBS. Mater has conducted many media management workshops in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania and Russia.

*Carole Brennan*, an 18-year veteran of the print media, is currently the assistant director of the Professional Media (ProMedia) Program. She came to the Washington, DC-based IREX program following eight months in Moldova as a Knight International Press Fellow. In Moldova, she was the founding director of the Independent Journalism Center in Chisinau. Brennan has been a reporter, editor, director of business development and publisher for a variety of newspapers on both US coasts and in the Caribbean. She has worked for The Chronicle Publishing Co. of San Francisco, The Associated Press and Gannett Co., among other newspaper companies.

## NARRATIVE SECTION: HUNGARY

### I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996

Since the inception of the ProMedia Program, the management team has engaged in the following activities in Hungary:

- In November 1995, Director Csaba Chikes and USAID Senior Media Adviser Steve Bouser traveled to Budapest to assess the media situation.
- In December 1995, Mr. Chikes compiled the information gathered during the trip and wrote a draft work plan detailing proposed programs in the region.
- In January 1996, ProMedia submitted the proposed work plan to AID field offices and the AID DC office. We received notice from AID Budapest outlining concerns with the work plan.
- February 1996, ProMedia worked with AID Budapest to revamp the work plan to accurately reflect AID's goals and ProMedia's purpose in the region.
- March 1996, ProMedia resubmitted the work plan for AID approval.
- April 1996, ProMedia received AID's written approval of the work plan. Once this was accomplished, Program Officer Rachel Staras and Gary Griffin, a filmmaker and director of photography, traveled to Budapest to conduct a needs assessment for the program's television training component. In cooperation with the Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ), they visited various rural TV stations to gain insight for the program's curriculum and logistical development.
- In May 1996, ProMedia staff members worked closely with the staff at CIJ in Budapest regarding the logistical set-up for the training seminar scheduled in June.
- In June 1996, Final plans under way for the kick off on 17 June of the two-week seminar in Debrecen.

### II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORKPLAN

#### **A. Completed Activities**

Upon its inception, ProMedia's Director Csaba Chikes and USAID Senior Media Adviser Steve Bouser traveled to Hungary and met with many journalists, the staff at the Center for Independent Journalism, and USAID and USIS representatives. Among those the ProMedia team met were Janos Horvat, Managing Director of Centro Film and CIJ Board Member; Andras Vagvolgyi, Editor-in-Chief of *Magyar Narancs*; Peter Gyorgy, Publisher of *Magyar Narancs*; Mihaly Galik, Professor at the University of Economics and

Chairman of the CIJ Board of Advisers; Miklos Almasi, Dean of Media Studies at ELTE University and CIJ Board Member; Mihaly Muller, News Director; Miklos Breitner, Media Consultant; Andrea Lauer, Director of CIJ; Sandor Orban, Deputy Director of CIJ; Patrick Egan of AID Budapest; Allison Portnoy of USIA; and Katharine Cornell of the National Forum Foundation.

Over the next couple of months, ProMedia fine-tuned the first work plan in consultation with USAID Budapest. Once the plan was approved, ProMedia began implementing its program. We have identified the Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ) Budapest as the best organization to assist in organizing the programs. As a result, Rachel Staras, ProMedia Program Officer, traveled to Budapest to meet with CIJ staff and help with logistical set-up.

In April, Ms. Staras met with Ms. Lauer and Mr. Orban, Deputy Director. Ms. Staras, Mr. Griffin and the CIJ staff traveled to Bekescsaba and Debrecen, Hungary. The purpose was to interview local TV station owners/managers in order to recommend the best possible set-up and curriculum for the program. The group met with TV station owners from Csaba TV in Bekescsaba, Janos Elek of Hungary TV, and Karoly Hajdu of Debrecen TV and President of the National Association of the Local TV Stations.

In addition, Ms. Staras also attended a seminar at CIJ where Helen Britton, President of Television Programming International, Inc., delivered a seminar on marketing and programming for local TV stations. Participants included representatives from the surrounding areas. She also attended a roundtable discussion, hosted by CIJ, regarding the new media law. Among those involved in the roundtable were Tomas Revesz, Chairman of the National Radio and TV Board, and Janos Horvat, a well-known journalist and CIJ board member.

The series of seminars and meetings enabled Ms. Staras to see first-hand the conditions under which the Hungarian media must operate, including the culture and attitudes toward the press, the stations' equipment and the media laws. In addition, she worked closely with subcontractor CIJ in forming a draft of the training curriculum and format.

## **B. Future Workplan**

As a result of the needs assessment and discussions with the Independent Journalism Foundation, the New York-based parent organization to CIJ, a training program was developed.

The first training seminar will occur in Debrecen, a hub city training center where representatives from local TV stations from the surrounding area will gather. In the fall, training will continue in the following hub cities: Pecs, Szombathly, Szekesfehervar and

Bekescsaba. Training will be suspended during the summer months due to the large number of Hungarians who will be on vacation, thus threatening a low participation rate.

TV trainers will be Laurie Stern, Senior Producer at KTCA TV; Dan Luke, Specials Producer; and Janos Elek, guest professor at Budapest University and an editor of Hungarian TV News. Trainers for the Business Management training will be Ms. Britton and Thomas Goodgame, President Emeritus of Group W Television.

Business Management training is another component of the ProMedia program. The goals are to teach TV station managers business, marketing, and advertising skills that will help with profit-making efforts. A detailed curriculum will be developed based upon the feedback received during the evaluation session following the June seminars. Management training will begin in November.

The sequence of events will be as follows: in June, TV training will be held in Debrecen. From September to early November, training will occur in Pecs, Szombathely, Szekesfehervar, Bekescsaba, Szolnok. Business management will occur throughout November.

ProMedia Assistant Director Carole Brennan will attend the first training seminar in Debrecen. Immediately following the Debrecen seminars, an evaluation session is planned to help ProMedia assess its successes and failures and to improve the fall seminars.

### **III. Future Timetable**

- Complete logistics for training seminar set-up
- Commence with training in Debrecen on June 17
- Carole Brennan to attend first training seminar
- Hold program evaluation session to consider further curriculum development for fall sessions.
- Complete logistical set-up for fall seminars
- In September begin TV training seminars
- In November begin Business Management seminars
- In December hold *closing ceremony* for all participants and staff

# ~ Hungary ~

## The Conditions

While several NGOs have done media training in Hungary, they have focused primarily on Budapest. The PMP will work together with organizations such as the new Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest to change this trend.

The heavy concentration of foreign-owned publications in Budapest is believed to be the highest in CEE. Major national newspapers, and some regional, are owned by foreign investors with the capital needed to establish them on sound footing. Because of this, we believe our professional newspaper management training efforts should be directed elsewhere, in Pecs and Szeged, and possibly Debrecen and Gyor.

The broadcast situation is somewhat different, with Hungary being the last of the major CEE countries to have passed a broadcast law in late 1995. A previous national administration licensed a little more than 100 radio and television stations, all of them so extremely limited in power so as to make financial viability questionable, particularly for television stations. At this time, it is not completely clear whether the new legislation will have an impact on the previously licensed stations. Assuming that there is no major change, the PMP anticipates holding broadcast and possibly cable management workshops in the above cities.

While Hungary enjoys a relatively well-developed state of journalism, small local newspapers and broadcast stations face many of the same problems as their counterparts throughout CEE. National television remains a monopoly though small local stations and cable systems are offering their audiences an alternative source of news.

## The Plan

1) **LOCAL TELEVISION** - In cooperation with the Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest, we will work on a project to foster the development of local television journalism by sponsoring a television documentaries competition. In **February**, the center will assemble a jury of leading television journalists to award grants to winning proposals for documentaries on themes important to the Hungarian public. Ideally, a general theme of "local solutions to local problems" on the challenges and successes of participatory democracy at the local level could serve as an overall thematic guideline. The winning documentaries will be given to local stations throughout the country before being made available to national state television. Sub-projects include:

-- The development of a national distribution system for similar public affairs programming to local stations as part of association development.

-- On-site journalism training at local stations using US and nationally-recognized Hungarian broadcast journalists with appeal to the emerging generation of Hungarian journalists.

-- Management training at local stations by experts in various business aspects of station management (advertising, marketing, personnel, etc.) may run from **February to September** on a monthly basis in Budapest (CIJ) and more important, in major cities outside the capital.

2) **ASSOCIATION DEVELOPMENT-** The Hungarian Publishers Association needs developmental assistance to respond to such issues as: "How can membership fees be adjusted to cover activity costs without pricing out all but the largest members, many of which have foreign ownership." This association-development project will include expert advice on setting up a database for print media, as well as developing a broadcast trade association. Our target date is **March**.

3) **CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT-** The Hungarian Journalists Association ("MUOSZ") has been the traditional sponsor of the School of Journalism, which is foundering and badly in need of modernization. An academic specialist and a top professional panel recruited by CIJ Budapest will evaluate the feasibility of revitalization assistance as opposed to abandoning the School of Journalism in favor of more viable alternative sources of professional training for Hungarian journalists. This will be tied to the major educational initiative described in the regional section under Education. Start date: **February**.

3) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT-** A series of professional management workshops for regional newspapers -- both on-site and at CIJ Budapest -- will run from March through September using experts recruited for PMP and working closely with Budapest CIJ.

## **Management**

The PMP enjoys a special relationship with the Budapest Center for Independent Journalism and will maintain close contact throughout the course of this plan with respect to implementation. CIJ Budapest is in close contact with the entire country team, so we are assured of the best in-country input on an ongoing basis.

# Laurie Stern

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(612) 229-1469 (w)

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

KTCA TELEVISION  
Aug. 1992-present

### **Senior Producer/Public Affairs**

Produce news segments, special projects and documentaries

WCCO TELEVISION  
September 1986 – Aug. 1992

### **Field Producer**

Produced long-form and magazine stories for news programs

Responsibilities: Research, write and produce original stories; coordinate story and live shot production from remote locations via microwave and satellite.

CBS NEWS  
January – September 1986

### **Associate Producer**

Coordinated satellite feeds to and from 30 Midwest affiliates. Acted as liaison between Midwestern affiliates and CBS Evening News.

KARE TELEVISION  
September 1983 – January 1986

### **Show Producer**

Morning news, June 1985 – January 1986

### **Chief Assignment Editor**

December 1984 – June 1985

### **Field Producer**

Political, business and police beats. September 1983 – December 1984

NORTH STAR STEEL  
April 1977 – August 1983

### **Steelworker**

## RELATED EXPERIENCE

- Board Member; American Federation of Radio and Television Artists (AFTRA) 1989-1992
- Board Member; Saint Paul Public Access Cable 1983 – 1984
- Board Member; *West Side Voice* 1983 – 1985
- Intern; KTCA Television (PBS) 1983
- Editor; *Local 7263 News* 1979 – 1981
- Freelance reporter; *West Side Voice, Minnesota Daily, Union Advocate*

## EDUCATION

University of Minnesota  
1982 – 1984

School of Journalism and Mass Communication  
Master's Program, broadcast specialization  
Honors Research Assistant 1984  
Elliston Scholarship 1983

University of Minnesota  
1979 – 1982

Bachelor of Arts  
Psychology 3.76 G.P.A.

## AWARDS

- William Benton Fellowship in Broadcast Journalism 1990 – 1991
- Regional UPI, AP, AFTRA, EMMY, CEN awards 1985 – 1994
- United Steelworkers Press Association "Best Editorial" 1980

**DAN LUKE**

(612) 222-3389 (h)

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

**KTCA TELEVISION**  
May 1991 - present

**Specials Producer**  
Co-produced 1 hour documentary about bike riding across Africa for national distribution.

**Effects Producer**  
Designed and directed the shooting of images for use in a performance special that won an award for creative visual interpretation.

**Videotape Editor**  
Edited many long and short form pieces, covering a wide range of subjects and formats.

**HEUTON - DAILEY CORP**  
Feb. 1990 - April 1991

**Videotape Editor**  
Edited instructional tapes and image pieces for corporations.

**FREELANCE**  
May 1989 - Feb. 1990

**Instructor**  
Trained users of broadcast equipment throughout the midwestern United States. Included computer controlled videotape editors, video switchers, digital effects devices and computer graphics.

**Sports Remote Coordinator**  
Coordinated the slo-mo replay for NBA games originating in Minneapolis.

**KTCA TELEVISION**  
September 1983 - May 1989

**Post-Production Manager**  
Designed and supervised the installation of edit systems in a 10 million dollar facility.  
Supervised and trained a staff of six fulltime editors.

**Studio Supervisor**  
Designed lighting plans and oversaw the work of camera, sound and lighting technicians.

**Director**  
Directed a series of Public Service Announcements.

**Assistant Set Designer**  
Assisted in the design and building of sets for a wide range of television productions.

**HOBBIES**

- Reading
- Sailing
- Racquetball
- Travel

**EDUCATION**  
University of Minnesota  
1969 - 1973

College of Liberal Arts,  
Bachelor of Elective Studies program  
emphasis in broadcast communication

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Thomas L. Goodgame  
 President Emeritus  
 Group W Television

1952-69 Various Positions KATV Little Rock, Ark.  
 1969-70 V.P. & General Manager KATV Little Rock, Ark.  
 1971-80 V.P. & General Manager KTUL-TV Tulsa, OK.  
 1981-83 V.P. & General Manager KDKA-TV Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 1983-86 V.P. & General Manager WBZ-TV Boston, Mass.  
 1986-91 President Group W Television Stations, New York  
 1991- President-Emeritus Group W Television

Industry Leadership:

1973-76 ABC Affiliates Board of Governors  
 1975-76 Chairman ABC Affiliate Board  
 1973-80 Oklahoma Telecasters Board  
 1977-78 Chairman Oklahoma Telecasters  
 1980-83 Pennsylvania Association of Broadcasters  
 1983-86 Massachusetts Broadcasters Association  
 1985-89 NBC Affiliates Board Member  
 1986-90 National Association of Broadcasters Board Member  
 1989-90 Chairman NAB Television Board  
 1988-89 Television Information Office Board of Directors  
 1988- Penn State U. School of Communications Advisory Board  
 1988-93 Maximum Service Telecasters Board of Directors  
 1990-92 The Advertising Council Board of Directors  
 1987-91 Westinghouse Broadcasting Board of Directors  
 1991-93 Board Member, United States Information Agency,  
 Private Sector Committee  
 1992- Oklahoma Broadcasters Hall of Fame  
 1992- Liason for Arkansas Broadcasters to U. S. Congress

In 1991, Mr. Goodgame volunteered his service to the International Media Fund to help the start up of free broadcasting in Eastern Europe. He has worked in Romania, Poland, Hungary and the former Yugoslavia.

In 1992, Mr. Goodgame also taught at Doordarshan, the state television network of India.

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In addition, Mr. Goodgame has served in the following capacities:

National Vice President, Muscular Dystrophy Association  
 Board of Directors, National Aids Council  
 Board of Directors, Harvard School of Public Health  
 Honorary Board. Asian-American Journalists

In both 1982 and 1983, Mr. Goodgame and KDKA-TV in Pittsburgh received the Gabriel Award as the nation's most outstanding television station. Again, in 1984, Mr. Goodgame was General Manager of WBZ-TV in Boston, which received the Gabriel as the most outstanding station in America. He is the recipient of two Emmys and numerous Emmy nominations. He is also the three time winner of Presidential Citations for the Private Sector Initiatives Program under the Reagan Administration.

Mr. Goodgame was inducted in the Oklahoma Association of Broadcasters' Hall of Fame in 1993. He is currently volunteering his services as Legislative Liason to the U.S. Congress for the Arkansas Broadcasters Association.

The list of organizations on the local level in the five markets in which he has lived are far too extensive to enumerate here, however, under his leadership some of the Campaigns which have helped people through broadcast efforts are the following:

Aids Lifeline: developed in 1983/84 as the one and only national campaign of Aids Awareness. Over 1000 Public Service Announcements and news stories were produced and developed and given to television stations all over the United States

For Kids Sake: Developed while Mr. Goodgame was in Boston, this campaign was eventually run on over 120 television stations in the U.S. and Canada. It was designed to increase the awareness of the problems facing children to day. The effort resulted in a Presidential Citation

Time to Care: A Public Service Campaign which sought to develop Volunteerism in the private sector for public projects. Over 100 television stations in the U.S. carried the multi-faceted programs.

Some of the local organizations in which Mr. Goodgame has served include the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Better Business Bureau, YMCA, Minority Employment Boards, Arts Councils, Indian Nations Councils, Advertising Clubs, Urban League, Lions and Rotary Clubs, to name a few.

Mr. Goodgame is married to Rita Lynch Goodgame. They are the parents of 6 married children and have 12 grandchildren.

