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CROATIA
CLOSEOUT REPORT
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With USAID funding through CEPPS, the International Republican Institute (IRI) opened its Croatia office in July 1998 and began a program to help the six main opposition parties improve their communication tactics and strategy, while encouraging them to form electoral coalitions. The program's success was measured not only by the victory of the democratic parties against an authoritarian regime established by Franjo Tudjman and his party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), but also by the informed and intelligent way the six major opposition parties led their campaign and the advanced arrangements they made for the future government of Croatia.

By analyzing and discussing the results of a series of opinion polls with the senior leadership of the opposition political parties, IRI played a significant role in encouraging the six political parties to run in two separate coalitions, while achieving a pre-electoral agreement for post-election cooperation. Following the elections, the winning SDP-HSLS coalition was able to form a government due to an agreement on post-election cooperation, which was signed prior to the election with a coalition of four other, smaller reform-oriented parties: the Croatian Peasant's Party (HSS), the Liberal Party (LS), the Croatian People's Party (HNS) and the regionally-based Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS).

The "Governing Six" divided positions in Croatia's 19 ministries according to the following formula: 50 percent for the SDP, 25 percent for the HSLS and 25 percent for the Group of Four (HSS, LS, HNS, and IDS). SDP leader Ivica Racan was selected Prime Minister, and HSS leader Zlatko Tomcic became President of the Parliament. Subsequently, Stjepan Mesic from the HNS was elected President of Croatia.

After the election in January 2000, IRI shifted the focus of its programs to help the new democratic government of Croatia establish open lines of communication with the public. Part of IRI's work was devoted to improving communications between the parties in the governing coalition. In June 2001, IRI further developed this program under a cooperative agreement with the USAID mission in Croatia, adding two more components: communication work with the newly elected county assemblies and training for young journalists in Croatia.

In May 2001, Croatia held local elections. By forming post-election coalitions at the local level, the governing parties succeeded in wresting control away from the HDZ in all but four of the County Assemblies. Nevertheless, the HDZ made an exceptionally strong electoral showing, winning a plurality of the vote in 15 of the 21 counties. This result established beyond question that the HDZ remained a potent political and electoral force within the country.

The election results clearly pointed out two critical vulnerabilities of the governing coalition: the inherent problem of competition within the coalition itself and the potential for fracturing. The “Governing Six” parties ran separately in the local elections, each using the contest as a means of measuring its relative strength vis-à-vis its coalition partners, with an eye toward increasing their power and influence in the government. The HDZ was the obvious political beneficiary of this internecine competition.

The election also pointed out that Croatian voters were becoming increasingly frustrated by the government’s failure to produce tangible economic results. Cooperation and unity within the coalition did not improve in response to May’s disappointing local election results. Soon after the elections, the Istrian Democratic Assembly left the coalition, after being criticized by all partners for proclaiming the Italian language as the second official language in Istria County. This was the first of several government shake-ups caused by the lack of coalition unity.

In February 2002, the government survived a more serious crisis. The second biggest coalition partner, the HSLs, withdrew all its ministers from the cabinet, claiming that each party had the right to decide on the replacement and reappointment of its own ministers. The crisis started before the HSLs convention, but deepened after the HSLs elected Drazen Budisa as its new leader.

Although the possibility of early elections looked increasingly likely, the coalition parties eventually managed to renegotiate their agreement for the cabinet, replacing five HSLs ministers with candidates suggested by the new HSLs leadership. Budisa himself became the new government’s deputy prime minister.

The following months witnessed yet another political crisis provoked by the lack of coordinated policy among the ruling parties and the prevailing personal disagreements. It led to the resignation of the Croatian government in July 2002. Having survived a serious political crisis in February 2002 by balancing a difficult array of intra-coalition interests, Prime Minister Racan decided to confront, rather than mediate the next political crisis. As a result, the HSLs, one of the major partners of the ruling coalition, was expelled from the government.

The new political situation caused changes in the coalition configuration of the new government. It also presented new challenges to future coalition prospects for the upcoming election campaign. Although the more troublesome elements of the original governing coalition had been expelled from the government, the new Croatian government that emerged after the July crisis continued to face problems stemming

mostly from the ideological differences of the coalition partners. Personal differences and competition that played a role in the previous government's resignation continued to negatively affect the cabinet's performance on important issues such as cooperation with The Hague Tribunal and the state budget.

In the days leading up to the campaign for the 2003 parliamentary elections, coalition members decided to run separately and with no agreement on post-election coalitions. This lack of unity in the coalition would prove to be crippling in the election when facing a strong, unified HDZ. During the campaign season, the HDZ, led by party president Ivo Sanader, largely succeeded in a long-term strategic effort to remake the party's image and transform the HDZ into a modern European center right party. The HDZ led an aggressive campaign against the coalition, highlighting Prime Minister Racan's inability to improve the economy and stressing the fact that the HDZ would move the country to the future and to Europe more effectively. The HDZ essentially co-opted the ruling coalition's Euro-Atlantic agenda. Public frustration with the slow pace of reforms and diminishing differences in the policy priorities of the coalition and the opposition worked in favor of the HDZ, giving it a strategic advantage going into the elections.

Throughout the year, IRI fielded a series of public opinion polls to assist parties in the ruling coalition on message development and voter-targeting. This effort culminated in a pre-campaign poll utilizing a sample double the normal size. The large over-sample yielded very specific data broken down by individual election district. This allowed IRI to provide individualized advice to coalition parties on how to hone their messages and target their campaign efforts. While the HDZ had been consistently polling higher than the SDP - the largest member of the governing coalition - the final poll indicated that the HDZ was even stronger than anticipated. The poll also uncovered the fact that the SDP had vulnerable mandates in several districts that could be taken by the HDZ. The poll also predicted a nearly even split between the HDZ and other right-leaning parties on one side, and the SDP and left-leaning parties on the other side. The election results were almost exactly as the IRI poll predicted.

The HDZ's strong individual showing, coupled with the diaspora mandates, the DC/HSLs coalition, and agreements with some smaller parties, gave the HDZ enough mandates to form a government in December of 2003.

In the period immediately following the October 2003 elections, IRI reoriented its program focus under the terms of the cooperative agreement to foster better communications between the government of Croatia and the public, to improve inter-coalition dialogue among the parties in the governing coalition, and to help Croatian media improve the quality of political reporting.

BACKGROUND

Croatia was one of the six republics constituting Yugoslavia until 1991 when the country declared independence. The parliamentary elections in May 1990 became a cornerstone of Croatia's future status in Yugoslavia. The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) led by

Franjo Tudjman gained a clear majority in the legislature. The party had grown into a broad-based political movement whose main plank was the achievement of national sovereignty. Tudjman was elected Croatian President and he appointed Stipe Mesic as the first non-communist Prime Minister.

Croatia held a referendum for independence on 18 May 1990, which showed that 93 percent of the population favored Croatia's statehood. The separation of Croatia proved problematic for Belgrade, which supported political and military insurrection of Serbs in Krajina. Gradually, Croatia was dragged into a Serbian-Croatian conflict at the republican level, which escalated after the Serbian National Council in Knin declared the independence of Krajina from Croatia. At the end of June 1991, Croatia declared its independence and "disassociation" from Yugoslavia. Initially, the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) focused its attention on crushing the Slovenian rebellion, but it also moved troops and equipment to saturate Croatia. The YPA aimed either to ensure that Zagreb remained in a centralized Yugoslavia controlled by Belgrade, or to carve away about a third of Croatia's territory and establish a "Greater Serbia" stretching to the Adriatic coast. Croatia found itself in a full-scale war, which ended in 1995 with the exodus of 250,000 Serbs from Krajina after the Croatian army retook the area from the Serbian paramilitary forces. The war left a legacy of war crimes committed by both sides, thousands of displaced Muslims, Croats and Serbs, and 20,000 dead.

In December 1995, President Tudjman joined President Milosevic and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in the signing of the Dayton peace accord, which ended the war in Bosnia. President Tudjman came out from the war a victor and a national hero, despite his alleged complicity in the war crimes committed by Croatian paramilitaries in Bosnia. Tudjman exploited Croatia's post-war insecurities, and his image as the savior of the nation, to establish a quasi-authoritarian regime. He was repeatedly criticized by the international community for refusing to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, support for Bosnian Croatian nationalists in Bosnia, and violations of human rights and press freedom at home. By the dose of 1999, Croatia's progress toward democratic rule and membership in international institutions was thus stalled.

The forces of political change were gathering strength and momentum, however. Opinion polls were consistently showing that a majority of Croats were growing resentful of the regime's abuses and the corruption that permeated it. When opposition political parties succeeded in establishing stable electoral coalitions in 1999, the HDZ's grip on power could finally be challenged.

Croatia's Democratic Progress

Elections to the House of Representatives, the lower house of the Croatian National Sabor or Parliament, were held on January 3, 2000. In a sweeping victory the coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLP) brought an end to the decade long rule of the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

Prior to the 2000 parliamentary elections, there were strong indications that a majority of Croatian citizens wanted a change of political leadership. HDZ's political opposition, however, was badly divided. The formation of two opposition electoral coalitions in the months preceding the election, and the rapidly deteriorating health of President Tudjman, who would die shortly before the election, created the opportunity for electoral success and political change.

Following the elections, the winning SDP-HSLS coalition was able to form a government, thanks to an agreement on post-election cooperation signed prior to the election with a coalition of four other, smaller reform-oriented parties: the Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), the Liberal Party (LP), the Croatian People's Party (HNS) and the regionally based Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS).

As the government was being formed, first and second round presidential elections were taking place. Stipe Mesic, a member of the HNS – the smallest party in the Group of Four that had won only two seats in the Parliament – was the surprise winner. With Mesic's victory, a very broad-based balance of power was established among the two coalitions that formed the government. The Group of Four coalition now provided the President of the Republic and the President of the Parliament, while the SDP-HSLS coalition controlled the most seats in the Parliament and the Prime Minister's office.

During its first year in power, the government addressed the need for fundamental political and economic reforms. The coalition was also challenged to change the image of Croatia in the international arena and to enhance its prospects for European and Atlantic integration.

The "Governing Six's" most impressive accomplishments were the foreign policy and diplomatic fronts. The government conducted a steady policy of cooperation with international institutions and achieved two significant foreign policy goals. In May 2000, Croatia became a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace, and in May 2001, the country signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union.

This government also demonstrated a consistent and constructive policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina by condemning the illegal activities of Bosnian Croats, who wanted to create a separate state. The government's determination to cut off political and financial links to Croatian nationalists in BiH provided credible evidence of Zagreb's intention to play a more constructive role in the region. Croatia also remained adamant in its support for the International War Crimes Tribunal's investigations and arrests of suspected war criminals in the former Yugoslavia. Amid the international euphoria that accompanied the electoral defeat of Slobodan Milosevic and its Socialist Party in Yugoslavia's elections in the fall of 2000, Croatian leaders stressed to the new Belgrade authorities that the first condition for stability in the region would be their willingness to confront Serbia's role in the Balkan wars and war crimes of the past decade, as Croatia was attempting to do.

Though highly regarded abroad, the government's policy of cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal has sparked domestic opposition, which the HDZ and other nationalist parties in the country encouraged and politically exploited. In particular, substantial resentment built up over what many Croats saw as a double standard applied by the international community with regard to Croatia and Serbia on the issue of justice for indicted war criminals. In February 2001, large demonstrations started in the southern city of Split in connection with the government's attempt to arrest General Mirco Norac for alleged war crimes committed during Croatia's war with Yugoslavia in the mid 1990s. Although many feared that the extremist led demonstrations could affect Croatia's political stability, the protests failed to find widespread support and soon dissipated.

