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PRISPEVKI
ZA NOVEJŠO ZGODOVINO

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INŠTITUT ZA NOVEJŠO ZGODOVINO

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PRISPEVKI ZA NOVEJŠO ZGODOVINO

CONTRADICTIONS OF MEDIA AND JOURNALISM IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

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418: Event 'With Europe Around the World' in the House of the Unions, Belgrade, 20 April 1965. Photo: Hristifor Nastasić, Courtesy of the Archives of Yugoslavia, Tanjug photoarchive. Inv. No.: 15741-2.

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Editorial Notice

Contributions to Contemporary History is one of the central Slovenian scientific historiographic journals, dedicated to publishing articles from the field of contemporary history (the 19th and 20th century).

It has been published regularly since 1960 by the Institute of Contemporary History, and until 1986 it was entitled Contributions to the History of the Workers' Movement.

The journal is published three times per year in Slovenian and in the following foreign languages: English, German, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Italian, Slovak and Czech. The articles are all published with abstracts in English and Slovenian as well as summaries in English.

The archive of past volumes is available at the **History of Slovenia - SIstory** web portal.

Further information and guidelines for the authors are available at http://ojs.inz.si/index.php/pnz/index.

Uredniško obvestilo

Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino je ena osrednjih slovenskih znanstvenih zgodovinopisnih revij, ki objavlja teme s področja novejše zgodovine (19. in 20. stoletje) srednje in jugovzhodne Evrope.

Od leta 1960 revijo redno izdaja Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino (do leta 1986 je izhajala pod imenom *Prispevki za zgodovino delavskega gibanja*).

Revija izide trikrat letno v slovenskem jeziku in v naslednjih tujih jezikih: angleščina, nemščina, srbščina, hrvaščina, bosanščina, italijanščina, slovaščina in češčina. Članki izhajajo z izvlečki v angleščini in slovenščini ter povzetki v angleščini.

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SISTORY
ZGODOVINA SLOVENIJE

Editorial Remarks

The position of the media vis-à-vis the state and the Communist Party, varying between coercion and liberalisation in different periods of socialist Yugoslavia, was continuously re-shaped by the way the communication system(s) were developing, in turn re-articulating the role(s) of journalism in political and cultural life. As social institutions, the media and journalism in Yugoslavia were re-configured in the dynamics between the one-party state political system, the 'pluralism of self-managing interests' and the market economy, whereas the dominant concepts and corresponding policies of intercultural and international communication emerged amid imbalances in international news flows and inequalities and tensions among social groups, regions and republics of the federation. This thematic issue of the journal *Contributions to Contemporary History* views this history as a flow of discontinuities and new beginnings rather than linear progress or demise, acknowledging the relevance held by social history, cultural traditions, particularities of economic development, the (inter) national configurations of power and the development of state policies for studying the contradictions of media and journalism in socialist Yugoslavia.

Against this backdrop, the thematic issue considers theoretical and empirical voids in the scarce scholarly research that can be found, exploring certain discontinuities in Yugoslav media and journalism's contemporary history by analysing rich historical materials from a variety of sources, chiefly archival materials, scholarly documentation, media content, and oral history interviews. The invited contributions reappraise some of the key ideas and communication research in the SFRY period, examine tensions in international and intercultural communication, with a focus on the Tanjug news agency and the Non-Aligned news agency pool, reconsider the normative foundations of Yugoslav journalism and investigate what former journalists remember about their roles as socio-political workers, analyse journalistic discourse concerning pressing issues of the collapsing state, and explore the place of the media in forming collective and individual memories of socialist Yugoslavia.

The studies in this thematic issue are the result of cooperation between the Social Communication Research Centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, and the Institute for Contemporary History as part the basic research project *The Role of Communication Inequalities in Disintegration of a Multinational Society* (J5-1793) financed by ARRS – Slovenian Research Agency. Both the project and this thematic issue promote the disciplinary integration of history and communication science by exploring and explaining the complexities of material and symbolic re-configurations of the media and journalism in Yugoslavia while also gathering and analysing

the memories of journalism professionals and media audiences of the socialist past. Although the studies investigate only some of the past discontinuities in the media and journalism and their re-imaginings today, it is vital that such interdisciplinary research continue if we are to ensure a more nuanced picture of of Yugoslav media and journalism history and overcome the simplified images of that socialist society that prevail in contemporary public life in Slovenia and in other countries of the region.

Ljubljana, 10 April 2022 *Igor Vobič*

Uredniška beseda

Položaj medijev v odnosu do države in komunistične partije, ki se je v različnih obdobjih socialistične Jugoslavije vzpostavljal med prisilo in liberalizacijo, se je nenehno rekonfiguriral in odražal v razvoju komunikacijskega sistema in prevladujočih vlogah novinarstva v političnem in kulturnem življenju. Kot družbene institucije so se mediji in novinarstvo v Jugoslaviji preoblikovali v dinamikah med enopartijskim političnim sistemom, »pluralizmom samoupravnih interesov« in tržnim gospodarstvom, medtem ko so se prevladujoči koncepti in z njimi povezane politike medkulturnega in mednarodnega komuniciranja uveljavljali skozi neravnovesja v mednarodnih tokovih novic ter neenakostih in napetostih znotraj federacije – med družbenimi skupinami, regijami in republikami. Tematska številka *Prispevkov za novejšo zgodovino* to zgodovino razume kot tok diskontinuitet in novih začetkov in je ne obravnava kot linearno napredovanje ali propadanje, pri čemer vanjo vključene študije poudarjajo pomen družbene zgodovine, kulturne tradicije, posebnosti gospodarskega razvoja, (med) nacionalnih konfiguracij moči in razvoja državnih politik pri raziskovanju protislovij medijev in novinarstva v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

V tem smislu tematska številka zapolnjuje teoretične in empirične vrzeli v preteklih, sicer redkih znanstvenih raziskavah, pri čemer se posveča proučevanju zgolj določenih diskontinuitet v zgodovini jugoslovanskih medijev in novinarstva, in sicer na podlagi analize bogatega zgodovinskega gradiva iz različnih virov, predvsem arhivskih gradiv, znanstvene dokumentacije, medijskih vsebin in ustnih zgodovinskih intervjujev. Objavljeni prispevki tako prevprašujejo nekatere ključne ideje in komunikološke raziskave iz obdobja SFRJ, proučujejo zgodovinske napetosti v mednarodnem in medkulturnem komuniciranju, s posebno pozornostjo na tiskovni agenciji Tanjug in zvezi tiskovnih agencij neuvrščenih držav, ponovno tehtajo normativne temelje jugoslovanskega novinarstva in raziskujejo, kako se nekdanji novinarji spominjajo svoje vloge družbenopolitičnih delavcev, analizirajo novinarski diskurz okoli perečih vprašanj propadajoče države in raziskujejo položaj medijev pri oblikovanju kolektivnih in individualnih spominov na socialistično Jugoslavijo.

Študije v tej tematski številki so rezultat sodelovanja Centra za raziskovanje družbenega komuniciranja pri Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani in Inštituta za novejšo zgodovino v okviru temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta *Vloga komunikacijskih neenakosti v dezintegraciji večnacionalne družbe* (J5-1793), ki ga financira ARRS – Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije. Tako projekt kot ta tematska številka spodbujata disciplinarno povezovanje zgodovine in komunikologije skozi proučevanje in pojasnjevanje kompleksnosti materialnih in simbolnih

rekonfiguracij medijev in novinarstva v Jugoslaviji, hkrati pa zbirata in analizirata spomine poklicnih novinarjev in medijskih občinstev na socialistično preteklost. Čeprav študije v tej številki raziskujejo le nekatere pretekle diskontinuitete v medijih in novinarstvu ter njihove reartikulacije danes, je ključno, da se take interdisciplinarne raziskave nadaljujejo, če želimo ustvariti odtenkov polno sliko zgodovine jugoslovanskih medijev in novinarstva ter preseči enostavne predstave o socialistični družbi, ki prevladujejo v sodobnem javnem življenju v Sloveniji in v drugih državah regije.

Ljubljana, 10. aprila 2022 *Igor Vobič*

Articles - Razprave

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Slavko Splichal*

Socialist Yugoslavia's Efforts to Democratise International and Intercultural Communication: a Reappraisal**

IZVLEČEK

PREMISLEK O PRISPEVKIH SOCIALISTIČNE JUGOSLAVIJE K MEDNARODNEMU IN MEDKULTURNEMU KOMUNICIRANJU

V tem članku predstavljam (ponovno) branje nekaterih svojih raziskav in razprav o množičnem komuniciranju in razvoju socialistične demokracije v Jugoslaviji, objavljenih v zadnjih dveh desetletjih obstoja večnacionalne federacije pred njenim nenadnim in nasilnim propadom. Članek je zasnovan kot ponovna presoja ključnih idej in rezultatov nekaterih empiričnih raziskav, ki sem jih zasnoval in izvajal v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja do osamosvojitve Slovenije leta 1991. Vključujejo več različnih tematik, kot so komuniciranje med republikami v Jugoslaviji, tuja radijska propaganda in delovanje tiskovne agencije Tanjug, zbiranje novic in redakcijsko odbiranje ter razvoj komunikologije kot znanstvene discipline v Jugoslaviji.

Ključne besede: Jugoslavija, medkulturno komuniciranje, množični mediji, socializem

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I present an annotated (re)reading of selected research and writings on mass communication and the development of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia that I published in the final 20 years of this multinational federation's existence prior to its sudden and violent collapse. The article is conceived as a reappraisal of key ideas and results of certain research I designed and conducted in the 1970s and 1980s up until Slovenia attained its independence in 1991. They include a range of diverse topics like communication among the republics in Yugoslavia, foreign radio propaganda, news gathering and editorial gate-keeping, the performance of the Tanjug news agency, as well as the development of communication science as a scientific discipline in the federation.

Keywords: Yugoslavia, intercultural communication, mass media, socialism

Introduction

In this article, I present an annotated reading of selected research and writings on mass communication and the development of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia that I published during the final 20 years of this multinational federation's existence before its sudden and violent collapse. The article is conceived as a reappraisal of key ideas and results of certain empirical research I designed and conducted in the 1970s and 1980s up until Slovenia's independence in 1991. They include diverse topics like communication among the republics in Yugoslavia, foreign radio propaganda, news gathering and editorial gate-keeping, the performance of the Tanjug news agency, along with the development of communication science as a scientific discipline in Yugoslavia. This reappraisal is not meant to replace a systematic review and comprehensive analysis of the topics and approaches, unity and differences in mass communication research during socialist Yugoslavia and does not pretend to represent the entirety of media research in the federation. However, a review of my personal research efforts and publications over the last two decades of the former state can reveal at least two things. It first indicates which topics were considered relevant in scientific terms. In addition, given that most empirical research was publicly funded, it also (at least partly) indicates which research topics were then considered socially (and politically) legitimate.

The Yugoslav communication system(s), like the political system of socialist self-management, was born following the liberation and social revolution completed after the Second World War and after the ideological and political conflict with the Soviet Union and expulsion from the socialist bloc in 1948. The early development of the press and radio in the new Yugoslavia unfolded in the framework of state-party centralism and the revolutionary system of agitation and propaganda, and was burdened

by traditional revolutionary notions of the transmission role of the press as part of the political avant-garde of the working class. The steady transition from autocratic communication to forms of socialisation and democratic communication intensified after the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution. Greater autonomy of the constituent federal units (republics) and the self-management of state-owned enterprises and institutions was introduced by the Constitution, yet they remained difficult and controversial. The relationships among the republics were always marked by their great economic and cultural differences. The differences resulting from the different political interests of the republics, which were becoming stronger, led to growing conflicts between them and made it hard to establish common interests and benefits that everyone would recognise, with the 'national question', and even the interethnic political conflicts that remained unresolved until the federation's demise.

At the same time, ideologised notions of the unreserved and uncontroversial self-governing development of communication, the uniqueness of the Yugoslav socialist paradigm of the future and its incomparability with the development of other social and communication systems in the world were gaining ground in Yugoslavia's development. The maintenance of a normative 'understanding' of development and its planning, which did allow for new perspectives and alternatives to development, was facilitated by the absence of critical self-reflection, a forward-looking consideration of both the future and the 'outside' world that we were in permanent – albeit often denied – interdependence. The development of mass communication in Yugoslavia was also challenged from the outside by the developed communication systems of societies that had already moved into the new historical formation of the 'information society' with modern information technology and information processes, participatory communication, and a culture of political dialogue. While the socialist authorities had invested in developing media from the very beginning, the lack of economic development, technical infrastructure and skilled journalists in the early stages hampered this development. Inter-republics differences in development were also visible in the increase in communication inequality, while the population's national and linguistic diversity on the other hand also spurred the development of media pluralism in federal units. Apart from a short period of time in the 1940s, Yugoslavia did not have federal media able to spread the same content across the country: the media, like culture, education and research, was the sole responsibility of the republics and their authorities. The only real exception was television news since the republics gradually introduced new broadcasting technology and built production facilities, and in the period before national television programmes were fully established, the TV broadcasters of the republics retransmitted the news produced by Serbian Television (TV Belgrade) in Serbo-Croatian, as the common language of Croats, Montenegrins and Serbs was then called.

When I entered the field of media studies as a young researcher, my international experience was modest, yet very inspiring. As an undergraduate, I had an opportunity to listen to lectures by foreign visiting professors, including Dallas Smythe, and I

assisted Professor Alex Edelstein in conducting surveys on interpersonal communication and decision-making in Ljubljana. Soon after I started to work for the University of Ljubljana in July 1971, I participated in an international summer school on international journalism on the Croatian island of Dugi otok in the Adriatic Sea, where most of the around 20 participants came from the USA, and one lecturer was Jim Halloran, president of the IAMCR, who had made an important contribution to audience research and the establishment of media studies as a research field. Generally, I can say that I was brought up with a very liberal attitude to 'bourgeois science'. I developed my critical-Marxist orientation only after completing my master's degree in 1974, when I started writing my doctoral dissertation on mass communication, human freedom and alienation, defended in 1979 and published in Slovenian in 1981.[1]

Following my early liberal experiences in the early 1970s, my first live encounter with an international conference – the 1974 IAMCR conference at Karl Marx University in Leipzig, then German Democratic Republic – in which I participated as an aspiring research assistant with a paper on international radio propaganda, made me quite frustrated. On one hand, I acquired first-hand experience of real 'ideological imbalances' as I listened to the ideologically orchestrated presentations and discussions of the Eastern European and Russian participants. Still, it was releasing to listen to prominent critical scholars like Dallas Smythe and Herb Schiller in an open-stage dialogue criticising representatives of conservative/administrative empirical research represented by Elisabeth Noelle Neumann.[2] This was undoubtedly a turning point in my research career, later most clearly expressed in my doctoral dissertation.

While my early research was largely empirically based, interest in theoretical conceptualisations later prevailed, although I always remained in close contact with methodology and empirical research. In fact, in socialism there was a natural alliance between empirical and critical research, as opposed to capitalism where empirical research is more often associated with administrative research. In what follows, I look back at 20 years of communication research in Yugoslavia, in which I was directly involved, to present selected findings that shed light on the controversies surrounding media development in socialist Yugoslavia. After briefly discussing the beginnings of media and communication research in Yugoslavia and Slovenia, I review research projects on foreign propaganda against Yugoslavia, news gathering and selection in both RTV Ljubljana and Tanjug, and intercultural information and communication flows in Yugoslavia, which I carried out in the 1970s and 1980s.

1 Slavko Splichal, *Množično in javno komuniciranje: od množičnega komuniciranja kot negacije javnega v razvitem kapitalizmu do možnosti za vzpostavitev njune enotnosti v samoupravni socialistični demokraciji: doktorska disertacija* (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo; S. Splichal, 1979).
Slavko Splichal, *Množično komuniciranje med svobodo in odtujitvijo* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1981).

2 *Anteil der Massenmedien bei der Herausbildung des Bewußtseins in der sich wandelnden Welt*, Internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz, IX. Generalversammlung der AIERI, Leipzig (DDR), 17. 9. – 21. 9. 1974, 2 Bde. (Leipzig: Sektion Journalistik, VDJ der DDR, AIERI, 1975).

The Pitfalls of Media Research in Socialist Yugoslavia

While the development of society in most areas from the economy to education was dominated by socialist ideas and regulated by the Communist Party (renamed the League of Communists in 1952), media research that began in the 1960s has only exceptionally been under such a strong influence. The development of the new discipline or field of media and communication research in Yugoslavia was largely marked by "productive inclusivism" or eclecticism, a kind of 'cohabitation' of different communication schools and theoretical paradigms that had contributed to its definition, development and institutionalisation at universities. This was primarily due to the absence of original 'Marxist thought' in (mass) communication theories on which the discipline's development could have been based or subordinated to, thereby making the new discipline significantly different from many other disciplines like sociology, in which such a 'gold standard' existed. In its early beginnings in Yugoslavia, for example, sociology was often labelled a bourgeois science by the League of Communists' ideological authorities. To counter this view (with potentially dangerous consequences) and to prove sociology's progressive or Marxist character, sociological authors regularly cited Marx's works. As reported by Milić, out of 20 classical sociological theorists, including Durkheim, Habermas, Lorenz, Mills, Parsons, Sorokin and Weber, 30% of all citations in Yugoslav sociological articles between 1966 and 1985 referred to Marx.[3] In contrast, in a similar analysis of articles on media and communications published in Yugoslav scientific journals between 1965 and 1986, just 4.6% of citations referred to Marx, even though he still stood out as the most cited author.[4] Contrary to sociology, it would be difficult to argue that Marx(ist) theory – despite the significance of Marx's early debates on freedom of the press and his later writings on ideology and political economy – could prevail over all other contributions to the field of communication, and thus become the main or even only theoretical foundation for the new discipline's *definition*, *development* and academic *institutionalisation*.

Like other socialist countries of the twentieth century, political bureaucracies in Slovenia and Yugoslavia were particularly suspicious of empirical research. From the very beginning and for a long time, sociology was seen as a 'bourgeois science' and restrictively integrated into academic life, as opposed to the ideologically preferred political sciences. Later, this anti-Marxist 'class character' was especially attributed to its empirical – considered *administrative* – research, notably surveys. Yet, in fact, empirical research in the former socialist societies often acted as a critical impulse against ideologised abstract social sciences, against formalism and simplified generalisations, and was aimed at investigating differences in interests and social contradictions in the processes of socialism's development.

3 Vojin Milić, "Primena nekih bibliometrijskih i prosopografskih postupaka u proučavanju istorije sociologije," *Sociološki pregled* 12, No. 1–2 (1988): 73–98.

4 Slavko Splichal, "Indigenisation vs. Ideologisation: Communication Science on the Periphery," *European Journal of Communication* 4, No. 3 (1994): 329–59.

It should thus come as no surprise that not only books but also the vast majority of communication-related journal articles published in this period were not the result of empirical research. Between 1964 and 1986, just 18.7% of 311 articles related to (mass) communication, as published by 181 authors in 32 Yugoslav social science journals, had an empirical character, a further 7.7% were both theoretical and empirical, yet only 7.1% of them included statistical data analysis.[5] The first media-related empirical studies in Yugoslavia were published as late as in 1969, and dominated the scene during the short period of democratisation until 1974 (particularly reporting social survey and audience research results), but after 1975 they almost disappeared for some time.

During socialism in Yugoslavia, theoretical, often intuitive-speculative approaches combined with normative idealism generally dominated in the scholarly books and journal articles on communications. The prevalence of an intuitive/speculative approach over robust theoretical approaches was reflected in the fact that of all 311 articles included in a 23-year analysis between 1964 and 1986, a mere 2.9% comprised a critical assessment of the theory applied or elaborated on. In total, almost 57% of the citations referred to original publications (44.5%) or translations (12%) in Yugoslav languages. The most often cited media and communication scholars in this period were members of diverse schools of thought, such as Critical Theory (Adorno, Habermas, Enzensberger, Bourdieu), Functionalism (Katz, Lasswell, Lazarsfeld, Merton, Schramm, Riley) and "productive inclusivism" (McLuhan, McQuail, Kayser, Cazeneuve, Weiss). Despite bureaucratic pressures, a kind of 'cohabitation' of communication paradigms existed, although they were not equally widespread.

Nevertheless, the authors most frequently referred to were 'classical Marxists' (Marx, Engels, Lenin) and top Yugoslav politicians (Tito, Kardelj, Šetinc, Vlahović). Particularly in the late 1970s, citations reflecting the 'arguments' of authorities dominated: in addition to Marx, Edvard Kardelj, the leading Yugoslav party ideologue, was the most often cited author during this period, partly 'explaining' the absence of 'the critical' in theoretical essays. Papers referring to Marx and Critical Theory could hardly be seen as a systematic "critique of bourgeois mass communication research", as conceptualised, for example, by Lothar Bisky in the German Democratic Republic.[6] Citations of Marxist authors gave no evidence of intellectual commitment to their works. They were often quoted more to 'legitimise' their political correctness than substantiating the theoretical relevance of a particular contribution.

A similar pattern emerged in the organisation of scientific conferences, with reference to the League of Communists' documents and doctrines serving as proof of the social legitimacy (and political correctness) of research. For instance, at the Yugoslav Conference on Inter-Republican Communication held in April 1975, in his opening presentation Firdus Džinić discussed the "ideological basis of inter-republican

5 Ibidem.

6 Lothar Bisky, *Zur Kritik der bürgerlichen Massenkommunikationsforschung* (Berlin, DDR: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1974).

communication in the documents of the 10th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia".[7] Džinić emphasised that the Yugoslav information system should be built according to the attitudes approved by the 10th Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists and on a unified ideological basis as an integral part of the socialist, self-governing socio-political system. It was supposed to enable the 'free flow' of information between individual parts of Yugoslavia, which would practically mean that no "closed communication areas" would exist.[8] Following this obligatory reference to party ideology, the conference was conducted according to routine scientific standards. Despite the widespread belief in the West at the time that research findings were questionable because of Marxist influence and "an ideological imbalance toward the left because of the political orientation" of Yugoslavia,[9] this could not be proven in empirical research. On the contrary, and not always without reason, bureaucratic party critics pointed to the "positivist and functionalist methods" used in empirical research, along with "revisionist theories", "technocratic liberalism", and "abstract humanism". Western concerns with "ideological imbalances toward the left", whatever that may have meant, were especially absurd in light of the administrative measures taken against the social sciences in several Yugoslav republics. The official ideological critique also endangered the university programme for journalism in Ljubljana, as it was said to be impregnated with "positivism and bourgeois theories". The Director of the Yugoslav Institute of Journalism in Belgrade wrote a letter to Slovenian authorities "denouncing Vreg's communication theory as non-Marxist and proposing that Slovenian journalists should be trained in Belgrade".[10] As I recall, he also denounced the UNESCO-funded study of foreign radio propaganda in Yugoslavia[11] conducted by the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism at that time as being a threat to national security.

News Gatekeeping Studies and the Role of the Tanjug News Agency

Notwithstanding ideological and political obstacles, empirical research into the media in Yugoslavia had advanced considerably since the late 1960s. I first encountered empirical media research while completing my journalism studies in the early 1970s as an associate in the Programme Studies Department (PSD) at the Slovenian national public broadcaster Radio-Television Ljubljana. Lado Pohar, a former journalist and

7 Tomo Martelanc, "Jugoslovansko posvetovanje o medrepubliškem komuniciranju," *Teorija in praksa* 12, No. 4–5 (1975): 527–30.

8 Ibid., 528.

9 Stanley Smith, "Mass Media and International Understanding by France Vreg," *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, Vol. 6, ed. Nemi C. Jain (Annandale, Va.: Speech Communication Association, 1982), 116–19.

10 France Vreg, "Trideset let komunikacijske znanosti na Slovenskem," *Teorija in praksa* 28, No. 8-9 (1991): 1018–24, 1021.

11 Tomo Martelanc, Slavko Splichal, Breda Pavlič, Anuška Ferligoj, Vlado Batagelj and Mojca Drčar Murko, *External Radio Broadcasting and International Understanding: Broadcasting to Yugoslavia. Reports and papers in mass communication*, No. 81 (Paris: UNESCO, 1977).

correspondent from the USA, the first head of Television Ljubljana, who was the initiator and first leader of the PSD and conducted some audience research with external collaborators even before the department was formally established, held a very ambitious vison of the newly established research department: "Our goal is to help the institute achieve even greater openness in communicating with the audience, and to enable the audience to have an even more important impact on the programme. At the same time, we want to complement if not replace the intuition in the daily programming and directing the development of the policy of both media in our country with the findings of communication research and other sciences"[12]

Similar research units performing audience and readers surveys and content analysis of newspapers, radio, and television programmes were also set up by public broadcast corporations and major newspapers in other Yugoslav republics.[13] Yet, following the initial orientation of these departments to enhance the quality of programmes, their operations were more strongly focused on supporting advertising or were discontinued altogether, as occurred with the PSD in Ljubljana.