**JÁNOS ELEK**

Home address: Szécher út 53F, 1022 Budapest, Hungary  
Telephone: (361)274 2402

**PERSONAL:**

Date of birth: January 30, 1947  
Place of birth: Gyöngyös, Hungary

Married to Dr. Anna MÉRŐSE, pediatrician  
Two daughters: Ágnes (27), Katalin (16)

**EDUCATION:**

1990: Academic Exchange Program in the USA

1979: University of Syracuse, N.Y.  
School of Communication  
Postgraduate Program

1970-1972: School of Journalism at the Association of  
Hungarian Journalists, Budapest.  
Postgraduate Studies

1965-1970: Bachelor's Degree and Master's Degree in German  
and Hungarian Linguistics and Literature  
Mészáros László University, Babeş-Bolyai Arts School  
Budapest

1967-1968: German Linguistics and Literature  
Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, Germany

**EMPLOYMENT:**

Present: Guest Professor at the Budapest University  
Only Editor of the Hungarian TV News  
Advisor to several community TV stations

1994: Executive Producer of "East News Network", a  
Germany-based TV production company

1992-1993: Executive Producer of "Central Express", an international television series shown in several countries (Japan, France, Italy, Russia, Hungary, Indonesia among others)

1991-1992: Deputy Editor in Chief of the weekly news magazine "Europa"

1991: Editor of the business daily "World Economy"

1986-1990: Deputy Editor in Chief of the Hungarian TV Anchor of the Evening News

1984-1986: Foreign Editor of the daily "Népszabadság"

1978-1984: Editor and Anchor of the Hungarian TV News

1975-1977: Correspondent of the Hungarian TV in Moscow, USSR

1973-1975: Reporter on the Foreign Desk of the Hungarian TV News

1970-1972: Junior news editor of the Hungarian TV News

SPECIAL PROJECTS:

1993: Documentary on Siberia (For the Italian TV RAI)

1996-1990: TV documentaries on South-East Asia (Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia)

1988: First ever commercial TV broadcast in Hungary in charge of 5 news shows a day in 4 different languages (German, Russian, English, Hungarian)

1975-1987: Special reports from a number of countries (India, Burma, Ethiopia, Mongolia, USSR, etc.)

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

Over the years reported from approx. 30 countries, traveled to over 40 countries.

LANGUAGES:

Beside native Hungarian: English, Russian, German fluent Reading proficiency in French and Spanish

**TELEVISION PROGRAMMING INTERNATIONAL, INC.**

**CONSULTING AND RESEARCH IN MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS**

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**CONSULTING  
CAPABILITIES**

TELEVISION PROGRAMMING INTERNATIONAL, INC.

Helen Ann Britton  
President

707 Stockton Street, Suite 201  
San Francisco, CA 94108  
(415) 951-0641 phone  
(415) 951-0412 fax

1700 Lincoln, Suite 4600  
Denver, CO 80203  
(303) 866-0678 phone  
(303) 866-0200 fax

## *Helen Ann Britton*

Helen Ann Britton is an executive with seventeen years of programming and marketing experience in video, cable and pay television. As a veteran of the U.S. cable television industry, Ms. Britton brings a perspective to strategic programming that is unique to the industry.

Ms. Britton began her career in cable television as Director of Programming at Warner-Amex Cable, developing programming for the QUBE interactive cable system. QUBE was the pioneering effort that revolutionized U.S. cable television utilizing computer technology. Following this, she was Executive Director of Programming and Marketing for New Markets Development at Group W Cable. Here, she developed many successful franchise proposals for major U.S. cable markets. She was then Director of Programming at ABC Video Enterprises developing a market concept and acquiring feature films and video programming for TeleFirst, an electronic delivery of home video television service.

Recently, Ms. Britton has served as a consultant to the communications industry with a focus on television programming and marketing. In this capacity, she has directed various projects, both international and domestic, including: competitive analysis of cable TV programming in Singapore; strategic programming plan for cable TV in the UK; analysis of access to television programming by Bell Operating Companies in the United States; redesign of programming for two channels of Singapore Broadcasting; market report on international satellite transmission between Europe and North America; report on past and current issues of programming and distribution of pay per view; programming and marketing consulting with private cable operators in Romania, Hungary and Poland.

Ms. Britton holds a doctorate in Communications from Stanford University as well as both an BA and MA degree from the University of Kentucky. Ms. Britton was an R.J. Reynolds Fellow in Economics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and attended a French Language Institute at the Sorbonne, University of Paris.

***Strategic Programming and Marketing***

- **Program Development**
- **PPV Programming\Video-on-Demand**
- **Determination of Rights Windows**
- **Entertainment Research -- Development and Interpretation**

***Strategic Programming and Marketing***

- **Program Development**
- **PPV Programming\Video-on-Demand**
- **Determination of Rights Windows**
- **Entertainment Research -- Development and Interpretation**

***Research and Development***

- **Business Viability Studies**
- **Market Analysis**
- **Competitive Analysis**
- **Business Plan Development**
- **Business Strategy  
and Implementation**

***Strategic Programming and Marketing***

- **Program Availability**
- **Program Acquisition**
- **Program Packaging**
- **Program Pricing**

***International Market Development***

- **Cable TV Channel Design**
- **Program Packaging**
- **Program Marketing**
- **Negotiations for Satellite  
Signal Carriage**
- **Cultural Translation of  
TV Viewing**

### *Partial Project List*

- Competitive analysis of cable TV programming in Singapore.
- Programming consulting with private cable operators in Romania, Hungary and Poland.
- Research and analysis of media markets in France and Germany with an emphasis on investment opportunities.
- Redesign of programming for two channels of Singapore Broadcasting. One channel designed to be commercial, high viewership channel, and one channel designed as public service broadcasting channel.
- Report on international satellite transmission between North America and Europe. Major trends in television transmissions, traffic, customers and a competitive analysis of the overall marketplace were included.
- Research and strategy for new programming and production approach for a U.S. children's network.
- Report on the feasibility of cable television in Bulgaria.
- Analysis of Telco access to television programming from program distributors, including major film studios.
- Conducted a two-week seminar for Bulgarian Television broadcasters and television journalists on commercial aspects of television, including program development and distribution, diversity of ownership, advertising, and program research and ratings.
- Analyzed and developed a strategic cable television programming plan for the second largest cable operator in the United Kingdom.
- Business development for television programming projects between the U.S. and Spain.
- Conducted seminars for the top broadcasting executives and political decision makers in Spain, France and Portugal on issues of private ownership of state-owned broadcast television networks.
- Assessed viable program sources for the Hong Kong cable television franchise.
- An in depth study of television news in the United States, including international issues and how they are reported on U.S. television. Recommendations to the Japanese government for a pro-active approach to television news.
- Reorganized an advertising-oriented national public television program sponsorship department. Managed the development and execution of sales presentations to major U.S. corporations.
- A major television financial report which analyzed barter syndication, cable television, independent TV stations, broadcast advertising and made industry financial projections.
- Sourcing of the best international documentary programs worldwide for a global network.

*Partial Client List*

**Continental Cablevision, Inc.**  
*Boston, MA*

**International Media Fund**  
*Washington, D.C.*

**Singapore Broadcasting Corporation**  
*Singapore*

**Ryan Hankin Kent, Inc.**  
*San Francisco, CA*

**Oak Communications**  
*San Diego, CA*

**Multimedia, Inc.**  
*New York, NY*

**United International Holdings, Inc.**  
*Denver, CO*

**Intertel Communications, Inc.**  
*Denver, CO*

**Chase Enterprises, Inc.**  
*Hartford, CT*

**Southwestern Bell International  
Holdings, Inc.**  
*St. Louis, MO*

**Paramount Television**  
*Los Angeles, CA*

**United States Information Agency  
(USIA)**  
*Washington, DC*

**Univision Holdings, Inc.**  
*New York, NY*

**ABC/Cap Cities Video Enterprises**  
*New York, NY*

**Japan Information Center/Consulate  
General of Japan**  
*New York, NY*

**WNET-TV, Channel Thirteen**  
*New York, NY*

**F. Eberstadt Securities**  
*New York, NY*

## **NARRATIVE SECTION: LITHUANIA**

### **I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH 1 JUNE 1996**

- Completed work plan sent to AID mission 16 January 1996.
- Questions sent from the AID mission in Vilnius on 22 January regarding the original work plan.
- Response to AID questions sent on 25 January.
- Updated work plan sent to AID Vilnius on 26 February.
- 16 April, AID mission responds to the updated work plan with a "Draft proposal for media program focus in Lithuania - FY 1996."
- 23 April ProMedia responds to the draft proposal.
- 1 June, ProMedia awaiting feedback from mission.

### **II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORKPLAN**

#### **A. Completed Activities**

ProMedia has been working to coordinate an effective media program within the \$15,000 fiscal year budget for 1995. The original workplan proposed organizing seminars on legislation drafting. Western media organizations and NGOs in Lithuania would conduct the seminars.

AID Vilnius responded to the plan by asking for more details on the NGOs and Western experts, the exact amount of funding and the possibility of other activities if more money was found.

Program Officer Rachel Staras responded to these questions on 25 January and elaborated on the work plan, specifically singling out possible media experts and organizations with whom ProMedia could work. The AID mission was asked to submit suggestions and their assessment of the media situation in Lithuania.

The new work plan, which was submitted on 26 February, proposes workshops on libel issues, defamation laws, lobbying government officials and the rights of the media when faced with lawsuits. The US-Baltic Foundation and the Free Speech Foundation were mentioned as possible partners in organizing seminars. The names and backgrounds of four possible trainers are listed.

Draft proposal for media program focus in Lithuania- FY 1996 included an assessment of the media situation in Lithuania. The mission also suggested that the production of Public Service Announcements (PSA) and objectivity training for journalists be undertaken. As the report stated, their goals are to "change government attitudes about independent media" and to continue with a strategy that promotes economic development and democracy in Lithuania.

The ProMedia consortium partners met to discuss the draft proposal and Csaba Chikes, ProMedia Director, drafted a response outlining what ProMedia could do, within its program description, to meet the goals outlined by AID Vilnius mission. We proposed training on media management, marketing, advertising and lobbying techniques.

### **B. Future Activities**

ProMedia eagerly waits for a response to the proposal sent out 23 April. We expect further discussions to create a synergy between the AID mission's goals and the ProMedia program outline.

### **III. FUTURE TIME LINE**

By the end of the summer, ProMedia wants to complete a program outline to be implemented in the fall.

# ~ Lithuania ~

## The Conditions

Lithuania faces serious problems in developing and sustaining its emerging independent media outlets. The political culture seems to be the biggest problem impeding the development of independent media, which must tackle direct and indirect pressures from the ruling party.

Currently, in Parliament, there is draft legislation that would restrict media reporting and legal rights. This legislation would add to other present-day pressures felt by the media, including the unequal distribution of government subsidies.

Subsidies are being distributed to particular government-friendly newspapers and radio stations. With passage of a fair media law supporting independent media in Lithuania, media outlets would have more confidence to proceed forward.

## The Plan

1) **MEDIA LAW REFORM** - We are searching for an organization to hold training seminars in drafting media legislation in the areas of libel, copyright, privacy and obscenity. Possible venues include but are not limited to the Lithuania Free Speech Center, the Lithuania Free Speech Foundation and Vilnius University. The Free Speech Center and the foundation were established by indigenous heads of independent media sources. These organizations have become self-sufficient, but their biggest concern is media law reform. Vilnius University has a training center within its Journalism Department. The dean of the Journalism Department founded the training center and remains active. We will conduct more research into other possible organizations before a final decision is made.

The seminars, although held in Vilnius, will draw key media figures from Lithuania's provinces in order to help educate these specialists and managers in the best methods in drafting legislation. Seminars would be conducted by Western experts already living in the Baltics. We also will draw on the expertise of the president of the Federal Communications Bar Association, who serves as the PMP legal adviser. Start date: **February**.

## Management

The PMP Washington team will be in frequent contact with USAID and USIA regarding our activities in Lithuania. We expect to build relationships with indigenous and Western media organizations and NGOs already established in Lithuania. Through these contacts and on the advice of experts in Lithuania we will keep abreast of media activities. The PMP also can rely on assistance from our IREX field office in Vilnius when appropriate.

Forwarded by: "Rachel Staras" <IREXMAIN/RSTARAS>  
Forwarded to: intern2  
Date forwarded: Tue, 19 Mar 1996 09:29:36 +0000  
From: "Csaba Chikes" <IREXMAIN/CCHIKES>  
Organization: IREX  
To: rstaras  
Date sent: Mon, 22 Jan 1996 16:53:57 +0000  
Subject: (Fwd) Questions from Vilnius  
Copies to: sbouser@usaid.gov

-Rachel,  
let's discuss plse  
Rgds

----- Forwarded Message Follows -----

Date: Mon, 22 Jan 96 11:55:24 EST  
To: <cbrennan@irex.org>  
Cc: <cchikes@irex.org>  
From: "Steve Bouser" <sbouser@usaid.gov>  
Subject: Questions from Vilnius

Dear Carole:

I send this to you without knowing whether you will be in today or whether you will read it from afar if not. If neither, perhaps Csaba can help. Genny Abek has some questions about PMP/ProMedia that I need help answering. Please give me some help so I can send her a reply. Do you have some Baltic legal experts in mind? Thanks.

--Steve

-----  
Original Text

>From Genevieve Abel@PROJ@VILNIUS, on 1/22/96 4:27 PM:  
Steve, I'm in the process of reading the PMP proposal and had a few questions. Can you help?

1. The proposal indicates that media law reform seminars will be conducted by "Western experts already living in the Baltics." Can you please be more specific about who these people are?
2. Is there a drafted schedule for this program? \$15k isn't much. How much do we get?
3. If we were able to find funding for another component, i.e., the election monitoring, what type of ball park figure are we talking about?

We're currently in the process of gathering information from the media about the biggest obstacles facing them. We plan to wrap up the information gathering by February 5, and would request an extension until then. Is this acceptable to you? I realize that you're trying to get things off the ground sooner, but we are doing a comprehensive analysis of the needs here, and may be looking to supplement funding for a media program based on what we find.

Let me know your thoughts. Thanks for your help, Genny.

Forwarded by: "Rachel Staras" <IREXMAIN/RSTARAS>  
Forwarded to: intern2  
Date forwarded: Tue, 19 Mar 1996 09:28:46 +0000  
From: Self <IREXMAIN/RSTARAS>  
To: sbouser@usaid.gov  
Subject: Questions from Vilnius  
Copies to: #media  
Date sent: Thu, 25 Jan 1996 17:41:18 EDT

Steve, please forward this on to Genny Abek. I couldn't reach her through her email when I tried earlier. Thanks.

Dear Ms. Abek,

I'd like to address some questions you raised about the media law reform program in Lithuania through the PMP grant. Let me introduce myself. I'm Rachel Staras and I'm a program associate with the Professional Media Program. I'm working on the Lithuania programs for the PMP.

Preliminary research I conducted indicated that there are Western media law reform experts who currently live in Lithuania. I know of efforts being made to stop draft legislation currently in Parliament by various indigenous organizations, some with help from Western organizations. As of yet, we haven't made a decision of which specialists to work with. I will do some more research before we reach a decision. If you have any suggestions please let me know - suggestions are most welcome.

There is no schedule for this program right now. Since \$15k is so little, the program will undoubtedly be short. We would like to get this started as soon as possible. The draft work plan indicated February.

PMP, as you probably know, is a media grant for which funding came from the individual AID missions. Since the grant covers media only, it would be unlikely that we would conduct election monitoring. However, PMP could conceivably conduct election media coverage. If you have funding for election coverage, we would be happy to look into it. If you are interested, let me know and I could get an estimate of how much it would cost to conduct this sort of program.

Any information you gather about the media situation in Lithuania

would be of great interest to me. Also, if you have any questions for me, feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,  
Rachel Staras

RS

Forwarded by: "Rachel Staras" <IREXMAIN/RSTARAS>  
Forwarded to: intern2  
Date forwarded: Tue, 19 Mar 1996 09:26:21 +0000  
From: "Rachel Staras" <IREXMAIN/RSTARAS>  
To: llh@usis.osf.lt, Genevieve Abel@proj@vilnius  
Date sent: Mon, 26 Feb 1996 15:27:57 +0000  
Subject: Updated workplan for a ProMedia program in Lithuania  
Copies to: sbouser@usaid.gov, #media

Dear Lisa and Genny:

Here is an updated work plan for a ProMedia program dealing with journalists and media law in Lithuania:

It certainly appears from here that the environment in which the media works in Lithuania is stifling to say the least. In the past 6 months there have been countless libel and defamation cases in court forcing several journalists and/or stations to pay large fines. In addition, this environment changes daily as Parliament debates, amends, and eventually will pass the draft legislation on media law. Just two weeks ago, members of Parliament amended Article 8 forbidding any journalist to publish private information about public officials.

Given the uncertainty of the legislation's content once it is passed, we propose to help journalists effectively deal with these measures as they occur - or even before they occur. ProMedia could organize seminars and workshops on libel issues, defamation laws and their own rights when faced with law suits, and lobbying government officials.

Together, ProMedia and the US-Baltic Foundation could organize seminars with the help of the Free Speech Foundation, which has space for such activities at its Vilnius center. The US-Baltic Foundation has conducted seminars featuring this type of training. The Free Speech Foundation, initially funded by the US-Baltic Foundation, is run by the heads of the independent media institutions in Lithuania. Trainers could include, but not be limited to, Nick Johnson, Monroe Price, Steve Pasternack, and/or Robert Picard.