On the domestic front, the government's record was more mixed. An IRI-sponsored national opinion poll conducted in February 2001 showed a high level of approval for the government a year into its term. The poll found that despite reservations regarding the pace of reforms undertaken by the government, and continued discontent with the state of the economy most Croats continued to believe the country was moving in the right direction and were relatively satisfied with the government, parliament, and president. The President and Prime Minister, in particular, enjoyed solid favorability ratings.

There were a number of elements in the survey data, however, that pointed to the potential for a swift and significant negative turn in the public's political mood. The survey showed that the time for implementing serious economic reforms and showing positive results might be short. Frustration with stubbornly high unemployment - more than 25 percent - and generally poor living standards was clearly on the rise. While the poll suggested that the government still enjoyed substantial political good will, it also made clear that the public's patience was not without limits, and that results, particularly economic results, were being eagerly awaited.

The early warning signs that the February IRI poll presented took on more concrete and consequential form in May 2001, when Croatian citizens went to the polls in nationwide local elections.

Because the new government did not call for early local elections upon coming to power in January 2000, the HDZ controlled 15 of the nation's 21 County Assemblies going into the May 2001 local elections. The HDZ's opposition at the local level was viewed as a serious obstacle to implementation of the government's political and economic program, as well as its efforts to comply with international demands for cooperation in the resettlement of ethnic Serbian refugees in their former communities within Croatia. The government and its supporters in the international community approached the election hoping to eliminate these political obstacles and, at the same time, further marginalize the HDZ and its nationalist political allies. These hopes were only partially realized.

Although the governing parties did succeed in wresting control away from the HDZ in all but four of the County Assemblies by forming post-election coalitions at the local level,

the HDZ nonetheless made an exceptionally strong electoral showing, winning a plurality of the vote in 15 of the 21 counties. The results reinvigorated Croatia's far-right and established beyond question that the HDZ remained a potent political and electoral force with the country.

The election results clearly pointed out two critical vulnerabilities: The first is the inherent problem of competition within the coalition itself and the potential for fracturing. The six parties of the "Governing Six" ran separately in the local elections, each using the contest as a means of measuring their relative strength vis-à-vis their coalition partners, with an eye toward increasing their power and influence in the government. The HDZ was the obvious political beneficiary of this internecine competition.

The election also pointed out that Croatian voters were becoming increasingly frustrated by the government's failure, thus far, to produce the economic results that they promised. There was a growing perception, not without basis, that the government failed to articulate a clear and comprehensive program of domestic economic and social reforms, and that symbolically important accomplishments - particularly in the area of foreign policy - brought very little of tangible benefit to average Croat citizen.

The new HDZ-led government

Croatia's 2003 parliamentary elections resulted in defeat for the pro-reform coalition government led by the Social Democratic Party. A new and fragile coalition, led by the HDZ, is now in power. While the last HDZ government was sharply criticized by the United States and European Union for its lack of adherence to international democratic standards, the new HDZ-led coalition has thus far had a much more acceptable record. The HDZ itself is divided into pro-reform and traditionalist factions, and despite a public commitment to continuing much of the previous government's reform agenda, had little experience with communicating its policies and activities to the public. As is the case in most transition countries, political parties and their leaders have yet to internalize the need to consistently and proactively communicate with the public. Faced with largely critical media coverage and seemingly indifferent political leadership, Croatian voters remain deeply skeptical about both opposition and governing political parties and apathetic about politics overall.

The state is functioning well, but the people are not prospering. Many factors contribute to this including an obsolete education system, the lack of a defined political culture, and little entrepreneurial spirit. These are all legacies of a communist state. The new governing parties will need to deal with this issues and in order to succeed and to enter the EU and NATO, they will need to stay on message.

The last six months of IRI's program were focused on developing a government communication program

2002-2004 IRI PROGRAMS

The focus of IRI programs was two-fold:

- Pre-election Activities which included:
 1. Public Opinion Research
 2. Message Development and Campaign Strategy, and
 3. Support for Political Party Youth Organizations

- Ongoing and Post-Election Activities, which included:
 1. Communication Planning for Government Officials
 2. Club of Journalists Activities, and
 3. County Government Activities

A chronology of all IRI activities is listed on page 21 of the report.

PROGRAM RESULTS – EVALUATION

A. PROGRAM RESULTS DURING THE FIRST PHASE: PRE-ELECTION

Result 1: Strategic Public Opinion Research and Analysis

Objective 1: The government continues to develop strategies to communicate about its programs and priorities in a more coordinated, consistent and effective manner with the media and the Croatian public.

Objective 2: Government further strengthens its communications to reflect awareness of evolving public attitudes regarding major program initiatives, and contribute to public understanding of and support for these initiatives. The Government will use information from public research to promote two-way political communications between the governing and the Croatian people.

Objective 3: Parties better understand the concerns and attitudes of Croatian citizens, especially those who do not currently identify with any specific political party.

Through a series of focus groups and three national public opinion polls, IRI helped the governing parties to better accept a central paradigm of western-style campaigns – that polling research and focus group is an essential element of political communication. The polls also acted as a barometer, reflecting awareness of evolving public attitudes regarding the government's major initiatives, and contributing to the public's understanding of, and support for, these initiatives. The first in the series of three polls was conducted in February 2003 by IRI's local contractor, PULS, and IRI's U.S. based polling consultant, David Williams. The poll focused on the attitudes and voters in Croatia. On the basis of the general and party-specific information provided through IRI's opinion polls, IRI staff and consultants worked with individual parties in an effort to improve their ability to communicate effectively, and also to enhance the efforts of the government. Following IRI's suggestion, HSS used a modern and fresh approach to

mark its 100 year anniversary, making it both a historic event as well as a chance to promote the party's platforms and programs for Croatia's future development.

IRI's second public opinion poll was conducted during April-May 2003 and presented in June to the parties, as well as to the USAID Mission and Embassy. IRI continued to assist the parties – SDP, HSS, HNS, LS and Libra - in implementing strategies and tactics to better communicate their policies and programs. The third in the series of national polls was conducted in September 2003 and concentrated on voter attitudes and public awareness regarding government and party initiatives. IRI training included all areas of communications and campaigning: developing relevant campaign themes and messages; organizing and coordinating internal communications; strategic planning; pro-active tactics of communication; television interviewing techniques; and GOTV tactics and voter-targeting techniques. In November, two weeks prior to national parliamentary elections, IRI hosted an on-the-record public debate of Croatia's political parties for the Club of Journalists. The event provided an opportunity for CJ members and other senior reporters of Croatian daily newspapers and broadcast outlets to hear the political platforms of Croatia's major political parties and to question party representatives on the issues of concern to Croatian citizens. Many of the questions were based on IRI's third public opinion poll. The event was widely covered in the Croatian media, providing the Croatian public a rare opportunity to learn more about the program agenda of the political parties.

Against the advice of IRI, coalition members decided to run separately and with no agreement on post election coalitions. This lack of unity in the coalition proved to be crippling in the election when faced with a strong, unified HDZ. During the campaign season, the HDZ, led by party president Ivo Sanader, largely succeeded in a long-term strategic effort to remake the party's image and transform the HDZ into a modern European center-right party. The HDZ led an aggressive campaign against the coalition, highlighting Prime Minister Racan's inability to improve the economy and stressing the fact that the HDZ would move the country to the future and to Europe more effectively. The HDZ essentially co-opted the ruling coalition's Euro-Atlantic agenda. Public frustration with the slow pace of reforms and diminishing differences in the policy priorities of the coalition and the opposition worked in favor of HDZ, giving it a strategic advantage going into the elections.

As the "voice" of the people with whom the government is attempting to communicate, the data gathered from IRI's opinion research served as a focal point and a concrete frame of reference for the other communications training activities during the life of IRI's program. In keeping with the theme of two-way communications, IRI's training focused on the ways in which governments utilized public opinion research to both respond to and lead public opinion on a range of issues.

Despite the many problems faced by the Racan government in communicating its messages and achievements, several of the individual ministries with which IRI worked demonstrated significant progress in improving both their internal and external communications.

IRI's public opinion polls were presented each time to the PM's Inner Cabinet. Even early in the project, the polls provoked significant debate within the government and among SDP leaders. Many of the Croatian leaders described IRI's poll results as a "wake up call" for the government. A significant result in this area was achieved by the government responding to the poll results in a constructive manner by improving and harmonizing its approach to communications. IRI noticed significant improvement by the Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Environmental Protection and the Ministry of European Integration.

IRI encouraged its political party partners to establish working groups within each party to oversee their party's participation in the public opinion project. By working with these groups, the parties were able to contribute party-specific questions to each of IRI's public opinion surveys. The results of the party-specific questions were only made available to the party that developed the question. This approach of public opinion survey gave the parties a commitment to the project and increase in their understanding of the mechanics involved during a public opinion survey. Consequently, it helped the governing parties in developing their messages for the local elections.

Result 2: External and Internal Communications

Objective 1: The government continues to develop strategies to communicate about its programs and priorities in a more coordinated, consistent and effective manner with the media and the Croatia public

Objective 2: Targeted government ministries and bodies develop improved systems for managing internal and external communication. Regular staff meetings will be used to inform ministry staff of policy priorities. The ministries will have established procedures to answer requests for information from the media and the public.

Throughout the program, IRI worked with both individual ministries and the Government Press Office (GPO) to assist the government's effort to communicate its programs and initiatives to the public effectively. During the first reporting period, IRI concentrated its efforts on the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of European Integration, the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Vice-Prime Minister's Office.

IRI identified a number of important topics where help was needed. For example, IRI undertook several initiatives to assist the government in promoting its progress in building the Zagreb-Split highway. The highway was expected to boost the local economy and particularly tourism, which is the major industry in Croatia. Although unemployment went down in November 2002, it was still a significant problem that affected the elections in 2003.

The Ministry of Interior, with IRI's assistance, started working on a Traffic Safety Campaign which demonstrated good results. Various events for the media and public were organized along with a consistent message from the ministry's spokesperson in order to attract the attention of citizens to this issue.

IRI's cooperation with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare produced some tangible results as well. IRI's continuing assistance on several labor reform initiatives was based on one-on-one consultations along with developing proactive communication strategies.

The numbers of visits the Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction and the Minister of Labor have made to the highway construction site have increased dramatically. The same was valid for the number of meetings government officials have held with the citizens of locally affected communities. On each of these visits, the ministries were providing free bus rides to journalists in order to facilitate more accurate and intensive media coverage of the project. The trips have garnered substantive media coverage, both locally and nationally.

IRI also advised the Prime Minister's Office to become more directly engaged in the Zagreb-Split highway project. As a result, the Prime Minister started to participate in some of the events connected with the highway campaign. According to then Minister Radimir Cacic, the intensive work on the construction of the Zagreb-Split highway made Croatia the largest construction site in Europe. Loans were granted to the country at interest rates as low as 4 percent over 15 years, with a 4-year grace period. The loans were negotiated with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the World Bank.

Under the previous SDP-led coalition government that was defeated in the November 2003 parliamentary elections, successful government communication with the Croatian public was hampered by the inability of the Prime Minister to deliver a consistent, coordinated message. The multi-party nature of the coalition was accompanied by significant internal conflict and a basic lack of unity. In other words, the various ministers of the government were more often inclined to represent the interests of their individual parties rather than the government as a whole.