Although the research department at Radio and Television Ljubljana mostly administered surveys on listening to and watching radio and television programmes, it also completed more sophisticated empirical research.[14] In 1973, I designed a gatekeeping study that analysed 9,102 news items received by Ljubljana radio and television news programmes from news agencies, Yugoslav RTV centres, journalists, and correspondents in the 2 weeks between 24 September and 7 October. Following editorial decisions, 3,597 news items (39.5%) were broadcast on radio and television news programmes. No significant differences between radio and television news were found in the editorial decision-making criteria, albeit almost twice as much news was used in the radio newsroom (50.3% acceptance rate) than for the television programme (28.5%). In a historical perspective, analysis of a selection of news in retrospect reveals interesting peculiarities in the news values held by the Slovenian (broadcast) media in the 1970s.

In particular, the analysis shows quantitatively balanced reporting on the three world political blocs of the time – the Western and Eastern blocs and the "Third World" or non-aligned countries. While news input was strongly dominated by reporting on the Western bloc, editorial selection sought to reduce this dominance. Second, and not surprisingly, military conflicts were privileged, followed by international relations, while reporting was the most selective when covering science and culture. I would venture to argue that the priorities today are hardly different. Third, the selection of news in RTV Ljubljana was typically related to sources. At that time, Tanjug also sent its

12 Vida Šrot, "Zgodovina raziskovanja RTV programov in občinstva: Služba za študij programa in njeni nasledniki," *Javnost – The Public* 15, supplement (2008): 133–50, 134. Lado Pohar, *Problematika Službe za študij programa* (mimeo) (Ljubljana: Služba za študij programa, RTV Ljubljana, 1975).

13 Lado Pohar and Tilka Jamnik, *Bibliografija raziskav radia in televizije, opravljenih v raziskovalnih centrih jugoslovanskih RTV ustanov v letih 1952–1977, Bilten SŠP*, No. 7 (Ljubljana: Služba za študij programa, RTV Ljubljana, 1978).

14 Slavko Splichal, *Socializacijske vsebine na televiziji, Bilten SŠP*, No. 8 (Ljubljana: Služba za študij programa, RTV Ljubljana, 1974). Slavko Splichal, *Pretok sporočil na radiu in televiziji, Bilten SŠP*, No. 17 (Ljubljana: Služba za študij programa, RTV Ljubljana, 1976).

customers a selection of news bulletins of major world press agencies (AFP, AP, UPI, TASS, Reuters) as part of its regularly daily service (representing 30% of the total news supply), which was the only official source for the media, even though they also unofficially observed some foreign agencies. The news selection clearly revealed preferences for AFP, which was a major news source for news from third world countries (60.8% of news items used), followed by Reuters (42.6%), TASS (39.8%), AP (36.9%) and UPI (27.6%). The frequency of selecting news reported by Tanjug's own correspondents was slightly below average (36%). Tanjug was, of course, the most common source of news from Yugoslavia, which relates to another feature of news selection at the time. The news release rate was the lowest in reporting on events from Yugoslavia (compared to Western, Eastern and Third-World "blocs") and the highest with respect to Slovenia: there was a 1.6-times higher probability that news from Slovenia would be selected than news from elsewhere in Yugoslavia. The growing tendency of a relatively weak flow of news and media content within Yugoslavia and people's only slight interest in events in other Yugoslav republics during the 1970s and 1980s was also shown by other analyses and surveys, as discussed later.

Table 1: Structure of incoming and outgoing news and news publication rates in radio and television news broadcasts of RTV Ljubljana (1973; in percent)

	Input structure	Output structure	Acceptance rate
International relations	43.3	50.6	46.1
Armed conflicts	5.3	8.5	64.0
Internal politics & economics	25.4	25.0	38.9
Culture & science	8.2	5.4	26.3
Crime, accidents	2.5	1.7	28.2
Other	15.0	10.0	23.1
Total news items = 100%	**9,102**	**3,597**	**39.5**
West	39.3	39.8	40.0
East	20.9	23.9	45.2
Third World	25.9	29.7	45.4
Yugoslavia	44.2	39.8	35.5
Slovenia	13.0	18.6	56.5
TOTAL	**143.4***	**151.8***	**39.5**

* The total percentage exceeds 100 because each news item could include more than one feature.

Source: Slavko Splichal, *Pretok sporočil na radiu in televiziji*. *Bilten SŠP*, No. 17 (Ljubljana: RTV Ljubljana, Služba za študij programa, 1976).

Immediately after completing the gatekeeping study at RTV Ljubljana, I had an opportunity to design a new study focused on foreign news selection criteria at Tanjug's headquarters. A research project on the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug and

the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP, established in 1975) was funded by UNESCO as part of its international communication research programme. Already at the outset, the project drew ideological attacks from Belgrade in particular, claiming the research team was providing (ideological) adversaries with confidential information about the work of both Tanjug and other non-aligned news agencies. Although the criticism was disguised as ideological, it was in fact more an expression of envy regarding the new research group in Ljubljana, which was a threat to the monopoly held by the Belgrade-based Yugoslav Institute of Journalism (JIN) in the area of international cooperation, especially as concerns Tanjug and the non-aligned news pool.

As the leading agency in the pool, Tanjug became a world-renowned news agency at the time. Its national news services aimed at the Yugoslav media and other (generally political) subscribers relied on three main types of sources in foreign news coverage. In September 1977, the average input in Tanjug totalled 3,102 foreign news items per day, of which Tanjug selected 327 or 10.5% for its Yugoslav subscribers. Accounting for 52% of all foreign news delivered, the most important suppliers were the five big international news agencies, AFP, Reuters, TASS, AP and UPI. Tanjug's own staff of foreign correspondents, numbering 46 by the autumn of 1977, provided 8.3% of the news inflow, while the remaining 34.5% came from 70 national news agencies with which Tanjug was cooperating under a contract.

In 1963, AP, Reuters, AFP and TASS (UPI did not then exist) supplied Tanjug with over 70% of all news, 5.5% was sent by Tanjug's own correspondents, 2% was taken from foreign newspapers and radio stations, and the remaining 20% came from all other national agencies. After then, the relative share held by the four major news agencies in Tanjug's structure of incoming foreign news was steadily declining (by almost one-third in 15 years), yet rising in absolute terms. At the same time, the share of national, especially non-aligned, agencies in Tanjug's news services almost doubled, notably after 1975, when the pool of non-aligned news agencies began operating.

The 1979 gatekeeping study in Tanjug found that universal selection criteria like ethnocentrism, the economic power of actors reported on, personification or crises and conflicts were not implemented by all agencies. The most significant departure from such universal criteria was seen in the reports of Tanjug and the news agencies of the non-aligned countries. Tanjug's policy and the non-aligned news agencies' inclusion in the international news exchange held important consequences for the Yugoslav media. An international comparative study of news exchange conducted in 29 countries around the world[15] found that among all 29 countries Yugoslavia and Poland had reported less news from within its own geopolitical sphere than from any other region. While in most countries the focus was on regional events and news breaking in other parts of the world received only secondary attention, Tanjug supplied Yugoslav media with news on events in the global peripheries.

15 *Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, No. 93 (Paris: UNESCO, 1985).

Table 2: Tanjug's news sources and news selection by regions (in percent)

Region	Sources of Tanjug's news services									TOTAL	Discarded news
	Reuters	AP	UPI	AFP	TASS	POOL	Tanjug	Others East	Others West		
Western Europe	33.1	29.2	34.4	35.9	19.9	7.4	23.9	14.9	38.0	25.2	89.0
Eastern Europe	11.1	13.6	9.1	8.9	43.4	1.9	26.8	39.1	2.5	15.3	88.6
Arab countries	14.3	14.5	16.8	17.3	9.5	41.9	15.9	6.4	19.4	19.1	89.6
Asia and Australia	11.9	10.0	7.6	7.0	7.3	19.3	8.0	14.7	4.5	11.1	90.3
Africa	7.6	4.3	6.5	6.0	3.4	5.8	2.4	7.2	3.4	5.6	91.1
North America	10.8	17.4	19.3	13.9	12.8	6.0	9.9	5.0	10.7	11.5	90.0
Latin America	3.5	5.0	2.4	4.7	1.5	8.3	8.5	3.8	14.9	5.6	86.0
International organisations	7.6	5.9	3.8	6.3	2.1	9.4	4.6	8.9	6.5	6.6	85.7
N = 100%	12.8	12.3	14.2	12.7	5.3	17.1	8.3	5.9	11.5	100.0	89.0
Discarded news	91.7	91.9	92.5	94.4	96.3	90.3	46.3	98.6	98.7		

Source: Slavko Splichal, *Mlini na eter: propaganda, reklama in selekcija sporočil v množičnem komuniciranju* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1984), 34.

Yugoslavia as a Target of Foreign Radio Propaganda

Despite newer tools of international propaganda emerging in the 1960s and 1970s, international broadcasting more than doubled from 1950 to 1960 and again from 1960 to 1970, reaching a total of over 12,000 hours of external radio programming per week. Throughout its existence, Yugoslavia was high on the agenda of international propaganda due to the armed uprising against the German and Italian occupiers and their allies, the socialist revolution and then the conflict with the Soviet Union, and later because of its leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement. After the Second World War and during the Cold War, radio was the most important medium for international propaganda. All major actors in international politics funded the operation of radio propaganda stations, many of which also broadcast in Yugoslav languages.

Comparative data on audiences and motives for listening to foreign radio stations in Yugoslavia were not systematically collected while the results of surveys conducted by major propaganda stations in Europe (especially the US Radio Liberty broadcasting from the Federal Republic of Germany, and Deutsche Welle) were of dubious value since they were often used for propaganda purposes. Nevertheless, occasional estimates of the number of listeners reveal the importance of international radio propaganda at the time.

According to a survey conducted by the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences on a Yugoslav sample, listening to foreign stations halved between 1965 and 1968, from 27% to 15% of the adult population (yet, it is unclear whether the 1968 figures were collected before or after the invasion of Czechoslovakia).[16] During that time, Voice of America, Radio Moscow, Bucharest and Tirana – each from a different ideological grouping – had the largest audiences in Yugoslavia. More than half the listeners of foreign radio stations stated that they listened to more than one foreign station in order to compare news and commentaries from various sources and thereby create a more objective picture, as the vast majority (90%) of listeners believed that foreign stations only sometimes or never reported objectively.

Table 3: Amount of external radio broadcasting to Yugoslavia in 1973 (SC = Serbo-Croatian, Slov = Slovenian, Mac = Macedonian; duration in minutes)

Broadcasting station	Amount of broadcasts daily				Duration of daily broadcasts			
	S-C.	Slov.	Mac.	Tot.	S-C.	Slov.	Mac.	Tot.
1. Moscow	7	1	1	9	210	30	30	270
2. Tirana	7	0	0	7	210	0	0	210
3. Deutsche Welle	3	1	1	5	129	30	15	174
4. BBC (London)	3	2	0	5	90	30	0	120
5. Sofia	4*	0	0*	4*	120*	0	0	120*
6. Madrid	3	0	0	3	90	0	0	90
7. Voice of America	1	2	0	3	60	80	0	90
8. Paris	1**	1	0**	2**	45**	10	0	55**
9. Bucharest	2	0	0	2	60	0	0	60
10. Peking	2	0	0	2	60	0	0	60
11. Rome	2	1	0	3	40	20	0	60
12. Deutschlandfunk	1	0	0	1	30	0	0	30
13. Vatican	1	1	0	1	15	15	0	30
14. Voice of Turkey	1	0	0	1	30	0	0	30
15. Athens	1***	0	0	1	15	0	0	15
Total daily	39	13	3	54	1,204	225	45	1,504

* On Sunday one additional broadcast of 60 minutes on medium waves and one of 30 minutes on short-waves.
** Musical show programme of Radio Paris every second day in a different Yugoslav language, lasting 25 minutes is to be added; on Sunday the 45-minute programme is broken down into three parts, in Serbo-Croat, Slovenian or Macedonian, respectively.
*** Except on Sunday.

Source: Tomo Martelanc, Slavko Splichal, Breda Pavlič, Anuška Ferligoj, Vlado Batagelj and Mojca Drčar Murko, *External Radio Broadcasting and International Understanding: Broadcasting to Yugoslavia. Reports and papers in mass communication*, No. 81 (Paris: UNESCO, 1977), 10.

A postal survey conducted by Deutsche Welle among its listeners in Slovenia in 1973 showed a relatively large potential impact of radio propaganda programmes because the number of listeners increased greatly during times of crisis. The survey indicated average

16 Firdus Džinič and Ljiljana Bačević, *Inostrana propaganda u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1968).

annual growth of 2%–5% of their listeners in Slovenia (excluding the simultaneous drop-out of listeners), but during periods of crisis the level rose to 11%–16% (e.g. during the fall of Ranković in 1965, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, or the Middle East war in 1970).[17] In this light, the decline in listening to foreign radio stations from 41.6% of at least occasional listeners among adult citizens in Slovenia in 1969 to just 19% in 1976 detected by the "Slovenian Public Opinion" survey[18] should be taken *cum grano salis* as it was the first measurement of listening carried out immediately after the Czechoslovak crisis, and the second measurement in a relatively calm political period.

A critical attitude to the perceived reliability and objectivity of the news not only applied to foreign radio stations, but also the Yugoslav media. In the Slovenian Public Opinion surveys of 1968 and 1972, almost half the respondents agreed that "in our country one must at least sometimes read foreign newspapers, listen to foreign stations or watch foreign television programmes if one wants to be well informed". The fact that the four most listened to foreign radio stations in Yugoslavia (Voice of America, Moscow, Bucharest, Tirana) came from different ideological clusters suggests that listening to foreign propaganda stations was motivated by the need to compare news and commentary from different sources and not just by general distrust of the domestic media.

In this context, an analysis of external radio broadcasting to Yugoslavia was conducted. In 1971, UNESCO adopted an international programme for communication research. Within that programme, research into international communication structures was one of the most important themes. The first 3-year project of this programme (1973–1976) was conducted in Slovenia, and I was in charge of designing research to analyse 15 news programmes of foreign radio stations from 14 countries broadcast in the Yugoslav languages to different national audiences in socialist Yugoslavia, aiming at identifying the common features and differences in radio propaganda.[19] The 1-week analysis was repeated in 1997 on a smaller sample of eight foreign broadcasts in Slovene.

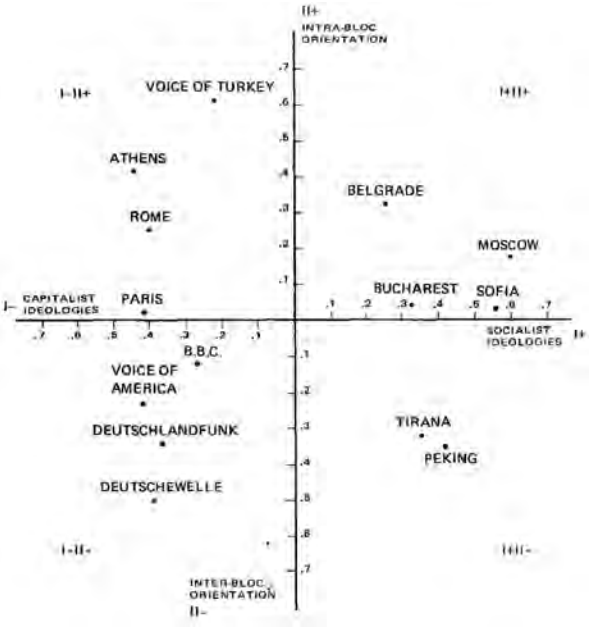
The analysis was focused on symbols as the most significant indicators of ideological systems (re)presented by propaganda, on the evaluation of subjects of international relations (states and international organisations), and distribution of attention to such subjects' actions. The main feature of the analysed programmes in two different periods was no doubt the consistent and mutually exclusive evaluative (ideological) orientations of various broadcasts. In both periods of the analysis, external radio programmes for Yugoslavia were clustered using different multivariate methods into two exclusive groups: those of the western versus those of the eastern hemisphere. The temporal changes only concerned differences in the distribution of attention, i.e. the fact that the activity of several subjects in international relations, except of the superpowers, varied between different periods.

17 Slavko Splichal, *Mlini na eter: propaganda, reklama in selekcija sporočil v množičnem komuniciranju* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1984).

18 The longitudinal "Slovenian Public Opinion" survey was established in 1968 at the School of Political Sciences in Ljubljana, later transformed into the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana.

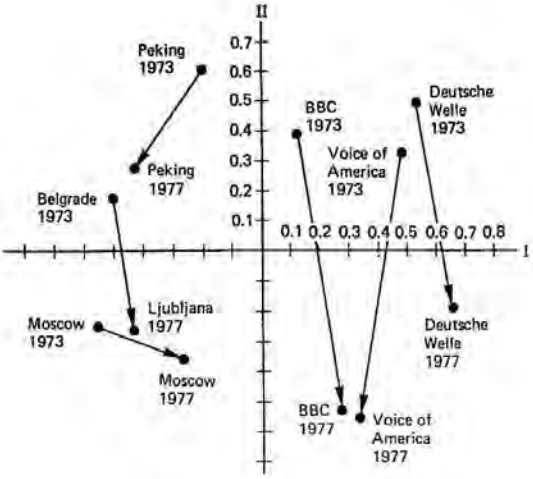
19 The study was completed in 1977 upon publication of the monograph *External Radio Broadcasting and International Understanding: Broadcasting to Yugoslavia* in the "UNESCO Reports and papers in mass communication."

Figure 1: Point plot of foreign radio stations broadcasting Serbo-Croatian programmes to Yugoslavia in 1973 in the space of the first two orthogonal factors defined by ideological orientation (factor I) and attention to political, economic and cultural events (factor II)



Source: Martelanc et al., *External Radio Broadcasting*, 20.

Figure 2: Point plot of radio stations broadcasting Serbo-Croatian programmes to Yugoslavia in 1973 and Slovenian programmes in 1997 in the space of the first two orthogonal factors defined by ideological orientation (factor I) and changes in attention to political, economic and cultural events between the two periods (factor II)



Source: Slavko Splichal and Anuška Ferligoj, "Ideology in International Propaganda," in: *Sociometric Research: Data Collection and Scaling,* eds. Willem E. Saris and Irmtraud N. Gallhofer (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1988), 69–89.

The findings of the analysis confirm the significance of propaganda's ideological dimension, i.e. its subordination to the ruling political and economic interests. This dimension stood out in the sample of radio propaganda stations in each single period as well as cross-time analysis as the factor with the largest explanatory power in factor analysis and the most important discriminatory dimension between clusters obtained by hierarchical agglomerative and local optimisation procedures. The results not only indicated a competitive but an exclusive relationship between the orientations of the capitalist and socialist-oriented groups of propaganda stations. The ideological dimension, while dominant in the programmes of all stations analysed, was more typically discriminatory within the cluster of eastern stations than within the cluster of western ones.

While none of the analysed stations paid much (or any) attention to the events in Yugoslavia,[20] they all clearly supplemented the Yugoslav media in terms of their potential (dis)socialising impact on Yugoslav audiences. Foreign programmes aimed at Yugoslav listeners reported on generally the same events as the Yugoslav media did (represented in the sample by the External Service of Radio Belgrade and Radio Ljubljana), without providing any deeper knowledge, yet evaluating them differently and associating them with different values. The distribution of attention to international events and associated actors changed considerably over 4 years (1973–1977), but did not differ significantly between eastern and western stations. Nevertheless, western stations (BBC, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle) were more sensitive to changes over time; their programmes were more focused on current events than on major symbolic or ideological themes that were at the forefront of eastern radio stations (Beijing, Moscow). In contrast, the evaluative/ideological orientations were relatively constant over time in all programmes and varied significantly between the western and eastern stations, thus promoting relatively stable agenda-setting profiles over time. As radio stations sought to convince listeners of what were the most important issues from their particular ideological point of view, the dominant actors and values did not change much over time. This led to relatively stable structural relationships between the radio programmes: while they changed slightly between the two analysed periods, their variability did not have a significant effect on the differences between the programmes.

The characteristics of the content of individual foreign radio programmes and specific ideological clusters of radio stations differed significantly from the characteristics of the Yugoslav stations (Belgrade and Ljubljana) in each period, thus showing a certain incongruence with the prevalent Yugoslav ideology and potential dissocialising effects upon Yugoslav listeners. The dissonance between the content of the foreign radio broadcasts and the Yugoslav media clearly had potentially negative effects on the target communication system. Potentially negative effects increase along with the increase in development level of the transmitting and receiving communication system.

20 The only exception was Radio Madrid in 1973, which had a markedly negative assessment of Yugoslav domestic politics and explicitly supported Yugoslav political emigration.

The relatively high level of development and openness of the Yugoslav communication system meant that this problem did not reach critical proportions in Yugoslavia. Still, the consequences could be significantly more serious for less developed countries, which was the main reason for the initiative for non-aligned countries to collaborate in the communication field and on the creation of a new global information and communication order in the 1970s.

Intercultural Communication in Yugoslavia

While Yugoslavia had taken decisive action to improve the imbalanced flow of news from around the world, it failed to effectively address the same problem at home. Yugoslavia was not only very different in many respects, including different religions, languages and alphabets, but was also very differently developed economically. Among other things, Yugoslavia was characterised by an "unbalanced flow of news" between the six republics and two autonomous provinces, a problem resembling the challenge that the Yugoslav state, together with the Non-Aligned Movement, sought to address by establishing a pool of non-aligned news agencies. Like the fields of culture, art, education, science and, in part, sports, the media was the domain of republican policies and regulations. Following amendments to the Federal Constitution of 1971, regulation of the media was transferred to the individual republics' legislation such that the federation only remained responsible for regulating international communication and criminal law for communication offences. After many years of discussions, the Federal Law on the Foundations of the Public Information System was adopted in 1985, intended to bring about greater unity in the normative regulation of relations in the communications sphere. The new law established the basic principles of "public information" in Yugoslavia, the fundamental rights, obligations and responsibilities of the media, its founders and sources of information, and ways of pursuing "special social interests" in the media, while the creation and operation of media organisations remained the republics' exclusive responsibility. Internal political and economic decentralisation ran parallel to the country's opening up to the outside world in the 1970s.[21]

Considerable differences existed between the communication systems of republics and provinces in terms of media production and consumption, occasionally leading to competition and even conflicts, e.g. over the development of television. Interethnic communication and dissemination of information were supposed to play an important role in eliminating ethnic stratification in Yugoslavia by transforming vertical differences between nations and nationalities into horizontal differences between them and developing cultural pluralism. However, these efforts remained largely normative.

21 For more details, see e.g. Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1986). Slavko Splichal, "Self-management and the Media," in: *Censorship and Libel: The Chilling Effect (Studies in Communications, Vol. 4)*, ed. Thelma McCormack (London: JAI Press, 1990), 1–20.

In 1984, more than 3,000 newspapers (including 27 dailies) and over 1,500 journals with a total yearly circulation of 1,434 million copies were published in Yugoslavia. More than two-thirds of them, with over 80% of the total Yugoslav circulation, were published in Serbo-Croatian, the official language in four of the six Yugoslav republics. The most important publishing centres were in Belgrade (Serbia) and Zagreb (Croatia). Croatian and, particularly, Serbian newspapers were largely dispatched to the other republics, yet no Yugoslav newspaper covered the whole federation. The relative circulation of daily newspapers on average was 95 copies per 1,000 inhabitants, but varied considerably among individual republics.

Radio and television broadcasting represented a further pluralistic dimension of the Yugoslav communication system(s). In 1984, 202 radio stations produced over 418,000 hours of programming for about 5 million subscribers. One-third of all radio broadcasting was transmitted by 8 central radio stations (1 in each republic and autonomous province), 14% by regional and 5.3% by local radio stations. While the central stations were founded by republican socialist alliances, regional and, especially, local stations were also created by groups in civil society like national minorities, students and cultural organisations.

Nine television stations transmitted 15 programmes, totalling over 50,000 hours per year, to about 4 million Yugoslav households possessing TV sets in 1984. The number of households with TV sets varied from nearly 80% in the more developed parts of the federation (Slovenia, Croatia, Vojvodina) to less than 50% in Montenegro and Kosovo. Four TV stations broadcast their programmes in Serbo-Croatian (Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Titograd), and one each in Slovenian (Ljubljana) and Macedonian (Skopje). TV Koper broadcast programmes in Italian intended for the Italian minorities in Slovenia and Croatia, but also viewed in Italy. Programmes of Television Pristina and Television Novi Sad were broadcast in several languages reflecting the population's multinational structure (Albanian, Roma and Turkish in Kosovo, and Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Ruthenic in Vojvodina).