Nick Johnson is a former Federal Communications Commissioner. He writes and lectures on issues associated with the First Amendment, freedom of the press, libel and defamation. He has lectured an

conducted training in media law issues in the U.S. and abroad including Eastern Europe. He is author of "An Autonomous Media." He is also a fellow of the World Academy of Sciences, a former network TV host, Congressional candidate, author of books, and a national board member of Common Cause.

Monroe Price is the director of the Project and Danziger Professor of Law at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law and has provided technical advice and expertise throughout Central and Eastern Europe. On behalf of the Commission on Radio and TV Policy, he has co-drafted the Charter of Media Independence and a proposed Russian broadcast law. He has created training programs for faculty at journalism and law schools throughout CEE and is involved in a number of activities in media law reform programs at universities, organization of scholarly conferences, and teaching at universities throughout the region.

Steve Pasternack is professor of Journalism and academic department head of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communications at New Mexico State University. He has five years of professional news reporting experience and continues to do freelance writing for newspapers and magazines. His main areas of legal research interest are libel, access to information, and invasion of privacy. Pasternack regularly consults for law firms involved in media-related litigation. He also has presented numerous seminars on legal issues for media professionals.

Richard Picard is the editor of the "Journal of Media Economics" and is a specialist in media economics and finance and government communications policies. He is a professor and chairman of Department of Communications at California State University. Picard was formerly publications editor of the Freedom of Information Center and a reporter, editor and publisher for newspapers and magazines. Picard has been a consultant on media economics issues for the U.S. Department of Justice and numerous of media companies and labor organizations.

Our rough estimate is that the \$15,000 budget would fund one group of seminars with approximately two trainers.

Our IREX ProMedia team feels that this project will effectively accomplish goals that we set for journalists involved with the new media law reform and also falls in line with what USAID wants for

ProMedia. The US-Baltic Foundation is interested in working with us and prepared to begin as soon as we have your concurrence.

We look forward to your response to this project and welcome your comments and suggestions.

Sincerely,

Rachel Staras  
Program Associate  
Professional Media Program



## Draft proposal for media program focus in Lithuania - FY 1996

The situation surrounding print and electronic media in Lithuania is not as prohibitive as in many of the countries in this region. An assessment conducted jointly by USAID and USIS in the spring of 1995 found that many of the problems pervasive throughout other CEE countries do not exist here. An independent press and media exist, and journalists are considered to be trustworthy. In a recent survey, it was found that the public considers the press to be second in trustworthiness, behind the Catholic church.

USAID, through USIS, has been involved in media programs since 1991. The focus of much of this training has been training journalists and reporters. USAID believes that there is need to continue on with a media program which supports its strategies in promoting economic development and democracy in Lithuania. In FY 1996, USAID would like to focus on the following activities:

1. Promoting a legal framework which supports independent media. For the past year, there have been heavy debates in the press about the pending laws on advertising and on freedom of information. USAID assisted with the drafting and subsequent revisions of the advertising law in 1994, but the law which is currently being considered by Parliament is restrictive in the frequency, length and type of advertising which the press and electronic media can promote. Such tight restrictions limit the income that the media can earn through the sale of advertising. To date, only one radio station is operating profitably.

The Free Speech center, a newly-created NGO supported by the US-Baltic Foundation, organized a conference on the media laws in the autumn of 1995, in conjunction with the Fredrich Neumann Foundation. The purpose of this conference was to discuss the legislation and to draw attention to the draft laws. While the conference served to gather representatives of the media and government together, no progress has been made in improving the draft laws.

USAID believes that further attention to the legal constraints surrounding media could be improved through the following activities:

- \* Working to change government attitudes about independent media.
- \* Sending lawyers active in media to the US for training on media issues.

2. A more fundamental problem concerns the role which the media plays in society. Although the media is respected and trusted, there is concern that this trust is not deserved. Much reporting tends to be subjective rather than objective, and journalists interpret the news for the reader, often from a misguided perspective. For example, tax policy is an area which is poorly understood by journalists, who have been very negative about the system of tax administration in Lithuania. As a result of this, articles concerning tax policy have been very critical, and have reinforced the public's view that the government is inefficient/corrupt and that it is justifiable not to pay taxes. Similar concerns have been raised from an economic perspective, as journalists in many cases do more harm than good in writing about these areas, which they themselves do not adequately understand. Training of journalists should focus on objectivity

and, if possible, subject-specific training, to develop a core group of journalists and reporters able to present news from an objective, educated perspective

3. It is possible to address both of these issues through the creation of a program to work with the electronic media and press to develop and promote public outreach messages to help educate the public about these issues. The media has the best capability for changing public opinion. The media is aware of its potential power, but is uncertain about how to make use of its strength. A program to help the media design, produce and broadcast/print short, attention-grabbing public service information clips would enable the media to play to its strengths in changing public opinion. An initial focus for public outreach could concern advertising, (why it's important to consumers), which would help to promote national support for a less restrictive advertising law.

A second advantage to this program would be the general enablement of the media to serve the public. The media is aware of its responsibility to the public, and, given the right tools, would be willing to work to the greater public interest. Basic civic education is a fundamental need in Lithuania. Democracy, as a form of government, was dropped in the laps of Lithuanians almost overnight, and there is great uncertainty about the rights and responsibilities which citizens must adhere to under a democratic form of government. Through working through issues that directly relate to the longevity and success of media, the press and electronic media would be able to promote their own interests, and would gain the skills necessary to continue providing public service messages to the public to promote democracy in Lithuania. Later themes which could develop through this type of activity could include lessons in the following: the importance of voting; taxes: what they're used for, and why people should pay; explanations in changes in national policy, such as the upcoming electric rate increase.

Changing the old mindsets and attitudes that Lithuania inherited from the Soviets is one of the largest obstacles facing the nation. Implementation of activities such as the ones outlined above should serve to create a solid foundation for an independent media and a flourishing, participatory democracy in Lithuania.

From: "Csaba Chikes" <IREXMAIN/CCHIKES>  
Organization: IREX  
To: #media  
Date sent: Thu, 25 Apr 1996 10:51:30 +0000  
Subject: (Fwd) ProMedia/Lithuania

----- Forwarded Message Follows -----

Date: Tue, 23 Apr 96 14:51:42 EDT  
To: <cchikes@irex.org>  
From: "Steve Bouser" <sbouser@usaid.gov>  
Subject: ProMedia/Lithuania

Dear Genevieve,  
Sorry I didn't get back with you yesterday as promised. We appreciate your patience on this.  
There was a lot of interest in your well-written message about Lithuanian media priorities when our ProMedia task force met Friday. Since I cannot improve on the way Csaba Chikes summarizes our consensus in the message below, I'm forwarding it without a lot of comment, except for one note at the end. Thanks.

---

Dear Genevieve

As promised, we have discussed your message about media priorities with all of the Promedia consortium partners and believe we can get a good, responsive program started up quickly.

It was sobering to read that the government is less than enthusiastic about media independence (i.e. its economic basis through advertising), but sadly familiar in all of our countries in the south of Central Europe. You stand to benefit from the overhead we have already put into developing programs geared to these problems.

Probably the best approach toward educating the voting public about the essential role of the independent media in a democracy is to practice it; the perception that the media is not the instrument of the governing party - as has been the tradition of the past five decades - is very important to this.

Alternative approaches to educating the public may be more effective in your situation - perhaps roundtables, etc , USIS programs on the peoples' right to know - to the Public Service Announcement approach which runs the risk of sounding all too familiar to the systems of the too recent past. In any event, we're not certain that this approach establishes clearly enough the distance from the government we are striving to foster, and truly believe that the PSA route would be the least effective way to encourage the development of independent media.

With respect to improving the legal environment for media, we will check with the U.S. Baltic Foundation again to see if there are areas where our contribution can move forward the stalled agenda - especially given the considerable effort AID has already applied to the advertising law, for example. The best approach at this point may well be a political/diplomatic one which is not our particular strength.

Another angle may be assistance to associations of interested parties (broadcasters, publishers) to help them develop effective lobbying to improve legislation currently limiting their viability as independent media.

There are opportunities in association development on the economic side as well (advertising coops, news coops, etc), to say nothing of professional standards.

Certainly the area of journalist training fits into our mandate. We can offer programs on specialized coverage, such as for elections, business and economics in the overall context of professional standards.

Picking up on your note that, "to date, only one radio station is operating profitably", the prime focus of our program, media management training, appears to have a great deal of relevance for your situation as well. Assuming the relaxation of political curbs, would not the media in Lithuania profit from intensive training in advertising, marketing, promotion, financial controls, business plans?

We appreciate the thoughtful effort which has clearly gone into your

analysis of the media situation and look forward to working closely with you on a program to foster the development of independent media.

Regards,  
--Csaba

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POSTSCRIPT: Genevieve, for purposes of perspective, I would like to bring up again a point I raised in our three-way phone conversation with Carole: In designing various country projects under ProMedia, IREX has tried to adhere as much as possible to the program description set forth in the original Request for Applications. Particularly relevant is this paragraph from Section I: "Note: For purposes of the Professional Media Program, a 'media project' must be one whose primary purpose is enhancing the capability of news media to perform their function. Projects whose primary purpose is to use the news media to heighten public awareness of a particular subject or issue do not qualify for assistance under this program."

This is not holy writ, but we do need to be aware of the principle behind it.

Thanks again.

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## **NARRATIVE SECTION: ROMANIA**

### **I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996**

Since the inception of the Professional Media Program (PMP), the management team has engaged in the following activities in Romania:

- In November 1995, PMP Director Csaba Chikes and Assistant Director Carole Brennan and NFF President Jim Denton conducted an extensive needs assessment of the independent media in Romania.
- In December 1995, Jim Denton augmented the needs with a follow-on trip to meet with additional Romanian media representatives in broadcast and print media.
- Beginning in December 1995, the PMP consortium developed the criteria for the Resident Adviser (RA) for Romania and began a recruitment and promotion program to find suitable candidates.
- Since December 1995, as a result of the recruitment and promotion efforts, NFF has received applications from more than 100 American media professionals who are interested in working on the PMP program in Eastern Europe as RAs and ProMedia Volunteers.
- In January 1996, following these preliminary preparations, the PMP consortium submitted a draft work plan to AID.
- In March 1996, AID sent PMP their response to the draft work plan and asked for revisions.
- In early April 1996, after responding to the issues raised by AID-Bucharest, a second work plan was submitted.
- In early May 1996, Mr. Denton met with AID representative Richard Hough in Bucharest to further discuss the proposed work plan and to introduce Gina London, who was PMP's prospective RA for Romania and was working with the media in Romania as an NFF AVID Volunteer pending AID's approval of the work plan.
- In May 1996, Mr. Hough asked that adjustments be made to the budget format, indicators and the election coverage workshops.
- In May 1996, AID granted authorization to officially began certain PMP activities and to officially assign Ms. London as the RA for Romania.

## II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORK PLAN

### A. Completed Activities

The PMP consortium conducted an extensive needs assessment of the independent media in Romania. While in Bucharest in late November, a PMP delegation, consisting of Carole Brennan and Csaba Chikes of IREX, and Jim Denton of NFF, participated in several roundtable discussions with journalists and media managers from throughout Romania, along with representatives of USAID and USIA. In addition, the delegation met with the editors and managers of various key print and broadcast organizations in their offices, including specialists at the Center for Independent Journalism.

The information gathered during this assessment was augmented by follow-on discussions in December with various Romanian media representatives in broadcast and print media. In all, the delegation conducted interviews with more than 60 Romanian journalists, including owners, business managers, advertising and sales directors, editors, producers and reporters from a wide cross-section of the country's print and broadcast outlets. These interviews included the editors-in-chief of *Romania Libera*, *Mesageru* and the Romanian Press Agency; General Directors of Antena 1, Omega Press Investment S.A. and Romsat Tele 7abc; news producers and editors at ProTV, Romanian Television, and Antena 1; and the advertising managers of *Transylvania Express*, *Romania Libera* and *Adevaruis*.

Upon return from this assessment visit, the consortium developed the criteria for the Resident Adviser (RA), and began a recruitment and promotion program to find the Romania RA with the intention of placing the RA on-site in Bucharest on or about May 1. Advertisements were designed and placed in several magazines and trade publications. To date, NFF has received applications from approximately 100 American media professionals who are interested in working on the PMP program in Eastern Europe, particularly Romania.

Following these preliminary preparations, the consortium submitted a draft work plan in December. After responding to the issues raised by AID-Bucharest, a second work plan was submitted in early April. While this work plan included most of the activities incorporated in the original draft submission, certain changes were made relevant to program priorities. In particular, television training took on a higher emphasis.

On May 6 and 8, Mr. Denton met with AID representative Richard Hough in Bucharest to further discuss the proposed work plan and to introduce Gina London, who was assigned to Romania as a Volunteer through NFF's American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) Program. Ms. London, an associate producer for Fox Morning News in Washington, DC, was also PMP's prospective RA for Romania. After reviewing the work plan, Mr. Hough asked that adjustments be made to the budget format, indicators and the election coverage workshops. On May 31, 1996, AID provided

authorization to officially start certain PMP activities, and to appoint Ms. London as the RA for Romania.

While working as an AVID Volunteer, Ms. London began the PMP program and, during May, conducted extensive training at Tele 7abc. In addition, preliminary work was done on the development of other PMP activities. However, because final AID approval had not been received, the program was limited in its ability to schedule many activities during this period.

During this period, PMP developed a cooperative and collaborative relationship with the Bucharest Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ). CIJ, founded by the Independent Journalism Foundation in New York City, is part of a network of highly engaged and respected media support facilities also located in Bratislava, Budapest and Prague. CIJ is a leading journalism training center in Romania that conducts training programs throughout the year. CIJ will provide office space for the RA and also will be the site for much of the Bucharest classroom and workshop training conducted under the auspices of PMP. In addition, all training program designs, schedules and activities will be developed in consultation with CIJ to ensure that our combined efforts reinforce rather than duplicate one another.

#### **B. Future Work plan**

PMP's work plan for Romania has been designed in response to the consortium's assessment of the media in Romania. This assessment was based on information provided by the senior management and the news directors of Romania's media organizations, discussions with AID and USIA representatives in Bucharest and meetings with U.S. media experts.

In the upcoming months, PMP will give top priority to training the news teams of the private broadcasters, with the specific objective of improving the quality of the stations' news and information programming and their overall image. This training will be provided primarily through the work of the RAs and PMP Volunteers as well as on-site training workshops and highly targeted specialty programs.

In addition, during this early phase of the program, increasing priority will be given to election reporting, advertising and sales training, and business management. This training will be featured in workshops and on-site training in several cities in the summer and fall.

In consultation with CIJ and others as appropriate, the workshops will begin in the June-July period, break in August, and resume in September. In addition to Bucharest, workshops will be held in various cities; for example, Brasov, Cluj, Constanta, Iasi and Timisoara.

Ms. London, will continue to provide on-site training at Bucharest-based private broadcasters, primarily Antenna 1 and Tele7, through July, providing at least ten hours per week of training at each television station. Ms. London also is responsible for the day-to-day management and on-site coordination of PMP activities in Romania.

Ms. London's tenure is scheduled to be completed by August 1. Although it is possible that Ms. London's assignment will be extended, NFF currently is screening candidates for future RAs.

It also should be noted that journalistic ethics will be a recurring theme in the PMP, and an important goal for the project will be to rally the media community to develop a code that can be accepted by the members.

### III. FUTURE TIMETABLE

- Finalize training plan for June-July period (including workshops, on-site, classroom in/out of Bucharest)
- Identify equipment training needs for on-camera studio at CIJ by June 30
- Identify, schedule and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate (on-going)
- Develop guest lecture series for professional development with CIJ by June 30 (themes include journalistic ethics and political communications)
- Purchase video equipment package for on-camera training at CIJ by June 30
- Resubmit indicators to AID by July 16
- On-camera studio designed at CIJ operational by July 20
- Conduct two elections reporting workshops by July 30
- Begin on-camera training at CIJ by August 1
- Prepare and begin comprehensive on-site training calendar for June-September (including workshops, classroom, professional, lectures training) by August 15
- Identify and conduct targeted training programs (on-going)
- Assign first PMP Volunteer by September 1
- Conduct two advertising and sales workshops by September 30

- Recruit and assign second RA (with advertising and sales or management expertise) as required
- Conduct two print media management workshops by October 30

# ~ Romania ~

## Executive Summary

The Professional Media Program (PMP) for Romania represents an on-going effort to enhance the financial and commercial viability and professional development of the country's independent media. With the overall goal of advancing Romania's democratic transition, the Program seeks to create a better-informed citizenry and thus increase civic participation by strengthening independent media outlets that provide news and information.