While the previous government lacked a comprehensive communications strategy, it also lacked the necessary communications infrastructure required to execute such a strategy. Instead, Prime Minister Racan identified a handful of themes and initiatives that he decided to promote in the run-up to the parliamentary elections. In that context, IRI worked with selected ministries directly involved in high-priority policy initiatives, such as the construction of the Zagreb-Split Highway Construction Project, EU integration and Housing Reconstruction. Many of the events organized by IRI in support of these initiatives were broadly covered in the Croatian media. In addition, several of the ministries with which IRI had been working on a day-to-day basis demonstrated significant progress in developing their long-term communications capacities. Unfortunately, this model of effective communications was the exception rather than the rule.

Prime Minister Racan's director of communications, Kresimir Macan, attempted to improve the government's overall approach to communications by coordinating the efforts of the government and its ministries. Although he made some progress in this area, Mr. Macan suffered from the same lack of authority and direct support from the prime minister that has troubled all individuals who attempted to improve the government's communications operation.

IRI believes that its successful efforts in support of the Zagreb-Split Highway Construction Project, as well as the improvements that were demonstrated by individual ministries which received IRI training, proved that the previous government was indeed capable of communicating successfully by using the models IRI developed for it. Unfortunately, the government was either unwilling or incapable of bringing all the constituent parts together with a comprehensive, proactive and coordinated communications strategy that was fully supported by the prime minister. IRI believes this lack of strategic planning and coordination contributed significantly to the SDP-led coalition's defeat in the November parliamentary elections.

Results 3: Media Training

Objective 1: Croatian journalists develop better reporting skills and provide more serious, issue-focused coverage of major issues facing the country.

Objective 2: The Club of Journalists plays an active role in working to improve the quality of journalism and reporting in the Croatian media.

While the government communication program that IRI implemented achieved several substantial positive results and contributed to the development of communication professionals in the ministries, the Croatian media needed to develop more issue-focused coverage of major issues facing the country. In this sense, IRI during the course of its three-year program trained several political reporters and editors. The trainings were designed to instill higher professional standards, and also assist political reporters and especially young journalists to develop basic reporting skills such as fact checking, using sources, providing diverse opinions and structuring a report. This was necessary since many young people in the Croatian media never attended journalism classes.

IRI also assisted local journalists in founding a "Young Journalists Club" in order to create conditions for exchanges of experience, partnership development and professional growth. The club later reached the important milestone in becoming an independent Croatian NGO. The move was part of a long-term plan to transition the club into a viable, self-sustaining organization dedicated to improving the quality of journalism in Croatia.

IRI's activities with the Young Journalists Club have begun to improve the level of professionalization in the Croatian media and have provided a valuable support network for the next generation of Croatian media.

Throughout the program the objective was to help the club to develop a plan for sustainability, which was achieved. Early in the program, the Young Journalists Club reached an important milestone by completing the process of registering the club as an independent Croatian NGO. The move was a long-term plan to transition the club into a viable, self-sustaining organization dedicated to improving the quality of journalism in Croatia. The name of the club changed from the "Young Journalists Club" to "The Club of Journalists" (CJ). The CJ set three basic goals for the new structure:

1. the development and improvement of professional standards for Croatian journalists;
2. the improvement of professional protections and rights for journalists, and
3. the promotion of international cooperation with similar organizations.

It was obvious from the beginning, that the engagement of CJ members started to influence Croatia's media community. As the club membership expanded to more promising young journalists, several club members received promotions within their new organizations and others took on more senior assignments with other organizations.

Due to CJ membership and the contacts the members established through IRI's "Distinguished Speaker" meetings, many senior members of the club broadened their professional horizons by taking on assignments at various media outlets with a different format than their current ones: radio reporters took on assignments with the print media organizations and print journalists made their first steps in broadcast journalism.

In June 2003, IRI-technology trainer Mike Connell provided advice and assistance to CJ leaders on the design of the club's new website, a key component of the club's fundraising strategy.

IRI also hosted seminars for the club on key reform issues. During the course of the program, IRI hosted a series of educational seminars on the subject of judicial reform, which included the participation of Croatian Minister of Justice Ingrid Anticevic-Marinovic. The first seminar was held in December 2002 on the subject of Atlantic Integration (EU and NATO).

In May 2003, 12 members of the club attended a two-week training program at the BBC's World Service Trust. A second group of 12 members attended a similar program at the Reuters Foundation in June 2003. The trainers instructed the journalists in areas such as news writing styles, editing, interviewing techniques, Internet research, editorial judgment and ethical standards in political reporting. The journalists also participated in a series of discussions with senior British journalists and media experts.

Several CJ members were promoted to more senior positions, while others received professional awards for their work. CJ member Boris Pavelic, a senior reporter for *Novi list* daily, received the Croatian Journalists Association (CJA) award for best news report in 2002. Mr. Pavelic, who is a founding member of the club, received the Association's highest honor for his series of reports in *Novi list* about the state of "Awakened Democracies" in Eastern Europe.

IRI also established a professional cooperation with the School of Journalism at Zagreb University's Faculty of Political Science. Several successful events were coordinated between IRI and the Faculty during the course of the program. A more detailed chronology of these events is listed later under the Chronology of IRI activities in this report.

Result 4: Strengthening Political party Communication Skills

Objective 1: Democratically oriented parties will play a more active role in communicating the government's priorities and objectives, as well as accomplishments. Parties will incorporate government officials into their outreach plans.

Objective 2: Parties better understand the concerns and attitudes of Croatian citizens, especially those who do not currently identify with any specific political party.

Objective 3: YPO (Youth Political Organizations) activity leads to increased participation and interest in the next parliamentary elections by Croatia's youth.

The program period was marked several times by new discord between the six parties in the ruling coalition. The Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) was not satisfied with the process of privatization, an issue that created a conflict with the main partner in the governing coalition, the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Although the Government program clearly defined the privatization strategy and stipulated that the ruling coalition parties should agree on which enterprises should be sold, the process did not follow the pre-determined scenario.

The HSS announce that it would not form any pre-election coalition. At that time, the HDZ has expressed its desire to cooperate with HSS, but Tomcic stated his position that the HDZ is still not a desirable partner. During these times, IRI has worked individually with three parties in the ruling coalition, most successfully with the HNS and HSS. The HNS has started to implement strategies and tactics that IRI has developed for the party. The HSS also assembled a team to implement the party's new strategy, which again was developed with IRI's assistance.

During the program period until the elections in November 2003, IRI continued to assist the parties in implementing strategies and tactics to better communicate their policies and programs. IRI has worked with five parties from the ruling coalition – SDP, HSS, HNS, LS and Libra. As the campaign began, the performance and achievements of the government become a crucial factor for all the parties within the coalition. Therefore

IRI's work in assisting the parties to improve their abilities to communicate effectively also enhanced the efforts of the government.

In reaching out to support youth activists, IRI assisted Croatian youth organization to develop messages and tactics that effectively targeted young people and their issues in Croatia. Several training seminars in all areas of communication and campaigning were organized. This campaign and communication seminars concentrated on campaign themes and messages, organizing and coordinating internal communications, strategic planning, pro-active tactics of communication, GOTV tactic and voter-targeting techniques. In addition to these seminars IRI hosted regular consultations with the youth organizations of SDP, HNS, and HSS.

Often these seminars were held together with the party management in order to create a better involvement of the youth and the senior party leadership in the upcoming elections and campaign work. IRI worked in partnership both with the youth and the party's campaign department in order to help them design campaign strategies that would involve both earned media and paid media, as well as direct voter contact. Given IRI's focus on message development, IRI also placed particular emphasis on the YPOs improving their ability to target messaged to younger and first time voters, which focused on their particular interests. For all these seminars and workshops IRI used volunteer trainers from the U.S. and Europe.

Result 5: Strengthening Linkages between National Government and County Assemblies

Objective 1: Linkages are established between the government and the targeted County Assemblies to insure more efficient implementation of programs and dissemination of public information. Targeted counties will invite national government officials to participate in local public discussions.

IRI's communications training on media relations were showing positive results as county governments learned to communicate more effectively with the public about both local priorities and the government's reform efforts. Throughout the program county officials, with IRI assistance, initiated several public events designed to focus media attention on their policy priorities. Press conferences, town hall meetings and other public events were regularly scheduled in support of the counties' policy agendas and all six counties have begun the process of establishing and implementing strategic communications plans.

During the first phase of our program, IRI continued stressing the importance of pro-active communications in providing citizens with available information on programs and available services. This work resulted in developing more effective and user friendly county websites, including those of Vukovar-Srijem County and Varazdin County.

IRI trained 90 elected county officials in its six designated counties. The following is a list of all IRI workshops and consultations under the cooperative agreement.

ISTRIA

November 28, 2001 - communication workshop for 14 county officials

June 13, 2002 - consultation with the County Prefect and Regional Council member

VUKOVAR-SRIJEM

January 15, 2002 – communications workshop for six County and Assembly staff

April 22, 2002 – two communication workshops for 14 and 26 county officials and individual consultations for Prefect, Deputy Prefect and Protocol and PR departments

VARAZDIN

December 11, 2001 - communication workshop for four county officials

December 19, 2002 – media workshop for 11 county officials

DUBROVNIK-NERETVA

October 30-31, 2002 - media workshop for 12 county officials and an individual one-on-one consultation training with the county spokesperson

BROD-POSAVINA / OSIJEK-BARANJA COUNTY

November 12, 2002 – media training for 13 county members

Opposition parties last control of this county to the HDZ in the May 2001 local elections.

B. PROGRAM RESULTS DURING THE SECOND PHASE –POST ELECTION

In the period after the elections, IRI adjusted its workplan program for the period of January 1, 2004 through June 30, 2004 under the terms of the cooperative agreement between USAID and IRI to foster better communication between the government and the public, targeted government ministries and bodies develop improved systems for managing internal and external communications, and to help Croatian media improve the quality of political reporting.

In the last stage of the program, IRI focused mostly on program objectives concerning developing communication strategies for certain ministries and the Prime Minister's PR office, and assisting the Club of Journalists in the road to self-sustainability and public recognition.

Result 1: Strategic Public Opinion Research and Analysis

Objective 1: *The government continues to develop strategies to communicate about its programs and priorities in a more coordinated, consistent and effective manner with the media and the Croatian public.*

Objective 2: *Government further strengthens its communications to reflect awareness of evolving public attitudes regarding major program initiatives, and contribute to public understanding of and support for these initiatives. The Government will use information*

fro public research to promote two-way political communications between the governing and the Croatian people.

Objective 3: *Parties better understand the concerns and attitudes of Croatian citizens, especially those who do not currently identify with any specific political party.*

IRI did not conduct polling activities under this result.

Result 2: External and Internal Communications

Objective 1: *The government continues to develop strategies to communicate about its programs and priorities in a more coordinated, consistent and effective manner with the media and the Croatia public*

Objective 2: *Targeted government ministries and bodies develop improved systems for managing internal and external communication. Regular staff meetings will be used to inform ministry staff of policy priorities. The ministries will have established procedures to answer requests for information from the media and the public.*

The indicators and results intended under these activities were designed with the former government in mind. However, their meaning remained applicable today to the newly elected Sanader government. In the first phase under the results section, IRI already addressed the Racan government's abilities in these areas. For the purposes of the second phase, a report card for the second government would be premature; however, there are some characteristics that have emerged.

The Sanader government is still relatively new. As is typical of any new government, they are struggling to put in place new staff and begin the daily task of governing. Prime Minister Sanader remains the most popular politician and is often available to, and quite comfortable with, the press and public. This can not be said of all of his new cabinet, many of whom are new to government. Changes are also taking place at the State Secretary and Assistant Minister levels. The consolidation of the number of ministries from 19 to 14 may have further exacerbated the adjustment of the new government during its 'transition' period. The draft "Law on Transfer of Power" was submitted to the Parliament (Sabor) for debate on February 19. This law, supported by the SDP, seeks to address many of the initiation pains of new governments. One part of the law will now require Assistant Ministers, State Secretaries and others to submit their letters of resignation to any new administration. This may eliminate some of the ambiguities that remain and contribute to the difficulties by new governments. In the meantime, there is an impression of dual operation within the government – elected officials and personal advisors and the civil service. This may not be the case in all ministries.