The local production of television stations did not exceed one-quarter of the total programming time, while the Yugoslav production combined accounted for two-thirds of the total programming time, with the remaining time being filled by foreign broadcasts. Audiences only had a limited choice in watching television broadcasts that could only be received within the republic of one's origin and in parts of the neighbouring republics. Still, access to all programmes would not have meant any considerable changes as the programmes were largely the same. In 1987, only 20 cable systems existed in Yugoslavia with no more than 50,000 home terminals, all exclusively being distribution systems without local programming in the local head-ends. In the 1980s, own television production gradually increased, while production from other republics began to be replaced by imported Western programmes, chiefly the United States and the United Kingdom (see Table 4).

Table 4: The amount of programming and its origin in Television Ljubljana, 1985–1989

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Total programming (in thousand minutes)	356	388	383	404	417
Own programming, in %	22	28	31	35	38
- % of repeats	27	34	35	34	36
Other Yugoslav TV, in %	46	39	37	28	22
- % of repeats	22	19	14	13	9
Foreign-made, in %	32	33	32	37	40
- % of repeats	21	22	25	24	19

Source: Breda Kostanjšek, *Izveštaj o emitovanom televizijskom programu u 1989. godini*, interno gradivo (Ljubljana: RTV Slovenija, 1990).

Asymmetric relations among the republics became ever more apparent in both media reporting and the exchange of television programmes, and were also reflected in mutual (dis)information among citizens of different republics. There was a relatively weak interethnic flow of economic, political and cultural information between parts of Yugoslavia. A large share of the population was not informed about past and current factors and events important for understanding the situation and development of the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The nations about which most information was available in Yugoslavia were the biggest ones, i.e. Serbs and Croats, while the smaller nations were, on average, significantly less visible in the media of other republics.

According to a 1980 Yugoslav survey, the history of other nations arouses the greatest interest of citizens in all republics and both provinces (26.3% of respondents on average, from 20.0% in Macedonia to 36.6% in Kosovo), followed by the economy (18.8%), political events (15.5%), culture and the arts (14.8%), sports (11.0%) and entertainment (8.2%). Interest in economic information was significantly stronger among citizens from the most developed republics (Slovenia and Croatia), but also in the least developed province of Kosovo.[22] In addition to the citizens of Montenegro and Serbia, political news was given priority by respondents in Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo. Despite the lack of knowledge about other republics and provinces, in the late 1970s almost 50% of respondents in the whole of Yugoslavia believed the amount of information in the national media covering other republics and provinces was adequate and only one-tenth of them were very disappointed with the amount of intercultural news in the media. Only one-fifth of the Yugoslav population knew all eight central national dailies: 79.5% knew *Politika*, published in Serbia, 70.0% *Vjesnik* (Croatia), 48.1% *Rilindja* (Kosovo; perhaps also because of the paper's non-Slavic title without really knowing it), 46.7% *Delo* (Slovenia), 43.0% *Oslobodjenje* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), 31.0% *Pobjeda* (Montenegro), 26 .4% *Večer* (Macedonia) and 24.0% *Dnevnik* (Vojvodina). Similar or

22 Peter Klinar, Slavko Splichal and Niko Toš, *Informiranost o republikama i pokrajinama, narodima i narodnostima* (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1980).

less mutual knowledge (or ignorance) also existed about other historical, economic, political and cultural characteristics of individual republics.

The pattern of information exchange between the republics through print and television media that was discerned in the 1980s could hence be expected. Only the newspapers published in Belgrade and Zagreb successfully crossed each republic's borders. This was especially true for the sports dailies *Sportske novosti* (published in Zagreb) and *Sport* (Belgrade), which in 1984 sold 40% and 38% of their circulation, respectively, in other republics. Five political dailies sold more than 20% of their circulation outside the republics in which they were published: the Croatian *Vjesnik* and tabloid *Večernji list*, published in Zagreb, and the Serbian *Politika* and tabloids *Politika ekspres* and *Večernje novosti*, published in Belgrade. The daily newspaper *Borba* had special editions in Cyrillic and Latin, thus covering the entire Serbo-Croatian language area; most readers were in Serbia (61% of total circulation), followed by Croatia (21%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (10%). Some magazines had most of their readers in other republics; again, the largest share of circulation sold outside the republic of publication was held by the sports magazine *Tempo* weekly from Belgrade, with two-thirds of its total circulation sold in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular.

A similar pattern emerged with the exchange of television programmes among the broadcasting centres in the Yugoslav republics. The normatively declared "interconnection and transmission of cultures" through television was often one-way, primarily from the Serbo-Croatian language area to the smaller national and linguistic communities (Macedonian, Slovenian, Albanian). Since this was a period of terrestrial television, television broadcasts made by other republics were not available to watch directly, except in the border regions of the republics. In 11 of 14 programmes, most broadcasts were in the Serbo-Croatian spoken language or were subtitled in Serbo-Croatian. The only exceptions were Channel 1 in Ljubljana (in Slovenian) and Skopje Television (in Macedonian) and the Pristina Television programme (in Albanian; see Table 5). As shown by the arrows in Figure 3, the only important creators of external television programmes were Television Belgrade (Serbia) and Television Zagreb (Croatia), from which all four of the other republics imported over 10% of the programmes they broadcast in 1984, whereas in the opposite direction the programme exchange was close to zero.

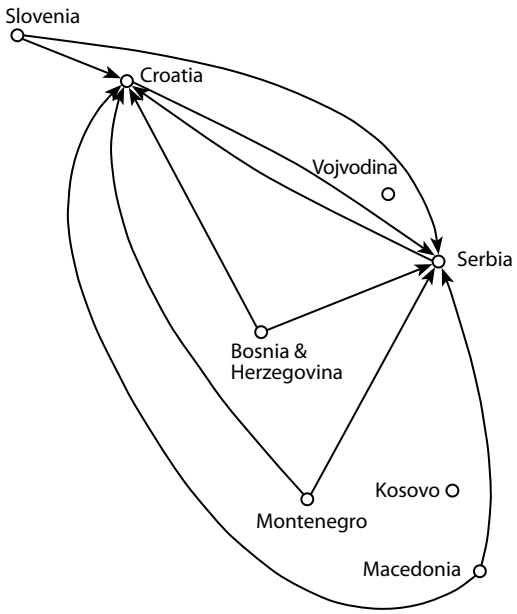
Table 5: Television programmes in Yugoslavia by the broadcasting language in 1984

Television station	Total hours	Percent of own production	Percent of programme in				
			Serbo-Croatian	Slovenian	Macedonian	Albanian	Other
Belgrade 1	4,003	33	95	0	1	0	4
Belgrade 2	2,617	37	89	1	2	4	4
Ljubljana 1	3,415	34	19	78	0	0	3

Television station	Total hours	Percent of own production	Percent of programme in				
			Serbo-Croatian	Slovenian	Macedonian	Albanian	Other
Novi Sad	2,1185	47	53	0	0	0	47
Prishtina	3,092	48	6	0	0	71	23
Sarajevo 1	3,724	19	96	0	1	0	3
Sarajevo 2	2,116	15	88	2	2	1	7
Skopje 1	3,971	31	38	0	55	3	4
Skopje 2	2,417	15	62	1	33	1	3
Titograd 1	3,836	9	96	1	1	1	1
Titograd 2	2,529	2	88	2	2	4	4
Zagreb 1	3,564	36	95	0	1	0	4
Zagreb 2	2,152	25	91	1	2	1	5

Source: Slavko Splichal in France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist 1986), 105

Figure 3: Graphic representation of the 'importing' of television programmes from other republics. Arrows in the graph show at least 10% of the imports from the television station to which an arrow is pointing.



Source: Splichal in Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje*, 105.

Conclusion

In retrospect, the conclusion seems obvious: socialist Yugoslavia's efforts to democratise its international and intercultural communication were ambitious and partly successful in the short term, but ultimately failed – as did the Socialist Yugoslavia project itself. The results of research looking at the characteristics of external radio broadcasting, news selection and newspaper and television traffic in Yugoslavia during the 1970s and 1980s show that asymmetry, bias, imbalance, and one-way traffic strongly marked both the external (international) and internal (intercultural) communication of Yugoslavia. Of course, the results of this research are more illustrative than a systematic explanation of the internal and external communication processes in Yugoslavia.

In 1986, I concluded my essay in *Mass Communication and the Development of Democracy* by arguing, "Despite the many contradictions with the establishment of social ownership and the development of self-management in the field of mass communication, the potential of Yugoslav society is far from being exploited".[23]

Even 35 years later, I find this assessment to be very accurate. Let me illustrate this in three points.

In the light of contemporary debates on the autonomy of public service media in Slovenia and elsewhere across Europe (and beyond), I recall my dispute over the draft law on public information in 1985.[24] At that time, I was critical of the lack of powers that media councils possessed under the (new) law, yet today I can say that media councils were more democratically designed in the 1980s than, for example, today's RTV Slovenia Programme Council (under the 2005 law). These councils, as key social governing bodies in the media, were made up of delegates of employees of communication organisations and delegates of users in the proportion determined by the founding act. It was essential, however, that the delegates be appointed directly by the relevant organisations and communities defined in the founding act, without the interference of the founder, who was typically the Socialist Alliance of Working People. One of my biggest criticisms[25] was that the editor-in-chief was not appointed by the council but directly by the founder. Still, compared to the current 'democratic' regime dominated by (ruling) political parties directly and indirectly represented in the Programme Council of Radio and Television Slovenia, the councils in the 1980s enjoyed greater political autonomy. According to modern standards of public service media autonomy, this remains the most appropriate path to follow to ensure their autonomy.

In the international comparative analysis of media reporting conducted in 1984 mentioned earlier, Slovenian newspapers proved to be the most internationally-oriented

23 Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1984), 179.

24 Slavko Splichal, "Razsežnosti svobode komuniciranja. Ob osnutku zakona o javnem obveščanju," *Naši razgledi*, 25 January and 8 February 1985.

25 Ibid.

among other media in 29 countries. The considerable attention paid to international events outside the world's centres was largely due to Yugoslavia's foreign policy of non-alignment. Tanjug, with its extensive correspondent network and cooperation with the press agencies of non-aligned countries, provided the Yugoslav media with news about events that had attracted the attention of peripheral areas. In general, at that time, daily newspapers and radio and television news programmes devoted more space, time and resources, including their own correspondents, to international news than they do today, which also had a significant impact on people's international orientation. Such media policy was principally in line with the ideas of a new world information and communication order (NWICO)[26] reaffirmed today in discussions on global Internet governance, but was abandoned after Slovenia's independence, transition to capitalism, and growing nationalism.

On the other hand, ethnocentric interests prevailed in the intercultural communication in Yugoslavia even before the federation's final disintegration. Mutual interest among the republics was quite low, limited in the media to protocol political news, which correlated with people in individual republics' general disinterest in news from other republics and ethnic groups with a different linguistic, religious and cultural heritage. The news values proclaimed and applied to the international flow of news were not applied in intercultural communication within Yugoslavia. What Schöpflin described as "a semi-authoritarian system by consent" that is supposed to characterise all *post-communist* systems, which were "democratic in form and nationalist in content"[27] and consisted of "an evident element of consent for semi-democratic practices" and "legitimated either by nationalism or by etatism, or by a subtle combination of the two", already emerged in late socialist or *pre-capitalist* Yugoslavia. Ethnonationalism first erupted in Yugoslavia in the early 1970s and was never really curbed later. Ethnocentric news media contributed to the rising political and economic nationalisms that eventually shattered the country to pieces. They may have missed the opportunity to contribute to a rationally guided separation, as occurred in Czechoslovakia, which was founded in the same year as the first Yugoslavia (1918) and peacefully dissolved in 1993, 2 years after Slovenia and Croatia declared independence.

In my 1994 book *Media Beyond Socialism*, I challenged the view that the burial of authoritarian practices in socialist countries had been followed by a smooth transition to democracy. Instead, I argued that the post-communist media had mimicked Western economic and political practices and was often exposed to the negative influences of authoritarianism, commercialism and nationalism. Many countries have suffered enormously not only from a lack of civic participation and control, but also from the erosion of the indigenous intellectual foundations of social transformation that were lost after the sudden takeover of political and economic power. Although political changes have significantly broadened the horizons of human freedom, today

26 *Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow: Many Voices One World. Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order (MacBride Report)* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980).

27 George Schöpflin, "Post-Communism: A Profile," *Javnost-The Public* 2, No. 1 (1995): 63–73, 63, 66.

I unfortunately conclude that not only was my assessment of the new threats quite accurate at the time, but the situation in several countries, including Slovenia, has even worsened following the rise of authoritarian governments.

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Slavko Splichal

PREMISLEK O PRISPEVKIH SOCIALISTIČNE JUGOSLAVIJE K MEDNARODNEMU IN MEDKULTURNEMU KOMUNICIRANJU

POVZETEK

V tem članku predstavljam (ponovno) branje nekaterih svojih raziskav in razprav o množičnem komuniciranju in razvoju socialistične demokracije v Jugoslaviji, objavljenih v zadnjih dveh desetletjih obstoja večnacionalne federacije pred njenim nenadnim in nasilnim propadom. Članek je zasnovan kot ponovna presoja ključnih idej in rezultatov nekaterih empiričnih raziskav, ki sem jih zasnoval in izvajal v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja do osamosvojitve Slovenije leta 1991. Vključujejo več različnih tematik, kot so komuniciranje med republikami v Jugoslaviji, tuja radijska propaganda in delovanje tiskovne agencije Tanjug, zbiranje novic in redakcijsko odbiranje ter razvoj komunikologije kot znanstvene discipline v Jugoslaviji.

V mednarodni primerjalni analizi poročanja medijev v 29 državah iz leta 1984 so se slovenski časopisi izkazali za najbolj mednarodno usmerjene. Precej je k pozornosti, ki je bila posvečena mednarodnim dogajanjem izven svetovnih središč, prispevala jugoslovanska zunanja politika neuvrščenosti. Tiskovna agencija Tanjug je s svojo razvejano dopisniško mrežo in sodelovanjem s tiskovnimi agencijami neuvrščenih držav jugoslovanskim medijem posredovala novice o dogodkih, ki so pritegovali pozornost območij zunaj svetovnih političnih in ekonomskih središč. Na splošno so takrat slovenski dnevni časopisi ter radijske in televizijske informativne oddaje mednarodnim novicam namenjali več prostora, časa in sredstev, skupaj z lastnimi dopisniki, kot danes, kar je pomembno vplivalo tudi na mednarodno usmerjenost ljudi. Takšna medijska politika je bila v skladu z idejami o novem svetovnem informacijsko-komunikacijskem redu (NWICO), ki se danes ponovno uveljavljajo v razpravah o globalnem upravljanju

interneta, vendar so se ji slovenski mediji po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, prehodu v kapitalizem in z naraščajočim nacionalizmom odrekli.

Po drugi strani pa so v medkulturnem komuniciranju v Jugoslaviji prevladovali etnocentrični interesi že pred dokončnim razpadom federacije. Vzajemni interes med republikami je bil precej šibek, v medijih je bil omejen na protokolarne politične novice, kar je bilo v korelaciji s splošnim nezanimanjem ljudi v posameznih republikah za novice iz drugih republik in etničnih skupin z drugačno jezikovno, versko in kulturno dediščino. Novičarske vrednote, ki so bile uveljavljene v mednarodnem poročanju, niso prevladovale tudi v medkulturnem komuniciranju znotraj Jugoslavije. Etnonacionalizem je v Jugoslaviji prvič izbruhnil v zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in ga pozneje nikoli niso zares zajezili. Etnocentrični mediji so prispevali k naraščajočemu političnemu in gospodarskemu nacionalizmu, ki je sčasoma pripeljal do razpada države. Morda so tudi mediji prispevali k zamujeni priložnosti, da bi omogočili racionalno razpravo in ločitev republik po mirni poti, kot se je to zgodilo na Češkoslovaškem, ki je bila ustanovljena istega leta kot prva Jugoslavija (1918) in mirno razpuščena leta 1993, dve leti po razglasitvi neodvisnosti Slovenije in Hrvaške.

V začetku devetdesetih let preteklega stoletja sem oporekal prepričanju, da je pokopu avtoritarnih praks v socialističnih državah sledil gladek prehod v demokracijo. Spremembe po letu 1990 so nakazovale, da so postkomunistični mediji posnemali zahodne gospodarske in politične prakse in bili pogosto izpostavljeni negativnim vplivom avtoritarnosti, komercializacije in nacionalizmov. Očitno ni šlo le za demokratični primanjkljaj, odsotnost državljanske udeležbe in nadzora, temveč tudi za erozijo avtohtonih intelektualnih temeljev družbene preobrazbe, ki so se izgubili po nenadnem prevzemu politične in gospodarske oblasti. Čeprav so politične spremembe tistega časa bistveno razširile obzorja človekove svobode, danes žal ugotavljam, da je bila moja takratna ocena novih groženj precej natančna in da so se razmere v marsikateri državi, tudi v Sloveniji, z vzponom avtoritarnih strank celo poslabšale.

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Sašo Slaček Brlek*

The Creation of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool**

IZVLEČEK

NASTANEK ZDRUŽENJA NEUVRŠČENIH TISKOVNIH AGENCIJ

Članek se osredotoča na proces oblikovanja Združenja neuvrščenih novičarskih agencij in dejavnike, ki so oblikovali njegov razvoj. Avtor pojasnjuje nastanek združenja s tremi skupinami dejavnikov. Prvi so bili interesi in strategije jugoslovanskih političnih elit in novičarske agencije Tanjug. Medtem ko se je Tanjug zanimal za povečanje svojega globalnega dosega in položaja na svetovnem trgu novičarskih agencij, so ga zvezne politične elite videle kot pomembno orodje zunanje politike. Jugoslavija si je že v času pred četrtim vrhom neuvrščenih v Alžiru prizadevala za institucionalizacijo informacijskega sodelovanja, čeprav so bili objektivni pogoji ocenjeni kot minimalni. Drugi dejavnik so spremembe v mednarodnih odnosih, saj se je združenje tiskovnih agencij pojavilo v kontekstu institucionalizacije gibanja neuvrščenih v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in njegovih prizadevanj »zanašanja na lastne sile«, da bi države tako izboljšale svoj položaj v svetovnem gospodarstvu in pogajalsko moč v odnosu do razvitih držav. Združenje je zato Tanjugove dvostranske sporazume o izmenjavi novic rekontekstualiziralo v večstranski projekt gospodarskega sodelovanja znotraj gibanja neuvrščenih, katerega cilj sta bili krepitev medsebojnega razumevanja in osamosvojitev od globalnih (predvsem zahodnih) virov novic. Kot tretje pa je razvoj združenja oblikovala institucionalna zgodovina gibanja, saj je bilo združenje zasnovano in institucionalizirano po vzoru že obstoječih oblik gospodarskega sodelovanja. Za spoštovanje decentraliziranega duha gibanja je morala Jugoslavija prikriti svoj angažma pri vzpostavljanju združenja tiskovnih agencij in drugih oblik informacijskega sodelovanja ter jih predstaviti kot večstranske projekte s široko podporo znotraj gibanja neuvrščenih.

Ključne besede: Jugoslavija, gibanje neuvrščenih, Tanjug, Združenje neuvrščenih novičarskih agencij

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the process that led to the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) being established and the factors shaping its emergence. The author explains NANAP's emergence by referring to three groups of factors. The first is the interests and strategies of Yugoslav political elites and of Yugoslavia's Tanjug news agency. While Tanjug was interested in increasing its global reach and position in the global marketplace of news agencies, the federal political elites saw Tanjug as an important foreign policy tool. Yugoslavia was actively pushing to institutionalise informational cooperation within the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) already in the run-up to the 4th NAM summit in Algiers, even though the objective conditions were deemed minimal. The second factor is changes in international relations given that NANAP developed in the context of the institutionalisation of NAM in the 1970s and its efforts to build "self-reliance" so as to increase its position within the global economy and bargaining power vis-à-vis the developed countries. NANAP therefore recontextualised Tanjug's bilateral news exchange agreements into a multilateral project of economic cooperation within NAM, aimed at strengthening mutual understanding and gaining independence from global (primarily Western) news sources. Finally, NANAP's development was shaped by the movement's institutional history as NANAP was conceived and institutionalised in the mould of pre-existing forms of economic cooperation. To respect the movement's decentralised ethos, Yugoslavia had to downplay and disguise its significant level of involvement in establishing NANAP and other forms of informational cooperation and to present them as multilateral projects with broad support within NAM.

Keywords: Yugoslavia, Non-aligned movement, Tanjug, Non-aligned news agencies pool

Introduction

The Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) was initiated by the Tanjug news agency in January 1975. The pool was the most significant form of cooperation between Non-Aligned media and a key project for strengthening "self-reliance" of the Non-Aligned world. As the first form of informational cooperation between Non-Aligned countries, it impacted future forms of cooperation like those between Non-Aligned broadcasters (BONAC) as well as the institutionalisation of informational cooperation within the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

The pool served as a news exchange mechanism that allowed participating news agencies to contribute their news items and make use of news items supplied by other participating agencies. NANAP's stated goal was to address the gap in communication capacities between the Non-Aligned and other third world countries on one hand and the rich countries of the global North on the other because this gap was

believed to have led to the inadequate and distorted representation of Non-Aligned and other developing countries along with unbalanced global news flows.[1] By establishing NANAP, Non-Aligned countries sought to create a system through which they could exchange information about each other without relying on the big global news agencies, which they viewed with suspicion as a legacy of the colonial past and a tool of imperialism. At the same time, the goal was to increase the visibility of the Non-Aligned world and improve its image in Western media.[2]

NANAP's creation and operation continue to be poorly understood. Like with the Non-Aligned Movement in general,[3] critical historical research is rare with most published accounts coming from protagonists and contemporary sympathisers of NAM, such as Pero Ivačić, the director-general of Tanjug,[4] D. R. Mankekar,[5] the pool's first coordinator, and Mustapha Masmoudi,[6] the Tunisian information minister. In 1983, an overview of NANAP's operation up until that point as well as relevant documents were published by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, with the publication still being the most comprehensive official account of NANAP.[7] Scholarly accounts are generally based either on available published sources (mostly documents adopted by the Non-Aligned countries at summits and ministerial meetings or their public statements)[8] or analyse aspects of the pool's operation.[9] The result is that almost nothing is known about NANAP's creation.

This paper has two goals. The first is to reconstruct the process of NANAP's establishment in 1975 and its institutionalisation within NAM in 1976. The second goal is to uncover the factors that shaped NANAP's creation and early development. Jürgen Dinkel provides a useful analytical toolbox by identifying three groups of explanations for the formation of international institutions like NAM: the first being internalist interpretations, which focus on initiatives coming from within the individual nation states engaged in building an association; the second are externalist interpretations which seek

1 Pero Ivačić, "The Flow of News: Tanjug, the Pool, and the National Agencies," *Journal of Communication*, 28, No. 4 (1978): 157–62.

2 Branko Bogunović, "Informisanje o sebi i svetu," *Međunarodna politika*, Feb 1, 1976. Pero Ivačić, "Početak značajne aktivnosti: Međusobna informiranost nesvrstanih - neophodan element saradnje," *Međunarodna politika*, Feb 1, 1975.

3 For the historiography of the Non-Aligned Movement generally see Jürgen Dinkel, *Die Bewegung Bündnisfreier Staaten* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2015), 7.

4 Ivačić, "Početak." Pero Ivačić, "The Non-Aligned Countries Pool Their News," *UNESCO Courier*, April, 1977, 18–20. Ivačić "Flow." Pero Ivačić, "Toward a Freer and Multidimensional Flow of Information," in: *The Third World and Press Freedom*, ed. P. C. Horton (New York: Praeger, 1978), 135–50.

5 D. R. Mankekar, *One Way Free Flow: Neo-Colonialism via News Media* (New Delhi: Clarion books, 1978).

6 Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," *Journal of Communication*, 29, No. 2 (1979): 172–79.

7 Coordinating Committee, *News Agencies Pool of Non-Aligned Countries* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Mass Communication, 1983).

8 Tran Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment and Cultural Imperialism," *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research*, 8, No. 3 (1976): 39–49.