The Program is operated by a consortium of three Washington, DC-based organizations consisting of The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) as the managing partner, The International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) and the National Forum Foundation (NFF). To provide continuous engagement, flexibility and a quick-response mechanism, the day-to-day project activities will be coordinated in Bucharest by a Resident Adviser (RA), an American media professional. The RAs will be rotated periodically throughout the term of the project (every three to six months) and will be carefully selected to insure that their skills and experience correspond to the training priorities targeted by the project. Once assigned, the RAs will be responsible for coordinating the implementation of all PMP activities in Romania, including workshops, seminars and on-site consultative training. During the course of the program PMP also will provide experts to conduct on-site training. The Bucharest-based IREX representative for Romania, Jeff Pennington, also will play a key role in this program.

PMP has a cooperative and collaborative relationship with the Bucharest Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ). The CIJ, founded by the Independent Journalism Foundation in New York, is part of a network of highly successful media support facilities also located in Bratislava, Budapest and Prague. CIJ is a leading journalism center in Romania that conducts training programs throughout the year. CIJ will provide office space for the RA, and also will be the site for much of the Bucharest PMP classroom and workshop training. In addition, all training program designs, schedules and activities will be planned in consultation with CIJ to insure that our combined efforts reinforce rather than duplicate one another.

The National Forum Foundation (NFF) has been assigned primary responsibility for management of PMP programs in Romania. NFF President Jim Denton will travel to Bucharest early in May to plan in-country activities.

With Romanian broadcasting as a primary focus, PMP efforts will have two purposes: to help develop commercially viable programming of a caliber that will attract advertisers, and to help make the stations financially viable by teaching general management, advertising, marketing, personnel practices and financial controls.

## The Plan

PMP has conducted an extensive needs assessment of the independent media in Romania. A PMP team, consisting of Carole Brennan and Csaba Chikes of IREX and Jim Denton of NFF, participated in several Bucharest roundtable discussions with journalists and media managers from throughout Romania, along with representatives of USAID and USIA. In addition, the delegation met with the editors and managers of various key print and broadcast organizations in their offices, including specialists at the Center for Independent Journalism. In all, the delegation conducted interviews with more than 60 Romanian publishers, station owners, journalists, business managers, advertising and sales directors, editors, producers and reporters from a wide-cross section of the country's print and broadcast outlets (See partial list, Enclosure 1).

AID Bucharest responded to the PMP initial draft work plan. Based on that response, PMP will give first priorities to television news production training (aiming at commercial viability and sales) and media management training, including advertising and sales (for financial viability). With regard to association development, although PMP does not propose any formal programs to support directly such activity at this time, we believe that it is in the long-term interest of Romania's independent media--and the democratic transition--for associations such as ARCA to develop as the market evolves and defines itself. Therefore, in cooperation with CIJ, PMP plans to help this evolutionary process by organizing low-cost events for the media community to meet to discuss their common interests and concerns.

We also hope to demonstrate the importance of trade associations during our workshops, pointing out, for example, the activities of the state broadcasting groups and the National Association of Broadcasters in the U.S. The importance of such groups--including ARCA in Romania--cannot be overemphasized. Properly organized, professional associations can serve many functions, including working as responsible, unified national opposition to government encroachment on press freedoms; serving as the beginning of all-industry cooperative ventures to help in the establishment of services to compete with state monopolies; serving as a focal point for training programs; and developing means of standardizing industry norms.

## Background Conditions in Romania's Media: Problems and Opportunities

**Problems**—American and foreign media report that the Romanian government frequently uses licensing, official audits, tax codes, tariffs and control of newsprint supplies to apply pressure on unfriendly media and their advertisers. Although it is rare, journalists also have been arrested and reportedly put under surveillance for coverage of the ruling government. And, the current penal code states that “damaging the reputation of a public figure” and spreading false information capable of undermining national security or foreign relations are punishable by up to five years in prison.

While these political pressures are menacing, the most life-threatening and immediate problems of Romania's media is the lack of business management skills and professional journalism training. According to representatives of even the most financially secure operations, there is a consensus that media managers would benefit from training in management practices, business planning, organizational structure, personnel practices, advertising sales, marketing and financial controls to become financially solvent and to protect their independence.

Although the relatively high cost of a newspaper is a major factor (driven by inflation and the government's control and occasional manipulation of newsprint supply), most journalists also believe that the low journalistic standards have played a significant role in Romania's declining readership. The editor of one leading daily refers to "the readers' sensationalism fatigue."

If the press is to be trusted by the public and be a force for democratic reform, several publishers argued that the journalists and the media they represent must earn the respect and confidence of the public. Although the market eventually may play a useful role in correcting this problem, training in professional standards, particularly the art of factual, detached, and dispassionate reporting, is essential for the future financial viability of Romanian media.

**Opportunities**—There are many private, albeit weak, newspapers that have struggled through and survived the most difficult years of Romania's transition. In spite of the large numbers (estimates are as high as 2,000 publications), according to one survey, these newspapers' combined circulation may be as low as 2 million--not even 10% of the population. The impact and reach of the print press does not approach television from which some 85% of the population gets its news and information.

In recent years, the Romanian government has issued hundreds of broadcast and cable licenses. The majority of these operators are local, small, ill-equipped, badly financed and dispersed. Nonetheless, they have the potential to grow into viable independent voices, especially given opportunities for collaboration, networking, pooled resources, cooperative advertising and training in management and production.

While the prospects for the cable networks are promising, the most dramatic media developments are taking place among the Bucharest-based broadcasters. Until December 1995, Channels One and Two, the state's television channels--with their undisguised pro-government bias--have enjoyed the exclusive right to broadcast nationally. Fully half of Romania's population, living in rural areas, had no access to any non-government print or broadcast media outlet--not a particularly healthy condition for a developing democracy.

Recently, with American investment, Romania's media landscape changed. In an awesome display of the power of technology, ProTV launched its national broadcast service via satellite and, almost overnight, thrust the development of Romania's television market into fast forward. For the first time in Romania's history, the general population was given an

alternative to state-sponsored television news and information in their own language. It is difficult to overstate the significance of this development and what it represents for the independent media and for Romania's future.

State TV is reeling; its audience is abandoning the tired institution in the face of the more modern and independent alternative. And, in order to keep pace with ProTV, Antenna 1 and Tele7abc, the other two major private broadcasters in Bucharest, are scrambling to hold market share and retain advertising revenue and their own financial viability.

Even though Antenna 1 and Tele7 plan to launch their own national broadcasts by early May, both are painfully aware that their new programs, in their current form, cannot measure up to ProTV's quality. Top executives from these two private stations have strongly and urgently requested an American professional to help train their news and production teams, as well as overhaul their news programs. The managers pointed out repeatedly that many of ProTV's popular news personalities and producers had been trained in the United States.

### **Objectives and Indicators**

In keeping with AID's strategic objectives, the PMP goal in Romania is to advance the country's democratic transition by creating a better-informed citizenry and increase civic participation by strengthening independent media outlets for news and information. The program will play a supportive and an instrumental role within the Romanian media to increase the quantity and quality of unbiased information available to citizens by:

- a. assisting in the development of new media outlets, particularly television
- b. strengthening the country's independent media
- c. helping to improve the quality of news and public affairs broadcasts
- d. training working and aspiring broadcast journalists

Key indicators that will serve as appropriate measure of PMP's success in achieving the objectives and intermediate results are identified below. As a result of this program it is anticipated that:

- a. The Romanian media community will begin to view itself as professional as evidenced by stronger and more frequent interaction and joint initiatives conducted for the profession's common good;*
- b. increased numbers of television public affairs newsmaker-type programs will be offered, including debates, forums and magazine programs;*
- c. an improvement in the quality of television news and information broadcasting will develop over time, particularly at the weaker, less competitive private broadcasters;*
- d. an increase in the quantity and the quality of independent television coverage will take place during upcoming elections;*

*e. independent broadcasters will work toward stronger nationwide networks with local stations that produce more and better news and information programs;*

*f. trained advertising sales teams at print and broadcast media outlets will be developed.*

### **The Work Plan: Priorities and Design**

The workplan is designed to strengthen the commercial viability of Romanian media to help insure the creation of a competitive and robust environment for independent news outlets. In light of the rapid developments and opportunities unfolding in the broadcast media, and in response to the direct requests made by senior management and news directors, in the early months PMP will give top priority to training the news teams at the private broadcasters, with the specific objective of improving the quality of the stations' news and information programming and their overall image. The RA assigned for the start-up phase of the project will reflect that priority. Future RAs will provide expertise in advertising sales, marketing and other aspects of media management.

The second priority during this start-up period will be to provide financial viability (advertising and sales) plus election reporting training, each of which will be featured in workshops and on-site training in several cities throughout Romania in late spring and summer of this year with media management following in the fall. Business management and journalistic ethics will be a recurring theme for PMP.

During the program start-up, the RA will provide on-site training at Bucharest-based private broadcasters, primarily Antenna 1 and Tele7. The RA's training will continue for six to eight weeks, providing a minimum of 10 hours per week per station. If the RA determines that it is useful to continue on-site training at these facilities beyond this two-month period, it is likely that the responsibility will be assigned to a PMP volunteer. Training of the broadcasters in Bucharest and elsewhere will focus on the needs identified below as raised by broadcasters at the December meetings:

*a. News management and production, including editing, scheduling, and anchor and reporter on-air training. ("How do we choose the stories to cover? In what order do we broadcast them? How to present them? How long should segments be? What should on-air talent wear?)*

*b. Image-making and studio design. ("How do we create a unified theme as ProTV did? How do we market it? What color should our studio be? How do we unify our management, marketing and image?)*

*c. News and information talk broadcasts. ("How can we make them lively and interesting? How should we organize them? How do we chooses guests?")*

d. *Research and archival systems.* ("When should we use stock footage? Where do we get it? How do we organize it?")

In recent weeks the PMP consortium has reviewed various applications and interviewed several candidates. Accordingly, we recommend Gina London, former associate producer of Fox Morning News (resume attached, Enclosure 2). She is a freelance writer and reporter for CNN. She has experience in both print and broadcast news. In addition, her past work on political campaigns will be useful in developing PMP's election reporting program later this spring. She has agreed to arrive in Bucharest during the first week of May and remain for a minimum of three months.

The RA will be based at CIJ. After completing an orientation program during which she will meet with representatives of the media, the Embassy staff and other appropriate people, the RA will conduct these activities:

- a. provide regularly scheduled on-site training, initially at Antenna 1 and Tele7 on:
  - (1) news management and production
  - (2) programming and scheduling
  - (3) studio design
  - (4) research and archival systems
  
- b. develop/implement training and professional development programs, including
  - (1) on-air talent training for TV (at CIJ); purchase basic video equipment
  - (2) joint PMP-CIJ training curriculum for September-June
  - (3) a guest lecture series for professional development at CIJ
  
- c. coordinate/schedule PMP workshop series and other non-Bucharest training on:
  - (1) special reporting covering politics and elections
  - (2) print management
  - (3) advertising and sales
  
- d. identify training needs appropriate to PMP and develop creative and cost-effective responses
  
- e. coordinate the requests and monitor the assignments of PMP volunteers
  
- f. coordinate the requests and monitor the assignments of short-term trainers for targeted special training.

All training will be supported by PMP consortium resources. Additional support will be drawn from trainers in neighboring countries, the U.S. and local talent in Bucharest.

PMP volunteers will be assigned to support specific training needs identified throughout the term of the project. We expect that the average PMP volunteers, all of whom will be professional media managers for journalists, will typically work on-site for up to four

weeks. Besides their transportation costs, volunteers will receive a modest stipend. We anticipate that the volunteers will represent a valuable and highly cost-effective program resource.

In addition, PMP will provide targeted special training. We anticipate that these trainers will be required to support short-term training needs that cannot be met with existing talent provided through the RA or regular volunteers. This training might be required, for example, to support a technical consulting need concerning satellite links, the development of a business proposal for a printing plant, cable networking, etc.

PMP workshops typically will be coordinated locally by the RA. The PMP team will assemble the U.S.-based trainers and develop the curricula and agendas. The workshops usually will be conducted successively in two or three cities. The standard workshop model will consist of approximately two to three classroom days followed by three to four days of on-site consultations. Maximum effort will be made to conduct two-way interactive training, complete with role playing, etc. In addition, guidelines and handouts will be available, along with other reference material.

In consultation with CIJ and others are appropriate, the workshops will begin in June, break in August and resume in September. In addition to Bucharest, workshops will be held in various cities, including Brasox, Cluj, Constanta, Iasi and Timisoara.

## **A Training Model for Romanian Journalists**

Draft Course Outline for Specialized Reporting Covering Politics & Elections

June 1996

Prepared by The International Center for Journalists

### **Session I: Introduction**

- Instructors' introductions
- Participant self-introductions
- Justification for this course
- Agreement on course objectives, description, training method
- Review of agenda
- Gauging the needs
  - oral and written exercises (Case Study 1)
  - role playing
  - coverage samples

### **Session IA: Supplementary Introductory Session**

- Video: History of the American press
- Overview of the media in a democracy
- Summary notes on the world press
- Subtopics
  - Structure of a democratic system
  - How the election process works
  - The structure and purposes of elections

- Voting and the voting process

### **Session II: Overview**

- Framing the Issue: Covering Politics & Elections
  - What is different about covering this topic
  - Current obstacles to coverage
  - Defining the ideal standard (participant field assignment)
  - Adapting the ideal to local reality
  - Revising course objectives
- The Topic: Politics and Elections
- The Technique: What is needed to cover this field?
- Practical Exercise: Written test of skills developed so far

### **Session III: General Reporting**

- Discussion and Exercise Session: Basic Reporting Techniques Review
  - Observations Skills (class exercise)
  - Capturing the five W's
  - Interviewing by phone and in person
  - Interviewing rules
  - Note-taking and recording
  - Analyzing the press release
  - Maintaining reliable sources
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
  - uses of polling data
  - dirty tricks and gimmicks
  - accountability of candidates
  - issues versus personalities
  - researching candidate backgrounds
  - balance and fairness
  - readers' desires vs. readers' needs
  - coverage strategy timeline
- Reporting exercise

### **Session IV: Specialized Reporting**

- Test and review
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Specialized Reporting Techniques
  - Important skills
  - Dealing with experts
  - Capturing mood and color
  - Story planning and organizing files
  - Research options (computer assisted reporting)
- Mock reporting assignment on subtopics

- Critique of Assignment

### **Session V: General News Writing**

- Basic writing techniques
  - Separating news from analysis
  - Story approaches and structure
  - Using neutral language
  - Using statistics
  - Using quotations
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Writing exercises
  - Approaches and formats
  - Identifying the lead

### **Session VI: Specialized News Writing**

- Test and review
- Subtopic 1
- Subtopic 2
- Specialized techniques
  - spot news writing
  - feature writing
- Writing analysis articles
- Writing opinion articles, essays and editorials

### **Session VII: Assignment**

- Story assignment (out of class)
- Assignment critiques (group and one-on-one)

### **Session VIII: Wrap-up**

- Final review
- Program Evaluation
- Follow-up
- Award of Certificates and Farewell

### **Supplemental Session: Trainer Training**

- Post program workshops for local trainers to provide multiplier effect

## Budget Estimate for ICFJ Training Model

### FACULTY

<u>Transportation</u>		
International travel 2 (U.S.) x \$1,500		\$3,000
Ground travel 2(U.S.) x \$200		400
Immunizations & health insurance		400
<u>Per diem</u>		
2 (U.S.) x \$282 x 30 days		8,490
1 (local) x \$47 x 30 days		1,410
<u>Fees</u>		
Fees 2 (U.S.) Trainers @ \$100/day x 30 days		3,000
Local Trainer 1 x 30 day		1,500
Facility Rental \$200/day x 10 days		2,000
Interpretation \$100/day x 15 days		1,500
Translations		300
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$22,000</b>
<u>Participant Costs</u>		
Coffee breaks/lunches \$10 x 20 x 10 days		2,000
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>
<u>ICFJ COSTS</u>		
Program supervision (5 days x \$445)		2,225
Communications		400
Printing/Mailings		150
Indirect Rate		9,371
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$12,146</b>
	<b>Grand total</b>	<b>\$36,146</b>

## PMP Future Workplan Timeline

### *May*

RA arrives at CIJ (during first week of May)  
PMP coordinator arrives in Bucharest for project commencement  
RA/PMP coordinator participate in orientation with CIJ  
RA starts on-site daily training at three local broadcasters  
Identify equipment training needs for on-camera studio needs at CIJ  
Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
RA coordinates scheduling, logistics for June-July workshops  
Develop a guest lecture series for professional development with CIJ

### *June-July*

Explore launch of association development program with ARCA and submit proposal  
RA continues regular on-site training at local broadcasters  
RA purchases video equipment package for on-camera training at CIJ  
On-camera studio designed at CIJ

Start on-camera training at CIJ  
Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
Assign first PMP volunteer  
Begin guest lecture series for professional development (theme: journalistic ethics)  
Implement political communications roundtable series at CIJ  
Conduct two election reporting workshops (Bucharest and various cities)  
Conduct two advertising and sales workshops (Bucharest and various cities)  
Develop comprehensive Fall training strategy, curriculum  
Recruit second RA (with advertising and sales or management expertise)

### ***August-September***

Assign second RA  
RA participates in orientation with CIJ  
Prepare and begin comprehensive training calendar for September-June  
Identify and conduct targeted training programs as appropriate  
Conduct two print media management workshops  
Continue guest lecture series for professional development  
Continue political communications round table series at CIJ

## **Notes on Strategies and Program Concepts for Future Consideration**

Based on our understanding of the status of media developments in Romania, we will be guided by certain basic assumptions and principles which will be evident in all of our programming. Some of these concepts, along with some thoughts on future project ideas, include:

- a. Although we will not exclude anyone from our training, our target audience is primarily the younger professional journalists (22-35 years).
- b. PMP will be careful to extend training programs to local communities around the country. The workshop series will be conducted primarily outside of Bucharest. In addition, those training programs conducted in Bucharest will draw participants (trainees) from throughout Romania; the budget allows for their modest travel and housing costs. At the same time, because of the special circumstances in the broadcast media in Bucharest (and because this activity advances our objectives to increase the sources of information throughout the country), the RA's emphasis will center on the newly emerging national broadcasters during the first six to eight weeks.
- c. We believe that communication between government officials and journalists should be improved. We believe that PMP should play an active and creative role in bringing government officials together with leading journalists on a regular basis. This activity is consistent with similar initiatives conducted by consortium members outside the immediate PMP project, and, we anticipate possible linkages to those efforts for the common good.
- d. We are committed to providing extensive on-site training, well beyond that conducted in conjunction with the workshops. This will be made possible by placing

emphasis on recruiting and assigning media managers that are able to work in Romania on a voluntary basis.

e. We intend to be responsive and flexible, anticipating issues and opportunities, and stay ahead of the curve.