This division affects the operating of the GPO in two ways. It has its own version of 'the divide' and it has to work with ministries afflicted with the same problem. As for the latter, there have been complaints that work at some ministries ground to a halt in December. The Ministry of European Integration (MEI) has had no resignations of its

Assistant Ministers and the new Secretary of State position was filled with an internal candidate rather than a political appointee. It is worthwhile to note the limited candidate pool of qualified and educated professionals. As for any rift within the GPO, there have been reports of frustration both externally and internally. Internally, there is a laundry list of complaints of recent problems or areas they want to improve. Externally, the press complains about the flow of information. There is no daily or weekly press 'gaggle' by the government's spokesman Ratko Macek. The Vice Prime Minister Andreja Hebrang recently told the press he would hold regular press conferences and then retracted this, saying he would hold them when he had something to say. At a minimum, the GPO could publish the events of the day and schedule of the Prime Minister. The ministries should be doing this as well. This would also help to better coordinate the government's activities as a whole. The staff complains that they learn of events afterwards from the media.

The MEI was listed as one ministry immune from the transition woes. Despite this, IRI noted a number of communication shortfalls in its work with them. Most notably, there was no explanation of what joining the EU means. There was no overriding message to define it for the people. MEI communications focused on explaining the bureaucracy. Their biggest push was the difference between the European Commission, European Parliament, and European Council versus what the EU will represent.

Another issue that IRI witnessed during its MEI consultation and conference were the complaints about the GPO. Some MEI staff had derisive comments about the GPO's lack of response or interest in the conference. Most did not comment. There also were clashes between the GPO and ministerial press staff at events with ministers over handling of the press and press requests. The authorities of the GPO and ministries need to be defined. This will help professionalize the role of the civil and political staff, something that is severely lacking. The cooperation and flow of information in this area will continue to be determined solely along personality (job survival) lines.

There are also cultural norms that further complicate the flow of information. The propensity of the press to spin their own tale or sensationalize things is a very real problem. Reporters hunt more for the latest government embarrassment rather than their achievements. This leaves the public very ill informed about positive reforms undertaken by the government and inundated with negative news. Another aspect of the culture is the lack of initiative, which can be pervasive in the workplace. There remain a number of public administration problems that mire the government in a dysfunctional malaise.

Results 3: Media Training

Objective 1: The Club of Journalists plays an active role in working to improve the quality of journalism and reporting in the Croatian media.

Throughout the program, IRI continued to sponsor the CJ "Distinguished Speakers" series by organizing several meetings. The CJ Executive Board launched the club's new website: www.klubnovinara.com. The site contains the following sections and links:

News, About the Club, Program Declaration, The Code of Ethics, CJ Activities, Contact Info, Membership, Application Form, Open Forum and links to international and Croatian media organizations. The USAID/Croatia Small Grants Program Committee approved the CJ's grant proposal "Training for Local Journalists". The grant, a \$5,000 award provided through World Learning Inc., funded the education of new recruits through a series of regional training in Slavonia, Central Croatia, Istria and Dalmatia, conducted by senior members of the Club. The CJ also held regular membership and executive board meetings.

As for club membership, at the closing of the program it was 36. The membership committee was slow to process new members and there were only four new applicants. Potential new recruits were not likely to be found in the "Journalism in Croatian Regions" provincial seminars. The level of experience is not on caliber with the requirements for Club entry. The CJ set a standard of excellence as it seeks to establish its reputation, collective power within the industry, and subsequent influence on the level of journalistic integrity and reporting.

The membership number alone does not give us an indication of the success of this component of the project. What is the quality and reputation of current members? Their job affiliations can give us some indication of the Club's quality. In this respect, here are several occurrences during the past years:

- Danijel Pek left his position as news Editor for the Croatian Commercial Network (CCN) and joined RTL Croatia (HRTL) as the New Program Executive Producer. HRTL won a ten-year concession for the long-awaited privatization of HTV's Channel 3. This new position is considered to be one of the most important new positions in Croatian media.
- Sime Jurlina (BBC-Croatia) and Igor Bobic (Croatian Television) are also joining HRTL.
- Anja Separovic (previously of *Jutarnji List*) has been promoted to business reporter for the country's first business daily *Dnevnik*.
- Barbara Peranic has joined the BBC in Zagreb as a reporter (replacing CJ members that left for HRTL) leaving her position as news editor for Obiteljski radio.
- Tomislav Jelincic is a new reporter/anchor for HRTL leaving his position as editor/anchor at Croatian Television.
- Vladimir Urukalo joined the professional producers' team of "Kaesta Brokava", a bi-weekly talk show on Split Television. This is a part-time assignment in addition to his regular job as a reporter for Slobodna Dalmacija.
- Dragan Nikolic, a member of CJ's Membership Committee, has left his position as a news editor/anchor on Croatian Television, to become a reporter/anchor for RTL Croatia, which won a ten-year concession for the long-awaited privatization of HTV's Channel 3. Broadcasting started on May 1.
- On May 5, 2004 CJ member Danijel Pek, News Producer for RTL Television, received the Croatian Journalists' Association's Award for best radio report in 2003. Danijel, who is a founding member of the Club of Journalists, received the

Association's highest honor for his report on a presentation of a book "TV journalism – professionalism basics" published in November 2003, while working for Radio Free Europe.

- Members of IRI's Club of Journalist continued to gain prominence in the media community. Ivan Hrstic was promoted to Editor-in-chief and Anchor of Kapital, a business news weekly show aired on the Croatian Commercial Network. Previously, Ivan was the senior political and business reporter for CCN's Evening News. CCN is a network of seven stations, located in Zagreb, Pula, Rijeka, Varazdin, Cakovec, Osijek, and Split, covering about 75 percent of the geographic area of Croatia.
- Djivo Djurovic, a senior member of the Club of Journalists, was promoted to Editor-in-chief of Iskon Web News (www.iskon.hr), the most popular Internet service provider in Croatia. Prior to his promotion, Djivo worked for Iskon as a reporter.
- Sandra Livajic, a senior CJ member, accepted an offer to join the reporters' team of HTNet News web site. Zagreb-based HTNet is a leading Croatian Internet Service Provider, with more than 260,000 registered users. Sandra will continue to produce reports for local *Makarska kronika* daily on a part-time basis.

One of the Club's main focuses was the issue of sustainability. To this end, two objectives were pursued: 1) additional funding for CJ projects; and 2) cooperation with the larger, established Croatian Journalists' Association (CJA). Short term viability has been achieved with the World Learning grant and likelihood of the follow-on OSCE grant. In addition, IRI's RPO Julie Van Zandt met with AED's country director to discuss their NGO work and any help they could provide the Club with drawing up a fundraising plan and an operational business/budget plan. AED will have two grant programs in late fall. One program will provide grants to NGOs on defining the operational needs and then doing the requisite fundraising. There will be a second small grants program for program-related activities, but the Club of Journalists would be best placed for the operational advisory assistance grant. As mentioned earlier, the Club is guaranteed to remain active through the end of the year, if not into 2005. Cooperation with the CJA was identified as a potential prospect for housing the CJ to use its infrastructure. This might be an answer to serving long term viability for the Club. CJ representatives had several meetings researching this option. They met with Stjepan Malovic, Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences and Director of International Center for Education of Journalists; Gordana Vilovic, Head of the Freedom Forum Library at the Faculty; and finally with the CJA's President Dragutin Lucic. Lucic said any future cooperation would have to be conditioned on CJ becoming an internal division of the CJA. The question was posed as to whether CJ could have the use of the CJA's conference room rent-free. In the end, the Club's Executive Board voted against the CJA as a viable option for a future home, due to the likelihood that their identity and goals would be usurped by the CJA.

IRI urged the Club to take a fresh look at its goals and desired annual activities. From these, the Club should detail what is needed administratively and financially to obtain and maintain their goals, role and identity in the journalism sector and activity level. At a

minimum, an organized written plan will avoid spates of an overloaded calendar funded by multiple donors followed by droughts of no funding activities.

Result 4: Strengthening Political Party Communication Skills

No evaluation data to report for the second phase of the program.

Result 5: Strengthening Linkages between National Government and County Assemblies

Objective 1: Linkages are established between the government and the targeted County Assemblies to insure more efficient implementation of programs and dissemination of public information. Targeted counties will invite national government officials to participate in local public discussions.

IRI established relations and has trained officials in six counties: Varazdinska, Vukovar-Srijem, Istria, Osijek-Baranja, Dubrovnik-Neretva, and Brod-Posavlje.

IRI encouraged the counties to adopt and implement of long-term strategic plans, to establish “Town Hall Meetings” to allow ordinary citizens an opportunity to communicate directly with the officials in charge of creating and implementing policy, and to develop and improve Web/Internet-based communications.

IRI’s work emphasized the importance of regular and coordinated communication between national and county officials regarding government programs and priorities. IRI will also encourage county assemblies to become more energetic and pro-active in providing citizens with information regarding government programs and available services.

No consultations were held in the counties since 2003. Thus no evaluation reporting is available on this component of the project.

CHRONOLOGY OF IRI ACTIVITIES IN CROATIA (2001-2004)

1. Programming

Event: Training of Effective Strategies for Proactive Government and Ministry Communication
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: July 2001

The one-day training for Government and ministry spokespersons focused on effective strategies for proactive communications. The training also covered techniques for “keeping a good story

spinning”, or in other words, how to keep good news in the press for as long as possible. Additionally, the importance of communication through photographs was discussed. Mike Murphy from U.S. served as trainer.

Event: Assessment Mission
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: July 16-20, 2001

RPO Todd Harris and DC Program Officer Margarita Assenova conducted on assessment mission to determine the need for journalism training and the scope of the future program. IRI coordinated this assessment by working closely with the Croatian Journalists’ Association as well as with IREX-ProMedia to gain valuable insight and advice. The idea of establishing a Young Reporter’s Club was met with enthusiasm by virtually all media professionals contacted. During this time, IRI established the criteria for membership in the Young Reporter’s Club.

Event: Consultations
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October – December 2001

One-on-one consultations were held with:
Aleksandra Kolaric, Government’s Spokesperson
Roberta Busic, Deputy Government Spokesperson
Ina Kralj, Croatian Parliament
Gordana Zuccon, Chief of Minister’s Cabinet, Ministry of Health
Andreja Pavlovic, Ministry of Veterans Affairs
Nebojsa Gladovic, Ministry of Culture
Marijana Petir, Ministry of Environmental Protection
Teodora Matej, Privatization Fund
Sonja Nusinovic, Ministry of Agriculture
Tomislav Stojak, Chief of Minister’s Cabinet, Ministry of Education
Sanja Mardetko Kurecic, Ministry of Finance

Event: Crisis Communication
Location: Dubrovnik, Croatia
Date: October 24-26, 2001

IRI hosted a three-day conference for all Croatian government ministry spokespersons focusing on crisis communications and media relations. In the wake of September 11, 2001, the global fear surrounding possible anthrax attacks during October had the Croatian citizens jittery on the edge. Therefore, there was heightened need for governments to be prepared to handle all varieties of disaster communications as well.