9 Edward T. Pinch, "The Flow of News: An Assessment of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," *Journal of Communication*, 28, No. 4 (1978): 163–71. Karol Jakubowicz, "Third World News Cooperation Schemes in Building a New International Communication Order: Do They Stand a Chance?," *Gazette* 36 (1985): 81–93. Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Daya Thussu, *Contra-Flow in Global News: International and Regional News Exchange Mechanisms*, (London: John Libbey, 1992).

explanations in the context of international relations; and third, approaches grounded in institutional history concentrate on the ways bureaucratic culture and path dependencies emerging from the history of association influence the development of international institutions.[10] These groups of explanations are not mutually exclusive but can be productively combined to offer a fuller explanation of an international association.

I focus on these three groups of factors to explain the emergence and initial institutionalisation of NANAP:

- internal factors: goals and strategies pursued by actors within Yugoslavia, primarily Tanjug and the federal political elite;
- external factors: changes in international relations in both the global economic and political context as well as within NAM; and
- institutional history: the ways NAM's institutional history shaped the development of NANAP.

My research is based on archival sources of the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade (cabinet of the President of the Republic, relevant commissions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Socialist League of Working People of Yugoslavia) and the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia (containing materials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY). Tanjug's archives are unfortunately only partly preserved at the Archive of Yugoslavia and do not allow a significant insight into NANAP's creation.

The International Context

After the second NAM summit in 1964, the movement fell into crisis partly due to the changing international relations and partly to factors internal to several participating countries that saw them become less active.[11] However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s changes in international relations as well as changes in several Non-Aligned countries sparked renewed interest in the movement. The first significant international factor was the easing of tensions between the USA and the USSR, which met with mixed feelings among third world countries. On one hand, détente was viewed with relief, as the conflict between the blocs had raised the prospect of nuclear annihilation and had drawn third world countries into the power struggle between East and West. On the other hand, it was feared that the third world would lose what little impact it had on global politics as the USA and the USSR began to settle important issues bilaterally. A further concern was that the most pressing issues for third world countries like the persistence of Portugal's colonial domination, apartheid in South Africa, the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories, and the presence of military bases in third world countries would continue to be ignored.[12]

10 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 16–19.
11 Tvrtko Jakovina, *Treća strana hladnog rata* (Croatia: Fraktura, 2011), 51–55.
12 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 151, 152.

The second big international factor was the persisting and even growing differences in development between the global North and South.[13] The fact that the institutions controlling the global economy – the IMF, the World Bank and GATT – were under the control of the USA and their European allies, gave credence to the idea that the post-war global economic order was designed to protect the interests of the already rich, rather than address the problems of global poverty and underdevelopment. In the 1960s, developing countries turned their focus to the United Nations, with their efforts leading to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) being established and the Group of 77 being formed in 1964,[14] raising hopes that the third world could effectively pursue its goals within the UN system. This then meant the desire for further Non-Aligned conferences and the movement's institutionalisation was significantly reduced.[15] Still, optimism soon turned to frustration upon the lack of results, as expressed already in the Charter of Algiers adopted by the Group of 77 in 1967.[16] The absence of results from UN initiatives like UNCTAD and the UN development decade led third world countries to re-evaluate their strategies and added to the renewed interest in NAM.[17]

Another impetus to the association of third world countries was the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 and the global crisis of US hegemony during the 1970s.[18] These changes created both hopes and fears: hopes that the entrenched structures of the global economic order, seen as inimical to the interests of third world countries, were open to change, and fears that third world countries and their interests would remain to be side-lined and ignored unless they were to take decisive action to shape the course of events.

NAM's revival in the 1970s therefore also implied its reimagining, particularly in the form of a reorientation on North-South disparities in economic development, which would grow into NAM's two interlinked projects in the 1970s: the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). In addition to efforts within the UN system, NAM focused on practical steps aimed at increasing economic cooperation of Non-Aligned countries with a view to making those countries become less dependent on the rich countries of the global North. The case of OPEC, which made its power felt with the 1973 oil embargo, was a powerful demonstration of the strength that can be gained from association.

13 Karl P. Sauvant, "Toward the New International Economic Order," in: *The New International Economic Order: Confrontation of Cooperation Between North and South*, eds. Karl P. Sauvant and Hajo Hasenpflug (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), 3–19.

14 Branislav Gosovic, *UNCTAD - Conflict and Compromise* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1972). Karl P. Sauvant, "The Early Days of the Group of 77," https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/early-days-group-77.

15 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 127.

16 "Charter of Algiers," Algiers, Algeria, 10. – 25. October 1967, https://www.g77.org/doc/algier~1.htm.

17 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 153.

18 Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing* (London and New York: Verso, 2007), 149–56.

Efforts to strengthen South-South cooperation came to be known as "self-reliance" and were of particular significance for Yugoslavia.[19] The Yugoslav delegation at the Preparatory Committee's meeting for the 4th NAM summit in 1973 reported that: "We have suggested that special emphasis be given in the agenda to issues of cooperation and solidarity between Non-Aligned countries and the coordination of their activities in the areas of education, science, culture, information and others, which was accepted".[20]

"Self-reliance" was not simply economically but also politically significant since it provided a binding force for the movement, otherwise plagued by considerable, sometimes irreconcilable, and often hostile political differences. A telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Algiers in the run-up to the Algiers summit speaks quite candidly about this: "Based on talks with many representatives of Non-Aligned countries, but especially the hosts, the impression is that questions of economic development and the gap between rich and poor will serve as the common denominator that should enable the unity of NAM, which could never be achieved to this extent in the political realm due to the political, religious, ideological etc. differences between individual Non-Aligned countries."[21]

Following the summit, President Tito,[22] Vice President of the Federal Executive Council Anton Vratuša,[23] and member of the SFRY Presidency Augustin Papić[24] all stressed concrete measures for furthering economic cooperation as key achievements of the summit.

The focus on strengthening economic cooperation between NAM members shaped the institutionalisation of the movement. The Georgetown ministerial conference in 1972 adopted an action programme for economic cooperation and named coordinators for selected areas of economic cooperation, with both becoming an important part of the movement's operation and institutional make-up. Forms of informational cooperation like NANAP developed within this institutional framework. Further, the notion of "self-reliance" became central to both the NWICO and the NIEO.[25] It influenced NANAP by providing an overarching goal and by its framing of the issues – boosting South-South cooperation to achieve independence from the rich countries of the global North – as well as creating the institutional forms through which cooperation was taking place.

19 See Boris Cizelj, *Ekonomsko sodelovanje med deželami v razvoju: Teorija in praksa kolektivne opore na lastne sile* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1982) for an overview of the theory and practice of self-reliance from the Yugoslav perspective.

20 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-131 Report of the Preparatory Committee meeting in Kabul (Afghanistan), 28. 5. 1973, 422443, p. 10.

21 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-133 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Algiers, 434895, p. 1.

22 Josip Broz – Tito, "Potvrda snage i vitalnosti politike nesvrstavanja," *Međunarodna politika*, Nov 16, 1973.

23 Anton Vratuša, "Sastanak nesvrstanih u Alžiru i ostvarivanje međunarodne strategije razvoja," *Međunarodna politika*, Nov 1, 1973.

24 Augustin Papić, "Alžirska konferencija: Mjere u oblasti ekonomske saradnje," *Međunarodna politika*, Oct 1, 1973.

25 Breda Pavlič and Cees J. Hamelink, *The New International Economic Order: Links Between Economics and Communications* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985).

Tanjug's Role in Yugoslav Foreign Policy

The 1970s saw renewed interest in NAM within Yugoslavia. Two factors were paramount in reviving the Yugoslav leadership's interest in the movement. The first was the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, which raised fears of Soviet aggression against Yugoslavia and increased the need to foster international contacts and alliances.[26] The second reason was the decentralisation of power within Yugoslavia, which led the federal political elites to look to the world stage as a way of boosting their power and prestige within the federation.[27] The changing orientation of foreign policy impacted Tanjug's role as its position in international communications became more pronounced, both in terms of gathering information as well as promoting Yugoslav viewpoints around the world. The decentralisation of decision-making meant that Tanjug's role as the "backbone of the Yugoslav mass media system"[28] and the gatekeeper of information coming from foreign information sources[29] was an important asset for the federal leadership of Yugoslavia. This role was especially significant since information flows across the borders of the republics were otherwise limited and unbalanced.[30]

Concurrently with the changes in the Non-Aligned Movement, Tanjug was maturing as a news agency. By the late 1960s it had developed significantly from an organ of national resistance during the Second World War through a phase of an "informative institution centred on the federal administration",[31] financed directly from the federal budget until 1962,[32] to a largely professionalised journalistic operation[33] focused on both the domestic and world markets, boasting in 1969 that the agency had: "gained its place in the harsh competitive environment of the world market".[34] Already in 1964, Tanjug's operating budget was USD 1.3 million, it employed 485 full-time personnel and was outputting 85,000 words per day (40,000 for local, 45,000 for international customers).[35] While this was only a fraction of AP's 2 million word output at the time, these figures put Tanjug in eighth place in the international news market after the five international agencies, China's Xinhua and Egypt's Middle East News Agency.[36]

26 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 143, 144, 160, 161. Jakovina, *Treća strana*, 59.

27 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 161, 162.

28 Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1986), 111.

29 Tanjug occupied a mediating role between Yugoslav news media and foreign news agencies, receiving, selecting and distributing agency news to Yugoslav media.

30 See Splichal and Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje*, 77 for the circulation of newspapers outside of their "native" republics. – Ibidem, 106 for the exchange of television content.

31 RS AJ 130, 567 Information about the Tanjug news agency, p. 1.

32 In 1962 it was established as an autonomous organisation with the Decree on the Tanjug News Agency, while in 1974 the normative basis for its operation became the Law on the Tanjug News Agency.

33 Regarding Tanjug's significant degree of autonomy in relation to state institutions and journalistic professionalism, see Gertrude J. Robinson,"Tanjug: Yugoslavia's Multi-Faceted National News Agency" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1968). Gertrude J. Robinson, "Foreign News Selection Is Non-Linear in Yugoslavia's Tanjug Agency," *Journalism Quarterly* 47, No. 2 (1970): 340–51.

34 RS AJ 130 567 Programme for the development of Tanjug's technical basis 1970-1974, January 1969, p. 1.

35 Robinson, "Tanjug," 166.

36 Ibid.

To gather and disseminate information across the globe, Tanjug had been conducting bilateral agreements with foreign agencies as a way of supplementing its network of correspondents. These included commercial agreements with the major global agencies (in 1968 Tanjug had commercial agreements with AP, Reuters and AFP)[37] and news exchange agreements with smaller European and third world agencies, as well as technical aid agreements. Technical aid was primarily in the form of radio receivers, for example, in 1963 the federal government approved funds to Tanjug to supply radio printers to news agencies in Tunisia, Sudan, Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia and Afghanistan.[38] By 1969, Tanjug had provided radio printers to national news agencies in Ethiopia, Tunisia, Algiers, Ghana, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), Uganda, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Mexico and Bolivia and was in negotiations with several countries in East Africa and the Middle East.[39] Technical aid was not entirely philanthropic as the "beneficiary is obliged to use the equipment to receive Tanjug's news wire and to forward one copy to our embassy".[40]

New challenges and opportunities for Tanjug were emerging in the domestic market along with the rapid proliferation of new media organisations. Between 1960 and 1986, the number of radio stations grew tenfold, newspaper circulation threefold.[41] These changes meant that Tanjug had gained autonomy in both an organisational sense – becoming a self-managing working press organisation – and financially because Yugoslav media and companies[42] were becoming an ever more significant funding source.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia took notice of Tanjug's changing role and affirmed the need for the agency to develop as an "autonomous self-managing working organisation",[43] while simultaneously pointing to the need for close cooperation with the socio-political organs and organisations of the federation and republics. Especially in international communication, Tanjug had a "special obligation to present and comment on the foreign-political positions of our country and its international activities".[44] Tanjug's relative degree of autonomy meant that it was not merely acting as an organ of the government but was forming and pursuing its own goals, albeit in close cooperation with the federal government. As is shown in the remainder of this paper, the close cooperation with the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for Information was in no way one-sided.

37 Ibid., 134.

38 RS AJ 130 F-567 Note by the Assistant Secretary of the Federal Executive Council, 28. 2. 1963.

39 RS AJ A. CK SKJ XXVI-K.3/1 Meeting materials: Social role and position of the Tanjug news agency, 12. 11. 1969, pp. 6, 7.

40 Ibid., p. 7

41 Splichal and Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje*, 84

42 According to Ibid., 110, the main income sources for Tanjug in 1977 were: 1) Yugoslav mass media, accounting for 39.1% of its income; 2) socio-political communities and organisations, accounting for 38.5%; and 3) and Yugoslav companies to which Tanjug marketed an economic information service, accounting for 15.3%.

43 RS AJ 507 A. CK SKJ XXVI K3.1 Social position and role of Tanjug: summary of the position of the Commission of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists for Propaganda and Informational Activities, 12. 12. 1969, p. 1.

44 Ibid., p. 3.

Instead, Tanjug had a considerable influence on NAM and on Yugoslavia's foreign as well as domestic policy.

The significance of Tanjug in Yugoslavia's foreign policy was visible in 1969 when Tanjug asked the federal government for funds for modernising its radio equipment and its bid was supported by the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs: "DSIP [*Državni sekretariat za inostrane poslove* - State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs] considers that it is in the interests of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav politics that the position of Tanjug is consolidated and further strengthened".[45] The Secretariat listed several reasons: the first concerns Tanjug's role in gathering information on important events around the world and distributing it among Yugoslav authorities, especially when communication with Yugoslavia's diplomatic missions are interrupted during crises or when foreign media content in Yugoslav languages is involved.[46] The second relates to Tanjug's foreign output, where the Secretariat wanted to see foreign news agencies rely on Tanjug's news when reporting events from Yugoslavia. Moreover, the Secretariat argued that strengthening collaboration with Non-Aligned news agencies would be beneficial for the "break up the monopoly of the agencies of the great powers".[47]

With the reorientation of Yugoslav foreign policy, Tanjug also began to pay more attention to the Non-Aligned world. The Non-Aligned world and developing countries generally were seen as an opportunity for expansion since "especially in the areas of the developing countries there is an evident readiness to accept information from a national agency of a Non-Aligned country like Yugoslavia".[48] In 1971, the Federal Secretariat for Information recommended to the federal government that Tanjug increase the duration of its broadcasting to Latin America, West Africa, and Benelux and open three new permanent positions for correspondents in Western and Central Africa (1 correspondent), East Africa (1 correspondent) and Turkey.[49]

Despite Tanjug showing greater interest in the Non-Aligned and developing worlds, its network of permanent correspondents still reflected a very strong focus on Europe (both West and East), with hardly any permanent correspondents stationed in Non-Aligned countries (see Table 1). In Africa, we can even see a reduction in the number of correspondents between 1963 and 1970, with Tanjug having had four permanent (Algiers, Cairo, Accra, Dar es Salam) and three part-time (Khartoum, Addis Ababa, Leopoldville) correspondents stationed there in 1963.[50]

45 RS AJ 130, 567 Opinion of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs regarding the Programme of development of Tanjug's technical basis between 1970 and 1974, 20. 10. 1969, p. 1.

46 Tanjug had the role of monitoring and recording foreign media content in Yugoslav languages in addition to the content of major news media, reflecting a concern for undue ideological influences on Yugoslav citizens living abroad, particularly seasonal workers.

47 RS AJ 130, 567, Opinion of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs regarding the Programme of development of Tanjug's technical basis between 1970 and 1974, 20. 10. 1969, p. 3.

48 RS AJ A. CK SKJ XXVI-K.3/1 Meeting materials: Social role and position of the Tanjug news agency, 12. 11. 1969, p. 22.

49 RS AJ 130, 567 Proposal of the Federal Secretariat for Information to increase the scope of the program of activities of the News Agency Tanjug abroad and the newspaper Jugoslovenske novosti in 1971, 19. 8. 1970.

50 Tanjug, *Tanjug 1943–1963* (Beograd: Tanjug, 1963), 39.

Table 1: Locations of Tanjug's permanent correspondents in 1970

I. Europe		**II. Asia**	
Western		Lebanon	Beirut
Italy	Rome	India	New Delhi
Austria	Vienna	Cambodia	Singapore
Greece	Athens	Japan	Tokyo
France	Paris	Indonesia	Jakarta
West Germany	Bonn	**III. Africa**	
Great Britain	London	Egypt	Cairo
Sweden	Stockholm	Kenya	Nairobi
Socialist countries		**IV. North America**	
USSR (2 correspondents)	Moscow	USA – UN	New York
Poland	Warsaw	USA	Washington
East Germany	Berlin	**V. Latin America**	
Czechoslovakia	Prague	Mexico	
Hungary	Budapest	Brazil	Rio
Romania	Bucharest		
Bulgaria	Sofia		

Source: RS AJ 130, 567 Proposal of the Federal Secretariat for Information to increase the scope of the program of activities of the News Agency Tanjug abroad and the newspaper Jugoslovenske novosti in 1971, 19. 8. 1970, p. 9.

Tanjug's links with foreign agencies followed a similar pattern by being focused on (Western) Europe. Of the 31 agreements with foreign news agencies in 1968, almost half (15) were with agencies from Western Europe (including the global Reuters and AFP), seven with agencies from Eastern Europe (including the Soviet TASS), one with the US-based Associated Press, while just five were with agencies from Africa and the Middle East and the sole agreement in Latin America was with Cuba's *Prensa Latina*.[51]

This situation likely reflected Yugoslavia's foreign policy priorities that had turned away from the Non-Aligned movement during the latter half of the 1960s,[52] but it was also due to the underdevelopment of communication infrastructure in third world countries. National news agencies did not exist in many of such countries and, even where they did, they often did not have the technical capacities to receive Tanjug's news service, while Tanjug itself lacked the equipment to transmit to large parts of the world: "Central and South Africa and the northern part of South America remain uncovered. Through technical aid we have given 13 complete radio receivers to

51 Robinson, *Tanjug*, 133.
52 Dinkel, *Bewegung*, 142.

national news agencies in Asia, Africa and South America. However, Tanjug is unable to guarantee all of them a reliable signal due to the lack of antennae and sufficiently strong radio transmitters".[53]

The objective conditions for the cooperation with Non-Aligned media and news agencies were deemed "minimal" even as late as 1973.[54] This view was echoed by the interdepartmental group set up by the Federal Executive Council to implement the decisions of the 4th NAM Summit: "The objective conditions for furthering this sort of cooperation are minimal as the majority of their [Non-Aligned] agencies do not have an adequate material, technical and financial basis to disseminate information in their own country and to exchange information with other countries".[55] Another barrier was the lack of trained personnel.[56] To help alleviate this problem, the Yugoslav Institute for Journalism in Belgrade was organising short elementary courses for students from developing and Non-Aligned countries after 1962, while Tanjug and the public broadcaster JRT were accepting journalists for practical training.[57] While Yugoslav universities did offer graduate and postgraduate level journalism courses, few students from Non-Aligned countries applied, favouring the natural sciences.[58]

Therefore, as Tanjug and the federal government were looking to expand to Non-Aligned and other developing countries, they faced significant barriers. Maintaining a global network of correspondents was costly and Tanjug attempted to stretch its limited resources by relying on news exchange agreements. However, national news agencies simply did not exist in many third world countries or were unable to participate in news exchange by lacking equipment, finances, and trained personnel. Tanjug's attempts to stimulate NAM countries to establish news agencies and to encourage cooperation were likely a consequence of the fact that its existing growth strategy had reached its limits.

Establishing Information as an Area of Cooperation Within NAM

At the 1972 Georgetown conference, economic cooperation between NAM members was institutionalised in the form of coordinators for specific areas of cooperation and an action plan for economic cooperation, which laid out concrete steps to be taken in the future. As Yugoslavia was attempting to expand the areas of economic cooperation to include information, these were the institutional forms serving as a

53 RS AJ 130, 567 Programme for the development of Tanjug's technical basis 1970–1974, January 1969, p. 11.
54 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-131 Explanation of the draft agenda, 3. 7. 1973, 427164, p. 29.
55 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-136 Proposal of measures for the implementation of the decisions of the 4th NAM summit, december 1973, 451762, p. 39.
56 RS DAMSPRS R 1976 F-180 Information on opportunities for professional education of journalists from non-aligned countries in SFR Yugoslavia, 1. 6. 1976, 439539, p. 3.
57 Ibid.
58 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1980 F-219 Information on mutual cooperation of non-aligned countries in the field of information, education and science, 4. 9. 1980, 455813, p. 15.

blueprint. To be compatible with the movement's institutional history and ethos, NANAP had to be recontextualised in terms of multilateral economic cooperation. Yet, at the same time, NANAP was used to expedite the institutionalisation of informational cooperation within NAM since it was believed that a practical success would prove to other NAM members that strengthening informational cooperation was a worthwhile endeavour.

The Yugoslav efforts to put information on NAM's agenda could already be seen at the 4th NAM summit in Algiers. A working paper prepared by the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs following the Preparatory Committee's meeting in Kabul (13–15 May) stressed the need for closer cooperation in the areas of education, culture, science and information of Non-Aligned countries in order to further the "international affirmation and emancipation of their natural cultures".[59] Information was pointed out as an area where "cooperation hardly exists" and Non-Aligned countries are beholden to "the monopolies of the big global information sources"[60]. The primary goal set out in the document is to further cooperation between national news agencies where they exist, and to help establish national news agencies where they do not.

In the run-up to the summit, several Yugoslav news media came forward with suggestions to expand Non-Aligned cooperation: The public broadcaster JRT suggested that the summit recommend closer collaboration between Non-Aligned media[61] while the publishing house *Novi List* from Rijeka suggested the establishment of a "League of newspapers, broadcasters and news agencies of Non-Aligned countries" to further information exchange.[62] For this summit, a draft resolution, outlining measures to strengthen news agencies in Non-Aligned countries and the cooperation between them, was prepared by Tanjug in cooperation with the Federal Secretariat for Information.[63] Yugoslavia submitted a draft resolution calling for strengthening the means of information and communication, increased cooperation and exchange in more abstract terms than the draft resolution which had been prepared by Tanjug and the Federal Secretariat for Information.[64]

The final summit documents contain sections promoting the cooperation of the mass media and emphasising the need for Non-Aligned countries to mutually inform each other about their activities and achievements in the action programme for economic co-operation, as well as a section condemning the influence of "imperialism" on national cultures in the political declaration. The final documents of the summit are more abstract than the drafts prepared by Yugoslavia and Tanjug and the political

59 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-131 Explanation of the draft agenda of the 4th NAM summit, 3. 7. 1973, 427167, p. 27.
60 Ibid., p. 29.
61 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-131 Note on the conversation with comrade Frank Winter, Director-General of Radio-Television Zagreb, 18. 7. 1973, 429625.
62 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1973 F-131 Proposal for the establishment of the League of Newspapers, Broadcasting Stations and News Agencies of non-aligned countries, 22. 8. 1973, 435471, p.1.
63 RS AJ KPR 1973 I-4-a/15 Information on some proposals of institutions and organizations regarding the 4th NAM Summit. 4. 4. 1973, pp. 6–9.
64 RS AJ KPR 1973 I-4-a/15 Draft resolution on cooperation of non-aligned countries in the fields of education, science, culture, information and sports, 18. 8. 1973.

declaration is notably more aggressive in condemning "imperialism", "alien cultural domination" and "cultural alienation / … / imposed by imperialism and colonialism".[65] This is quite a change in direction from the very sombre and practical Yugoslav drafts, which had sought to phrase the issues in a way that would not antagonise the West.

Yugoslavia continued its efforts at future events. At a meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Algiers (19–22 March 1974), the need to strengthen cooperation between Non-Aligned mass media was reiterated.[66] Further steps were taken at the first meeting of coordinators of economic activity in Belgrade (9–13 September 1974) where the Yugoslav delegation proposed to broaden the scope of economic cooperation to cover new areas, including mass communications, science, culture, and health.[67]

The Secretariat for Foreign Affairs soon after sent a telegram reminding all diplomatic missions to work towards the goal of naming coordinators for the field of information within NAM according to the agreement reached at the Belgrade meeting of the Coordinating Bureau.[68] Tunisia was regarded as a preferred candidate for this position[69] and Yugoslavia was engaging in intensive diplomatic activity to make it happen.[70]

Yugoslavia remained in close contact with Tunisia throughout this period, especially with Mustapha Masmoudi, the Tunisian Minister for Information from September 1974 onward. Bilateral relations between the countries were judged to be excellent[71] and Masmoudi shared Yugoslavia's views on the need to institutionalise informational cooperation within NAM. The Tunisian news agency TAP helped further Tanjug's plans by inviting Ivačić to a symposium of Afro-Arab news agencies that Tunisia was chairing in 1975. The symposium endorsed participation in NANAP by adopting a recommendation for Afro-Arab news agencies, which helped promote the pool's cause within NAM, and facilitated bilateral contacts between Tanjug and the participating news agencies.