## ENCLOSURE 1

### Romanian Contact List

Igor Antip, News Producer, ProTV  
Petre Mihai Bacanu, Editor in Chief, Romania Libera  
Aron Ballo, Deputy Editor in Chief, Szabadsag Newspaper  
Andrei Bodi, Member Brasov Regional Council, Romania  
Sorin Bogdan, Editor, Evenimentul Zilei Daily  
Luigi Brasoveanu, Advertising Manager, Transilvania Express  
Florin Bratescu, Director General, Antena 1  
Cezar Caluschi, Vice-President, Nord-Est  
Tiberiu Cazacioc, Library Director, Center for Independent Journalism  
Mihai Cernat, Marketing, Mediafax  
Doina Chirea-Doru, Editor and Newswriter, Pro TV  
Constanta Chirilescu, Director of Programs, Center for Independent Journalism  
Lorita Constantinescu, Program Coordinator, Soros Foundation  
Radu Cosarca, Director Department Actualitati, Tele 7abc  
Dana Cristescu, Advertising Manager, Adevaruis  
Florin Danciu, Editor in Chief, Mesagerul  
Vasile Dobrin, Advertising Manager, Romania Libera  
Mike Enik, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy  
Andrea Esca, Nightly News Anchor, Pro TV  
Gabriel Gafita, Secretary of State, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Calin Georgescu,  
Ambassador Mircea Geoana, Romania's Ambassador to the U.S.  
Dan Ghibernea, Director of International Relations, Foreign Ministry  
Marius Ghilezan, Journalist, Romania Libera  
Gabriel Giurgiu, Talk Show Host, Reporter, and Producer, Romanian Television  
Mirella Hagiopol, Director, Council of Europe Information and  
Documentation Center  
Catalin Harnagea, Editor in Chief, Press Agency  
Sean Hillen, Director, Use Euro Med  
Richard Hough, Representative, Agency for International Development  
Alexandru Lazescu, President, Nord-Est  
Gilda Lazar, Journalist, Romania Libera  
Bogdan Lefter, Director, Radio Free Europe  
Liviu Man, Managing Director, Delta Press Ltd.  
Bogdan Masala, Market Analysis, R Society  
Tatiana Maxim, Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Department  
Bruce McGorrill, Maine Radio and Television Company  
Simona-Mirela Miculescu, Press Attache, Embassy of Romania  
Madalina Mitan, Redactor - Department Extern, Cronica Romania  
Liviu Moraru, Director General Adjunct, Omega Press Investment S.A.  
Irina Negrea, Editorial Manager, MediaPro Group - Publishing House Pro  
Radu Nicolau, Director General Adjunct, Romsat Tele 7abc  
Sorin Novac, Director Publicitate, Omega Press Investment S.A.  
Sorin Oancea, Advertising Manager, Antena 1  
Mark Parkinson, World Learning  
Dan Petrilă, Program Manager, Antena 1  
Catalin Popa, News Producer, Antena 1  
Dan Preisy, Chief of Political Department, Tele 7abc  
Dragos Sabadeanu, Parliament Expert, Parliament of Romania Chamber of

Deputies

Maria Sandor, Director, Women in Development Romanian UNDP Project

Paul Scanteie, Program Editor, Antena1

Cristina Simion, Radio Manager, Radio Nord Est

Vasile Sofineti, Director, Head of the Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania

Gabriel Stanescu, Deputy Chief Editor/ Professor: Ethic of mass media, The First Romanian Daily Newspaper

Sorin Rosca Stanescu, General Manager, Ziua

Iolanda Staniloiu, Director, Center for Independent Journalism

Iolanda Stanieloine, Director,

Lucian Stirbu, Advertising Manager, Tele 7abc

Sorin Strutinschi, General Manager, Telegraf

Sorin Tapai, Deputy Chief of Foreign Department, Evenimentul Zilei

Anca Toader, Anchor & Producer, Tele 7abc

Sergiy Toader, News Producer, ProTV

Ancuta Vamesu, Phare Assistant, European Union - Delegation of the European Commission in Romania

Laurie Weitzenkorn, Information Officer, USIS Bucharest

Robert Whitehead, Political Counselor, United State Embassy

*just letter*  
*at NRA!*  
GINA LONDON

- I have had four years experience in television news in Washington--not only a top ten news media market--but obviously our nation's capitol; thus the source of almost all national political news.
- From this, my skills in news gathering must be sharp and quick. I could help another media organization in terms of compiling a comprehensive assignment desk system, updating a news contact phone list, prioritizing coverage, distributing resources effectively and enterprising stories.
- I can layout division of management and news persons in a major market news operation. I could thoroughly explain the obligations and expectations of all staff --from News Directors, Promotions Directors, to Line Producers, Writers, Reporters, Production Assistants, Editors and the like.
- I have experience as a writer/field producer on all shifts. The requirements for news gathering on an overnight shift, dayside and weekend shift are all unique.
- I can also explain to another news room the importance of forming links with the community in the form of service and philanthropy projects in the name of the station.
- I "book" live guests for shows. I can explain the ins and outs --as well as the importance for the news and audience information-- of this.
- I am an experienced on-line data researcher. I could work hand-in-hand with a computer systems analyst to help a news organization develop its own archive system for retrieving information on past segments, stories or video tape.
- I also have a political background. If I were sent to a political office or organization, I could help their media relations or communications department better interface with the local or state-run media groups. If there were no media relations office, I could help generate one as well.
- One of the most important things that I can do-- is listen. I would seek to determine the specific needs of whichever station or organization I was assigned, and develop a plan specifically for them.

I welcome the chance to help.

Sincerely,



GINA LONDON

She's currently  
freelancing at  
CNN (and  
time  
Fo?)

**Home:**

10403 Drumm Avenue  
Kensington, MD 20895  
301-933-6415

**Office:**

5151 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20016  
202-895-3000

**Experience:**

**Present News 21, Montgomery Cable, Rockville, Maryland.**

Reporter.

Freelance on-air reporter for county cable news station 3-4 times a week on top of my full-time job. Interview, produce, and write for packages and live phoners. Also turn around separate VOs and VO/SOTs.

**Present WTTG Fox Television, Washington, DC.**

***Fox Morning News---***

Writer, Copy Editor.

Research, select video and write stories for *Fox Morning News*; an Emmy award winning three hour live newscast. Fill-in as copy editor for the show as needed.

Associate Producer.

Field produce live remote shots for *Fox Morning News*.

***Ten O'Clock News---***

Field Producer.

Conduct interviews and write anchor packages for the *Ten O'Clock News*. Produced several special series including "Cultural Indicators" and "Washington's Most Wanted." Produced numerous live shots.

**1992-March 1994**

Segment Producer.

Conceptualized, researched, produced and booked live segments for *Fox Morning News*. Among others, produced week-long special segment series on the Clinton Transition entitled, "Thousands of Jobs;" five-part segment series, "Service with a Smile;" and three-part pre-produced series with anchor Lark McCarthy entitled, "Great Homes of Washington."

**1991-1992 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Washington, DC.**

Opposition Strategist.

Compiled comprehensive analysis books on voting records of Senators on selected legislative issues complete with examined financial records. Provided additional assistance to Senate campaigns through on-line services. Updated and maintained in-house floor and committee votes data bases. Organized GOTV effort for Harris Wofford's successful Pennsylvania Senate campaign.

**1990 -1991 Office of U.S. Representative Jim Jontz, Washington, DC.**

Legislative Assistant.

Handled environmental, health and aging, and defense issues. Helped draft legislation--including the Ancient Forest Protection Act. Attended hearings.

**1989 -1990 *The Orlando Sentinel*, Orlando, Florida.**

Editorial Researcher-Freelance Reporter.

Responsible for advising and retrieving information for all editorial staff. Proficient at computer data bases--Vu/Text, DataTimes, Nexis, CompuServe and Dialog. Wrote freelance stories for editorial and features departments. Edited copy.

**Education:**

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

B.A. degree Political Science and Journalism, minor Speech Communication, 1990.

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## **NARRATIVE SECTION: SLOVAKIA**

### **I. SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS BEGUN OR COMPLETED THROUGH JUNE 1, 1996**

Since the inception of the Professional Media Program (ProMedia), the management team has engaged in the following activities in Slovakia:

- In November 1995, Director Csaba Chikes and Assistant Director Carole Brennan traveled to Bratislava to assess the media situation.
- In December 1995, Mr. Chikes and Ms. Brennan compiled their information and wrote a draft work plan detailing proposed programs in the region.
- In January 1996, ProMedia submitted the proposed work plan to AID field offices and the AID DC office. We received notice from AID Bratislava outlining concerns with the work plan.
- February 1996, ProMedia worked with AID Bratislava to revamp the work plan to reflect AID's goals and to identify ProMedia's responsibility in the region. ProMedia resubmitted the work plan and AID approved the work plan in February.
- March 1996, ProMedia concentrated on finding a Resident Adviser and filling AID's request for print/distribution specialists into the field.
- In April 1996, Tom Grubisich accepted the post of Resident Adviser. ProMedia organized logistical support for Mr. Grubisich's year-long tenure in Bratislava, as well as prepared an orientation in Washington prior to his departure. (See Appendix for CV)
- In mid-May 1996, Mr. Grubisich left for Bratislava. Bill Canino arrived in Bratislava in early May to conduct a print/distribution analysis. ProMedia secured Kurt Wimmer of Covington & Burling to assess the Slovak media law.
- In June 1996, Kurt Wimmer submitted a draft review of the law.

### **II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES AND WORKPLAN**

#### **A. Completed Activities**

Upon its inception, ProMedia's Director, Csaba Chikes, and Assistant Director, Carole Brennan, traveled to Slovakia to meet with the AID Mission, radio and print journalists, media managers and the staff at the Center for Independent Journalism.

Over the next couple of months, ProMedia fine-tuned the draft work plan in consultation with USAID Bratislava. By the end of February the work plan was approved. ProMedia began implementing its program in March.

The most important effort was to identify a qualified, quickly-available Resident Adviser. AID requested that this post be occupied for a full year by a full-time adviser who would continuously assess media needs. In order to meet these expectations, ProMedia placed an add in the *Editor & Publisher*, as well as other magazines. We also solicited resumes from an on-line listserve, EEMedia. Of the responses, we contacted the top candidates for interviews. Criteria included having a strong background in media management, particularly in print media, and a willingness to fill the post for one year. Due to the latter criteria, it was difficult to find candidates for the position. However, once identified, ProMedia's partner, NFF, conducted preliminary screening. Ms. Brennan followed with more detailed interviews. Before long, ProMedia offered the position to Tom Grubisich, a publisher of a group of community newspapers based in Reston, Va. In April, Mr. Grubisich accepted our offer.

At the same time, ProMedia was researching the possibility of hiring a print/distribution consultant per the request of the AID Mission. The media management consultancy, Boles, Morgan & Canino, Inc. (BMC), agreed to work with ProMedia. BMC has experience in the region, having completed work for Soros in Bulgaria, Slovakia and Romania. Bill Canino who had just finished a project for Soros, agreed to travel to Bratislava in May.

Much of April was spent organizing logistical support for the above named programs. ProMedia conducted an extensive pre-departure orientation for Mr. Grubisich that included meetings with Jan Orlovsky of the Slovak Embassy; Eleanor Nagy, the Slovak Desk Officer at the State Department, Pat Lerner and Gustav Matijek, Slovak AID Mission Representatives; Lisa Ellis of the Freedom Forum; Margie Freaney of the *Baltimore Business Journal* and a former Knight International Press Fellow; Gene Mater, ProMedia consultant; and James Greenfield of the Independent Journalism Foundation. Mr. Grubisich arrived in Bratislava on May 19.

Bill Canino of Boles, Morgan & Canino, Inc., conducted an assessment of the print/distribution situation in Slovakia May 6-10. A copy of his analysis is attached.

In June, Kurt Wimmer of Covington & Burling agreed to analyze the Slovak media law for the Slovak syndicate of Journalists. ProMedia recently received his report. A copy of that report also is attached.

## **B. Future Work plan**

Tom Grubisich will identify and respond to media needs in Slovakia. From his analysis, ProMedia will set up programs likely to include a media-management seminar. As our original purpose was to foster independent media, and because overall

independence requires financial independence, media-management workshops would be key here.

Pending AID's analysis of Bill Canino's report on print/distribution needs, ProMedia will proceed as needed.

ProMedia is currently pursuing media law as an important issue for media institutions in Slovakia. Our future plans include an analysis of Kurt Wimmer's report on the media law and possible workshops aimed at helping journalists lobby for improved legislation.

### III. FUTURE TIMETABLE

- Help establish and orient Tom Grubisich as Resident Adviser in Bratislava
- Wait for AID's analysis of Bill Canino's report on print/distribution
- Wait for AID's analysis of Kurt Wimmer's report on media law issues
- Prepare a media-management workshop

# ~ Slovakia ~

## The Conditions

This country may be able to claim the most sophisticated approach to thwarting the development of a free press. Opponents are frozen out or bought out while friends are subsidized through ads from pro-state enterprises and other business maneuvering. It gives PMP pause, and causes us to consider carefully how best to spend our assistance dollars in Slovakia.

The independent media in Slovakia is in urgent need of professional assistance before the government successfully completes its effort to reduce the press to subservience.

At one point in our discussions in Slovakia a media pundit suggested that perhaps the most PMP could do is to continue to help with the professional development of journalists and media managers, encouraging them to "hang on" until the political climate has improved. Some of that is necessary, but we must also take some risks to move the media beyond a protective crouch.

## The Plan

1) **RESIDENT ADVISER** - We **currently** are looking for the right person to fill the post of Resident Adviser in Slovakia. This person must be a talented, multi-faceted media professional with business-side experience. Since we will work with both print and broadcast in this country, the person could come from either field, although both would be helpful. We are looking first for a person with some CEE experience, preferably in Slovakia. Local language skills or a working knowledge of German would be an asset. This person must be prepared for a minimum six-month stay with considerable travel within the country. We would like to place a person by the end of **February** at the latest.

2) **DISTRIBUTION** - The state-controlled distribution system, PNS, not only controls the delivery of newspapers to kiosks but also almost all other circulation functions, including the mailing lists and home delivery through the state postal system. This was a cry we heard from all papers. There has been at least one success, however, within the ranks of weekly newspapers. *Trend*, the well-regarded weekly business newspaper, managed to work with its own subscription department, bypassing PNS and going straight to the postal system. That, at least, allowed them control of their own -- very valuable -- mailing list. Since some of the talented and hard-working staff of *Trend* has left, and will move to an existing daily publication in **February**, we will work with them at trying to take control of that daily's mailing list. This would require sending a distribution professional by the end of **February** to review the situation and its possibilities. Once we know the cost and possibility for success, we would move on offering needed assistance. Our mission will be to test alternative distribution approaches and, if successful, they will be used at other locations in Slovakia.

3) **COMMERCIAL EQUIPMENT** - The independent newspaper *SME* has requested and we currently (**January**) are considering working with them to purchase a phototypesetter that would allow the newspaper to move seriously into the commercial print business. *SME* has had tremendous financial setbacks because of the government, but diligently tries to move forward. *SME* is working with the new Soros-backed Open Society Media Fund to secure a large loan to purchase refurbished Goss Community presses from Germany. At least one other lender -- a bank -- also is involved. We have talked several times with Soros about its commitment to the paper. Working with the USAID office in Bratislava, we will first pursue a loan from outside PMP's budget for the approximately \$70,000 piece of equipment. If that does not work, then PMP will work with *SME*. We also have talked with the Open Society Media Fund director about assisting with training costs for *SME* employees on the new equipment. Those discussions continue.