Event: Basics of Government Communications
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: November 24-25, 2001

This two-day training session for heads of local departments of the Ministry of the Homeland War Defenders as well as staff members of Ministry's PR Office was focusing on different communication strategies. Issues relating to war veterans in Croatia was and is of great importance and highly controversial. The purpose of IRI's training was to better prepare these officials in tackling the following issues: the basics of writing a good press release; the basics of communicating with the public; the basics of crisis management; and the basics of message development and dissemination.

Event: Istria County Government Workshop
Location: Istria, Croatia
Date: November 28, 2001

The purpose of this one-day training was to teach different communication strategies in order to communicate more effectively to the public and to avoid possible contradictions in public appearances of County officials. A total of 14 officials participated at the seminar.

Event: Varazdin County Government Workshop
Location: Varazdin, Croatia
Date: November 29, 2001

A one-day conference designed to help County officials in communication strategies, techniques in dealing with the public and avoiding possible contradictions in public appearances.

Event: Media Training Program
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October 2001

DC Program Officer and Zagreb Program Assistant Silvana Srdoc visited more than 20 journalists at their work place. Consultations were held regarding challenges that young journalists face in today's media environment. Their editors expressed support for IRI's training program, stressing that it was much needed for the young professionals who recently graduated from college.

Event: Principle of Journalism
Location: Opatija, Croatia
Date: December 1-2, 2001

IRI's first training for the Young Journalists' Club. U.S. veteran war correspondent Arnold R. Isaacs and DC Program Officer Margarita Assenova trained the journalists to enhance their skills in verifying information, using sources and constructing a hard news story. The participants demonstrated vivid interest in the training topics and engaged in intense discussion about professional standards and journalistic ethics.

Event: Meeting with Party Officials
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October – December 2001

The Resident Program Officer has worked closely with the parties of the ruling coalition, but mainly focusing on the staff and leadership of the Croatian People's Party. They were very receptive to IRI's ideas and suggestions and more than any other party, they have sought out IRI's assistance. The meeting with HNS how better the party can communicate its message to the public, and how, as a member of the ruling Group of Five, the party can best communicate the Government's message.

Event: Individual Consultations with Various Ministries
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: January – March 2002

IRI's new RPO Ken Bricker has conducted individual consultations during the first three months after his arrival to Croatia. IRI continued working with the Government's Spokesperson, Alexandra Kolaric, the Government's Press Office, Member of Parliament Marijana Petir, and with the Government's PR office. Through these individual consultations IRI stressed the importance of the concept of "One Government, One Message". IRI persisted in working on establishing informal lines of communications between various ministries and the government's press office.

Event: Vukovarsko-Srijenska County Government Training
Location: Vukovar, Croatia
Date: January 15, 2002

IRI's workshop for County Government and Assembly Staff concentrated on political message strategy as well as basics of proactive public communication using different strategies and techniques. The objective of the training was to develop skills of communicating more effectively with the public about the county government's goals, activities, and successes.

Event: Meeting with Varazdinska County Prefect
Location: Varazdin, Croatia
Date: March 4, 2002

The meeting served as an introductory for the new RPO Ken Bricker. The Prefect expressed his gratitude for IRI's interest and dedication to helping his county through the work IRI had undertaken with the Prefect's Office. It was decided to conduct more individual training, especially in the area of strategic communications planning and one-on-one television training.

Event: Meeting with Vukovarsko-Srijemska County Officials
Location: Vukovar, Croatia
Date: March 21, 2002

IRI hosted an introductory meeting for the new RPO Ken Bricker. The Prefect and his staff members expressed their satisfaction with the training already provided by IRI, and showed great interest in the upcoming events, especially the idea of strategic planning and one-on-one television skills training.

Event: Training Seminar: "Storytelling: Writing a Feature"
Location: Opatija, Croatia
Date: March 8-10, 2002

IRI's second two-day seminar for the members of YJC took place in Opatija. The journalists were actively involved in this training long before the training. IRI's Program Assistant Silvana Srdoc worked with them to form five smaller groups and prepare story interviews and conduct research in advance. Anthony Burke Boylan from the Chicago Tribune/USA Today served as one of the trainers. Mr. Boylan explained the most important rules of writing a feature story and worked with all five groups as they collected facts and opinions and produced the final versions of their features.

Event: Meetings with Party Officials
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 2002

The new RPO Ken Bricker conducted introductory meetings with the leadership of the five ruling parties. He assessed IRI's training activities and devised a new strategy for more intensive practical training for party leaders. Issues discussed: the political situation and the situation in the party after re-electing Drazen Budisa as party president. The HSL position within the Government was discussed along with the government reshuffle and the possibilities for early elections.

Event: Meeting with Dr. Stjepan Malovic
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 15, 2002

IRI met with Dr. Stjepan Malovic, Vice-Dean at the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Political Sciences (FPZ) and Director of the International Center for the Education of Journalists (ICEJ) and Marijana Grebasa, Assistant Program Coordinator at ICEJ to discuss future areas of cooperation. Dr. Malovic agreed to act as a trainer/panelist for IRI's YJC Conference, "Journalism Ethics in Transitional Societies". In return, IRI RPO Ken Bricker agreed to act as a trainer for journalism students at FPZ (Television Section).

Event: Meetings with Various Government Officials
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April, 2002

During the month of April 2002, IRI decided to concentrate its efforts on the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Environmental Protection, the Ministry of European Integrations, and the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises. IRI identified several topics where help was needed. Examples of such topics were the new series of labor reforms, the new Agriculture Reform Bill, the government's reconstructions efforts in war damaged areas, efforts to reduce unemployment, privatization, and plans fore reducing tax burdens on small businesses. IRI conducted a series of meetings with the following representatives of the government: Kata Gojevic, spokesperson for the Ministry of Environmental Protection; Davorko Vidovic, Minister of Labor and Social Welfare; Drazen Budisa, Deputy Prime Minister and HSL's President; Vendi Zecic, Head of Government Protocol; Boris Hajos, Ministry of European Integration Spokesperson; Nebojsa Koharovic, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Aleksandra Kolaric, Government Spokesperson; Sanja Bach, Ministry of Economy Spokesperson; and Mirjana Mladenio, Deputy Minister EU.

Event: Consultations
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 21-26, 2002

IRI Vice President Marguerite Sullivan visited Croatia to provide communications training to senior government officials and to meet with senior representatives of the political parties within the ruling coalition. During her consultations with Zlatko Tomcic, Speaker of the Parliament and HSS Party President, Ms. Sullivan advised that Mr. Tomcic develop separate, yet complimentary, communications plans for both the HSS and the Speaker's Office. She also advised that he rely on his parliamentary spokesperson more often and make himself available for regular meetings/briefings with the media. Mr. Tomcic expressed his satisfaction

with IRI's work in Croatia and his wish to see IRI more involved in assisting HSS with its communications strategy. Ms. Sullivan conducted a 3-hour communications training seminar for all 21 employees of the Government PR office. Ms. Sullivan provided examples from her own experience as a government spokesperson, but also provided some concrete ideas on how to deal with the specific challenges faced by the Croatia Government PR Office.

Event: Communication Seminar
Location: Vukovar, Croatia
Date: April 21, 2002

IRI's Vice President Marguerite Sullivan traveled to Vukovarsko-Srijemska County and conducted two training seminars on media relations, communications planning and message development. Ms. Sullivan also held personal consultations with Nikola Safer, Prefect of Vukovarsko-Srijemska County; Djurica Misin, Deputy Prefect; and Danica Simunovic, Head of the County's Protocol and PR Department.

Event: Meeting with USAID Implementers
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 2, 2002

IRI met with Chris Homan (PriceWaterhouse Coopers) and Carl Larkins (Carana Corp) to discuss future areas of cooperation. As a result of this meeting, YJC members participated in pension reform and privatization seminars hosted by these two organizations. In addition, all three participating organizations agreed to work together on issues as labor reform and privatization, areas where program synergy exists for all three implementers.

Event: "Journalism Ethics and Team Building" Seminar
Location: Bezanec, Croatia
Date: May 11-12, 2002

IRI's conference was held for 19 members of the YJC. IRI invited the Managing Editor of UPI, Shaun Waterman, for a two-day workshop on ethical issues confronting modern journalists. Participants were tasked with practical exercises designed to confront them with a series of ethical dilemmas. The exercises were followed by a comprehensive review and discussion about the type of challenges the journalists encountered and the decisions they made to deal with those challenges.

Event: Meeting with David Mazarella
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 17, 2002

The members of YJC met with David Mazarella, Editorial Director of European and Pacific “Stars and Stripes”, the DoD daily newspaper serving the U.S. military community abroad. Mazarella, a former Editor-in-Chief of USA Today, talked about modern newspaper journalism and news coverage from the editor’s point of view.

Event: Presentation
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 20, 2002

IRI RPO Ken Bricker addressed Prime Minister Racan’s staff and members of the Croatian PR Associations (HUOJ) – spokesperson from various ministries, state agencies and Croatia corporations. The purpose of this presentation was to educate the participants in modern methods of communications, how to structure an effective communications office and the importance of building a strategic communications plan that allows the spokesperson to communicate proactively rather than reactively.

Event: Regional Conference “Journalism Ethics in Transitional Societies”
Location: Dubrovnik, Croatia
Date: May 25-27, 2002

YJC print and broadcast journalists gathered in Dubrovnik to discuss the problem of journalism ethics in transitional societies. This was the first conference in the series that included participants from other countries in the region. Representatives from Bulgarian, Serbian, Macedonian, Bosnian and Montenegrin media joined their Croatian colleagues, not only to discuss journalism ethics but also the state of the media in their countries. Trainers included: Debra Shapiro, an award winning senior TV producer for Channel 5 in Boston, and Susan Warner, an award winning business reporter for the Philadelphia Inquirer, as well as BBC producer Michal Ruzicka from the Czech Republic; Jon Newstrom from IREX Croatia; Petar Lukovic, Serbian Bureau Chief for feral Tribune; Jasna Ulaga-Valic, Editor-in-Chief of Croatian Television (HTV) and HTV Senior Editor Damir Matkovic. The simulation exercise was run by Dr. Stjepan Malovic, Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Zagreb and Gordana Vilovic, Director of the Freedom Forum Library at the Faculty of Political Sciences.

Event: TV Skills Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 17, 2002

This one-on-one consultation with the Minister of Environmental Protection and Urban Planning Bozo Kovacevic was a mock Q&A session

videotaped, asking the Minister a range of difficult questions specially designed by IRI and the ministry spokesperson, Katja Gojevic. The taped was later reviewed, analyzed, and assessed. The assessment analyzed the Mr. Kovacevic's strengths and weaknesses during his performance.

Event: Seminar: "A Work in Progress"
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 27, 2002

In coordination with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, IRI along with two other USAID implementers – CARANA Corporation and MSI – organized an interactive dialogue with the media. The event, a one-day seminar on the Government's labor reform initiatives, was attended by 32 Croatian journalists and included speeches by Prime Minister Racan, Labor Minister Davorko Vidovic, and several other government officials involved in the reform efforts. The individual speeches were followed by Q&A sessions with the journalists.

Event: Meeting with Istria County Officials
Location: Istria County, Croatia
Date: June 13, 2002

IRI met with Ivan Jakovic, Prefect of Istria County; Emil Soldatic, Member of the Regional Council and General Secretary of the Istria Democratic Assembly; and Oriano Otocan, the Prefect's Chief of cabinet and County Spokesperson. The RPO provided advice on structuring a communications office and building a strategic communication plan. Future training seminar for the prefect, county government staff and other county officials were also discussed.