The Yugoslav embassy in Tunis was particularly pleased that the recommendation omits mention of Yugoslavia or Tanjug: "The recommendation does not mention Tanjug and Yugoslavia and in this way the pool is given a broad multilateral basis of non-alignment".[72] It appears the Yugoslav diplomats were afraid Yugoslavia's leading role would be viewed with suspicion within NAM as an attempt to hegemonise the movement and therefore wished to downplay and disguise its level of involvement. The

65 "Documents of the 4th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, Algiers, Algeria, 5. – 9. September 1973," http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/4th_Summit_FD_Algiers_Declaration_1973_Whole.pdf, 73.

66 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-173 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Algiers, 22. 3. 1974, 413849.

67 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-173 Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Berislav Badurina 23. 7. 1974, 434924.

68 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Addendum to the circular dispach from the Federal Secretariat for Information, 26. 9. 1974, 445442.

69 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Telegram from the cabinet of the Deputy Federal Secretary, 23. 10. 1974, 450846.

70 RS DAMSPRS PA R F-172 Note on the conversation between the President of the Federal Secretariat for Information, Muhamed Berberović, and the Ambassador of the Republic of Tunisia to the SFRY, Talib Sahbani, 13. 2. 1975, 47580, p. 1.

71 RS DAMSPRS PA TUNIS 1976 F-151 Report on Tunisia's foreign and domestic policy and Yugoslav-Tunisian bilateral relations in 1975, 28. 1. 1976, 45900.

72 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-172 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Tunis, 1. 3. 1975, 410687.

fact that very few other countries were showing initiative is a key reason Yugoslavia was eager to institutionalise information as an area of cooperation within NAM: "in this way more countries are included in responsibilities and directly engaged in furthering these activities, in which our country has had a pronounced leading role due to circumstances".[73]

Yugoslavia hoped that a coordinator in the area of information would be named at the ministerial conference in Lima.[74] In the lead-up to the meeting, India began to show increased interest in institutionalising NANAP and had prepared a draft working paper for the Lima conference.[75] The Indian draft heavily stresses the need to institutionalise NANAP on a multilateral basis, to develop it according to a "polycentric basis" by establishing regional centres, and suggests that its management be taken over by "a council of government representatives or by a board of directors".[76] The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs viewed the Indian initiative favourably.[77] The ministerial conference in Lima adopted a resolution (VI. Cooperation in the areas of information and mass media), which gives support to NANAP and names Tunisia as the coordinator for information.

Two aspects emerge from the archival sources regarding the institutionalisation of Non-Aligned cooperation in the information field. The first is that Yugoslavia was clearly the driving force, while there seems to be a lack of enthusiasm from other countries. The most likely cause is found in the underdevelopment of communication infrastructure as even in 1973 the Yugoslav estimates were that the conditions for the cooperation of Non-Aligned news agencies and mass media were minimal. Even guaranteeing reliable radio transmissions was a challenge, let alone creating the conditions for professional journalistic production able to compete with the global agencies. With the notable exception of Tunisia, which shared Yugoslavia's views and commitment to furthering Non-Aligned cooperation in the area of information,[78] other Non-Aligned nations seemed hesitant to commit themselves to the idea, as seen in Yugoslavia's inability to ensure concrete steps were taken in this direction. The position of India began to shift in mid-1975, around the time Indira Gandhi had declared a state of emergency, when India took a much more active interest particularly in NANAP and began pushing for its multilateral institutionalisation and acting towards hosting the first NANAP conference.

73 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Development of non-aligned cooperation in the field of information, 23. 12. 1974, 461149, p. 11.

74 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-175 Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Berislav Badurina, 18. 7. 1975, 436147.

75 RS DAMSPRS R 1975 F-175 Note on the conversation of special adviser A. Demajo with Indian press and culture adviser Sakher, 6. 8. 1975, 438233, p. 1.

76 Ibid., pp. 2–4.

77 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-175 Telegram from the eighth administration to Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi. 13. 8. 1975, 439523.

78 RS DAMSPRS PA Tunis 1976 F-151 Report on Tunisia's foreign and domestic policy and Yugoslav-Tunisian bilateral relations in 1975, 28. 1. 1976, 45900, pp. 43–47.

The Launch of NANAP

While progress in institutionalising information as an area of cooperation among the Non-Aligned countries was slow, Yugoslavia was putting its hopes in strengthening bilateral cooperation between national news agencies in preparation for of NANAP's launch in January 1975. In September 1974, all Yugoslav diplomatic missions received a circular dispatch from the Federal Secretariat for Information, informing them that the federal government had adopted an action plan to further cooperation among Non-Aligned mass media as a way of implementing the decisions of the 4th NAM summit.[79] The dispatch describes four ongoing activities:

- strengthening Tanjug's bilateral ties with other Non-Aligned news agencies and actions to establish an "interagency 'pool'";
- boosting cooperation among broadcasting organisations;
- cooperation between national associations of journalists; and
- facilitating cooperation among newsreel organisations.

While the other activities were in their very early stages, NANAP was already well advanced since Tanjug had in cooperation with Yugoslav embassies sounded out existing Non-Aligned news agencies regarding the question of intensifying cooperation and the feedback was deemed positive enough to proceed with the planned launch of the pool.[80]

The goal was for NANAP to start its first phase of operation – meaning Tanjug would extend its radio printer transmissions to include news items from the pool – before the Coordinating Bureau meeting in February 1975 and the meeting of news agencies of African and Arab countries in the same year.[81] This was seen as a way of influencing NAM's decisions in favour of institutionalising informational cooperation. The declaration from the Havana meeting of the Coordinating Bureau confirms this, citing the existence of NANAP as a reason for naming coordinators: "Given that cooperation in the area of disseminating information and in the area of mass media is already ongoing / … / the Bureau recommends that coordinators be named".[82]

In the second phase, pool items would be transmitted through several agencies according to "geographic and linguistic keys".[83] This phase was considered more delicate due to the "prestige-oriented and political interests of some agencies", for example the interests of certain agencies to maintain existing regional alliances or their leading roles in their respective regions.[84] At this point, 11 news agencies had already agreed to

79 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Elaboration of the decisions of the Algiers summit related to the field of mass communications, 16. 9. 1974, 447476.

80 Ibid. pp. 1, 2.

81 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Development of non-aligned cooperation in the field of information, 23. 12. 1974, 461149, p. 3.

82 RS DAMSPRS PA R F-172 Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana (Cuba) on 17–19 March 1975. March 1975, 414394, p. 25.

83 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Development of non-aligned cooperation in the field of information, 23. 12. 1974, 461149, p. 3

84 Ibid.

take part in the pool (from Algiers, Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq, Libya, Palestine, Mali, Sudan, Ghana, Cuba, Mexico), while negotiations with a further 20 were still underway.[85]

The Press Trust of India, the intended Indian partner, however, was conspicuous by its absence from the list.[86] The sources in the Yugoslav archives do not provide more than speculation as to the causes, ranging from technical difficulties to the influence of Reuters. In any case, PTI's reticence in joining the pool was seen as a problem because it was believed that "the inclusion of India in the pool would stimulate the interest of other NA [Non-Aligned] in Asia and would remove any suspicion that it was conceived on a regional basis".[87] The Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi reported that a spokesman for the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and for the government had informed them that "the position of PTI is not the same as the official position of the Indian government" and that "India will contribute news items to the pool via its embassy in Belgrade regardless of PTI and its editor-in-chief Raghavan".[88] These initial difficulties foreshadowed future problems as the participation of India's national news agencies became even more difficult after Indira Gandhi's fall from power, as NANAP was linked with the measures to suppress freedom of the press during her state of emergency.

The pool commenced operation on 20 January 1975 by transmitting the statements of Non-Aligned leaders, beginning with the prime minister of Sri Lanka Sirimavo Bandaranaike, followed by Tito the next day and further statements by Non-Aligned leaders every day.[89] The information service of the UN (OPI-UN) as well as that of UNESCO voiced their intentions to supply NANAP with their news,[90] while Živan Berisavljević, adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, noted the negative reactions from certain Western news agencies (AFP, DPA, Reuters) and the reserved stance of the USSR and the GDR on the initiative.[91] The USSR remained unenthusiastic, as "Latisev [the editor of TASS] expressed a negative attitude of the USSR towards the pool" in March 1976.[92]

Ensuring the success of NANAP was a priority of the Yugoslav government as may be seen from the instructions issued to all Yugoslav diplomatic missions in Non-Aligned countries: "It is required that all DKP [Diplomatic-consular representations] in NA [Non-Aligned] countries keep up to date on the practical effects (impact on publicity, technical and other eventual difficulties) as well as the political ramifications of this pool. Full engagement and quick reactions are expected from all DKPs, including suggestions for further developing this action, which has a distinctly political character."[93]

85 Ibid., p. 4.
86 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1974 F-174 Development of non-aligned cooperation in the field of information, 23. 12. 1974, 461149, p. 4.
87 RS DAMSPRS PA 1975 F-172 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi, 5. 2. 1975, 45458.
88 RS DAMSPRS PA 1975 F-172 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi, 19. 2. 1975 48333.
89 RS DAMSPRS PA 1975 F-172, Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Živan Berisavljević to all Yugoslav embassies and the permanent missions in New York, Geneva and Unesco, Paris, 27. 1. 1975, p. 1.
90 Ibid. p. 2.
91 Ibid.
92 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-179 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Moscow, 1. 3. 1976, 411249.
93 RS DAMSPRS PA 1975 F-172 Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Živan Berisavljević to all Yugoslav embassies and the permanent missions in New York, Geneva and Unesco, Paris, 27. 1. 1975, 43488, p. 3.

By April, the number of participating agencies had risen to 18 (19 including Tanjug); in addition to the 11 starting members, these were: Argentina, India, Bangladesh, Cambodia, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Malesia, and Chad, while news agencies from Zambia and Mali had agreed to participate but were unable to do so.[94] Yet, it is unclear to what extent the named agencies actually participated in the pool since India was still participating via its embassy in Belgrade, while efforts were being taken to persuade PTI, including a visit from Ivačić and "pressure from the government".[95]

There seems to have been some reluctance in the news media to make use of items supplied through the pool: "We are not even satisfied with the attitude of our own press, in which the inertia towards news items from news agencies is still not overcome. Actions along state and party lines are being taken to quickly overcome this state of affairs".[96] The reluctance of news media to rely on NANAP items was reported by Yugoslav embassies in Libya[97] and Egypt,[98] while newspapers in Ghana and one Mexican newspaper were described as making good use of NANAP.[99] However, the circulation of pool items was not systematically tracked and it is hard to tell how widely news items from the pool were circulated at this point.

Institutionalising NANAP

Activities intensified during 1976 as this was the year of the 5th NAM summit in Colombo, which had to ratify what had been achieved up until then. The activities in this year reflect remarkably well the Yugoslav plans for further actions laid out in 1974. The symposium proposed by the Yugoslav Institute for Journalism and other organisations was held in Tunis in March, while in August India hosted a meeting of representatives of news agencies and of ministers of information in New Delhi, which adopted the NANAP statute and named its coordinating body. Finally, Yugoslavia was able to attract Tunisia and India to take an active role in furthering informational cooperation.

The symposium in Tunis was viewed as a possibility to advance the institutionalisation of informational cooperation.[100] The Federal Secretariat for Information considered the symposium "very significant" and attributed a "political character" to it.[101] Even though Tunisia was the official host, Yugoslavia was closely involved in all aspects

94 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-173 Telegram from cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Živan Berisavljević to Yugoslav embassies, 15. 4. 1975, 418539, p. 1.

95 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-173 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi, 28. 4. 1975, 420925.

96 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-173 Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Živan Berisavljević to Yugoslav embassies, 15. 4. 1975, 418539, p. 1.

97 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-173 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Tripoli, 21. 4. 1975, 419864.

98 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-173 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Cairo, 30. 4. 1975, 421714.

99 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1975 F-175 Status and prospects of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, 25. 7. 1975, 437390.

100 DA PA R 1975 F-174 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Tunis, 15. 11. 1975, 455140, p. 599.

101 DA PA R 1975 F-174 Telegram from the Federal Secretariat for Information, 18. 12. 1975, 460018, p. 1.

of organising the symposium, from the preparation of documents to logistical and financial matters. The symposium was an opportunity for representatives from Non-Aligned countries (media representatives, scholars, state representatives) to discuss the Non-Aligned informational cooperation in depth. The symposium's impact is hard to judge since it only adopted recommendations, although its true value was likely to be found in facilitating informal contacts and the open discussion freed from the need to negotiate a resolution or declaration.

The New Delhi meeting was in many ways the opposite of the Tunis symposium. If the symposium was the culmination of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Tunisia, in New Delhi India asserted its will against their wishes. While significant political decisions were taken at the meeting, it was also marked by political conflict and a battle for prestige. India seems to have increased its activity regarding NANAP more for political and prestigious reasons than a genuine interest in furthering the cooperation among news agencies. While Yugoslavia and Tunisia argued that the meeting was to be held at the level of representatives of news agencies and to focus on NANAP, India insisted that the meeting be held on a ministerial level and the agenda be broadened to include all aspects of informational cooperation. Yugoslavia accepted this since the belief was that "we judged that it is very important to India to host a ministerial meeting of NA [Non-Aligned], especially after similar Indian initiatives have failed (CB [Coordinating Bureau], the summit of Asian NA), and this due to both foreign-political and domestic-political reasons".[102]

Because the New Delhi meeting had been elevated to a ministerial level, it was disrupted by political conflicts: "First the minister of Laos attacked ASEAN countries, calling them 'an extended arm of NATO'. / … / Then the Palestinians attacked the Syrians because of the invasion of Lebanon and accused them of hindering the liberation struggle of the nation of Palestine. / … / The atmosphere became especially heated when the minister of Sudan accused Libya of attempting a coup and trying to murder Nimeiry. / … / The Indians attempted to prevent these accusations, pleading with the representatives that the conference was not a place for such dialogue, yet without success."[103]

The events in New Delhi foreshadowed the way political divisions within NAM would hinder the operation of NANAP, for instance, the conflict between the Arab states and Egypt after Egypt had signed a peace treaty with Israel. Since the Arab countries demanded that Egypt be expelled from NAM, they also put the participation of Egypt's news agency in NANAP in question. The second NANAP conference, planned to be held before the 6th summit in Havana, was postponed in the hope the issue of Egypt's membership would be settled there. However, as the resolution of the issue had simply been rescheduled, the conflict between Egypt and the Arab states marked the NANAP conference despite the postponement.

102 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-180 Telegram from the cabinet of adviser and assistant to the Federal Secretary Živan Berisavljević to Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions, 7. 5. 1976, 425354, p. 2.

103 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-180, Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in New Delhi, 12. 7. 1976, 438623, p. 1.

Another political factor also came into the foreground as NANAP – and broader questions of informational cooperation – became the fighting grounds for political prestige. India's ambitions caused some controversy on the side of Tunisia, Masmoudi and Triki (director-general of the Tunisian news agency TAP) "talked about the behaviour of the host – India – with indignation. They believed the primary goal of India is to downplay the role of Tunisia as the coordinator for the area of information and to impose themselves as the main factor, diminishing everything that has been achieved so far".[104] They suspected – correctly, as it later turned out – that India would attempt to replace Tunisia with Sri Lanka as the coordinator for information.[105]

Despite such political differences, the delegates managed to conclude the meeting, adopting the NANAP statute, a political declaration, two resolutions (Action Plan of Cooperation and the Resolution Regarding Cable Rates) and a draft paragraph for the 5th NAM summit, as well as naming NANAP's governing body. The Coordinating Committee of NANAP was "based on regional parity and composed of directors of news agencies from the following countries: India as chairman, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Peru, Zaire, Iraq, Mauritius, Egypt, Cuba, Ghana, Vietnam, Senegal, Tunisia and Mexico".[106] The statute specifies that the Coordinating Committee must meet at least once annually, while representatives of governments and news agencies must meet at the start of each summit year.[107] The Federal Secretariat for Information judged the results to be "perfectly satisfactory".[108]

Summary and Discussion

The main driving force behind the emergence and institutionalisation of NANAP was Yugoslavia, where Tanjug and the federal political elites found a common cause in strengthening Tanjug's ties with Non-Aligned news agencies. Yugoslavia pushed to include mass media cooperation in the documents of the 4th NAM summit and to ensure further steps in institutionalising mass media cooperation within NAM: the Tunis symposium on communication and meetings of Non-Aligned information ministers and news agencies, as well as BONAC and connections between Non-Aligned journalistic institutes and associations. NANAP served as both a blueprint for other forms of informational cooperation and as proof of concept since Yugoslavia wanted to further informational cooperation and its institutionalisation by providing other NAM leaders with a successful example.

104 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-180 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Tunis, 24. 7. 1976, 440376, p. 1. The view was echoed by Tanzanian participants, see DA PA R 1976 F-180 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Dar es Salaam, 30. 7. 1976, 441829.

105 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-180 Telegram from the Yugoslav embassy in Tunis, 24. 7. 1976, 440376, p. 1.

106 RS AJ KPR i-4-a/25 Report of the Yugoslav delegation from the Conference of Ministers of Information of Non-Aligned Countries on the POOL of news agencies, 21. 7. 1976, p. 4

107 Ibid.

108 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1976 F-180 Circular dispatch from the Federal Secretariat for Information to all Yugoslav diplomatic missions, 27. 7. 1976, 440566, p. 4.

NANAP may be considered a success by several metrics. The institutionalisation of news agencies' cooperation within NAM helped Tanjug's efforts by facilitating contacts with other news agencies and encouraging the development of bilateral relations. NANAP exhibited steady growth over the following 25 years, expanding to encompass more than 50 news agencies and government information services by 1980[109] and 103 by 1992. To indicate scale, the 6th NAM summit in 1979 was attended by 89 member states[110] while the 10th NAM summit in 1992 attracted 101.[111] NANAP's output grew as well; in 1975, the average daily number of words exchanged among participating news agencies was 8,000,[112] rising to 40,000 words by 1983[113] and 120,000 by 1992[114]. While this increase was considerable, it still paled in comparison to the output of the 'Big Four'. Namely, in 1978 AP, UPI, AFP and Reuters were outputting 33 million words daily.[115] Further, NANAP was also credited for contributing to: "improving telecommunication facilities, including satellites, lowering transmission rates, and increasing training facilities for news agency journalists and assistance to establishment of agencies in countries without such services".[116]

In order to explain the process of NANAP's creation and early institutionalisation, I have presented three factors: internal, external, and those rooted in NAM's institutional history.

Since Yugoslavia was the main driving force behind NANAP, the goals and strategies of Yugoslav actors, chiefly those of Tanjug and the federal political elites, were a key influence on NANAP's development and the informational cooperation within NAM more broadly. Tanjug had an interest in strengthening its ties with Non-Aligned news agencies. There is no indication that the cause was a political commitment to the idea of non-alignment, but it was framed through the need to bolster the agency's position in the competitive global marketplace of news. News exchange agreements had already been established as the preferred way of establishing ties with foreign news agencies and were not specific to Tanjug. Especially for a relatively small – at least compared to the big global agencies – and financially limited news agency like Tanjug, this was a way of stretching its limited resources and supplementing its own network of correspondents. Tanjug's interests coincided with the interests of the federal political elites as strengthening Tanjug's position in the world market was seen as a way

109 RS DAMSPRS PA R 1980 F-219 Informacija o medjusobnoj saradnji nesvrstanih zemalja u oblasti informacija, obrazovanja i nauke, 4. 9. 1980, 455813, p. 4.

110 "Documents of the 6th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, Havana, Cuba, 3. – 9. September 1979," http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/6th_Summit_FD_Havana_Declaration_1979_Whole.pdf, 6.

111 "Documents of the 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1. – 6. September 1992," http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf.

112 Boyd-Barrett and Thussu, *Contra-Flow*, 71.

113 Coordinating Committee, *News Agencies Pool*, 23.

114 Boyd-Barrett and Thussu, *Contra-Flow*, 71.

115 Phil Harris, "Le monde des agences de presse," *International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems*, 11 (Paris: UNESCO, 1978).

116 MacBride Commission, *Many Voices, One World* (Paris: Unesco, 1980), 85.

of influencing public opinion in Yugoslavia's favour. Tanjug's expansion to the Non-Aligned world was viewed positively and supported by the Yugoslav state, especially the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as Tanjug's information infrastructure was seen as helping to promote Yugoslavia's viewpoints in the world as well as a mechanism for facilitating information exchange between state institutions.

The second are external factors, namely, changes in international relations on a global scale as well as within the Non-Aligned Movement. With the rising gap between rich and poor countries, disillusionment with the UN, slowing global economic growth and the breakdown of the Bretton-Woods system in 1971, NAM began to focus attention on North-South economic disparities and practical efforts for boosting "self-reliance", that is, strengthening South-South cooperation to improve its position within the global economy and increase its bargaining power vis-à-vis the developed countries. These efforts came to encompass information as well, largely due to Yugoslav efforts.

The third are factors rooted in institutional history. Even though NANAP was an extension of Tanjug's bilateral relations with Non-Aligned agencies and its interest in expanding to developing countries, the pool was recontextualised within the drive to institutionalise "self-reliance" through economic cooperation and had to be adapted to the established forms of this cooperation. Pre-existing forms of economic cooperation thus provided a blueprint for the institutionalisation of NANAP and informational cooperation more generally. The prevailing institutional ethos of NAM, reflecting strong opposition to centralisation, shaped the formation of NANAP as a decentralised, multilateral project. Although Yugoslavia was clearly the leading force, it had to disguise and downplay the level of its involvement and was investing considerable effort to attract active cooperation from other NAM countries (particularly Tunisia and India) and presenting NANAP as a multilateral project with a broad basis of support from the outset, even though this was certainly not the case.

While NANAP achieved impressive growth up until the end of the Cold War, furthered Tanjug's goals of expanding its presence in the Non-Aligned world and boosted Yugoslavia's prestige within NAM, there were also important limitations to NANAP's development. Political divisions within NAM came to hinder the operation of NANAP, it became a battleground for prestige and influence within the movement and was very publicly tied to undemocratic practices of NAM leaders like Indira Gandhi. Curtailment of the freedom of the press by Non-Aligned governments supplied the Western media – most of which were already hostile to the very notion that imbalances in global information and communication flows needed to be addressed – with proof that NANAP was simply a ploy whereby autocrats wished to stifle freedom of expression.

The factors shaping NANAP's early development often contradicted each other, for example, the interest of Tanjug and the Yugoslav federal elites in increasing Tanjug's presence in Western media was counteracted by the need to institutionalise NANAP as a multilateral project within NAM. From the beginning, we can see that the very benevolent rhetoric proposed by Yugoslavia for the Algiers summit had turned into

a belligerent battle cry against cultural imperialism during the summit. While former colonies certainly had very good reasons to feel antagonistic towards the cultural domination imposed by their former colonial masters, this antagonistic stance flew in the face of Tanjug's efforts to cooperate with Western media, and the goal of increasing positive portrayals of the Non-Aligned countries in the West. Similarly, Article 5 of the NANAP statute tasked the pool with: "strengthening the unity of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement and the decolonisation of information".[117] Such an explicit political mandate was antithetical to the dominant normative conceptualisations of journalism in the West and likely strengthened suspicions that information from NANAP could not be relied on.

Moreover, the institutionalisation within NAM compounded another pre-existing problem; namely, that many participating news agencies lacked autonomy from state institutions and reproduced government propaganda, by further politicising the pool's operation. The conflict between the Arab states and Egypt caused the second NANAP conference to be postponed until after the 6th NAM summit in Havana, and continued to plague the conference since the summit failed to resolve the issue. Another problem was that NAM states could easily regard the inclusion of an item critical of them as an affront, and conflicts between members were certainly impossible to report without causing a diplomatic incident. The need to gain support within NAM and present NANAP as a multilateral project from the very start led Yugoslavia to support India's bid to coordinate NANAP, even though Indian news agencies did not participate in NANAP. India assumed the role of NANAP coordinator just as attempts to curtail the freedom of the press were in full swing during Indira Gandhi's state of emergency.[118] This unfortunate state of affairs not only added to animosity in the West, but also permanently damaged NANAP's reputation among Indian journalists.