4) **MEDIA MANAGEMENT** - We will begin in **February** planning media-management training workshops for small radio and print outlets outside the capital city as well as Bratislava. We plan to work in Kosice in the East and Banska Bystrica in Central Slovakia. While our method will be to begin all programs with a workshop, we will extend it to include one-on-one consultations with individual newspapers and radio and TV stations in their places of business. We will be attempting here to help them resolve specific problems after giving them general information necessary to the success of all media businesses. The workshops will be divided between broadcast, newspapers and possibly cable.

5) **INFORMATION NETWORK** - In meetings with the many small radio stations that call themselves independent it became quickly apparent that the portion of their success that does not depend on government regulations is most strongly attached to the development of a computer network that would allow the sharing of information. This also is true for small newspapers. We will work with the Independent Journalism Foundation to support at least part of a program set up to make available Internet access and the sharing of local news to make these small media outlets more competitive. We **already** are looking at IJF plans, which tie closely to conclusions we drew on our needs assessment visit to Slovakia. This project will be **ongoing in the first six months**. It is hoped also that it will lead to the formation of a group of broadcasters or newspaper publishers who will work together to solicit national advertising. (**Second six month-plan.**)

6) **MEDIA CENTER SUPPORT** - Continue the tradition of close cooperation with the Center for Independent Journalism, which has been assisting with the training and development of an independent media in Bratislava for more than three years.

## **Management**

The Resident Adviser will report regularly to the PMP staff in Washington. This active relationship will include constant updates with the AID staff in the field, as well as AID Washington. This six-month plan is a living document, and PMP management decisions may lead to adjustments, additions, or deletions based on what is most appropriate for the advancement of an independent, viable media in Slovakia.

**TOM GRUBISICH**

11406 Esplanade Dr., Reston, Va. 22094  
(o) (703) 437-5400; (h) 437-0422

**Executive Editor, Times Community Newspapers, group of seven weekly community newspapers published in Fairfax County, Va., 1994-present.**  
**Editor, Publisher and Founder, The Connection Newspapers, group of seven weekly community newspapers published in Fairfax County, Va., 1981-1994.**  
**Editor, Reporter, the Washington Post, 1966-1981.**  
**Reporter, Assistant Editor, New York Herald Tribune, 1964-1966.**

**RELATED WORK**

**Teacher, Workshop Leader, Center for Foreign Journalists, 1985-present.**  
**Producer, Online Programming, America Online/Digital City Washington, 1996-.**

**PROFESSIONAL HONORS**

**Journalist of the Year, Dateline Award, D.C. Chapter of Society of Professional Journalists, 1988.**  
**Best Community Newspaper, to The Reston Connection, from Virginia Press Association, 1990.**  
**Community Service Award, to The Reston Connection, Suburban Newspapers of America, 1987.**  
**First Prize, Editorial Writing, Suburban Newspapers of America, 1995.**  
**Ten-Year Citation for "distinctive contributions," Center for Foreign Journalist, 1995.**  
**Numerous other awards from local, regional, state and national journalistic organizations.**

**BOOKS, OTHER PUBLISHED WORK**

**"Reston: The First Twenty Years," New York: Prentice-Hall, 1985.**  
**Author of many op-edit pieces in The Washington Post; also have contributed to Architecture, New Dominion and other magazines.**

**COMMUNITY HONORS**

**Best of Reston Award, by Greater Reston Chamber of Commerce and Reston Interfaith, 1992; In My Backyard Award, by Fairfax/Falls Church United Way, 1993; Citation of Merit, Fairfax County Federation of Citizens Associations and the Washington Post, 1994; Decade of Service Award, Women's Center of Metro Washington, 1995.**

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As an editor of community newspapers, teacher and facilitator, I have worked with journalists from other countries for many years. For more than a decade, I have maintained a continual relationship with the Center for Foreign Journalists, which in 1995 honored me and other journalists and members of the academic community for "distinctive contributions" in leading workshops and seminars at the center.

As a longtime working editor/teacher, I have numerous contacts in the journalistic community in the U.S. -- at metro and weekly newspapers, local, state and national press associations and in academia. Most recently, I have broadened those relationships by partnering with America Online/Digital City Washington on online projects (cf. current production at Web site [www.digitalcity.com/washington](http://www.digitalcity.com/washington)).

I think my background, experience and reputation, plus enthusiasm and outreach, make me most qualified to assist Slovakian journalists in their continuing development, especially in creating professional associations.

Tom Grubisich

March 21, 1996

**A REPORT ON THE PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION  
CAPABILITIES AVAILABLE  
TO NEWSPAPERS IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

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## **1. Objectives of the Study**

It is generally accepted that printing and distribution play critical roles in the viability of newspapers. In Slovakia, as in most Central and Eastern European countries, these two activities are, for the most part, under the direct or indirect control of the national governments. Thus, the US Agency for International Development needs to have these activities assessed from time to time to see evaluate their impact on freedom of the press in the country.

## **2. Method of Gathering Information**

Given the limited amount of time for the study, (May 7, 8, 9 and 10) it was decided to visit only major cities with large (though typical) printing plants in the East, Central, North, South and West of the country. At each location I met with the key executive(s) of the printing plants who, in every instance, gave freely of their time and answered most of our questions. There were times, however, when euphemisms replaced forthright answers but this is not untypical in the region.

Since printing plant executives have widespread knowledge of both printing and distribution, both subjects were raised at each stop.

In addition to the print house managers I also benefited from my conversations with Ms. Kathy Sturmer, Division Chief, US Agency for International Development in Bratislava, Mr. Gustav Matijek, US AID Project Advisor, also in the Bratislava office, Mr. Jan Burian, newly appointed business manager for the newspaper SME, and the Editor of SME, Mr. Alexej Fulmek. I also met with Mr. Pavol Pavlik, general director of Mediaprint-Kappa, the major private distribution company in the country and Mr. Lubomir Baca, director of business operations for Mediaprint-Kappa. I also met briefly with Mr. Stefan Meszlenyi, director of Komarnanske Tlaciarne in Komarno where SME was printed on an interim basis.

Additional insights were provided by Dr. Milica Hrebickova who served as my interpreter. A native of Bratislava, Dr. Hrebickova was very helpful in adding background information especially to my understanding of the privatization process.

Also, the role of Mr. Burian cannot be underestimated. I met with Mr. Matijek and Mr. Burian on Tuesday, May 7 at 4 p.m. By 9 a.m. the next day he had arranged interviews with all of the contacts, most of whom he knew personally. Mr. Burian has served in the publishing and printing industry for many years in virtually every position from journalist to production manager. He may be the best single source of information on printing in Slovakia

### **3. About the Author**

Readers of this report should understand that the author has visited Slovakia on three occasions and compiled a similar report on printing facilities in 1992. I visited most of these same production plants in March of that year. Therefore, I was able to use my 1992 experience as a benchmark in comparing present day conditions. I have traveled extensively in the region representing our company, Boles, Morgan & Canino, Inc. and I have been involved in installing newspaper production facilities in Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Belarus. The company is presently preparing to install equipment in Russia in cooperation with the Russian American Media Program. The company specializes in management and technical training as well as plant planning and installation.

I formerly published newspapers in New Jersey and, as a Vice President of Greater Media, Inc., founded Greater Jersey Press, Inc., one of the largest contract newspaper printing plants in the New York metropolitan area. Greater Jersey printed, among others, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, AMERICAN BANKER, DAILY BOND BUYER and EL DIARIO, the largest Spanish language daily newspaper in the New York area.

### **4. The Findings**

Unfortunately, the clear picture that emerges is that regional (local) newspapers are nearing extinction. In 1992 I identified several newspapers that seemed to have a reasonable chance to survive, based primarily on their skilled management. Four years later some of these papers are no longer in existence and the rest of the regional press is struggling to endure against overwhelming odds.

Several conditions exist that make it more than likely that the country will not have any significant local newspaper voices in the near future. If this happens the only newspapers people will have to read will be those published in Bratislava. Some of these will print news pertinent to the regions but local news coverage will be limited in its depth, meaning that local governments will not be under the watchful eyes of editors who are close to their communities.

The significance of this cannot be underestimated since the country now has only one totally independent daily paper, SME, which recently opened its own printing facility. This was the final step in creating its total independence.

Print house managers will insist that there is freedom of the press in the country but they will also note that many papers fail because their editors "don't write about the right issues" or "are not on the right side of things."

There are indeed many reasons for the regional press' sharp decline.

First, there are the *economics of newspapering*: high cost of newsprint the price of which has risen 1200% in recent years. Still, the national papers have withstood this pressure in Slovakia and newspapers throughout the world have faced the same problem without being destroyed by it.

*Weak regional structures* are also part of the problem. In the past few years the government has become more centralized which means there is less local news that is significant to the readers, who are now buying one newspaper---a national one---instead of a second paper. The economics of the readers also plays a role here.

In the past, regional governments have been an important element in providing funding for the regional press. This is of questionable value to a free press but it is indeed a factor. When centralization replaced regionalization funding went west to Bratislava leaving the newspapers without the regional governments' help.

*The lack of advertising* for the regionals impacts the papers, too. There is in Slovakia a perception that advertising is akin to bribery: I advertise in your paper and you don't say anything bad about me. Only major marketers advertise in newspapers at the moment since they are not inhibited by this mistaken perception. These advertisers, however, do not place ads in the regional papers leaving the regionals with reader-only support.

*Printing plants* are the least obvious but most critical factor in the equation. They are, first of all, not truly independent by Western definition. Virtually all have been privatized but the process by which privatization took place was in many ways a

political procedure. The new owners are all experienced printers but, in only one instance, is a private printing house truly interested in printing newspapers; the government has certainly not encouraged the plants to equip themselves properly to print newspapers.

The owners are not completely to blame either. Their newspaper printing equipment is inappropriate for printing small regional newspapers. In Presov the director of POLYGRAF printing, Mr. Jaroslav Surkala, told me he was still printing one regional newspaper, PRESOVSKY VECERNIK, which publishes editions of 4 to 8 pages daily with a circulation of 8,000 to 10,000. Other small papers, he said, had gone out of business.

The problem is that the equipment is obsolete and too large to be used to print small papers efficiently. This means that the print house cannot offer its services at a price that smaller newspapers can afford.

In Bratislava, for example, the General Director, Mr. Stanislav Vanek, showed me a press that had just completed a newspaper run of 20,000 copies. The press is better suited to print 120,000 copies; the cost of printing small products on such a large press is not economical.

Why, then, don't the print houses buy smaller presses to accommodate smaller newspapers? From the answers I was given by print house managers I ascertained that they were unconvinced that newspaper printing could be profitable and they would rather use their time and resources printing books for export.

Managers are convinced that the cost of newspaper printing equipment was well beyond their means. When I offered press prices that were substantially lower than they quoted they reacted with skepticism.

The list of problems outlined above have all contributed to the difficulties of the regional press. However, the print houses, I feel, are most responsible for the near-certain demise of these important sources of information. It is easy for the managers to say they don't have the resources to print newspapers but the fact remains that these print houses have some of the most sophisticated equipment available in the world. Somewhere, somebody decided to buy expensive book printing equipment rather than less expensive newspaper printing machinery.

The conclusion that there is no market for newspapers is also groundless.

Perhaps the most tragic story of a newspaper's demise involves the regional daily, SMER. In 1992 SMER had a distribution of 50,000 copies on weekdays and 100,000 on the weekends. When I visited Banska Bystrica at that time I spent

several hours with Mr. Ivan Baca, the paper's Editor in Chief. He was interested in everything from the US Constitution's First Amendment to computer typesetting. He seemed to have an expansion program designed to provide a high quality newspaper for the Banska Bystrica region.

His only concerns were that the print house would not be willing to expand to meet his needs. I also met with the print house operations manager who was quite frank when he told me he preferred printing beer bottle labels to newspapers.

Shortly after my visit, the plant was privatized and today there are five co-owners. Also, since my 1992 visit, Mr. Baca was dismissed as was his full management team. I could not get a definitive answer on why he was let go but the print house director, Mr. Jaroslav Vigas, who is one of the five co-owners, was the source of the "editors should go along" comment referred to above.

The consequences of past actions, in this case, were disastrous for SMER. Today its circulation is down to 10,000 weekdays and 30,000 weekends. Worse is the fact that Mr. Vegas told me that the paper, now in the hands of a local hotel operator, owes the printing company a large sum of money and he expected to end the printing contract in the immediate future.

When I mentioned that SMER was doing well before Mr. Baca's dismissal I was advised by several people that this was a "special case" and "very complicated." I never could get a more definitive answer.

There were other, smaller regionals that appeared to have a bright future four years ago. One of them, NITRIANSKY HLASNIK in Nitra was published by a young woman, Silvia Lorincore. At that time she was the only publisher setting type by computer in her region. However, the printing plant refused to accept her camera ready pages (a policy that has since changed) which would have reduced her costs. She was experiencing other difficulties with the print house and she and three other publishers prevailed upon me to act as a mediator with the print house authorities. I was unable to reconcile the differences and the papers' complaints remained. On my recent visit I was unable to find either Ms. Lorincore or her paper.

While the regionals disappear the nationals also show signs of some attrition. Where once there were 13 papers, there are now ten.

However, the fastest growing daily is SME, which is the only completely independent daily in the country. Its circulation is now up to 83,000 despite the fact that its printing agreement with Danubiaprint was unexpectedly terminated and it was forced to print well outside the city in a commercial plant in Komarno for several months. Now that it has its own press in Bratislava it will be in a much

better position to compete and its Editor, Alexje Fulmek, is looking to expand its regional distribution.

Part of this mission was to determine the capability of the distribution system. Happily, the company Mediaprint-Kappa has risen to challenge the former, government monopoly PNS. At the moment Mediaprint-Kappa has 1,300 news locations throughout the country and is serving all regions. The director, Mr. Pavlik, told me that people in communities with as few as 500 inhabitants now have access to newspapers through newsstands in bus or train terminals. The company is working to extend that coverage to even smaller communities.

Mediaprint-Kappa and Mr. Pavlik have an interesting history. Founded in 1990 to distribute foreign press publications ( there were no independent newspapers in the then-Czechoslovakia) the company shortly thereafter formed a joint venture with German and Austrian partners.

However, Mr. Pavlik was jailed twice for periods of 40 hours each time because he was "violating press laws" by competing with the state-owned PNS. After his second arrest in 1991 he decided to return to the West to inform his partners that he wanted to dissolve the union. However, on the way, he heard that the press law had been repealed and he returned to Bratislava.

Since that time "we have maintained a low profile," he told me and the government has not interfered with his operation's progress.

## **5. The Print House Managers**

*Zelina:* Mr. Jozef Bulejcik, deputy marketing director, and Mr. Pavel Belicka, technical director. Shareholder ownership, formerly a subsidiary of Danubiaprint. Prints 24-page Daily PRAVDA, 60-70,000 copies six days a week.. Had also printed SME before SME print contract was canceled by Danubiaprint. Other customers include weeklies, all small circulation. About one-third of plants' business comes from newspapers. This was the largest portion I found in any plant.

*Presov:* Jaroslav Surkala, director, and Ladislav Herich, co-owner. Very little newspaper printing. Employs 265 workers primarily to produce high quality books for export. Well equipped plant, high speed commercial presses and binding equipment.

*Kosice:* Imrich Hornak, director. Similar to Presov plant. High quality book printing, very little newspaper printing. Papers in region were too small to be printed by large press so contracts were terminated.

*Banska Bystrica:* Mr. Jaroslav Vigas, co-owner. Plant specializes in commercial printing; little interest in newspaper printing.

*Nitra:* Peter Mikula, production manager. Still printing small weeklies but the largest publication is a 120,000 weekly free distribution shopper. Mr. Mikula told me that his company was investigating the possibility of buying a new offset press in the hope of contracting to print one of the national dailies.

*Bratislava:* Mr. Stanislav Vanek, general director. One of two Danubiaprint plants in Bratislava. One location prints newspapers and other periodicals, the other prints books and other commercial products. Prints all national dailies except SME. Good equipment but not well suited to print small newspapers.

## **6. Conclusions**

Much effort has been made in training journalists in Slovakia and elsewhere. This has been seen, by some, as a way to create a free press in former communist controlled countries. It is certainly a relatively inexpensive approach, too.

However, Boles, Morgan & Canino, Inc. is reminded of the simple fact that "he who controls the press controls the press." We have been involved in the region for nearly five years and we have learned that the best way to help promote freedom of the press is to provide independent printing equipment.

For example, in Varna, Bulgaria an independent plant went into operation in January. It is now printing six daily newspapers and three weeklies. Two of our early installations, in 1993 in Romania have simply put the state owned print houses out of the newspaper printing business and in both cases, new papers have sprung up simply because there was an economical and efficient place to print.

While aid for printing press projects may not be available, there may be some way that agencies can encourage private investment in newspaper production, thereby serving capitalism and press freedom at the same time.

Boles, Morgan & Canino, Inc. would be happy to discuss the contents of this report with any person or agency who would benefit from its contents.