Event: Seminar on "Challenges in Modernizing Croatian Political Parties"
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 14-16, 2002

In cooperation with Friedrich Neumann Foundation, IRI organized a seminar for 45 party officials representing 6 Croatian political parties. Selected trainers were: Ken Bricker, IRI RPO; Bojan Klavec, LASO Consulting; and Petar Jamnikar, LDS Slovenian Liberal Party General Secretary. Senior Party officials from the LS, IDS, and HNS participated in the round table on "Challenges in Building a Modern Party".

Event: Meeting with Osijek-Baranja Officials
Location: Osijek, Croatia
Date: June 18, 2002

IRI held an introductory meeting with Ladislav Bognar, Prefect of Osijek-Baranja County, Mile Horvat, Deputy Prefect, and Goran Flauder, the County's media advisor. Plans for future training in media relations and building a strategic communications plan were discussed.

Event: Training for YJC
Location: London, England
Date: June 23-July 5, 2002

Eleven members of the YJC working in the field of broadcast news participated in a two-week, intensive training mission at the BBC in London. The mission was sponsored by USAID implementer World Learning Inc. The journalists received in-depth, hands-on training in the areas of editorial judgment, impartial news reporting, political reporting and broadcast skills – such as news writing, editing, interviewing and studio directing.

Event: Meeting for YJC with Marin Mrcela, County Court Judge in Zagreb
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: July 2002

IRI hosted a meeting for YJC with Marin Mrcela, a County Court Judge in Zagreb and author of the book “A Journalist’s Guide to Criminal Procedures” and Dusko Miljus, Director of Criminal Procedure and Court Reporters Department within the Croatian Journalists’ Association and an editor for the Vecernji List daily. Utilizing the handbook, which was designed to improve the understanding and coverage of criminal handbook procedures, they briefed the young journalists on various aspects of Croatian court proceedings. Prior to the book’s release, journalists had great difficulty in finding accurate information on the justice system.

Event: Consultation – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: July 2002

IRI had assisted during the month of July the HSS (Croatian Peasants Party) in developing the first draft areas of strategic planning, also provided consultation for the second draft.

Event: Communication Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: July 2002

IRI cosponsored a three-day seminar with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for representatives of Croatian liberal parties. This seminar was the second in a two-part series that focused on strategic planning and

modern tactics of communication for political parties in Croatia. Participants, from the five parties – Croatia People’s Party (HNS), Croatian Slavonsko-Baranjska Party (SBHS – a regional parliamentary party from Slavonia), Primorsko-Goranska Party (PGS – a regional parliamentary party from the Rijeka region), Istrian Democratic Assembly (IDS), and Liberal Party (LS) included a total of 24 representatives at the seminar.

Event: Meeting for YJC with Dragutin Lasic, President of the CJA
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 2002

IRI hosted a meeting for YJC with Dragutin Lacic, President of the Croatian Journalists’ Association (CJA) and a member of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ). Mr. Lucic, and editor for the Croatian News Agency (HINA) and former President of the Croatian Journalists’ Trade Union, discussed his thoughts and concerns regarding the potential impact of Croatia’s new media law that was debated in the Parliament (Sabor). Mr. Lucic answered many questions about the treatment of hate speech in Croatia media, authorization procedures for interviews, and issues of libel and slander under the Croatian law. The CJA is one of the oldest professional associations in Croatia and has nearly 3,500 members.

Event: Consultations – HNS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 2002

During the month of September, IRI has provided multiple consultations to an HNS communications workgroup on the rollout of a new HNS “Anti-Bureaucracy” Campaign.

Event: Meeting – SDP Youth leaders
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 2002

IRI met with SDP youth leaders to discuss IRI’s assistance in helping SDP youth organization develop a strategic communications plan. An agreement was reached to hold a seminar for that purpose in November or December.

Event: YJC Seminar – Investigative Reporting and Interviewing Techniques
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 2002

IRI sponsored a seminar of “Investigative Journalism and Interviewing Techniques” for 29 members of the YJC. This was the fifth in the series

of IRI seminars designed to improve quality of political reporting in Croatia by teaching YJC members advanced journalism skills. Trainers included: Anthony Burke Boylan, the editor of a daily 90 minute program for National Public Radio in Chicago; IRI RPO Ken Bricker; Dr. Stjepan Malovic, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Zagreb; Gordana Vilovic, Director of the Freedom Forum Library at the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Zagreb; Feral Tribune's Serbia Correspondent Petar Lukovic; and Dusko Mijus, Director of Criminal Procedure and Court Reporters Department of CJA.

Event: Working with the Media I – seminar
Location: Dubrovnik, Croatia
Date: October 30-31, 2002

IRI hosted a two-day seminar for Dubrovnik-Neretva County officials. The seminar concentrated on strategic communication planning that reflects specific issues of importance to each individual county, while building on the already acquired basic skills of public and political communication. Twelve members of the Dubrovnik-Neretva county officials participated at the training. In addition to this seminar, IRI hosted a TV/media seminar for Aida Cvjetkovic, the county government's spokesperson.

Event: Working with the Media II – Osijek
Location: Osijek, Croatia
Date: November 12, 2002

The second in the series of "Working with the Media" seminars. This time, IRI hosted the seminar for 13 members of the Osijek-Baranja County Government members.

Event: Working with the Media III – Varazdin
Location: Varazdin, Croatia
Date: December 19, 2002

The third in the series of "Working with the Media" seminars was held in Varazdin for 11 members of the Varazdin County Government.

Event: Consultations for government officials
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October – December 2002

During this quarter IRI continued working with both individual ministries and GOP to assist government's efforts to communicate its programs and initiatives to the public effectively. IRI concentrated its efforts to the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Public Works and

Reconstruction, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of European Integration, the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Vice-Prime Minister's Office. IRI identified a number of topics where help was needed. For example, IRI undertook several initiatives to assist the government in promoting its progress in building the Zagreb-Split highway.

Event: Lecture on “Ethical Standards in Modern Journalism”
Location: Zagreb University, Croatia
Date: November 25, 2002

IRI RPO Ken Bricker gave a guest lecture for 80 third-year journalism students at the Faculty of Political Sciences on the issue of “Ethical Standards in Modern Journalism”, designed to tackle many of the issues that journalists face in their everyday lives. Bricker provided a comprehensive overview of ethical dilemmas, such as the handling of confidential sources and war reporting. This was the first of two lectures for journalism students arranged by Dr. Stjepan Malovic and IRI.

Event: IRI participation in Media Sustainability Index 2002 project
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: November 26, 2002

IRI Program Assistan Silvana Srdoc participated in the Media Sustainability Index 2002 (MSI) panel discussion, conducted by the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX). The MSI program designed to provide comprehensive assessment of the media in transitional societies with the support of USAID.

Event: Lecture on “Overview of American Journalism”
Location: Zagreb University, Croatia
Date: December 17, 2002

IRI RPO Ken Bricker gave a second guest lecture for 87 second-year journalism students at the faculty of Political Sciences. The lecture “An Overview of American journalism” provided students with an overview of the differences and competition among American media institutions.

Event: “Reporting on Specific Issues of the Reform Agenda: Croatia’s Integration into the EU and NATO”
Location: Opatija, Croatia
Date: December 6-8, 2002

This seminar marked a transition to the next phase of training: encouraging and enabling YJC members to provide substantive reporting

on specific issues related to Croatia's reform agenda, such as EU and NATO integration; Judiciary Reform; Privatizations; and Agriculture Reform, etc.. The participants at this seminar received expert analysis from a variety of trainers regarding relevant issues for Croatia's future. Trainers included: Andrej Bolfek (World Bank), Branislav Bibic (Friedrich Naumann Stiftung), Aida Liha (Institute for International Relations), Emmanuel Nekic (French Embassy), Zoran Milanovic (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Robert Hranj (Ministry of Defense) and Vlatko Cvrtila (Faculty of Political Sciences).

Event: HSS Communication Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: December 9, 2002

IRI organized a one-day seminar for the leadership of the Croatian Peasants Party (HSS). The objective of the seminar was to assist HSS leaders in developing and implementing a modern communication strategy that includes proactive tactics of communication and comprehensive strategic planning. The seminar is part of IRI's continuing efforts to assist political parties in Croatia to adopt modern standards of effective party communications. HSS MP Marijana Petir presented a proposed Strategic Communications Plan that was developed with the assistance of IRI. A total of 25 members of HSS participated at the seminar.

Event: HNS Communication Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date : December 12, 2002

IRI hosted a two-day seminar for the leadership and county spokespeople of the Croatian People's Party (HNS). The objective of the seminar was to assist HNS leaders in developing and implementing a modern communication strategy that includes proactive tactics of communication and comprehensive strategic planning. All party spokespersons participated at the seminar.

Event: Meetings and Consultations
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October-December 2002

During the quarter, IRI's RPO Ken Bricker held consultations with the following party and government leaders:
Vesna Pusic, HNS President (2)
Boris Blazekovic, HNS Spokesperson (4)
Stanko Grgic, HSS General Secretary (2)
Marija Lugaric, SDP MP (3)
Marijana Petir, HSS MP (4)

Darko Till, International Secretary for HSS (3)
Andrija Damjanovic, HSS Youth Organization President (2)
Ivan Kusalic, LS Zagreb Youth Chapter President

Event: Training Seminar for Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: January 9, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker held a seminar for Ana Pavliniv, Josipa Peskir, and Lara Mardjen, assistants at the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare Public Relations Office. The assistant received in-depth communications training in areas of news advisory and news release writing, media judgment, building relationships with journalists, internal communications and effective intra-ministry coordination.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: January 9, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the Club of Journalists with Sasa Lekovic, Director of the Investigative Reporting Department of Europapress Holding, the largest and most influential media concern in Croatia. Mr. Lekovic is the winner of the CJA's Investigative Report Prize in 2000 for articles on organized crime. Mr. Lekovic talked about his intention of founding an independent Investigative Reporting NGO and offered to work with the CJ on joint projects in the future.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: January 23, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Igor Alborghetti, editor-in-chief of Globus, the most influential political weekly in Croatia. As a former investigative journalist, Mr. Alborghetti discussed his thoughts and concerns regarding news coverage from an editor's point of view.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 6, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Branko Vuksic, Program Director of Nova TV – the only national commercial television network in Croatia, and Mijenko Manjkas, Nova TV's News Program Director. Mr. Vuksic answered many questions about the ownership structure of Nova TV.

Event: Training Seminar for Ministry of Interior Police Spokespersons
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 7-9, 2003

IRI held a media skills training seminar for 24 regional spokespersons of the Croatian National Police Force and two members of the Croatian Counterintelligence Service. The training was part of IRI's efforts to assist the Croatian government with its public-relations campaign in support of two significant initiatives: traffic safety awareness and community policing. The participants were assigned on-camera exercises designed to provide them with practical experience in using methods that are effective in working with television journalists. Participants learned how to prepare for an interview, how to deliver a consistent message, how to communicate with the media proactively and how to avoid common mistakes.

Event: Consultation for Social Democratic Party (SDP) Youth Leaders
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 13, 2003

IRI met with Marija Lugaric, Dan Spicer, Jurica Meic, and Tatjana Broz leaders of SDP's youth organization, to discuss future areas of cooperation and preparation for upcoming training activities that IRI will provide for the SDP. Specifically, the SDP delegation requested IRI assistance in GOTV tactics and designing a strategy to identify and target undecided youth voters.