Finally, NANAP's establishment did not solve the problems of underdeveloped information and communication infrastructure in third world countries: the lack of technology, finances, trained personnel and in many cases of autonomy from political institutions continued to plague NANAP's operations in the time of its existence. Contributions to the pool remained uneven, with just a few countries contributing most of the items, the overall quality of news items remained low, and they too often uncritically reproduced the official perspective of the respective governments, news items from the pool were not widely used even within NAM countries, while they barely had any presence in the West at all.[119] In the mid 1990s, NANAP finally stopped operating, unable to survive the Western hostility, the end of the Cold War and resulting geopolitical changes as well as losing its leading force following the collapse of Yugoslavia.[120]

117 Coordinating Committee, *News Agencies Pool*, 216.

118 George Verghese, "Press Censorship under Indira Gandhi," in: *The Third World and Press Freedom*, ed. P. C. Horton (New York: Praeger, 1978), 220–30.

119 Cf. Boyd-Barrett and Thussu, *Contra-Flow*. Matthew Crain, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," in: *Encyclopaedia of Social Movement Media*, ed. John D. H. Downing (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011), 367–69.

120 For the impact of Yugoslavia's dissolution on Tanjug, see Mark Thompson, *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999), 22–31.

Acknowledging the limitations of NANAP as well as the double standards of the Non-Aligned leaders, who were much less committed to democratising social communication and supporting independent voices in their own countries than they were in lambasting the dominance of Western information sources in international communication, should not lead us to dismiss NANAP as simply a failure or to affirm the reductionist claim that its primary purpose was to stifle freedom of the press. Western media systematically distorted and misrepresented the NWICO initiative[121] because Non-Aligned demands for balancing the global flow of information would have negatively impacted their global influence and profits. The USA in particular saw the opposition to the policy of free flow of information in a liberalised global market as a threat to the interest of its transnational media corporations as well as the global influence of the American state.[122] Hence, the Western critiques of NANAP and NWICO also suffered from a hefty dose of double standards since they largely ignored the continuing legacy of colonial domination and the legitimacy of desires to protect national cultures in the circumstances of extreme global power imbalances, as well as ignore the specific limitations and challenges developing countries were facing while attempting to develop their communications infrastructure: "The fact that there was not a sufficient market to create independent media systems in the South, and therefore the state was indispensable to create national media, was lost in the debate. Why was the BBC legitimate while Radio Tanzania was not?".[123]

Instead, the case of NANAP demonstrates the significant structural barriers Non-Aligned countries encountered while seeking to become less dependent on Western news sources. The pooling of resources was meant to overcome this dependence by increasing South-South cooperation, yet, even after pooling their resources, the Non-Aligned countries remained collectively poor. While Yugoslavia offered assistance in the form of technical aid and journalist training, these efforts were woefully inadequate for addressing the underdevelopment of communication infrastructure and the lack of trained personnel, notably in the poorest Non-Aligned countries. This meant Non-Aligned countries remained reliant on outside aid that could only come from the rich countries of the global North and the international organisations largely financed by these rich countries. Hence – paradoxically – the achievement of "self-reliance" very much depended on the aid and support of the very powers the Non-Aligned countries were attempting to break free from.

121 Colleen Roach,"French Press Coverage of the Belgrade UNESCO Conference," *Journal of Communication* 31, No. 4 (1981): 175–87. Colleen Roach, "The US Position on the New World Information and Communication Order," *Journal of Communication* 37, No. 4 (1987): 36–51.

122 Cf. Herbert I. Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (New York: International Arts and Science Press, 1976), chapter 2. Diana Lemberg, *Barriers Down: How American Power and Free-Flow Policies Shaped Global Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), chapter 6.

123 Roberto Sauvio, "From New International Information Order to New Information Market Order," in: *From NWICO to WSIS: 30 Years of Communication Geopolitics*, eds. Divina Frau-Meigs, Jeremie Nicey, Michael Palmer, Julia Pohle, and Patricio Tupper (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2013), 236.

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  - 837 KPR: Cabinet of the President of the Republic.
  - 130 SIV: Federal Executive Council.
  - 507 A. CK SKJ Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.
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Sašo Slaček Brlek

NASTANEK ZDRUŽENJA NEUVRŠČENIH TISKOVNIH AGENCIJ

POVZETEK

Članek se osredotoča na proces oblikovanja Združenja neuvrščenih novičarskih agencij in dejavnike, ki so oblikovali njegov razvoj. Avtor pojasnjuje nastanek združenja s tremi skupinami dejavnikov: notranjimi (delovanje Tanjuga in jugoslovanskih političnih elit), zunanjimi (spremembami v mednarodnih odnosih) in tistimi, ki so zakoreninjeni v institucionalni zgodovini gibanja neuvrščenih.

Ker je bila Jugoslavija glavna gonilna sila združenja tiskovnih agencij neuvrščenih, so bili cilji in strategije jugoslovanskih akterjev, predvsem Tanjuga in zveznih političnih elit, ključnega pomena za razvoj združenja in širše za informacijsko sodelovanje znotraj gibanja neuvrščenih. Tanjug je želel krepiti sodelovanje z neuvrščenimi tiskovnimi agencijami in na tak način izboljšati svoj položaj na globalnem trgu tiskovnih agencij. Ta interes je sovpadal z interesi zveznih političnih elit, ki so s krepitvijo globalnega dosega Tanjuga želele povečati svoj vpliv na medijsko poročanje in javno mnenje v drugih državah, predvsem neuvrščenih in na Zahodu. Zvezne oblasti so podpirale Tanjugovo širitev v neuvrščeni svet, saj so si od tega obetale učinkovitejšo promocijo svojih stališč v svetu in boljši pretok informacij med državnimi institucijami.

Druga skupina dejavnikov so spremembe v mednarodnih odnosih. Z naraščajočo vrzeljo med bogatimi in revnimi državami, popuščanjem napetosti med ZDA in Sovjetsko zvezo, razočaranjem tretjega sveta nad Združenimi narodi, upočasnitvijo svetovne gospodarske rasti in zlomom bretton-woodskega sistema leta 1971 je gibanje neuvrščenih začelo usmerjati povečano pozornost na gospodarske razlike med severom in jugom ter na praktična prizadevanja za spodbujanje sodelovanja jug-jug. Ta prizadevanja so predvsem zaradi jugoslovanskih pobud vključevala tudi informacijsko sodelovanje, najprej v obliki združenja tiskovnih agencij, po katerem so se zgledovale druge oblike sodelovanja med neuvrščenimi množičnimi mediji.

Tretja skupina so dejavniki, ki izhajajo iz institucionalne zgodovine gibanja. Čeprav je združenje tiskovnih agencij izhajalo iz Tanjugovih dvostranskih dogovorov z neuvrščenimi agencijami, je bilo rekontekstualizirano v okviru težnje po institucionalizaciji sodelovanja jug-jug z in ga je bilo treba prilagoditi ustaljenim oblikam tega

sodelovanja. Prevladujoči institucionalni etos NAM, ki je nasprotoval centralizaciji, je vplival na to, da se je združenje tiskovnih agencij razvijalo kot decentraliziran multilateralen projekt. Čeprav je bila Jugoslavija očitno vodilna sila, je morala prikrivatii stopnjo svojega angažmaja in je vlagala veliko truda, da bi pritegnila aktivno sodelovanje drugih neuvrščenih držav (zlasti Tunizije in Indije) ter predstavila združenje kot večstranski projekt s široko podporo že od samega začetka.

Kljub temu da je združenje tiskovnih agencij ob koncu hladne vojne pritegnilo k sodelovanju skorajda vse neuvrščene države, omogočalo Tanjugu okrepiti prisotnost v neuvrščenem svetu in Jugoslaviji, da je utrdila svoj prestiž znotraj gibanja, ter spodbujalo razvoj informacijske infrastrukture in oblikovanje tiskovnih agencij v neuvrščenih državah, pa so že kmalu po ustanovitvi postale očitne njegove omejitve. Delovanje združenja so hromile politične delitve znotraj gibanja neuvrščenih, postalo je bojišče za prestiž in vpliv znotraj gibanja in bilo zelo vidno povezano z nedemokratičnimi praksami določenih voditeljev neuvrščenih držav. Prav tako je delovanje združenja ves čas zaznamovalo pomanjkanje tehnične opreme, finančnih sredstev in usposobljenega osebja.

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Melita Poler Kovačič*

Normative Role Orientations of Yugoslav Journalists: A Study of Journalism Ethics Codes in the SFRY**

IZVLEČEK

NORMATIVNE USMERITVE VLOG JUGOSLOVANSKIH NOVINARJEV: ŠTUDIJA NOVINARSKIH ETIČNIH KODEKSOV V SFRJ

Cilj te študije je raziskati normativne orientacije vlog novinarjev v SFRJ, kot so zapisane v petih jugoslovanskih novinarskih etičnih kodeksih ali razvidne iz njih. Z analizo dokumentov in primerjalno zgodovinsko metodo smo raziskali razloge za sprejem prvega kodeksa, analizirali pojmovanja svobode in odgovornosti ter odnos med njima v kodeksih in ugotovili, kako kodeksi naslavljajo resnicoljubnost in profesionalne norme. Normativni temelji novinarstva, kot se kažejo v etičnih kodeksih, so se spreminjali skozi čas ter ob spremembah v družbenem, političnem, pravnem in ekonomskem okolju. Medijska/novinarska svoboda je bila dovoljena le v okviru socialistične usmeritve ter prispevka h graditvi in razvoju samoupravne družbe, vsaj do leta 1988, ko so bile izpuščene vrednoti marksizma in leninizma ter opredelitev novinarja kot družbenopolitičnega delavca. Novinar je bil obvezan delovati po svoji socialistični zavesti in je bil odgovoren do delovnih ljudi, do socialistične javnosti, kodeksa v osemdesetih letih pa sta poudarjala njegovo odgovornost do javnosti. Ob več značilnostih sovjetske totalitarne teorije tiska imajo normativni temelji tudi določeno podobnost s teorijo družbene odgovornosti. Profesionalne norme, povezane z resnicoljubnostjo, profesionalno integriteto ter spoštovanjem človekove osebnosti in dostojanstva, so se sčasoma razvijale ter pridobivale več prostora, razdelanosti in poudarka. Dejstvo, da je novinarska skupnost nekatere profesionalne norme prepoznala kot dovolj pomembne za

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kodifikacijo, nakazuje, da so bili temelji profesionalizacije slovenskega novinarstva položeni že v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

Ključne besede: novinarstvo, etični kodeksi, normativne vloge, socializem, Jugoslavija

ABSTRACT

The goal of this study was to investigate the normative role orientations of journalists in the SFRY, as stated or implied in five Yugoslav journalism ethics codes. Application of the method of document analysis and the comparative historical method identified the reasons for adopting the first code and assisted in the analysis of how the codes conceptualised (the relationship between) freedom and responsibility, and how they addressed truthfulness and professional norms. The normative foundations of journalism outlined in these ethics codes were transforming over time and in response to changes in the socio-politico-legal-economic environment. Media/journalistic freedom was only permitted within the limits of the socialist orientation and if contributing to the building and development of the self-managed society, at least up until 1988 when the Marxist and Leninist values defining a journalist as a socio-political worker were removed. A journalist was obliged to follow their socialist conscience and be responsible to the working people – the socialist public, yet in the 1980s the codes stressed their responsibility to the public. While displaying several characteristics of the Soviet-totalitarian theory of the press, the normative foundations also somewhat resemble the social responsibility theory. Professional norms associated with truthfulness, professional integrity, and respect for human personality and dignity have been evolving over time, gaining more space, elaboration and emphasis. The fact that some professional norms were seen by the journalistic community as sufficiently important to be codified shows that the foundations of the professionalization of Slovenian journalism were laid in the socialist Yugoslavia already.

Keywords: journalism; ethics codes; normative roles; socialism; Yugoslavia

Introduction

The study of journalistic roles is central to understanding journalism's identity and place in a given society.[1] Through journalistic roles, journalists "articulate journalism's identity and position vis-à-vis society and broader public expectations"[2] on

1 Thomas Hanitzsch, "Roles of Journalists," in: *Journalism*, ed. Tim P. Vos (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 43.
2 Thomas Hanitzsch et al., "Journalistic Culture in a Global Context: A Conceptual Roadmap," in: *Worlds of Journalism: Journalistic Cultures Around the Globe*, eds. Thomas Hanitzsch et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 37.

analytically distinct levels.[3] In this study,[4] we focus on normative journalistic roles, dealing with what journalists think they ought to do. Normative roles are found on the level of role orientations, namely, the level of "discursive constructions of the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs with regards to the position of journalism in society".[5] By referring to the ways journalism should serve society,[6] normative journalistic roles constitute "a framework of desirable practice".[7]

To better understand journalism in a system distinct from democracy also due to the limitations it placed on civil liberties, including freedom of expression,[8] we investigate Yugoslav journalists' normative role orientations. General descriptions of journalism in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) are often associated with the image of journalists as socio-political workers, serving as lackeys of the political authorities, being short on professional freedom by having to be primarily responsible to the Communist Party. However, the impression of Yugoslav journalism as merely "an agitation power of politics",[9] practised in a system where a text could only be published if based on the political philosophy and thought of self-management,[10] while deviant opinions were suppressed by preventive censorship and repressive penal legislation,[11] does not reflect the true variety of realities in different media and social environments within the federal state over the period of more than 40 years. Only a few authors have discussed the characteristics of *socialist journalism in the SFRY* in any greater depth, revealing differences from the Soviet communist concept of media communications[12] and highlighting the complexity of journalistic roles as they change over time[13] on the levels of media practices and their normative foundations.

Starting from the premise that ethics codes provide the normative foundations of journalism by both defining and reflecting values and norms on the professional and wider societal levels, our aim is to determine the reasons for adopting the first journalism ethics code in the SFRY, how the codes conceptualised (the relationship between) the values of freedom and responsibility, and how they addressed professional norms, especially those related to truthfulness.

3 Hanitzsch, "Roles of Journalists," 43.
4 This research was supported by ARRS – the Slovenian Research Agency (grant No. J5-1793).
5 Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim P. Vos, "Journalistic Roles and the Struggle Over Institutional Identity: The Discursive Constitution of Journalism," *Communication Theory* 27 (2017): 123.
6 Thomas Hanitzsch et al., "Role Orientations: Journalists' Views on Their Place in Society," in: *Worlds of Journalism: Journalistic Cultures Around the Globe*, eds. Thomas Hanitzsch et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 164.
7 Ibidem, 168.
8 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 26.
9 Dragoslav Rančić, "Zakaj pripravljamo nov kodeks?," *Teorija in praksa* 25, No. 5 (1988): 646.
10 Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo* (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1978), 89.
11 Marjan Horvat, "Prepovedi razširjanja tiskane besede v Sloveniji 1945–1990" (Bachelor Thesis, University of Ljubljana, 1995).
12 E.g., Gertrude Joch Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1977).
13 E.g., Zrinjka Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems: The Case of Southeast Europe* (London, New York: Routledge, 2021).

(Normative) Transformations of Journalism in the SFRY

Research on journalism with respect to its normative transformations is particularly useful for understanding both journalism and society in a given historical period because, as an institution constituted by shared beliefs, norms, rules and routines, journalism denotes a distinct area of social authority and signals institutional autonomy, yet it is also "inherently social and thus inextricably interconnected with other institutions".[14] The discursive articulation and enactment of journalism's identity as a social institution may be referred to as *journalistic roles,*[15] which are discursively constituted and "subject to discursive (re)creation, (re)interpretation, appropriation, and contestation".[16] Journalists and other actors, including those outside of journalism, compete to construct, reiterate and challenge the boundaries of acceptable journalistic practices.[17] The discourse of journalistic roles has thus become "a central arena where the legitimacy and identity of journalism is reproduced, contested, and negotiated".[18] As a result of this contest, dominant positions "crystallize as institutional norms and practices".[19] Normative journalistic roles, which pertain to professional aspirations concerning how journalists are supposed to contribute to society,[20] have emerged through interchanges occurring among both internal and external actors.[21] Hence, investigations into these roles provide insights into journalism's identity and place in society as well as into other social institutions given that journalists "articulate normative roles with social interlocutors either explicitly or implicitly in mind".[22]

The normative position of news media as well as media practices in Yugoslavia were changing over time, alongside changes in the political and economic fields.[23] The limits of free expression were shifted in both legislation and journalism practice. The Federal Press Act of 1960 brought, on top of the rights of correction and reply, the right to express and publish opinions, which in 1963 became a constitutional right.[24] Yugoslavia was the only socialist country to forbid any advance censorship in the 1960s, violations of the press laws could only be prosecuted following the appearance of a publication, and even this occurred quite rarely, according to Calic.[25] For example, in the 1960s already some journalists from *Tovariš*, a weekly magazine from Ljubljana, used novelistic techniques to reveal the injustices of the system.[26] The relationship

14 Tim P. Vos, "Journalism as Institution," 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.825.
15 Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalistic Roles and the Struggle Over Institutional Identity," 120.
16 Olivier Standaert et al., "In Their Own Words: A Normative-Empirical Approach to Journalistic Roles Around the World," *Journalism* 22, No. 4 (2021): 921.
17 Matt Carlson, "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings of Journalism: Definitional Control, Boundary Work, and Legitimation," *Communication Theory* 26 (2016): 349.
18 Standaert et al., "In Their Own Words," 920.
19 Hanitzsch Thomas and Tim P. Vos, "Journalism Beyond Democracy," *Journalism* 19, No. 2 (2018): 151.
20 Standaert et al., "In Their Own Words," 919.
21 Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalistic Roles and the Struggle Over Institutional Identity," 121.
22 Ibid., 124.
23 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 99.
24 Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1986), 171.
25 Marie-Janine Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019), 198.
26 Sonja Merljak Zdovc, "The Use of Novelistic Techniques in Slovene Journalism: The Case of Magazine Tovariš," *Journalism Studies* 8, No. 2 (2007): 253, 254.

between the media and the state fluctuated between liberalisation and control,[27] and even though media contents on politically sensitive issues may have been limited, "it seems inapt to speak of an ideologically monolithic media".[28]

Transformations of journalism were not limited to the era of the major social changes in the 1980s, albeit they certainly were then the most radical and evident. In this period, when public debate on media freedom was intensifying and negotiating the boundaries of freedom had become a prevalent practice,[29] the media was democratising the society and also being democratised by it. The role of a journalist as a socio-political worker started to diminish as the media became more commercialised and the increasingly critical positions of the press, especially in political weeklies, were more tolerated.[30] At the end of the decade, some media were openly critical of the state,[31] such as the investigative journalists at the Slovenian weekly magazine *Mladina* who uncovered several scandals of high-level representatives of authorities, such as the building of a villa for the Federal Secretary of the People's Army of Yugoslavia.[32] The media also played an important role in the series of conflicts that led to the break-up of the SFRY, being both an indicator of and contributor to the crisis.[33]

Several types of journalists' normative roles in the SFRY are described in the literature,[34] yet despite their variety the role of a journalist as a socio-political worker seemed to be the most prominent over the years, with journalism seen not as a job, but "first of all a political commitment".[35] Still, there was also the role of a journalist as a neutral observer of events as well as some other 'Western' journalistic roles, such as supporting the public sphere, the gatekeeper role, and being responsive to the interests of the audience.[36] Bogdan Osolnik[37] referred to the media's three vital functions in the self-management society: 1. to supply the citizens and self-managed units with objective and comprehensive social information from a variety of sources; 2. to act as public forums and to criticise negative phenomena and trends in society; and 3. to serve as a means for social education by spreading elementary knowledge for understanding the socio-economic process. According to Robinson, media communications in the SFRY did not follow the Leninist communication theory: Instead of identifying with Leninism, which attaches the media to the party apparatus and makes the journalist a mere transmission belt for the party line, Yugoslav self-managed democracy defines

27 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 125.

28 Sergej Flere and Rudi Klanjšek, *The Rise and Fall of Socialist Yugoslavia: Elite Nationalism and the Collapse of a Federation* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books, 2019), 104.

29 Ljubica Spaskovska, *The Last Yugoslav Generation: The Rethinking of Youth Politics and Cultures in Late Socialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 68.

30 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 102.

31 Smilja Amon, "Obdobja razvoja slovenskega novinarstva," in: *Poti slovenskega novinarstva: danes in jutri*, eds. Melita Poler Kovačič and Monika Kalin Golob (Ljubljana: FDV, 2004), 66.

32 Matjaž Šuen, *Preiskovalno novinarstvo* (Ljubljana: FDV, 1994).

33 Tarik Jusić, "Media Discourse and the Politics of Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Yugoslavia," in: *Media Discourse and the Yugoslav Conflicts: Representations of Self and Other*, ed. Pål Kolstø (London: Routledge, 2009), 21.

34 See: Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 120. Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 101.

35 Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo*, 82.

36 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 101.

37 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 119.

him as a socially responsible yet independent recorder of events who should provide independent and nonpartisan sources of comment and criticism in contemporary Yugoslavia".[38] However, the dominant view that journalists were responsible for the social situation rather than being free commentators reporting on this situation was not changed until the congress of Yugoslav journalists held in 1988.[39]

Research Questions and the Methodology

Ethics codes may be considered key documents while researching the normative role orientations of journalism since they are concerned with normative ethics. Codes define and clarify the values of practitioners[40] and are recognised as "invaluable as an instrument of self-reflection".[41] Yet, the rationales underlying a decision to adopt a code can vary from journalists genuinely aspiring to recognise the fundamental values and principles for which they stand[42] and thus "to understand the reasons behind their actions",[43] to ambitions of political authorities to exercise control over the media through a journalism ethics code as "a system of work discipline".[44] Our first research question is: *What were the reasons for adopting the first journalism ethics code in the SFRY?*

Normative role orientations are "an essential element of journalism's contract with the public: Society grants journalism the authority to deliver us the world; in return, journalists are expected to cater to the communicative needs of their audiences".[45] By adopting a code, journalists undertake to provide public service in exchange for some degree of press freedom.[46] Normative conceptualisations of freedom[47] and responsibility are particularly important because journalists' adherence to autonomous professional work within a free media and their commitment to responsible practice suggest their endorsement of the informal "social contract" with the public whereby society provides journalism with guarantees of freedom and, in return, society expects journalism to act responsibly and deliver a range of public benefits.[48] Our second research

38 Ibid., 120.
39 Bogdan Osolnik, "The intention was to democratise the sphere of communication," *TripleC* 15, No. 1 (2017): 248.
40 Chris Roberts, "Identifying and Defining Values in Media Ethics Codes," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 27 (2012): 116.
41 Clifford Christians and Kaarle Nordenstreng, "Social Responsibility Worldwide," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 19, No. 1 (2004): 19.
42 Louis A. Day, *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2000), 45.
43 Roberts, "Identifying and Defining Values in Media Ethics Codes," 116.
44 Slavko Splichal and Colin Sparks, *Journalists for the 21st Century: Tendencies of Professionalization Among First-Year Students in 22 Countries* (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1994), 49.
45 Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalistic Roles and the Struggle over Institutional Identity," 124.
46 Tim P. Vos, "Journalism," in: *Journalism*, ed. Tim P. Vos (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 4.
47 In our study, the term "freedom" is used mostly in the sense of press/media freedom, which concerns the relationship between the media and the government, and less in the sense of journalistic freedom, which individualises media freedom. For more, see: John C. Merrill, *The Dialectic in Journalism: Toward A Responsible Use of Press Freedom* (Baton Rouge, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 34, 35.
48 Stephen J. A. Ward, *The Invention of Journalism Ethics: The Path to Objectivity and Beyond* (Montreal, Kingston, London, Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 326.

question is: *How did the journalism ethics codes in the SFRY address, explicitly or implicitly, the values of freedom and responsibility, which social and/or political values underpinned the codes' statements concerning freedom and responsibility, and how was the relationship between the values of freedom and responsibility conceptualised?*

Values, as agents of journalists' thinking, acting and choosing,[49] underlie particular journalistic norms found in ethics codes. A norm may be defined as a rule or standard which involves a collective evaluation of behaviour in terms of what it ought to be and a collective expectation as to what behaviour will be.[50] Written norms are specific guidelines, principles of required or prohibited conduct, grounded in journalists' conceptualisations of values of freedom and responsibility. Our third research question is: *How did the journalism ethics codes in the SFRY address professional norms, especially those related to truthfulness?*

We apply the method of document analysis, that is, "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents".[51] Documents bearing witness to past events give "background information as well as historical insight",[52] "provide a means of tracking change and development"[53] and thereby enable change to be identified. We analyse all Yugoslav journalism ethics codes (adopted in 1965, 1969, 1973, 1982, 1988) as well as a selection of documented discussions within the journalistic professional community related to adopting a code. These codes are relevant because, as Slavković wrote about the 1982 code, they define and explain "in detail the role, function and position of journalists".[54] Other documented discussions like papers, reports and other written sources of the Yugoslav Journalists' Association (YJA) serve as background material for inferring about the reasons for adopting the first ethics code in 1965.