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**DRAFT LAW OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC ON THE  
MEANS OF PUBLIC INFORMATION**

**The National Council of the Slovak Republic,**

**recognizing the basic principles of democracy, freedom of expression and right to information<sup>1</sup> as a basic civic right, the right of a citizen to receive and impart information without any form of censorship, internal and external interference and restriction,**

**respecting the rights and duties, the freedom and responsibility of journalists and other authors of public information, but at the same time the ethical responsibility of the means of public information towards citizens and society; the necessity to differentiate between information and opinion, report and commentary<sup>2</sup>, which prevents their mutual overlapping,**

**has passed this act:**

**§ 1**

**Purpose of the Act**

- (1) The purpose of the act is to stipulate the rights and obligations of both legal and physical entities in operating the means of public information, to define their relations with state bodies, bodies of local government, public service institutions and other legal and physical entities.
- (2) This act applies also to radio and television broadcasting, if not stipulated otherwise by special regulations.

**§ 2**

**Basic Definitions**

In this act the following terms shall be interpreted as indicated.

- a) means of public information (hereinafter "information means") are periodical presses, radio and television broadcasting, information and other press agencies;
- b) a periodical press is a publication issued under the same title, with the same orientation of content and in the same fashion at least twice a year;
- c) an information agency is a legal or physical entity that provides information for further utilization and distribution to other information means for a fee;
- d) the distribution of press means marketing, sales or any other way of making press publicly available to an individually undefined circle of persons;
- e) the distributor of a periodical press is a legal or physical entity performing distribution, sales or any other method of availability to the public;
- f) the operation of an information means is searching, gathering, processing and storing information and its distribution through the periodical press, radio and television broadcasting, a news service or by use of other technical means and technological methods;
- g) an operation of a periodical press means the publishing of a periodical press.

- h) an operator of an information means (hereinafter "operator") is a legal or physical entity performing activities under section 1) based on law, or in accordance with a licence<sup>4</sup> or authorization<sup>5</sup>;
- i) an operator of a periodical press is a publisher of a periodical press;
- j) an editor-in-chief is a person who manages an information means or a part of its organization on the basis of authorization by the operator;
- k) an author of public information (hereinafter "journalist") is a person who, on the basis of a contract of service or other relation to a publisher or other operator, participates in the production of contents for an information means, namely an editor, reporter, publicist, commentator, or moderator;
- l) censorship means any restriction of and interference with the freedom of expression and right to information. Any restrictions of the rights to freedom of expression and information must comply with the law;
- m) the nation-wide operation of a periodical press means its distribution on the territory of more than half the districts in the Slovak Republic;
- n) the supraregional operation of a periodical press means its distribution on the territory of more than one district in the Slovak Republic;
- o) the nation-wide coverage by radio and television broadcasting means that the signal covers more than 75% of the territory of the Slovak Republic.

§ 3

**Acquiring and providing information**

- (1) An operator, editor-in-chief, journalist, information means worker, or a person involved in media activity is obliged in his/her acquisition of information to respect the inviolability of a dwelling<sup>6</sup>;
- (2) State bodies, local government bodies and public service institutions are obliged to provide information means with information on their activities with the aim of giving timely and versatile information to the public, or enabling access to such information.
- (3) Bodies and institutions under section 2 fulfil their obligations in accordance with section 2 by providing access to writings and documents through their statutory organs, public relations representatives, or information centres established for this purpose
- (4) Bodies and institutions under section 2 will not provide information or make it accessible in accordance with section 2 only if so stipulated by law<sup>7</sup>. They are obliged to submit the reasons for the refusal of information in writing within eight days from the day they were asked to provide the information

**Publication of information**

§ 4

- (1) A publisher or editor-in-chief will ensure that the published information shall not infringe on the rights of other persons to the protection of personal integrity and the maintenance of human dignity, personal honour, good reputation, name, and that the principle of the presumption of innocence is not violated.

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(2) A publisher, editor-in-chief, journalist or media worker, or a person involved in media activity must not publish information which

- a) especially promotes violence, racism, fascism, drugs, hard-core pornography;
- b) is offensive to Slovak statehood, state symbols, nation, nationality, or other minority or social group

(3) A journalist may publish only a true and verified information about facts and events; this does not apply to opinion and commentary.

### § 5

(1) According to special regulations<sup>8</sup>, legal and physical entities have the right to the protection of their personal data, which cannot be published by an information means without their written consent.

(2) If the personal data in question have previously been published, the condition of consent is met.

(3) Provisions of section 1 do not apply to persons, who are constitutional representatives and higher state functionaries<sup>9</sup>, heads of local state administration bodies, mayors, deputies of communal (municipal) councils, representatives of political parties and movements, or to persons running for these offices, if published data are relevant to the performance of their functions.

### § 6

The operator, editor-in-chief, journalist or workers of an information means, or persons involved in media activity, are obliged to keep silent about the source of information acquired in connection with their activities and to handle the information in such a way that the identity of a person who provided the information could not be disclosed. They can be released from this obligation only by the person who provided them with the information.

### § 7

The operator of an information agency is obliged to ensure that the information service provided by this agency is marked by

- a) the name of the information agency,
- b) the place and the time of the publication of the information service,
- c) the origin of information if it is taken over from another source.

### § 8

In the event that an information service or a notice published by other information means is republished, the operator of the information means is obliged to state the source of information. The operator is not responsible for the content of republished information

### § 9

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If an editorial amendment of a news story to be published results in the changing of its original contents, the story may be published only with the consent of its author. The consent is required even when the news story is to be published under a mark, pseudonym, or anonymously<sup>10</sup>

**Corrections, apologies, reply and supplementary notice**

**§ 10**

A legal or physical entity whose identity based on published facts is obvious has the right to the publication of a correction of information which was false or distorted truth that has been published by the information means.

**§ 11**

A legal or physical entity has the right to the publication of a correction of information which was false or distorting truth, and an apology, if the information published about him/her was of a defamatory nature or another infringement of personal rights.

**§ 12**

A legal or physical entity has the right to the publication of his/her answer to a statement or opinion published in an information means, if it has been relevant to him/her and has injured his/her honour or good name, and his/her identity is obvious on the basis of published information.

**§ 13**

If an information means publishes a notice on criminal proceedings against a person whose identity is obvious on the basis of the notice, and if these proceedings have been closed with an acquittal, at the person's request the information means is obliged to publish the information regarding the result of the proceedings in the form of a supplementary notice.

**§ 14**

- (1) The right to the publication of a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice will be exerted by the claimant in a written form, addressed to the operator or editor-in-chief and include a suggestion of its wording.
- (2) The right to the publication of a correction, apology or answer will be exercised within 30 days from the publication of the contested notice; otherwise it expires.
- (3) The right to the publication of a supplementary notice will be exercised within 30 days from the day the decision on ending the criminal proceedings comes into effect; otherwise it expires
- (4) If the right to the publication of a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice could not be exercised within the set time limit, the time period commences on the day the reasons preventing the exercise of the right have elapsed. However, this right can be exercised at the latest within one year

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**§ 15**

- (1) The operator or editor-in-chief is obliged to publish a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice:
  - a) in the same information means which published the contested notice and in such a way that the correction, apology, or supplementary notice is equivalent to the notice in its extent, placement, time, and form;
  - b) with an indication that it is a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice;
  - c) free of charge;
  - d) in the same language as the contested notice;
  - e) also in the state language if the contested notice was published in a language different from the state language;
  - f) within eight days from the delivery of the proposal to publish a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice; if this is not possible, then in the next issue of the periodical press in preparation, in the next radio or television programme or other technological facility; and the operator or editor-in-chief is obliged to inform the claimant about the publication and its time within 8 days from the delivery of the proposal.
- (2) The content of the published correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice must not be commented on in the same issue or publication of periodical press, radio and television programme, or in any technological facility.
- (3) If the information means has been dissolved, but the legal or physical entity operating it or his/her legal successor exists, this person is obliged to publish at his/her own costs a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice within the time period and in an information means agreed upon with the claimant. If such agreement is not reached within eight days, the claimant may proceed according to § 16.

**§ 16**

The right to the publication of a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice can be exercised by the claimant in a court within 30 days from the day of the expiration of the period within which the operator or editor-in-chief should have met this right, or the period within which the agreement should have been reached according to § 15, section 3. This right expires after the set period.

**§ 17**

When a physical or legal entity serves a notice on an operator or editor-in-chief of any information means about the taking of a legal action according to § 16, the information means must not publish any information on the course of the dispute.

**§ 18**

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The obligation of an operator or editor-in-chief to publish a correction, apology, answer, or supplementary notice based on the request of a claimant will not arise if:

- a) the published notice corresponds with the contents of a final or preliminary decision of a court or administrative body;
- b) the obligation to publish the notice was imposed on the operator by a final or preliminary decision of a court;
- c) the request refers to the notice whose wording was approved by the claimant prior to its publication;
- d) the right expired within the period under § 14.

### **§ 19**

#### **Publication of a periodical press**

- (1) A physical entity may publish a periodical press if he/she
  - a) has reached the age of 18 years;
  - b) is qualified to perform legal operations.
- (2) The condition in section (1) must be met also by an editor-in-chief.
- (3) A legal entity may publish a periodical press if it is resident on the territory of the Slovak Republic.

### **§ 20**

#### **Distribution of a periodical press**

- (1) A legal or physical entity may distribute a periodical press only on the basis of an authorization<sup>1</sup> and this act.
- (2) The distributor of a periodical press is obliged to ensure equal distribution conditions for all periodical presses<sup>1</sup>.
- (3) The distributor of a periodical press is obliged to submit the licence for this activity to the registering organs under § 21 sections 2 and 3 and to announce
  - a) the titles of the distributed periodical press;
  - b) the extent and methods of distributing the periodical press.
- (4) The Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic will stipulate the conditions for the distribution of periodical press by an implementary decree.

#### **Registration of a periodical press**

### **§ 21**

- (1) The registration of a periodical press is carried out by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and the district offices ( hereinafter "registering organ") The register of a periodical press is a public list.
- (2) The Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic (hereinafter "the Ministry") carries out the registration of a periodical press of nation-wide as well as supraregional operations.
- (3) District offices register a periodical press operating within the territory of the relevant district.

(4) District offices which act as registering organs are obliged to submit data on their performed registrations to the Ministry once every quarter. District offices are obliged to report any change in registration to the Ministry within eight days.

(5) The publisher is obliged to submit the application for registration of a periodical press (hereinafter "application") to a registering organ at least 30 days prior to the publication of the first issue

(6) A registering organ will register a periodical press within 30 days from the submission of the application if it does not find any impediment to the registration.

## § 22

(1) Application shall include:

- a) the title of the periodical press which is not identical to or mistakable with a previously registered periodical press (both in word and graphic form), or disparaging in relation to the state, as well as to the nation, nationality, ethnic, race or religious group and is in compliance with § 4, section 2;
- b) the name, surname and permanent address of the publisher and owner if not identical with the publisher, in the event of a physical entity; the trade name, site, identification number;
- c) an excerpt from a crime register, when the publisher of the periodical press is a physical entity, and a certificate of licence to publish a periodical press,
- d) the name and surname of the editor-in-chief, when the publisher of the periodical press is a legal entity;
- e) a contents orientation;
- f) the publication site;
- g) the address of the editorial office and administration;
- h) the frequency of publication;
- i) the language of the published media;
- j) a trade licence document of or an excerpt from the Business Register about the operator (owner) of an information means.

(2) The publisher is obliged to report any change of data given in the application as well as the termination of the publication of a periodical press to the registering organ within at least eight days from their change.

(3) If a registering organ finds out that the application does not meet requirements under § 22 section 1, it will bring it to the publisher's attention. The passage of time period for registration is adjourned until the removal of the shortcomings.

(4) If a registering organ neither carries out the registration within 30 days from the submission of the application, nor brings issues under section 3 to a publisher's attention, the registration is considered to be carried out by the expiration of this period.

## § 23

The registration does not apply to:

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- a) magazines published by elementary schools, secondary schools and school facilities for their own use;
- b) publications published by legal entities exclusively for their internal use.

#### § 24

Registration expires:

- a) if the publication of a periodical press does not commence within six months from the day of registration;
- b) if the publication of a daily periodical press is discontinued for more than three months, other periodical presses for more than one year;
- c) in the event of the death of the physical entity who published the periodical press within 30 days from the day of the execution of a decision on the closing of the inheritance proceedings, if the legal successor has not asked for a transfer of the registration to his/her name;
- d) if the publisher of a periodical press notifies the registering organ in writing of the termination of its publication;
- e) if a legal entity is removed from the Business Register; or, in the event of the expiration of the trade licence of a physical entity

#### § 25

- (1) A publisher or an owner of a nation-wide periodical press published more than three times a week must not simultaneously be an operator of an information agency, or of a radio or television broadcasting service covering the entire territory of the Slovak Republic; he/she must not be a proprietary participant with a portion exceeding 20% in the trade assets of a legal entity operating the aforesaid media, and must not enter into such contracts which would result in a legal or factual possibility to control such legal entities
- (2) An operator or an owner of an information agency must not simultaneously be an operator of a radio or television broadcasting service covering the entire territory of the Slovak Republic, or a publisher of a nation-wide periodical press published more than three times a week; he/she must not be a proprietary participant with a portion exceeding 20% in the trade assets of a legal entity operating the aforesaid media, and must not enter into such contracts which would result in a legal or factual possibility to control such legal entities
- (3) An operator of a radio or television broadcasting service covering the entire territory of the Slovak Republic must not simultaneously be an operator or an owner of an information agency, or a publisher of a nation-wide periodical press published more than three times a week; he/she must not be a proprietary participant with a portion exceeding 20% in the trade assets of a legal entity operating the aforesaid media, and must not enter into such contracts which would result in a legal or factual possibility to control such legal entities.
- (4) The provisions in the sections herebefore do not substitute for the control of the concentration of information means according to separate regulations<sup>11</sup>.

#### Obligations of a publisher of a periodical press

#### § 26

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## § 30

- (1) The publisher of a periodical press is obliged to ensure that published advertisements and classified advertisements or other paid notices are marked and distinguishable from the rest of the content. This type of information can be published also in a language different from the one given in the registration.
- (2) The person who ordered the publication of an advertisement, a classified advertisement or other paid notice is responsible for its contents.

## § 31

If the publisher of a periodical press is a legal entity, it is obliged to appoint an editor-in-chief.

## § 27

The publisher of a periodical press is obliged to ensure that the following data will be presented in every issue in the state language<sup>12</sup>:

- a) the title of the periodical press;
- b) the name, surname and permanent address of the publisher and the owner when not identical with the publisher, in the event of a physical entity; the trade name and site of the publisher, in the event of a legal entity;
- c) the name, surname and permanent address of a physical entity, or the trade name and site of a legal entity that printed the periodical press if not identical with its publisher;
- d) registration number of the periodical press;
- e) the name and surname of the editor-in-chief, if the publisher of the periodical press is a legal entity;
- f) the site of the editorial office;
- g) the site, date and number of the issue on the first page of the periodical;
- h) the frequency of publication;
- i) the price per one copy on the first page of the periodical

## § 28

(1) The publisher of a periodical press is obliged to publish during January of each year, or if this is not possible, in its first issue of the current year the following data valid on December 31 of the preceding year:

- a) the name, surname and permanent address of the owner or co-owner, in the event of physical entities;
  - b) the trade name and site, as well as the name of its statutory organ, in the event of a legal entity;
  - c) the names, surnames and permanent addresses of all partners, shareholders or members, whose share exceeds 20% of the total trade assets;
  - d) the ownership or property share in other information means, expressing its amount in per cent if it exceeds 20% of their total trade assets.
- (2) The publisher will report changes of data under section 1 made during a calendar year to a registering organ within at least eight days from their inception.

## § 29

At the request of the state and communal bodies, a publisher of a periodical press or an operator of an information agency is obliged to publish emergency announcements in the urgency of public interest, and in a time which would reduce the danger of delay to a minimum. The publication of such an announcement is free of charge.

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(7) The fine levied in compliance with this act by the Ministry is an emolument of the State Culture Fund Pro Slovakia<sup>11</sup> The fine levied by a district office is an emolument of the state budget.

**§ 33**

**Joint and transitory provisions**

- (1) Publishers of a periodical press will supplement missing data or report changes of data in application within 90 days from the day this act comes into effect.
- (2) District offices which registered a periodical press according to the present regulations will report the data on their performed registrations to the Ministry within 30 days from the day this act comes into effect.
- (3) The provisions under § 2 b, c, d, e, g, i, m, n, § 3 section 2, 3, 4, §§ 19 - 24, §§ 26 - 33 do not apply to radio and television broadcasting.

**§ 34**

**Cancellation provisions**

The following acts are cancelled:

- 1. The Act No. 81/1966 of the Code of Laws on Periodical Press and other mass information media in the wording of the Act No. 84/1968 of the Code of Laws and the Act No. 86/ 1990 of the Code of Laws
- 2. The Act No. 136/1991 of the Code of Laws on Division of Competencies among the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in the Matters of Press and other Information Means in the wording of the Act No. 494/1992 of the Code of Laws.