Event: Communication Seminar for the Croatian People's Party (HNS)
Location: Opatija, Croatia
Date: February 15-16, 2003

IRI hosted a two-day seminar in Opatija for 25 regional spokespersons of the Croatian People's Party (HNS). The objective of the seminar was to assist HNS spokespersons in implementing a proactive communication strategy and to assist the party in developing a coordinated local and regional communications strategy to support its "Good Public Management" campaign.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 17, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the senior members of CJ with Kim Perlow, Chief of Party for the Academy for Educational Development (AED), which is USAID implementer that administers CroNGO, a 3-year NGO

development program for Croatia's non-governmental sector. Ms. Perlow advised journalists in finalizing the process of registering the club as an independent NGO. Ms. Perlow also offered the journalists detailed advice on the structuring and managing of an NGO, fundraising strategies and long-term strategic planning.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 20, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Denis Kuljis, a columnist for Globus, the most influential political weekly in Croatia. Mr. Kuljis discussed his thoughts and concerns regarding media ownership and the independence of journalists in Croatia. Mr. Kuljis also answered many questions about the "Grupo", an alleged secret agreement between a prominent HDZ politician and Croatia's media moguls to control a majority of the country's media outlets.

Event: Regional Seminar on Communicating Education Reform
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 27- March 1, 2003

Working in partnership with the Open Society Institute and UNICEF, IRI co-organized a regional training seminar on "Communicating Education Reform" in Zagreb. The 64 participants included Education Ministry officials and NGO representatives from Croatia, Macedonia, Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Moldova, Slovenia, Albania, Turkey, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The design of the seminar included a series of exercises intended to provide the participants with practical experience in proactive methods of communicating with the media. Individual workshops covered topics such as long-term strategic planning, internal communications, crisis communications, television-interviewing skills and proactive tactics in working with the press.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: March 5, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Nikola Kristic, director of political news programming for Croatian Television (HTV). Mr. Kristic shared his views on the pending privatization of HTV Chanel 3 and various parties who tendered bids for ownership. He commented on the competitiveness of Nova TV, the only national commercial network, and its new political program. Mr. Kristic strongly supported the founding of the CJ as an NGO.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: March 8, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Steve Austermiller, the American Bar Association's Central and Eastern Europe Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI) Country Director in Croatia. Mr. Austermiller shared his views on a media/judiciary initiative that ABA/CEELI launched with the Croatian Journalists Association to help journalists improve standards of reporting on judicial issues.

Event: HSS Campaign Management Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: March 22-23, 2003

IRI held a campaign management seminar for HSS. IRI Consultant Lee Peterson acted as primary trainer. Training topics focused on voter targeting, issue identification, writing campaign plans and GOTC tactics. A total of 28 members of HSS from all over the country participated at the seminar.

Event: Media Event for Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: March 25, 2003

IRI working in partnership with the Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction cosponsored the first in a series of events to promote the construction of the Zagreb-Split highway. The event, "Highway to Europe", provided an opportunity for journalists to communicate directly, in an informal setting with Minister Radimir Cacic and other ministry officials.

Event: Polling Presentations
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: March 25 - 26, 2003

The poll conducted by IRI's local contractor PULS, and IRI's U.S. based polling consultant, David Williams, focused on the attitudes and preferences of voters in Croatia. The results were presented to the U.S. Embassy, the President's Office, the Prime Minister's Inner Cabinet, SDP, HSS, HNS, Libra and LS. This was the first IRI public opinion poll in Croatia since February 2001.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 3, 2003

IRI/CJ hosted a meeting with Nimoslav Pavic, co-owner of Europapress Holding (EPH) the largest media concern in Croatia. Mr. Pavic talked to CJ members about his career as an independent journalist and the editorial policies of EPH publications

Event: Meeting with HNS Campaign Team
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 7, 2003

IRI and IRI party Consultant Lee Peterson met with the HNS Campaign Steering Committee to continue assisting the party in developing and launching a series of pre-election mini campaigns. Mr. Peterson discussed HNS's strategy with senior party leaders and made recommendations, based on IRI's March public opinion survey, on targeting likely HNS voters and undecided voters. 17 members of the steering committee attended the meeting.

Event: HNS Youth Organization Campaign Management Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 7, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker and IRI consultant Lee Peterson held a campaign management seminar for the HNS Youth Organization. The training consisted of group exercises designed to provide participants with practical experience in the areas of message development, voter targeting, issues identification, writing campaign plans and GOTV tactics. IRI explained the results of its recent public opinion survey with the participants and made recommendations concerning HNS's efforts to target youth voters.

Event: SDP Youth Forum Campaign Management Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date; April 4-6, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker and IRI consultant Lee Peterson held a campaign management seminar for the SDP Youth Forum. The training consisted of groups exercises designed to provide participants with practical experience in the areas of message development, voter targeting, issues identification, writing campaign plans and GOTV tactics. Participants included Marija Lugaric, SDP MP and Arsen Bauk, SDP Youth President and Assistant to Defense Minister Zelka Antunovic.

Event: CJ Seminar on Judicial Reform
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 11-13, 2003

IRI held the second in series of educational seminars for CJ on the issue of judicial reform. Trainers included: Ingrid Anticevic Marinovic, Croatia's Minister of Justice, who presented her views on the state of judicial reform in Croatia; Steve Austermiller, Croatia Country Director for the ABA/CEELI and discussed the "Judicial Reform Index", a publication by ABA/CEELI that tracks and analysis judicial reform efforts in Croatia; and international attorney Anto Nobile, who made a presentation on "Croatia and International Law". In addition, Sasa Lekovic, Director for the Center for Development of Independent Journalism and Dusko Miljus, senior investigative reporter for Vecernji List daily, organized a case-study for CJ concerning news coverage of the "Lepej Affair".

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 23, 2003

Members of the Club of Journalists met with Robert Valdec, a Croatian freelance reporter who covered the war in Iraq. After speaking on air with CNN, he was banned from Iraq by the Iraqi Government. Mr. Valdec talked to CJ members about war reporting and its challenges.

Event: Meeting with HNS and HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: April 25, 2003

IRI and Dragan Bagic from PULS held separate meetings with Stanko Grcic, HSS General Secretary and Boris Blazekovic, HNS Spokespersons, to obtain HNS and HSS input for IRI's next public opinion poll, which includes 14 set of focus groups.

Event: CJ Members attend BBC Training Program
Location: London, UK
Date: May 4-18, 2003

Twelve members of IRI's Journalists Club traveled to London for two week training /study program at the British Broadcasting Company's World Service Trust. The program sponsored by USAID implementer World Learning Inc., was the first of two trips planned for the spring of 2003. The journalists, most of who specialize in print reporting, received hands-on instruction by BBC World Service trainers in key areas such as writing styles, news editing, interviewing techniques, Internet research, editorial judgment and ethical standards in political reporting.

Event: CJ Member Attend Reuters Training Program
Location: London, UK
Date: May 25 – June 8, 2003

Twelve journalists received hand-on training from experienced Reuter's instructors in areas such as news writing styles, editing, interviewing techniques, and ethical standards in political reporting. The group, mostly print reporters, also participated in a series of discussions with senior British journalists and media experts. As a follow-up activity, participants created an "Action Plan" to apply their new skills to reporting in Croatia.

Event: Meeting with Ministry of Public Works Spokesperson
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 7, 2003

IRI met with Ministry of Public Works Spokesperson Ivana Prohic to prepare for an upcoming media event sponsored by the Ministry and IRI to promote the economic revitalization of the Croatian islands.

Event: HNS Launches Second Mini-Campaign
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 10, 2003

HNS initialed its new pre-election mini-campaign promoting Croatia's integration into Europe by hosting a kick-off event at a theatre in Zagreb. IRI contributed both to the strategy behind the campaign, as well as the planning the event, which garnered a significant amount of positive coverage in the Croatian press.

Event: HNS Communication Seminar
Location: Opatija, Croatia
Date: May 16-18, 2003

IRI hosted a communications seminar for HNS regional spokespersons in Opatija. The seminar had two parts. In part I, Darko Tomorad, a Professor of Journalism at Zagreb University's Faculty of Political Science, held a lecture/workshop aimed at reinforcing basic communication tactics, such as organizing a press conference, writing press releases, effective tactics in working with the media and interviewing skills. In part II, Viljem Grdadolnik, Regional Director for public relations firm GCI, provided a lecture outlining the basic elements of building an effective communications strategy.

Event: IRI/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Joint Seminar
Location: Zadar, Croatia
Date: May 16-18, 2003

IRI and FNS hosted a joint seminar on “Privatization and Direct Foreign Investments: Selling Family Jewels or a Step towards Economic Development”. This seminar, the third in a series hosted by IRI/FNS for the Croatia liberal parties (HNS, LS, IDS and Libra), focused on the complex issue of privatization state-owned enterprises in Croatia. The purpose of the seminar was to examine the issue in detail as the parties seek to define their policies regarding privatization in the run up to the upcoming parliamentary elections. An IRI poll has confirmed that the privatization process is a significant issue in Croatia that is little understood by the Croatian public. A total of forty-two party members participated at the seminar.

Event: **Media Event: “Islands of Croatia”**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **May 21, 2003**

IRI and the Ministry of Public Works hosted a media event to promote the economic revitalization of the Croatian islands. The event, “Islands in Croatia”, was the second in a series of media events IRI has cosponsored with the ministry to assist the government in promoting high-priority policy initiatives.

Event: **Distinguished Speakers’ Series**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **May 22, 2003**

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ featuring Ivica Djikic, the Feral Tribune’s Zagreb Bureau Chief. Feral Tribune is an independent weekly magazine that is well known for its satirical criticism of Croatian politics. Mr. Djikic answered questions and described his experience for the CJ members.

Event: **IRI Technology Training Seminar**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **June 3, 2003**

IRI volunteer trainer Mike Connell held a technology-training seminar for the CJ to assist club members in building their future web site. Mr. Connell stressed the importance of a comprehensive and functional web site in promoting the club’s projects and made recommendations about the site’s potential content.

Event: **Distinguished Speakers’ Series**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **June 12, 2003**

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Marina Mucalo, Professor of Radio Journalism at Zagreb University's Faculty of Political Science and a member of the Radio and Television Council. The state owned council has to make a decision on a 10-year concession for Croatian Television's (HRT) Channel 3. Ms. Mucalo discussed her thoughts and concerns about the voting procedure within the council.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 26, 2003

IRI hosted a meeting for the CJ with Ivo Pukanic, Director of Nacional weekly news magazine, who recently interviewed indicted was criminal Ante Gotovina after two years of silence. Mr. Pukanic discussed the Information Law that ensured his right to protect his sources and not disclose where or when Gotovina – the Hague Tribunal's third most wanted fugitive – gave him the interview.

Event: Meeting with New Government Communications Director
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 5, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker met with Kresimir Macan, the former Croatian Television Spokesperson appointed by Prime Minister Racan to the post of Government Advisor for Public Relations. The meeting focused on areas of potential cooperation between IRI and the government's public relations office.

Event: SDP Youth Forum Training
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 27-29, 2003

IRI hosted a two-day communications and campaign management seminar for members of the SDP Youth Forum. The seminar, which included on-camera TV exercises, covered the areas of message development and delivery and GOTV tactics. Trainers included Ken Bricker, IRI Consultant Lee Peterson and IRI's polling consultant David Williams. Twenty-four youth members attended the seminar.

Event: Second Public Opinion Polling
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: June 30-July 2, 2003

The poll conducted by IRI's local contractor PULS, and IRI's US based polling consultant, David Williams, focused on the attitudes and

preferences of voters in Croatia. The results were presented to the US Embassy, USAID, the President's Office, the Prime Minister's Communications Director, Kresimir Macan, the SDP (including PM Racan in his capacity as SDP President), HSS, HNS, Libra, DC, and HDZ. The survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews among a sample of 2000 Croatian citizens.