The research process combines elements of content analysis (information organised into categories related to the research questions) and thematic analysis (recognition of patterns in the data).[55] The comparative historical method makes it possible to identify and compare common or different characteristics and to discover essential manifestations of studied phenomena at a certain stage and trace their dynamics.[56] The diachronic perspective of this method permits us to determine transformations in normative role orientations of Yugoslav journalism over time.

49 Jay Black and Chris Roberts, *Doing Ethics in Media: Theories and Practical Applications* (New York, London: Routledge, 2011), 178.

50 Jack P. Gibbs, "Norms: The Problem of Definition and Classification," *American Journal of Sociology* 70, No. 5 (1965): 589.

51 Glenn A. Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, No. 2 (2009): 27.

52 Ibid., 29.

53 Ibid., 30.

54 Dušan Slavković, "Novinar i novinarstvo," in: *Novinarstvo danas: Priručnik za polaznike novinarske škole Jugoslovenskog instituta za novinarstvo*, ed. Zdravko Leković (Beograd: Jugoslovenski institut za novinarstvo, 1983), 100.

55 Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," 32.

56 Aleksei Yuryevich Bykov et al., "Codes of Journalism Ethics in Russia and the United States: Traditions and the Current Practice of Application," *International Review of Management and Marketing* 5, Special Issue (2015): 57.

Adopting the First Journalism Ethics Code in the SFRY

Before adopting the first ethics code in 1965, the moral obligations of journalists were addressed in various sources of the YJA. For example, journalistic ethical norms were discussed at the Fifth Assembly (Third Congress) of the YJA in 1953, when its president Dušan Blagojević[57] stressed the importance of trust: "To preserve this trust, the entire set of moral norms of journalists' behaviour while performing their duty has been developed in practice. For journalism as a whole and for journalists as individuals, these norms must be a code which is not to be breached. Each individual violation of these norms harms journalism as a profession". At the plenary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in 1954, a document entitled *Moral obligations of journalists* was adopted, with its first sentence demanding that a journalist "serve the truth" and "act according to their conscience and with a deep sense of responsibility".[58] However, a journalist would only be able to fulfil their obligations "if they are aware of their relationship and duties to the social community, and if they are always guided by the socialist conscience which they are strengthening through their constant political building".[59] A report on the activities of the YJA for 1953–1957 notes that "experiences showed that these moral obligations of ours were only of declarative nature, and hence there is a need to make the principles and sanctions which are to be used more concrete".[60]

The adoption of a code of ethics was initiated by the 1963 inter-congressional conference of YJA.[61] At the *Information and Journalism* symposium held in 1964, the general secretary of the YJA Miodrag Avramović[62] said that the "Association believes that it is necessary to adopt a Code of Yugoslav journalism". According to Avramović,[63] the issue of the function and position of journalists could not be defined by a state legal instrument as it is very complex and thus subject to nuanced changes in the socio-political development; including journalists' social and moral obligations in a normative state document would not correspond to the spirit of the system of direct socialist democracy. This explains why there was only one article in the *Press Act* dedicated to professional ethics, stating that journalists were obliged to follow the principles of professional ethics and social responsibility and to act in the spirit of respecting the truth, human rights, and the development of peaceful cooperation among nations.

For years, honorary courts of arbitration in journalist associations in individual republics as well as the Honorary Court of Arbitration of the YJA took care of

57 Dušan Blagojević, "Uloga novinara kao javnih i političkih radnika u našem društvu," in: *Srebrni jubilej SNJ 1945–1970: Knjiga 1*, ed. Miodrag Avramović (Beograd: SNJ, 1971), 271.

58 SNJ, "Moralne obaveze novinara," in: *Srebrni jubilej SNJ 1945–1970: Knjiga 1*, ed. Miodrag Avramović (Beograd: SNJ, 1971), 314.

59 Ibid.

60 UO SNJ, "Izveštaj," in: *Srebrni jubilej SNJ 1945–1970: Knjiga 1*, ed. Miodrag Avramović (Beograd: SNJ, 1971), 369.

61 Miodrag Avramović, "Izvještaj komisije za kodeks," in: *Srebrni jubilej SNJ 1945–1970: Knjiga 1*, ed. Miodrag Avramović (Beograd: SNJ, 1971), 540.

62 Miodrag Avramović, "Društvena odgovornost i profesionalna etika novinara," in: *Simpozijum Informacija i novinarstvo*, eds. Milo Popović and Milka Lasić-Šeat (Beograd: Sedma sila, 1965), 117.

63 Ibid., 121.

exercising professional ethics based on their experience, customs and criteria.[64] Professional ethics were thus dealt with superficially, unsystematically and inconsistently due to the different criteria; further tolerance of such a practice would harm the efficiency of the system of direct socialist democracy and journalism's integration into this system, which is why professional ethics should be codified.[65] The need for a code arose from the need to appropriately define "an objectively new function and new position of journalists and journalism in new circumstances of the developed direct socialist democracy after adopting the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; to define social and moral obligations of journalists".[66]

The code was adopted at the Sixth Congress of the YJA in 1965, with Bobić[67] stating that it "reinforces the autonomous position of journalists, making them independent in their acting as socio-political workers". The Congress concluded that the code is "an efficient means to protect journalists from all those who ruin the principle of publicity and exert pressure on a journalist or interfere with the exercise of their function".[68]

Addressing Freedom and Responsibility

In the 1965 code, the normative conceptualisation of (the relationship between) freedom and responsibility is shown by the explicit labelling of a journalist as "a socio-political worker" who takes part in the building and development of the socialist society; strives for full implementation of the self-management rights of working people and for civilised relations among people; contributes to the development of a socialist conscience and the formation of socialist public opinion. A journalist's professional work consists of researching social processes, phenomena and contradictions; forming their own opinions and views through objective findings; informing the public about them; promoting the broader social exchange of opinions; and contributing to activities that solve societal issues. The code's general provisions require a journalist to inform the public "by acting according to their socialist conscience and by being aware of their societal obligations and responsibilities to the socialist public". Thus, the media holds primary responsibility to the working people of the self-managed socialist society, with their freedom strongly attached to the role of journalists as socio-political workers and allowed only within the framework of the social and political values they are bound to follow, such as socialism, self-management, equality, civilised relations among people, freedom and dignity. The same goes for the more personal level of journalistic freedom and responsibility, with the code stating: "While forming their own views, a journalist relies on the basic generally accepted socialist principles and norms."

64 Ibid., 129.
65 Ibid., 126, 127.
66 Ibid.
67 Drago Bobić, "Nakon donošenja Kodeksa jugoslovenskog novinarstva: suočenje sa praksom," *Novinarstvo* I, No. 2 (1965): 30.
68 SNJ, "Zaključci Šestog kongresa Saveza novinara Jugoslavije," *Novinarstvo* I, No. 2 (1965).

The 1969 code continues to define a journalist as a "committed socio-political worker" who transmits, promotes and introduces a broader social exchange of opinions, and contributes to the activity of socialist forces based on socialist self-management, with their commitments being grounded in the same social and political values as 4 years before. In the general provisions, struggling against nationalistic and anti-self-management tendencies and all the phenomena that hinder the development of the socialist democracy is added to the list, including the fight for the full respect of the freedom, dignity and equality of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The character of the media as open tribunes, acknowledged in the previous code, is given greater attention by defining them as "open socialist tribunes" accessible to all working people in Yugoslavia. According to the code, it is a journalist's societal and professional obligation to inform the working people comprehensively and objectively about social phenomena, needs and relations for them to be able to more effectively perform their self-management role.

The 1973 code incorporates new values like Marxism, Leninism, the politics of Non-Alignment, the unity of Yugoslavia, peace, independence and equality in international relations. A journalist is still seen as a socio-political worker with their "conscious commitment to the ideas of Marxism and Leninism" being emphasised. The subchapter on journalists' role, functioning and status is extended; the list of what a journalist fights for now includes additional goals, such as: deepening the equality and self-management autonomy of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia; developing Yugoslav socialist patriotism; strengthening the country's defence ability; the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia; commitment to consistent Non-Aligned politics, peace, independence and equality in international relations. A journalist always firmly stands against arbitrary behaviour of the bureaucracy, technocratic usurpation, various kinds of nationalistic chauvinism, separatism, hegemony, the penetration of liberal-anarchistic concepts, opportunistic comfort, monopolistic closing and all phenomena that block, jeopardise and undermine the progress and consolidation of the socialist democracy. A journalist is therefore expected to be very active, engaged, and not merely a passive observer of society: in disputes with contrary opinions, they respect the right to free expression, yet "openly and strongly identify and condemn phenomena and tendencies which are hostile to self-managed humane socialism as well as the agents of such phenomena and tendencies". Media freedom derives from "the self-management socialist orientation of social development" and a journalist's freedom grows "in proportion to their Marxist, general and specialist knowledge and journalistic professional skill". Freedom is thus recognised, yet within the limits of affirming the socialism based on self-management. A journalist is still obliged to act according to their socialist conscience while carrying out their responsibility to the socialist public.

The 1982 code maintains the idea of a journalist as a socio-political worker who participates in the building and development of the socialist self-managed society. Apart from the values previously included, other values appear in the general provisions like prohibition on ideologies of hostility, national and racial intolerance and

discrimination, and the fight for fairer societal-economic relations in the world. Media freedom continues to be connected to the self-management socialist orientation of social development, while a journalist's "autonomy in their work grows in proportion to their own political and professional training". Responsibility to the socialist public is replaced by responsibility to comprehensively inform the public.

The 1988 code brings a major normative change by no longer defining a journalist as a socio-political worker and omitting the values of Marxism and Leninism. Yet, a journalist is still expected to strive for the development of socialist self-management, for unity and the federal system of Yugoslavia, for the principle of equality of its nations and nationalities, for civilised socialist relations among people and for the principles of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence in the Yugoslav foreign policy. In line with some newly added values, a journalist is obliged to advocate respect for the freedom, dignity and human rights of citizens, the rule of law, and equality before the law. The code explicitly states that news media are "free, autonomous and researching", and a journalist should take part in the formation of public opinion by communicating autonomous and critical views when searching for the truth. The struggle for the free flow of information across the whole Yugoslav area is defined as a journalist's right and duty. The code also declares that a journalist is held accountable by society, laws and the professional organisation, stressing their responsibility to the public.

Norms on Truthfulness and Professionalism

Already in its general provisions, the 1965 code articulates some professional norms, such as the correction of errors and declares that a journalist "prevents misinforming of the public, struggles against all that is fake, fabricated and unverified to be brought to and kept in the public's attention". A Yugoslav journalist is committed to truthfulness since they "truthfully informs and correctly as well as comprehensively explains events and phenomena". The chapter on the moral/political professional obligations of journalists outlines several norms in two subchapters: 1. *Professional integrity* (norms like source confidentiality and non-plagiarism) and 2. *Respecting human personality and dignity*. The chapter initially requires that "[o]n all occasions a journalist must seek to offer an accurate and objective information to the public", noting that a journalist "would rather give up information than publish information which is wrong or insufficiently verified".

The subchapter on respecting human personality and dignity is set out in more detail in the 1969 code, introducing norms related to respecting privacy and the considerate treatment of sensitive topics like accidents, illness or rape. The code also states that a journalist should not point out a person's race, nationality, profession or religion, particularly not of those who have been arrested, charged or convicted, if this information is not of great importance for the story a journalist is reporting on.

In the 1973 code, several socio-political and professional norms are still intertwined in the subchapters dedicated to professional integrity and respecting human

personality and dignity. The latter is elaborated on more, with some norms added and others explained in greater detail. For example, the facile moral and political disqualification of people is considered to be among the most serious ethical offences. The importance of truthfulness is further underlined by demanding that a journalist "must always think about the truth". Commitment to truthfulness is already pointed out in the general provisions, stating that the "basic social categories of journalistic work – truth, freedom, responsibility – are at the same time also primarily professionally ethical requirements". A journalist is bound to inform accurately, to explain events and phenomena faithfully and comprehensively. All that impedes and distorts the correct, true, objective, comprehensive and timely information is a danger to society and a moral offence: not only a deliberate lie, but also all other ways of changing, hiding or distorting the truth.

In the 1982 code, the chapter's title *Moral-political and professional obligations of journalists* is removed, yet the content mostly remains the same, with the previous values and norms (objectivity, respect for human personality and dignity, error correction, respecting privacy and non-plagiarism etc.) retaining their place in the code. Everything that interferes with and deforms accurate, comprehensive and timely information is to be seen as a danger to society: "Objective informing is an important integral part of a self-management relationship / … / and a professionally-ethical requirement of the journalist profession".

The 1988 code has a new structure: it begins with general provisions followed by the main chapter entitled *Rights and duties*, with a few concluding provisions at the end. Journalists' rights and duties contain several norms related to truthfulness, respect for a person's dignity and integrity, and protection of human personality and intimacy. The search for truth is declared to be a basic principle of journalists' work: "By communicating an autonomous and critical view while searching for the truth, which is a basic principle of professional work, a journalist actively participates in the formation of public opinion …". Further, "It is a journalist's obligation to communicate the truth, a comprehensive and verified information to the public".

Discussion with a Conclusion

The normative foundations of journalism, as outlined in the Yugoslav journalism ethics codes, were transforming over time and in response to changes occurring in the socio-politico-legal-economic environment: at each reference point (the year of a code's adoption or revision), modifications can be associated with the socio-political and economic circumstances in society, thereby supporting Hanitzsch's conclusion that normative role orientations are socially negotiated, sensitive to context, and in a constant state of flux.[69]

The Yugoslav constitution of 1963 emphasised that Yugoslavia was a socialist democratic community and revealed a tendency for the Marxist ideal of the state withering

69 Hanitzsch, "Roles of Journalists," 45.

away, while self-management was declared inviolable.[70] The new constitution introduced the citizens' *right to be informed* and *freedom of the press and other media of information*, and "drastically changed the role of the Yugoslav journalist":[71] instead of being a mere recorder of events, they were expected to function as an interpreter and critic. Two years later, the first ethics code was adopted. The second half of the 1960s was marked decreasing economic growth, increasing regional disparities and higher unemployment; nationalist rhetoric resurfaced, accompanied by problems pushed to the surface by the economic downturn.[72] The emerging crisis raised questions concerning ethnic coexistence and the distribution of political power and prosperity; social and economic interests were being discussed more and more in categories of ethnic differences.[73] Towards the end of the 1960s, the nationalisms in Yugoslavia had increased.[74] The code of 1969 extended the list of negative phenomena that a journalist should fight against by adding the struggle against nationalistic and anti-self-management tendencies and everything that hinders the development of the socialist democracy. The fight for the full respect of the freedom, dignity and equality of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities was included, while the media, previously described as *open tribunes*, were now defined as *open socialist tribunes*.

In the 1970s, Yugoslavia went into economic recession, yet at the beginning of the decade its international status had been stronger than ever before.[75] Still, the economic problems and growing development disparities among the regions led to political dissatisfaction and inter-republic disputes.[76] In the 1973 code, new values appeared, such as Marxism, Leninism, the politics of Non-Alignment, the unity of Yugoslavia, socialist patriotism, peace, independence and equality in international relations. After Tito's death in 1980, secessionist processes in Yugoslavia accelerated, as greatly contributed to by the socio-economic crisis.[77] The devastating economic crisis was accompanied by other factors leading to the decay of Yugoslavia like the 1981 conflict in Kosovo and the demands of the Albanian population for a change,[78] and the resurgence of radical nationalist policies in Serbia.[79] The 1982 code introduced additional values such as the prohibition on ideologies of hostility, national and racial intolerance and discrimination, and the fight for fairer societal-economic relations in the world. In the 1988 code, the Marxist and Leninist values were replaced by the human rights of citizens, the rule of law, and equality before the law – values which are key to any democracy.

70 Jovan R. Bazić, "The Socio-Political System of Yugoslavia as the Systemic Cause of Its Collapse," *Sociološki pregled* 52, No. 4 (2018): 1162.
71 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 42.
72 Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 223.
73 Ibid., 226.
74 Dušan Bilandžić, *Zgodovina SFRJ: Glavni procesi* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1980), 346.
75 Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 240–42.
76 Flere and Klanjšek, *The Rise and Fall of Socialist Yugoslavia*, 116.
77 Bazić, "The Socio-Political System of Yugoslavia as the Systemic Cause of Its Collapse," 1165.
78 Josip Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe: Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2011), 15.
79 Peruško et al., *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 87.

The normative conceptualisations of the relationship between freedom and responsibility in the Yugoslav journalism ethics codes add support for Robinson's[80] observation that Yugoslav journalism cannot be identified with the Soviet media philosophy, as one might expect when considering that Yugoslavia was a socialist country. While displaying several characteristics of the Soviet-totalitarian theory of the press, the normative foundations also somewhat resemble the social responsibility theory from the first code onward, peaking in the period of the major socio-political changes in the late 1980s.

Under the Soviet theory, the mass media is used almost exclusively as instruments of the propaganda and agitation of the state and the Communist Party,[81] while the media's functions in the social responsibility theory include servicing the political system by providing information, discussion and debate of public affairs as well as enlightening the public to make it capable of self-management.[82] Already in the 1965 code , Yugoslav journalists were expected to research social processes, phenomena and contradictions; to form their own opinions and views through objective findings; to inform the public about it; to promote a broader social exchange of opinions; and to contribute to activities that solve societal issues. Indications of the function of a watchdog against government came later, not until the 1988 code, when journalists had given up the role of socio-political workers and instead chosen to take part in the formation of public opinion by communicating autonomous and critical views while searching for the truth.

Under the Soviet theory, the media is to look at events from a Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist standpoint,[83] while journalists are free to express themselves within the bounds and limits of the allegedly beneficent state that protects citizens in doing what is good for them.[84] The media is required to do certain things, such as increase the political awareness of the masses, to rally the population in support of the leaders and their programme, to raise the level of worker efficiency etc.[85] In the Yugoslav codes, the idea of media and journalist freedom was conceived in a similar way – permitted within the limits of the socialist orientation and if contributing to the building and development of the self-managed society, at least up until the 1988 code when the Marxist/Leninist values and the definition of a journalist as a socio-political worker were removed. The social responsibility theory sees freedom of expression as a moral right grounded in an individual's duty to their own conscience, while the Soviet theory stresses the duty to the proletariat.[86] In the codes of 1965, 1969 and 1973, a Yugoslav journalist was explicitly obliged to act in line with their socialist conscience and be responsible to the socialist working people – the socialist public, thereby bringing the

80 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 119.

81 Fred S. Siebert et al., *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 121.

82 Ibid., 74.

83 Ibid., 124.

84 Ibid., 127.

85 Ibid., 141.

86 Ibid., 96–98.

concept of responsibility closer to the Soviet idea. The codes of 1982 and 1988 emphasised a journalist's responsibility to the public, now no longer labelled as a socialist one. The concept of responsibility to the public, based on a journalist's autonomy and critical stance, assumed a journalist's duty to their conscience in the sense of the social responsibility theory since conscience was no longer defined by the adjective "socialist".

Professional norms related to truthfulness, professional integrity, and respect for human personality and dignity, some of which were already introduced in the 1965 code, were evolving over time, gaining more space, elaboration and emphasis. However, they must be considered in the context of how the relationship between media/journalistic freedom and responsibility was conceptualised, which relativises some of the stronger commitments, such as "always thinking about the truth", on the normative level already, let alone the level of media practices. Nevertheless, the fact that some professional norms that always featured in journalism ethics codes in developed democracies were recognised by the journalistic community as sufficiently important to be codified shows that the foundations of the professionalisation of Slovenian journalism were already laid in socialist Yugoslavia.

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NORMATIVNE USMERITVE VLOG JUGOSLOVANSKIH NOVINARJEV: ŠTUDIJA NOVINARSKIH ETIČNIH KODEKSOV V SFRJ

POVZETEK

Cilj te študije je raziskati normativne orientacije vlog novinarjev v SFRJ, kot so zapisane ali razvidne v petih jugoslovanskih novinarskih etičnih kodeksih (sprejetih v letih 1965, 1969, 1973, 1982 in 1988). Z analizo dokumentov in primerjalno zgodovinsko metodo smo raziskali razloge za sprejem prvega kodeksa, analizirali pojmovanja svobode in odgovornosti ter odnos med njima v kodeksih in ugotovili, kako kodeksi naslavljajo resnicoljubnost in profesionalne norme.

Normativni temelji novinarstva, kot se kažejo v etičnih kodeksih, so se spreminjali skozi čas ter ob spremembah v družbenem, političnem, pravnem in ekonomskem okolju, denimo ob sprejetju ustave leta 1963, ekonomski krizi in porastu nacionalizmov proti koncu šestdesetih let in v sedemdesetih letih ter družbeno-ekonomski krizi, secesionističnih procesih in kosovski krizi v osemdesetih letih. Novinarji so v etične kodekse zapisovali z družbenimi dogajanji povezane vrednote in cilje, denimo boj proti nacionalističnim težnjam in za spoštovanje enakosti vseh jugoslovanskih narodov in narodnosti v kodeks leta 1969; vrednote marksizma, leninizma, enotnosti Jugoslavije, socialističnega patriotizma idr. v kodeks leta 1973; prepoved ideologij sovražnosti ter nacionalne in rasne nestrpnosti ter diskriminacije v kodeks leta 1982; človekove pravice, vladavino prava ter enakost pred zakonom v kodeks leta 1988.

Ob več značilnostih sovjetske totalitarne teorije tiska imajo normativni temelji tudi določeno podobnost s teorijo družbene odgovornosti. Že v prvem etičnem kodeksu iz leta 1965 se je od novinarja pričakovalo, da raziskuje družbene procese, pojave in nasprotja, oblikuje svoja lastna mnenja in poglede na podlagi objektivnih spoznanj; o tem obvešča javnost; spodbuja širšo družbeno izmenjavo mnenj; in prispeva k aktivnostim za reševanje družbenih problemov. Vendar sta bili medijska in novinarska svoboda dovoljeni le v okviru socialistične usmeritve ter prispevka h graditvi in razvoju samoupravne družbe, vsaj do leta 1988, ko so bile iz kodeksa izpuščene vrednoti marksizma in leninizma ter opredelitev novinarja kot družbenopolitičnega delavca. Zadnji jugoslovanski novinarski etični kodeks je kot osnovno načelo poklicnega dela opredelil sporočanje samostojnih in kritičnih stališč pri iskanju resnice. Jugoslovanski novinar je bil normativno obvezan delovati po svoji socialistični zavesti in je bil odgovoren do delovnih ljudi oziroma socialistične javnosti, kar je bliže sovjetski ideji odgovornosti, kodeksa v osemdesetih letih pa sta poudarila njegovo odgovornost do javnosti.

Profesionalne norme, povezane z resnicoljubnostjo, profesionalno integriteto ter spoštovanjem človekove osebnosti in dostojanstva, so se sčasoma razvijale ter pridobivale več prostora, razdelanosti in poudarka. Vendar jih je treba razumeti v kontekstu pojmovanj odnosa med medijsko/novinarsko svobodo in odgovornostjo, ki relativizira nekatere močne zaveze, kot je »vedno misliti na resnico«, že na normativni ravni, kaj šele na ravni medijskih praks. Toda dejstvo, da je novinarska skupnost nekatere profesionalne norme prepoznala kot dovolj pomembne za kodifikacijo, nakazuje, da so bili temelji profesionalizacije slovenskega novinarstva položeni že v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

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The Journalist's Action in Socialist Yugoslavia: Understanding the Formulation "Journalist as a Socio-political Worker"**

IZVLEČEK

NOVINARJEVO DELOVANJE V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI: RAZUMEVANJE FORMULACIJE "NOVINAR KOT DRUŽBENO-POLITIČNI DELAVEC"

V prispevku analiziramo jezikovno igro ‚novinar kot družbeno-politični delavec', ki je bila profesionalna oznaka za novinarjevo delovanje v nekdanji socialistični Jugoslaviji. Besedilo je razdeljeno na dva osrednja dela. V prvem razdelku se z uporabo zgodovinsko-pojmovne metode lotevamo analize izraza v normativnih tekstih, kar zaobjema programska in angažirana besedila, ki so nastajala v takratnem času. S takim pristopom skušamo v pomen izraza vstopiti notranje, v utrip in duh časa, predvsem pa razumeti, kaj so z oznako njeni ustvarjalci želeli doseči in tudi sporočiti. Ugotavljamo, da sta bila novinarstvo in novinarjevo delovanje kot družbeno-političnega delavca razumljena kot pomemben politični dejavnik, kot sila, ki po eni strani prispeva k razvoju in izvedbi novega družbeno-političnega reda, tj. samoupravne socialistične skupnosti, po drugi strani pa novinar z lastnimi izdelki vpliva na širšo zavest množice, kar se izkazuje skozi idejo izobrazbe in vzgoje novega človeka: samoupravljavca. Drugi del prispevka je komplement prvemu, saj s kvalitativno

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metodo poglobljenega polstrukturiranega intervjuja z nekdanjimi novinarji, ki so profesionalno delovali v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji, in skozi njihovo spominjanje nadaljujemo notranjo rekonstrukcijo pomena, razumevanja in rabe izraza v takratnem času.