**§ 35**

This act comes into effect on: .....

<sup>1</sup> Article 26. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic

<sup>2</sup> Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 1003/1993 on Ethics of Journalism.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. the Act No. 468/1991 of the Code of Laws on the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting in the wording of the later regulations, the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 254/1991 of the code of Laws on the Slovak Television in the wording of the later regulations, and the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 255/1991 of the Code of Laws on the Slovak Radio in the wording of the later regulations

<sup>4</sup> The Act No. 468/1991 of the Code of Laws on the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting in the wording of the later regulations.

<sup>5</sup> E. g. the Act No. 455/1991 of the Code of Laws on Trade Enterprises in the wording of the later regulations, the Commercial Code in the wording of the later regulations.

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<sup>15</sup> E. g. Articles 16, 19, 21 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the Penal Code in the wording of the later regulations

<sup>16</sup> E. g. the Penal Code in the wording of the later regulations, the Act No. 96/1996 of the Code of Laws on The Protection of State Secrets.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. the Act No. 256/1992 of the Code of Laws on the Protection of Personal Data in Information Systems, the Civil Code in the wording of the later regulations.

<sup>18</sup> Article 2 of the Constitutional Act No. 119/1995 of the Code of Laws on the Prevention of Contradictions of Interests in the Execution of Functions of Constitutional Representatives and Higher State Functionaries.

<sup>19</sup> The Act No. 35/1965 of the Code of Laws on Literary, Scientific and Artistic Works (copyright act) in the wording of the Act No. 89/1990 of the Code of Laws.

<sup>20</sup> The Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 188/1994 of the Code of Laws on the protection of Economic Competition.

<sup>21</sup> The Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 270/1995 of the Code of Laws on the State Language of the Slovak Republic.

<sup>22</sup> The Penal Code in the wording of the later regulations.

<sup>23</sup> The Act of the Slovak National Council No. 95/1991 of the Code of Laws on the State Culture Fund Pro Slovakia in the wording of the later regulations.

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### § 30

- (1) The publisher of a periodical press is obliged to ensure that published advertisements and classified advertisements or other paid notices are marked and distinguishable from the rest of the content. This type of information can be published also in a language different from the one given in the registration.
- (2) The person who ordered the publication of an advertisement, a classified advertisement or other paid notice is responsible for its contents.

### § 31

#### Supervision

Supervision of the implementation of duties ensuing from this law is performed by registering organs. If these organs find some shortcomings, they will bring them to an operator's or publisher's attention and set an appropriate time limit for their removal.

### § 32

#### Fines

- (1) If there is no redress according to § 31 and the issue is not a criminal offence<sup>13</sup>, the fine is levied by the registering organ.
- (2) The Ministry will levy a fine:
- a) of up to 100,000 Sk on a publisher of a periodical press for a breach of obligations under § 8, § 22 section 2, § 26, § 28 section 2, and § 30 section 1, and on an operator of an information agency for a breach of obligations under § 7;
  - b) of up to 500,000 Sk on a publisher of a periodical press for a breach of obligations under § 17, § 27 and § 28 section 1,
  - c) of up to 1,000,000 Sk on a publisher or an owner of a periodical press for a breach of § 25 section 1 and a breach of obligation under § 29, on an operator or an owner of an information agency for a breach of § 25 section 2 and the obligation under § 29, on an operator of a radio or television broadcasting service for a breach of § 25 section 3.
- (3) The district office will levy a fine:
- a) of up to 10,000 Sk on a publisher of a periodical press for a breach of obligations under § 8, § 22 section 2, § 26, § 27, § 28 section 2 and § 30 section 1;
  - b) of up to 50,000 Sk on a publisher of a periodical press for a breach of obligations under § 17, § 28 section 1 and § 29.
- (4) In deciding on the sum of the fine, the registering organ considers the gravity, duration and consequences of unlawful doings.
- (5) The registering organ may levy a fine within one year from the day it discovered the breach of obligation, at the latest up to three years after the breach of obligation.
- (6) The fine levied in accordance with this act is payable within 30 days from the day of execution of the decision regarding the fine. Proceedings of the levying of a fine are stipulated by the general regulations on administrative proceedings.

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[DRAFT]

30 April 1996

BY FACSIMILE

[Chairman]  
[Press Association]  
Bratislava  
Republic of Slovakia

Dear [Chairman]:

The Professional Media Program of the International Research and Exchange Board has asked us to provide you with legal advice on areas where the Draft Law on the Means of Public Information is inconsistent with the Constitution of the Republic of Slovakia and international law. As we describe in detail in this letter, we believe the draft law to be an extreme and illegal infringement upon the rights of journalists in Slovakia to publish information and upon the rights of Slovak citizens to receive information. Our comments on the law consist of (I) the relevant law that we have applied; (II) objections to specific portions of the law; and (III) recommendations on actions that can be taken by Slovak journalists to oppose the law.

I.

It should be noted at the outset that we have not analyzed the draft law under the standards of U.S. law. Even though the Professional Media Program is an American organization and we are, by and large, attorneys practicing U.S. constitutional and media law, our approach here is to analyze the draft law solely by the laws that it must follow. Those laws are the Slovak Constitution and various international conventions of which Slovakia is a signatory. It is under Slovak and international law that we believe the draft law fails to respect the inherent rights of the Slovak people.

As a starting point, it is useful to summarize the manner in which the Slovak Constitution and international treaties protect freedom of expression in Slovakia. The overall legal structure envisaged by the Slovak Constitution is one in which "everyone can do what is not forbidden by law and no one must be forced to do anything that is not laid down by law" (Article 2). Accordingly, the press should be free to publish without restriction in the absence of legal restrictions promulgated by the National Council. Article 26 of the Slovak Constitution contains strong and specific protections for speech freedoms, which are quoted, in relevant part, below:

1. The freedom of speech and the right to information are guaranteed.
2. Everyone has the right to express his views in word, writing, print, picture, or other means as well as the right to freely seek out, receive and spread ideas and information without regard for state borders. . . .
3. Censorship is banned.
4. The freedom of speech and the right to seek out and spread information can be restricted by law if such a measure is unavoidable in a democratic society to protect the rights and liberties of others, state security, public order, or public health and morality.

Under Section 26(4), then, restrictions on speech can only be valid if they are absolutely necessary to protect one of the four specific enumerated values set out in that section.

International treaties that have been ratified by the Slovak Republic "take precedence over its own laws, provided that they secure a greater extent of constitutional rights and liberties" (Article 11). Slovakia is a party to the European Convention on Human Rights (the "ECHR") as a successor to the former Czechoslovakia. The ECHR, as well as the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights (the "Court"), is legally binding on the parties to the treaty. Article 10 of the ECHR is the key provision concerning communications issues and provides as follows:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.
2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.

It is important to note that paragraph two of Article 10 is not considered a countervailing instrument to be "balanced" against the clear right of expression contained in paragraph one. Rather, the Court has long held that the exceptions to freedom of expression must be narrowly interpreted (The Sunday Times v. the UK, Judgment of 26 April 1979). Therefore, any restriction must meet the following three conditions:

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- it must be prescribed by law;
- it must have a legitimate aim toward one of the specific goals set out in section two;
- it must be "necessary in a democratic society" to promote that aim.

In various decisions, the Court has stressed the important dual role of the press as both "purveyor of information and public watchdog." The Court has called the distribution of information a two-sided process in which the press has to impart information and the public has a right to receive it. The press is not restricted to imparting information; it also may communicate ideas and opinions.

Under Article 10, member states not only are required to refrain from interference with freedom of expression, but also are obligated to take action against such interference. The European Commission of Human Rights has suggested that Art. 10 may be violated when a State fails in its duty to protect against excessive press concentration (see Geillustreerde Pers v. the Netherlands, Commission Report of 6 July 1976, 8 D&R 5 (1976), App. No. 5178/71). The Committee of Ministers confirmed the member states' duty to guard against infringements of freedom of expression and information. Policies adopted by the states should be designed to foster a variety of media and a plurality of information sources, ideas and opinions (see Committee of Ministers, Declaration of the Freedom of Expression and Information, 29 April 1982). It is in this legal context that the proposed law here is assessed.

## II.

There are numerous specific provisions in the draft law that fail to comply with the guarantees of free expression contained in the Constitution and international law. It should be noted that we have not attempted here to critique the draft law for internal inconsistencies, irregularities, and ways in which it may be administratively unworkable. Rather, we have focused entirely on issues that may be subject to challenge under the Constitution and the ECHR.

Licensing and Registration. Sections 19 through 25 of the draft law set out specific conditions for the licensing and publication of newspapers and magazines. Central to this scheme is the requirement that all publications be licensed by the state.

Registration for identification purposes is practiced in many countries and can be innocuous if the registering authority does not have the ability to deny the right to publish. In the draft law, however, the Ministry of Culture has the virtually unbridled and unreviewable ability to deny registration and thus prevent a publication from being published. There are no specifically limited grounds upon which registration could be rejected or revoked, and there is no clearly defined path for immediate judicial review

prior to the rejection or revocation of a registration. Accordingly, we recommend that the licensing scheme either be removed from the draft law or be altered so that registration is accomplished for purposes of identification only.

It is doubtful that any legitimate basis could be forwarded for the licensing of newspapers and magazines. Unlike other media that commonly are licensed, the print media do not use public rights of way (such as cable television companies) or scarce public resources (such as the electromagnetic spectrum relied upon by television and radio broadcasters). The power to grant a license implies, by its very nature, the power to revoke a license. Particularly when these powers are tied to a media law that relies heavily upon the regulation of content, there is a great danger that the government could exercise its power to deny or revoke registration to accomplish censorship or punishment of speech. The potential for such actions cannot be reconciled with Slovak or international law.

If, however, registration or licensing provisions remain in the law, clear prohibitions should be included to prevent the revocation or denial of registration on grounds that are political or based on the content of the publication. Registration should be reduced to a merely ministerial matter that is accomplished for purposes of information only. Provisions that require the content or language of the publication to be disclosed in any registration application (Section 22) should be deleted. Expedited review of any licensing decisions by an independent judicial body must be guaranteed.

Censorship Issues. Section 4 of the draft law contains a flat prohibition on any speech that "promotes violence, racism, fascism [or] drugs" and that is "offensive to Slovak statehood, state symbols, nation, nationality, or other minority or social group." This provision violates the Constitution for at least two reasons.

First, many of the goals of the section are so vague that virtually any journalistic or expressive effort could be suppressed in their name. They thus become a vehicle by which censorship or punishment for unpopular speech could be exercised. For example, any speech that is critical of the government or the Slovak Republic in general could be seen as "offensive" to the Slovak nation. Articles discussing citizens' groups that hold unpopular viewpoints could be seen as "promoting" violence, racism or fascism. Articles discussing drug use, even in a negative manner, could be seen as "promoting" drugs because they may provide information on how drugs may be used. The section violates the Constitution and the ECHR because it provides unbridled authority to the Slovak government to either censor or punish speech for virtually any reason the government wishes to provide.

Second, the Constitution and ECHR provide very narrow grounds upon which laws restricting expression may be justified. In order to justify the specific restrictions sought by Section 4, the government would be required to demonstrate that the prohibitions against speech contained in that section are "unavoidable" and "necessary" to protect the interests that are set out in Section 26(4) of the Constitution and Section 10(2) of the ECHR. It is unlikely that the government could meet this burden.

Requirement that Accounts Be "True". Section 4 further provides that a journalist "may publish only true and verified information about facts and events". Although journalistic codes and other unenforceable statements of principle may enshrine truth as a goal of journalism, this provision has no place in a law that can be enforced by the full force of the government.

This provision is especially problematic because few issues in our complex society can be objectively verified as "true." In fact, truth itself is a subjective concept. One person's "truth" may be another person's falsehood. An action taken against a medium for publishing a matter that the government believes not to be "true" or sufficiently "verified" could be used as a vehicle to punish speech that is opposed by the government. Moreover, the fact that these provisions exist would tend to undermine the independence of the Slovak media and potentially undermine its credibility both inside and outside of Slovakia's borders.

Protection of Reputation. Section 4 also provides that published information "shall not infringe on the rights of other persons to the protection of personal integrity and the maintenance of human dignity, personal honour, good reputation and name."

Although it is true that Article 19(1) of the Slovak Constitution does provide for protection of reputation using terms that are similar in scope to those used in the draft law, it is problematic to place this provision in a law that can form the basis for penalizing the press or even revoking its ability to publish. Citizens who are defamed by the press already have the remedy of applying to courts in civil actions for damages. Creating yet another remedy -- one that can be enforced by the government issuing fines or even revoking a license to publish -- creates the potential that the provision could be used to punish the press for stories that are unpopular with the government. As part of the draft law, moreover, the provision would not be subject to the protections that are inherent in court actions (such as providing relief only to litigants that actually can demonstrate damage from the offending publication).

The provision also suffers from the same defects stated above as to the parallel provision prohibiting fascist and racist speech -- it is too vague to include in a statute that is meant to guide journalistic behavior. Because of its vagueness, the provision could easily be used to censor or punish unpopular speech. For example, virtually any story could be assailed as infringing upon some subject's "human dignity" or "personal honor," particularly if the subject has been accused of wrongdoing. If this section becomes law, it would undermine the press' ability to report on public figures and other citizens who are legitimately subjects of public interest.

Rights of Reply and Apology. The rights of reply and apology contained in Sections 10 through 18 are far too broad and will act to discourage expression. Because the sections provide for rights of reply and apology that are far too extensive and onerous, the media are likely to avoid reporting on matters that would trigger these rights. The

overall quality of public debate and expression would, in turn, suffer. The particular rights created by these sections are far beyond those recognized in other countries; because they would act to discourage expression, they are of questionable legality under the Constitution and ECHR.

First, the grounds that would trigger a right of reply or the responsibility for an apology are far too vague. In a manner similar to that employed in Section 4 of the draft law, these rights and responsibilities would be triggered by any "false or distorted truth" that has been published or if any publication has "injured his/her honour or good name" (Sections 11 & 12). These provisions would lead to virtually any story on a matter of public interest being the subject of numerous rights of reply; a publication could be paralyzed by the necessity to publish numerous, repetitive replies triggered by any one story.

Second, Section 17 imposes a blanket prohibition on the publication of any information on a dispute surrounding a demand for a reply or apology. This sort of explicit censorship cannot be squared with the Constitution or the ECHR.

Third, publishers should have the right to deny requests for responsive time under certain defined circumstances. If, for example, the overall programming of the station has expressed the viewpoint that the response seeks to generate, there would be no public benefit to repeating that viewpoint in a response. In such circumstances, the publisher should be entitled to deny the request for a response. The citizen, of course, would have access to the courts if she feels that her request has been denied improperly.

Fourth, those who may claim a right to respond should be limited to individuals rather than "legal or physical entities." If rights of reply are triggered by broadcasts about institutions — whether political, commercial or social — every publication will give rise to an enormous number of replies. Institutions typically can have sufficient access to the media to have their views publicized and, unlike individuals, have no need for the state to ensure that they will have an opportunity to respond.

Finally, the rights of response should be assessed by the courts rather than the Minister of Culture. The Ministry's power to order rights of reply could be misused for political purposes. Courts would be independent arbiters of these requests and could, particularly if required by statute, rule on them quickly.

Confidentiality of Sources. Section 6 of the draft law provides that journalists "are obliged" to maintain the confidentiality of sources. This is a clear incursion upon the discretion of journalists (and their sources) to determine whether confidentiality should be maintained. The right of journalists to make this essential decision recently was reaffirmed by the European Court for Human Rights and should be recognized here. Section 6 should be amended to provide that journalists may maintain the confidentiality of sources and information.

Emergency Provisions. Section 29 provides that publishers shall publish emergency announcements "in the urgency of public interest." Section 2 of the draft law does not, however, define an emergency. We would suggest that a definition be added to prevent the government from having complete discretion to compel journalists to publish information against their will.

### III.

We recommend that those responsible for drafting the law be made aware of its clear constitutional infirmities. If the draft law is, nonetheless, passed by the National Council in its current form and entered into law, [association] or its members could seek to have the law invalidated either by a Slovak court or by the European Court for Human Rights. Whether the law should be challenged within Slovakia or in the European Court is a strategic decision that should be based on a number of factors. We are not close enough to Slovak courts to provide any guidance on that matter at this point, but we would be pleased to consult with you if the need arises in the future.

We are aware that the manner in which this draft law was created may account for many of its inadequacies. We understand that it is the 15th draft of a media law for Slovakia and that it was drafted over a few days without the involvement or advice of the press. We also understand that certain of its restrictions result, in part, from the appointment of a new minister who consolidated control over the drafting process. We also understand that there have been increasing attempts by the government to control the media and to implement anti-subversion provisions in other areas of law. These facts are not necessary for the draft law to be found unconstitutional or contrary to international law, but we do believe that they provide important context for any reviewing court or body.

We would be pleased to discuss any of these matters in more detail with you or your attorneys.

Very truly yours,

Kurt A. Wimmer