Event: **Croatian Government On-line Session**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **July 10, 2003**

IRI co-organized the first on-line session of the government in Croatian history. Prime Minister Racan, Deputy Prime Minister Simonic, Minister of Tourism Zupan-Ruskovic and Minister of Maritime, Transport and Communication Zuvanic opened the session from a remote location at the Sheraton Hotel while the rest of the cabinet participated from the Government building. The special session was dedicated to the modernization of Croatian public administration, one of the government's major policy priorities. The event was broadly covered by the Croatian media.

Event: **IRI President meets with Speaker of Croatian Parliament**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **July 9, 2003**

IRI President George Folsom, IRI Europe Director Lindsay Lloyd, IRI RPO Ken Bricker met with Zlatko Tomcic, Speaker of Croatian Parliament and HSS President, accompanied by Stanko Grcic, HSS General Secretary. Speaker Tomcic discussed IRI's long history of cooperation with HSS and the party's preparations for upcoming parliamentary elections.

Event: **HSS Youth Seminar**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **July 18-20, 2003**

IRI hosted a two-day communications seminar for members of the HSS Youth Organization. The seminar, which included on-camera TV training exercises, covered the areas of message development and delivery, interviewing skills and working with the media. Participants included Andrija Damjanovic, HSS Youth President, and Nenad Matic, Ministry of Agriculture Spokesperson.

Event: **Distinguished Speakers' Series**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **August 28, 2003**

CJ members met with Drazen Klaric, editor of political news for Vecernji list daily. As a former editor-in-chief of political programming for Croatian Commercial Network (CCN), Klaric shared his views on the media's coverage of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Event: Meeting with Marijana Petir – HSS Spokesperson
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 1, 2003

IRI met with Marijana Petir, HSS MP regarding the new PR office for the party, which has been established. This has been a longstanding IRI recommendation to improve the party's communication strategy. IRI discussed a series of trainings for the PR staff, as well as TV trainings for HSS leaders in the up-coming months prior to the elections.

Event: Meeting with Dr. Ante Simonic – Deputy PM
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 4, 2003

IRI met with Dr. Ante Simonic, deputy PM and HSS member of the Presidency to discuss HSS campaign strategy prior to the upcoming parliamentary elections in November.

Event: Seminar on Covering Elections
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 5-7, 2003

IRI sponsored a seminar for 22 CJ members on "Covering Elections". This was the third in a series of IRI seminars for CJ members designed to cover specific reform related issues. Participants received expert analysis regarding all of the relevant issues involved in covering democratic elections. Training areas included: the role of the mass media before, during, and after the election campaign; election campaigns and the UK media; a view from the US campaign trail; Croatian political parties in the run up to the elections; and cooperation between civil society institutions during election campaigns. Trainers included: Ken Bricker, IRI RPO;; Nick Gordon, Thomson Foundation; David Cowling, BBC; Brian Mefford, IRI RPO Ukraine; Nenad Zakosek, Faculty of Political Sciences, Zagreb; and Aleksandra Kuratko, GONG.

Event: Media Training – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 8-10, 2003

IRI held the first sets of two-part TV/Media training seminars for Ante Simonic, deputy Prime Minister, Bozidar Pankretic, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and Ljubica Lalic, HSS MP.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 11, 2003

CJ members met with Drazen Majic, Senior Reporter for Glas Istre daily. As a member of the Government's Office for Prevention of Drug Abuse, Mr. Majic commented on the latest public revelations regarding alleged corruption within that office. He also shared some of his investigative techniques with CJ members and expressed interest in future cooperation with the club.

Event: Media Training – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 23, 2003

IRI held the first part of a two-stage TV/Media training for Zlatko Tomcic, HSS President and Speaker of the Croatian Parliament.

Event: Media Training – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 23, 2004

IRI held the second part of a two-stage TV/Media training session for Bozidar Pankretic, minister of Agriculture.

Event: Media Training – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 24, 2003

IRI held the second part of a two-stage TV/Media training for Zlatko Tomcic, HSS President and Speaker of the Croatian Parliament.

Event: Media Training – HSS
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 24, 2003

IRI held the second part of a two-stage TV/Media training for Ljubica Lalic, senior HSS MP.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: September 24, 2003

CJ members met with Dobrivoj Keber and Ana Babic, owners of the Regional Pinta TV3, a member of the HRTL Company. As a co-founder and producer of Radio 101 and the TV Program Z3 in the 1980's and 1990's, Mr. Keber discussed his know-how in establishing independent media outlets. Both Mr. Keber and Ms. Babic presented their ideas about the new network and discussed potential employment opportunities for CJ members.

Event: Communication Conference
Location: Dubrovnik, Croatia
Date: September 27-28, 2003

IRI hosted a conference for the elected officials and PR teams of the county governments with which IRI has been working. IRI Vice President for Communications and External Affairs Marguerite Sullivan was the guest trainer for the conference. The purpose of the training was to teach communication strategies and tactics that will help county governments communicate more effectively with the public. The training emphasized media interviewing skills.

Event: HSS Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October 3, 2003

IRI conducted a one-day training seminar for the staff of the new HSS Communication Office. The training focused on how to manage an effective communications office on a day-to-day basis, internal party communications and strategic planning.

Event: Public Opinion Poll Presentations
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October 7 - 10, 2003

The results of the third public opinion poll research were presented to the US Embassy, USAID, The President's Office, the Prime Minister's Communications Director, Kresimir Macan, Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), Croatian People's Party (HNS), DC/HSLs Coalition, HDS, LS, SDP, and members of IRI's Club of Journalists.

Event: Media Event for the Ministry of Public Works and Construction
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: October 16, 2003

IRI sponsored the third in a series of media events for the Ministry. The event, focusing on the ministry's efforts related to reconstruction and return of displaced person and refugees, was attended by Minister Radimir

Cacic, representatives of international organizations and institutions, city mayors and municipality officers from war affected areas, as well as journalists from all major media outlets.

Event: Public Debate
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: November 8, 2003

IRI hosted an on-the-record public debate for representatives of eight of Croatia's leading political parties. The event provided an opportunity for members of IRI's Club of Journalists and other senior reporters of Croatian daily newspapers and broadcast outlets to hear the political platforms of Croatia's major political parties and to question party representatives on the issues of concern to Croatian citizens.

Event: Media Event for the Ministry of Public Works and Construction
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: November 15, 2003

IRI hosted the fourth in a series of media events for the Ministry of Public Works and Constructions related to the Government's Program on "Public Incentive Apartment Housing Construction" (POS). The aim of POS is to involve local self-governing bodies in constructing apartments with government subsidies and to enable young families to overcome housing problems. The event was attended by Minister Radimir Cacic, representatives of international organizations and institutions, city mayors from POS areas and the first one-hundred families to take residencies in POS apartments.

Event: Guest Lecture
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: November 25, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker held a second guest lecture for second year journalism students at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Sciences. More than 90 students were present at the three-hour lecture. Mr. Bricker discussed the role of the media during an election period and explained the various ways journalists use public opinion research to report on elections.

Event: Training Seminar
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: December 4, 2003

IRI RPO Ken Bricker conducted a two-hour training seminar for Kresimir Macan, Director of Communications for Prime Minister Ivica Racan. Mr.

Macan who requested the training, was provided with a new communications model for SDP.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: December 5, 2003

Ms. Ruzica Cigler, Editor-in-chief of Vecernji list, a Croatian daily, explained the lack of investigative journalism in her daily as a consequence of journalists' self-censorship during a two-year long ownership of Caritas Fund, a mysterious offshore company registered in the Virgin Islands, which bought 54% of the newspaper's shares from the state privatization funds. Ms. Cigler expressed her views on privatization of Croatian media outlets.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: December 18, 2003

The CJ hosted a meeting with Mr. Ivan Blazicko, Director of Operative Company Nova TV. Mr. Blazicko shared his views on the incident of Mr. Ivan Caleta, co-owner of the Novat TV, and the negotiations that the network is having with several media conglomerates.

Event: Distinguished Speakers' Series
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: February 12, 2004

The guest for the final "Distinguished Speakers' Series" meeting was Gordana Grbic. Ms. Grbic is the newly elected President of the Council of Honor, a committee within the Croatian Journalists Association (CJA). She is also a former MP for the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Ms. Grbic was marginalized by the Tudjman regime and forced to leave HTV due to her Serbian ethnicity. She spoke about her experience and lawsuit.

Event: "Analyzing the 2003 Elections: Why We Lost?"
Location: Zagreb, Croatia
Date: May 6-7, 2004

IRI organized a two-day conference for Social Democratic Party (SDP) Youth Forum in Zagreb. The purpose of the seminar was to take an overview of the 2003 parliamentary elections in Croatia. The conference also served as an opportunity to look at major parties that took part in the election and their pre-election strategies and tactics. Participants also overiewed SDP's current situation as an opposition party and its role in

the development of parliamentary democracy in Croatia. A total of 22 SDP members and youth forum members participated at the conference.

Event: **Polling Basics Presentation**
Location: **Zagreb, Croatia**
Date: **April 22, 2004**

IRI's U.S. based polling consultant conducted two one-hour presentations on Polling Basics for various the Government Public Relations office and to the staff of Ministry of European Integration. Both presentations were well received by the participants.

Event: **Croatian and the European Integration Process: Agricultural Policy - seminar**
Location: **Porec, Croatia**
Date: **April 24-25, 2004**

IRI's two-day seminar was held in cooperation with the Ministry of European Integration and Ministry of Agriculture. Speakers included Kolinda Grabar Kitarovic, EUI Minister, Petar Cobankovic, Minister of Agriculture, Lukasz Hardt, Sobieski Institute Poland, and a Ministry of Agriculture consultant funded by the French government, Jean-Bernard Lalanne. Twenty-three journalists participated, with several reporting on the weekend events, including HTV and a number of newspapers. The agenda of the seminar tried to address all the issues that these two ministries face regarding the EU integration, and specifically the agricultural process.

Event: **Government Office of Public Relations Conference**
Location: **Opatija, Croatia**
Date: **May 14-16, 2004**

The conference for the GOP had a two-fold purpose: 1) to improve office functionality and work productivity; and 2) to serve as a retreat for the staff and its new managers. IRI's Trygve Olson, RPO for Belarus, reviewed the three central elements of a Communication Plan – Objective, Strategy, and Tactics. Working both as a group and in breakout sessions, IRI worked through the development of a plan for policy – joining NATO, as an illustrative example. During the seminar, working through the two plans, the attendees explained how the office actually works and IRI responded with suggestions for improvement.

2. Organizations that have participated in IRI Programs:

a.) Political Party Partners:

Social Democratic Party – SDP
Croatian Peasant’s Party – HSS
Croatian People’s Party – HNS
Istrian Democratic Assembly – IDS
Croatian Democratic Union – HDZ
Liberal Party – LS
Liberal Democrats – Libra
Croatian Social Liberal Party – HSLS
Democratic Center – DC
Neretva County – Dubrovnik – County Officials
Istria County Officials
Brodsko-Posavina County Officials
Varazdin County Officials
Vukovar-Srijem County Officials
Osijek-Baranja County Officials
Ministry of EU Integration
Ministry of Agriculture
Prime Minister’s Public Relations Office
The President’s Office

b.) Other Contacts:

Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (*Please note Attachment 3*)
PULS Polling Agency
GONG – NGO
International Center for Education of Journalists – ICEJ
Freedom Forum Library
Croatian Journalists Association – CJA
IREX ProMedia
University of Zagreb – Faculty of Political Sciences
World Learning
BBC London
Reuters
Williams and Associates Consulting of Salem, Massachusetts
PriceWaterHouse
Carana Corporation