Še posebej smo opazovali odnos s politiko, ki ga koncept esencialno vsebuje. Z empirično analizo smo tako prišli do različnih zaključkov: nekateri intervjuvanci so izraz orisovali afirmativno, da ima novinar posebno poslanstvo, večina od njih pa je do rabe in pomena izraza pristopila s kritično distanco, da je novinar vpležen v potrebe dnevne politike in tako v svojem delovanju viden kot neavtonomen.

Ključne besede: novinar, družbeno-politični delavec, socializem, samoupravljanje, Jugoslavija

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we analyse the language game "the journalist as a socio-political worker", which was the professional label for journalists' action in the former socialist Yugoslavia. The text is divided into two main parts. The first part uses a historical-conceptual method to analyse the mentioned formulation in normative texts, covering programmatic and engaged texts produced at the time. This approach seeks to enter into the meaning of the term from the inside, into the pulse and spirit of the time, and above all to understand what its creators wished to achieve and communicate with this expression. We find that journalism and the journalist's action as a socio-political worker were understood as an important political factor, as a political force on one hand contributing to the development and implementation of a new socio-political order, i.e., a socialist community based on self-management and, on the other hand, the journalist who through their own products tried to influence the broader consciousness of the masses, as manifested through the idea of the education for the new man: the self-manager. The second part of the paper complements the first since through the qualitative method of in-depth semi-structured interviews with former journalists who had been professionally active in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and via their recollections, we continue to internally reconstruct the meaning, understanding and use of the formulation at that time. In particular, we observe the relationship with politics that the concept essentially contains. Empirical analysis thus led us to different conclusions: some interviewees (the minority) described the term affirmatively, that the journalist as a socio-political worker had a special mission, while most approached the use and meaning of the expression with a critical distance, namely, that the journalist as a socio-political worker was harnessed to the needs of daily politics and thereby seen as non-autonomous in their labour and actions.

Keyword: journalist, socio-political worker, socialism, self-management, Yugoslavia

Introduction

The aim of the article is to analyse the formulation "*the journalist as a socio-political worker*" from the *inside*, by entering the particular historical and social moment in which it was present. This formulation, also treated here as a language game, was used during the time of socialist Yugoslavia. The concept undergoes a holistic historical-conceptual analysis and also receives empirical attention. The second part of the expression – 'a socio-political worker' – is understood as a way of *normatively* marking the journalist's *work* as the creation of journalistic products, the journalist's *labour* as producing daily news/products for audiences, and *action* as the journalist enters into the common world/society.[1]

In the field of journalism studies, research explicitly addressing the term is rare. However, the concept is often mentioned in texts that address journalism and the journalist's actions in socialist Yugoslavia, especially the journalistic normativity of time and space. The wording "the journalist as a socio-political worker" is frequently opened up and interpreted in academic texts by referring to the Yugoslav Journalists' Code that indeed included[2] it up until 1988, although it is no longer found in the Code.[3] The phrase is typically explained as meaning that the journalist, as "a socio-political worker", is someone who actively contributes to developing and also implementing the self-managed socialism (such as in the article by Sonja Merljak Zdovc and Melita Poler Kovačič,[4] and in the latest book by Zrinjka Peruško, Dina Vozab and Antonija Čuvalo[5]). The Code also states that the journalist, "as a socio-political worker", ideologically pursues Marxism and Leninism, realises the importance of the working class and its role in socialist society based on self-management. Melita Poler[6] clearly distinguishes these words from "the journalist as a watchdog" who normatively controls and does not cooperate with political authorities. There is also a consensus in these texts that the formulation is closely linked to political power, placing it among political terms, and this is also considered in this discussion.

Igor Vobič[7] shows that the normativity also captured in the expression "the journalist as a socio-political worker" reveals the unique *objectivity* of historical time and space (also see Dina Vozab and Dunja Majstorović[8]). This suggests that phrases which

1 The triad *labour – work – action* follows the tripartite division set out in the work of Hannah Arendt. The division is used throughout her work *Vita Activa* [*The Human Condition*] (Ljubljana: Krtina, 1996) in a classical-traditional meaning. This article, however, attempts to unveil the concepts through the meaning and relevance of (*associated*) labour in the socialist political community.

2 The phrase is written in the Codes [*Kodeks novinara Jugoslavije*] from 1965, 1973, 1982.

3 *Kodeks novinara Jugoslavije*, 1988.

4 Sonja Merljak Zdovc and Melita Poler Kovačič, "The Paradox of Slovenia: Investigative Journalism during Socialism and Democracy," *Journalism* 8, No. 5 (2007): 522.

5 Zrinjka Peruško, Dina Vozab and Antonija Čuvalo, *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems: The Case of Southeast Europe* (Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2021), 101.

6 Melita Poler, "Ethics and Professionalisation of Slovene Journalism," *Javnost (The Public)* 3, No. 4 (1996): 109.

7 Igor Vobič, "Three paradigms of journalistic objectivity in Slovenian press history," *Central European Journal of Communication* 7, No. 1 (2014): 9–11.

8 Dina Vozab and Dunja Majstorović, "The Transformation of Normative Approaches to Journalism in Croatian Academic Literature from Socialism to Post-Socialism," *Croatian Political Science Review* 58, No. 2 (2021): 18.

emerged in the chosen historical epoch should be understood according to the political and societal idea of the time – seen in speech/language as an objective disguising of time – which is under research.

In the paper, we present analysis complementing previous research based on the use of two methods: the historical-conceptual method and the qualitative method of in-depth semi-structured interviews. Both methods are intertwined in the text. Rather than attempt to judge the term from the *outside*, by elaborating and comparing it with contemporary journalistic norms and standards, the article aims to develop an epistemological perspective from the *inside*, which was especially possible by using these two methods.

The discussion is divided into two parts. In part one, we analyse the mentioned expression with the historical-conceptual method, which includes a brief presentation of the journalist's actions in engaged and programmatic texts written during socialist Yugoslavia, for the purpose of developing the socialist and self-managed community. The second part is dedicated to reconstructing the use and understanding of the formulation "the journalist as a socio-political worker" by interviewing former journalists who were professionally active in socialist Yugoslavia. Most of them were active in the time of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), mainly in the former socialist republic of Slovenia.

Interpreting the Language Game Through the Heritage of the Phrase "a Journalist as a Politician"

The expression "the journalist *as* a socio-political worker" after the comparative *as* combines two adjectives – *social* and *political* – that pertain to the noun – *worker*.[9] This means the worker is somehow socially and politically engaged/active and therefore the journalist is a socio-political worker. The journalist's professional identity is thus marked by the socio-political imperatives of the Yugoslav socialist system based on self-management.

The wording is treated as a language game, a concept that reconciles the use of language with forms of human actions; in our case, the use of the term "the journalist as a socio-political worker" with the journalist's actions in the common socialist and self-managed world. For Ludwig Wittgenstein, the concept "is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life".[10] As such, it can also be part of a specific historical epoch, idea or use. This discussion attempts to unfold the historical meaning of the wording rather than give it a single

9 The phrase is not written in a unified way across the texts. Sometimes it is written as one word – *sociopolitical worker* – and other times it is hyphenated – *socio-political worker*. Even though the Slovenian language discerns between the meanings of hyphenated and non-hyphenated words, the texts and their subsequent analysis reveals that in this case the phrases *sociopolitical worker/socio-political workers* are identical in meaning. In this article, we use the hyphenated version since the hyphen replaces the word and. Therefore, the meanings of both 'social' and 'political' are retained.

10 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 9.

black-and-white/universal definition that reduces the journalist as a socio-political worker to an expressive instrument of the political authorities and their ideology. This attempt is based on the understanding that human affairs, and with them the use of language in a chosen form of action, are contingent on and subject to spontaneity,[11] as well as impossible to capture in a universal definition.

With the concept of language game we place analysis of the mentioned wording in the historical-conceptual method. Reinhart Koselleck[12] (see also the text by Gunter Scholtz[13]) explains this method as a main and fundamental complement to social history, which analytically enters into the study of socio-political structures and formations, and therefore as a conceptual discussion of the pulse, the spirit of historical time, and its political and ideological purposes. In our case, this means that by interpreting the formulation we observe the structure of the relationship between the political authorities/politics and the journalist's labour, actions and work in socialist Yugoslavia. The historical-conceptual analysis approach also continues in the second part of the paper through interviews with former journalists and their historical understanding of those words.

The politician and former editor of *Ljudska pravica* [*The People's Right*] Vida Tomšič, at the first press conference held in the liberated territory in 1944, outlined the role and identity of the journalist in the future Yugoslav socio-political system in this manner:[14] "We are journalists because we are politicians, or we are politicians because we are journalists". This declaration was aimed at the struggle to construct a new order, which marked the Yugoslav post-war period, but it also regarded the journalist's identity and actions as an active engagement in the realisation of this new order. Together as a political and socialist community, they were to change the common reality. The previous interpretation of "the journalist as a socio-political worker" (e.g., in the Yugoslav Journalists' Codes of 1965, 1973 and 1982) also sees the journalist making an active and engaged contribution to the development of self-managed socialism and self-management (level of social and economic relations), which more obviously began to be introduced into the Yugoslav space after 1950.

Engaged contribution through the identity of journalists as politicians and, later, journalists as socio-political workers may be explained in that journalists, with their products and active recognition of socio-political relevance, actively enter the political community, which is a common space of the people. After revolutions, including after the Yugoslav revolution,[15] a need had arisen to constitute a new socio-political order[16],

11 Arendt, *Vita activa*, 11, 183, 184, 199–202.

12 Reinhart Koselleck, *Pretekla prihodnost: prispevek k semantiki zgodovinskih časov* [*Future Past: on the Semantics of Historical Time*] (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1999), 110, 111.

13 Gunter Scholtz, "Kaj je pojmovna zgodovina in čemu se z njo ukvarjamo? [What Is Begriffsgeschichte and Why It Deserves Our Attention]," *Phainomena* 11, No. 41/42 (2002).

14 Bernard Nežmah, *Časopisna zgodovina novinarstva* [*The Newspaper History of Journalism*] (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2012), 282.

15 Gal Kirn, "Jugoslovanska revolucija skozi tri partizanske prelome [The Yugoslav Revolution Through Three Partisan Ruptures]," *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 45, No. 269 (2017).

16 Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer: suverena oblast in golo življenje* [*Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*] (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2004), 52–55. See also: Hannah Arendt, *O revoluciji* [*On Revolution*] (Ljubljana: Krtina, 2017), 19.

which required the participation of all people – in the case of socialist Yugoslavia – all working people who were the central identity of the system at that time.

In re-constituting the socio-political order, following revolutionary practice, thought is transformed into practical and active thought (practical reason, *phrónesis*[17]) that can simply be named action, or in modern vocabulary, activism. The foundations of action are based on human knowledge of speech and its use. It is speech that enables humans, as by nature *politikòn zôon*[18] or just a social animal,[19] to communicate and collaborate with other humans who can together form and even change a political community and together contribute to its future development. Such journalists, who are part of the creation of a new, socialist, self-management political community and society, may be seen as political animals, agents, who actively enter the public space through their own work, labour and action, which are in turn marked by broader socio-political practice.

However, the legacy of the previous statement that "a journalist is a politician, and a politician is a journalist" observed in the formulation "the journalist as a socio-political worker", which is largely focused on the development of self-management[20], allows two conclusions. First, a manifestation of power that is framed through the one-party system and one main ideology. Yet this also means that while the Party as the political authority is leading, at the same time it also shows that the Party is or should only be partly a leader. Second, as a founder of socialist self-management Edvard Kardelj wrote in one of the fundamental works at the time, *Smeri razvoja političnega sistema socialističnega samoupravljanja* [*The Developmental Directions of the Political Systems of Socialist Self-Management*] (1977), that a crucial political forces, in addition to other main political forces (e.g., the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, trade unions and other socio-political organisations), of the system *is the system of public communication*, in which he listed the press, radio, television and other "media of social life".[21] These forces are fundamental contributions to developing the socialist political idea and self-management. Kardelj added, "the media of social life" are not "merely media, but a political force that can influence social consciousness in a very progressive or a very reactionary manner".[22]

The introduction of Kardelj's conception of the public media – and thus journalistic activity – as a political (co)force of the socialist system also raises the question of their relationship with other, more central political forces, and the possibility of autonomously implementing the self-management idea and action; in particular, by framing and characterising journalists' activity as a socio-political worker. We address this relationship empirically with in-depth semi-structured interviews in the second part of the paper below.

17 Aristotel, *Nikomahova etika* [*Nicomachean Ethics*] (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2002), 190, 191, 194, 195.
18 Aristotel, *Politika* [*Politics*] (Ljubljana: GV, 2010), 112.
19 Hannah Arendt, *Predavanja o Kantovi politični filozofiji* [*Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*] (Ljubljana: KUD Apokalipsa, 2018), 74.
20 Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo* [*Journalism in Self-Management*] (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1978), 62.
21 Edvard Kardelj, *Smeri razvoja političnega sistema socialističnega samoupravljanja* (Ljubljana: ČZP Komunist, 1977), 220.
22 Ibidem.

Methodology

Using the historical-conceptual method, the concept of research has so far been elaborated and discussed together with programmatic and engaged texts embedded in philosophical/scientific debates. It may be concluded that "the journalist as a socio-political worker" has a close relationship with politics and is connected to political action. This close relationship with politics does however not mean that the journalist is necessarily subordinate to narrow politics, i.e., the Party, or even that they are an instrumental extension of it. Instead, it means the journalist's action is directed to the construction of an alternative. The building of an alternative modernity is reflected on one hand by an appeal to the socialist political idea and the individual's committed contribution to a shared political community and, on the other, it is demonstrated that the journalist as "a socio-political worker" is part of the authorities, especially of the power of united workers, which precisely in socialist Yugoslavia acquires a central role and the role of an engaged member of and contributor to the self-management society.[23]

The overall exploration of the formulation and understanding of the relationship between politics and journalism whose meaning this language game offers is complemented by the use of in-depth-semi-structured interviews conducted with former journalists who were professionally active and worked in the SFRY. The interviews saw the following research question emerge: *What kind of relationship with political power and the authorities was expressed by use of the wording "the journalist as a socio-political worker" and how did this relationship affect the journalist's autonomy?*

As part of the project *Vloga komunikacijskih neenakosti v dezintegraciji večnacionalne družbe* [*The Role of Communication Inequalities in Disintegration of a Multinational Society*], 37 in-depth semi-structured and non-anonymised qualitative interviews, conducted by Jernej Amon Prodnik and the author of this paper, were held between June and August 2021. A table containing data on the interviews is found in Appendix A. The interviews were designed in several thematic strands; in one of these, we specifically addressed the meaning and use of the researched formulation in the past self-managed socialist society. The sample selected for the analysis includes 34 interviews, where three interviews were excluded because they contained no mention of this wording.

The choice of a qualitative method of this type was dictated by the tendency to look at the formulation's use from the *inside*, by those journalists who had been professionally active in the SFRY and generally in socialist Yugoslavia. This approach ultimately serves to complement the historical-conceptual method and reveals the 'facticity' of use of the wording, as well as the journalists' point of view: how they

23 Kardelj, *Smeri razvoja socialističnega samoupravljanja*, 93. Also in formal acts: e.g., in Article 2 of *Zakon o združenem delu* [*The Associated Labour Act*] (Ljubljana: Gospodarska založba, 1976), 23. And in fundamental principles (part II) in *Integralno besedilo ustave Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije in amandmajev I do XLVIII k ustavi Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije* [*SFRY Constitution, 1974*] (Ljubljana: Uradni list SR Slovenije, 1989), 20.

used, understood and saw the formulation, especially at the time. Here we may add that both methods are approaches that open up intersecting perspectives and entail different ways of internal thinking about the expression according to the then socio-political system.

By interviewing former journalists, we entered into their recollection and interpretation of the time, and – in a historically interpretative and reconstructive manner[24] (oral history) – we also grasped the use of the researched language game. The latter shows the forms of action in the SFRY and the journalist's relationship with the political authorities and specifically what they wanted to glue onto the journalist's identity in the socialist socio-political system precisely in the wording of the formulation. Namely, through dialogue with the former journalists, and therefore by using the method of in-depth semi-structured interviewing, we also clarified[25] some of the judgements, dilemmas, even prejudices about the formulation, which have arisen following the SFRY's dissolution, and instead adopted an analytical, internal view of the expression.

The main limitation of this method is that the interviewees' personal and professional histories are memories, and hence we cannot exclude the possibility that their description of the past – and thus use of the phrase "journalist as a socio-political worker" – is imbued with the language of the present and with (professional) normative ideals adapted to the contemporary time and place. It is 30 years since the collapse of the SFRY, although tendencies to move away from the Yugoslav socialist political system were already evident in the 1980s. We are also aware of the fact that the interviewees are remembering and reconstructing the time, place and the formulation on the phenomenological level of experience and thus on the level of plural particularity, i.e., their insight is just one element of views on the language game in the larger puzzle of time and space. This also explains why their words are not taken as the 'main' or 'only' truth, but as a complement to other relevant and possible perspectives.

Empirical Analysis: The Embedding of "the Journalist as a Socio-political Worker" in Their Relationship with Politics and Reflecting on their Autonomy

The data obtained offer several possible perspectives on the understanding and meaning of the mentioned wording.[26] Some interviews approached the term affirmatively, in line with the interpretation presented in the first part of the paper. Yet, most approached the expression in a highly critical way, understanding it as a way the

24 Charles C. Ragin, *Družboslovno raziskovanje: enotnost in raznolikost metode* [*Constructing Social Research: The Unity and Diversity of Method*] (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 2007), 99.

25 Ragin, *Družboslovno raziskovanje*, 98. Steinar Kvale, *Doing Interviews* (London: Sage, 2007), 13, 14.

26 The interviewers presented preliminary results of the interviews in the paper *The Journalist as a Socio-political Worker: Ideology and Practice of Slovenian Journalists in Socialist Yugoslavia* at the Central and Eastern European Communication and Media Conference (CEECOM), which took place between 22 and 23 October 2021.

political authorities tried to limit and restrict the journalist's autonomy and their mission to their own political purposes and interests.

The revealed polarisation once again gives the impression that the formulation and its meaning cannot be seen in any univocal way, or even be packaged into a single semantic definition. The interviewees' divergences also suggest that the life forms of social and political action, including that of the journalist (as a socio-political worker), in socialist Yugoslavia were complex and not unambiguous, and ultimately call for further research to explain the alternative on which the socialist Yugoslav revolution and system were built. The findings presented here also – at least in part – bridge interpretations of the formulation that are products of the conflicts emerging in contemporary political discussions.

Affirmative interpretations and identifying with the expression

Whether the interviewees identify with the formulation is not entirely clear. An affirmative and positive understanding of the wording does not mean these ex-journalists associated their own professional action at the time with broader socio-political activity and saw it as contributing to the creation of the socialist self-management community and society. They tried to see and explain these words consistently for the special historical context and time in which it was used, which shows at least the partial self-identification and association of one's own journalistic identity with socio-political action at that time.

We estimate that seven of the interviewees held such an attitude to the language game: they understood their own action through use of it as being equal to higher political decision-makers, as socio-political workers they actively contributed to the (re)construction of self-managed socialism – seeing their journalistic labour and work as one of the main forces of the system. Two of them understood the second part of the term – 'socio-political workers' – as a manifestation of the opinion leaders and engaged agents in their own right, through their journalistic pieces and products their readers showing listeners and viewers different perspectives on social problems. Being an opinion leader and an engaged agent also meant being like a sort of a teacher of the audience. Many, however, saw the formulation as a generic label for their role and status as a journalist in the SFRY.

> Socio-political workers were politicians, that is the equation. It was used, but not in a pejorative sense. / … / We journalists wanted to change social relations. It was conscious. That is why we are journalists. (Branko Maksimovič)

> We informed people. We broadened their knowledge, their horizons, and directed them with our ideas. That is why it used to be said then – and I agreed with it – that a journalist is a socio-political worker. /…/ Today, the phrase is taken out of context. (Miloš Ivančič)

> If someone told me "you are a socio-political worker", I naturally told them that I was a journalist, but our status at the time was such that there was no need to pretend otherwise. (Stane Grah)

For these interviewees, as we can also see in the above quote from Miloš Ivančič, there was a strong emphasis on the fact that today the formulation is seen outside of the context in which it was coined and used. Today, it is generally used as a way of expressing how journalists' action and journalism at that time could be discredited in the sense that it was an extension of propaganda and merely an instrument of the one-party rule. And that journalists did not have the possibility of autonomous thinking, reflection and action. It is precisely by using the historical-conceptual method in the first part that we have sought to unpack the formulation contextually and to look at it through the interpretations of texts written and produced during socialist Yugoslavia. Interviewee Bernarda Jeklin contextualised the wording as follows:

> Today, the phrase sounds terrible, but it sounded completely different back then. At the time, it was self-evident [that journalists were socio-political workers]. The fact that we were building socialism was entirely fine. To provide a better life for everyone, what was wrong with that? Nothing.

Interviewee Stane Grah also viewed the general status of "journalists as socio-political workers" in the way that the narrower political power, by using this term – purely on a linguistic level – gave journalists some kind of trust, leaving them close to narrow political circles and also to the information that was circulating in these closed spheres. Here we recall Kardelj's assumption that t*he system of public communication* is one of the political forces adding to the development of the socialist system and influencing the social and political consciousness of the masses.

> That was our status and they [politicians] treated us in this way when we were talking to the League, the Socialist Alliance or those like them. /.../ In essence, we were an integral component of politics for politicians. /.../ There was mutual trust that was very dear to us, I was grateful and so were others; we appreciated being better-informed, this was very useful for us. (Stane Grah)

This statement can be interpreted in two ways. First, more generally, the political authorities that coined and used the term probably wanted to show and give recognition that journalism is the (co)power of the system and the developer of those political ideas that have yet to see their day of full realisation. Further, they also tried to symbolically represent the unification of working people, who are political agents too. By using the formulation, they wished to establish relations between various fundamental political forces of the system, and journalists as "socio-political workers" are therefore one of them. Second, by establishing a closer relationship by using the formulation with journalists, the political authorities also sought to ensure the easier and more direct promotion of the ideas, positions and reforms they had developed in spaces removed from the general public. They tried to eliminate journalists from *the watch dog role*, which was also not a plan of the system at the time.

The affirmative attitude to the concept did not mean they did not feel autonomous in their work and action. They characterised their action as largely autonomous, although their autonomous – i.e., independent setting of the rules of governing their own action (*autós*, self, – *nómos*, law) – action was dictated and made meaningful by

the self-management and socialist socio-political system in which they were existentially and professionally situated. Thus, certain topics like self-management, socialism as a broader political idea, the leading political functionaries (e.g., Tito and Kardelj) and the Non-Aligned Movement were sacrosanct and could not be openly or publicly questioned and challenged.

Distancing from and non-identification with the formulation

Two interviewees stated they had never thought about the formulation and engaged with it in any meaningful way. Although they had heard of it, it did not preoccupy them. One of them explained this was because he had been a foreign correspondent and mainly professionally active abroad.

> I personally think that we did not pay too much attention to it. I only know that we used to say we would not make for great socio-political workers. /.../ [When asked whether she understood the phrase as a pejorative, she responds:] Not really a pejorative, no, but that we are not socio-political workers because we are journalists. (Nadja Pengov)

Some interviewees who were critical of the phrase, even back then, also expressed that they did not put more emphasis on the expression as a way of distancing themselves from it. However, we estimate that 25 interviewees were extremely and clearly critical of the expression and did not associate their own professional action with it in any way. They saw the coining and use of the wording primarily as a political manner, how political authorities tried to direct them in line with their goals, interests and positions. By appointing journalists as "socio-political workers", they were attempting to intervene in journalists' autonomous action and mission. For these interviewees, it is not very clear whether they entered into the interpretation of the formulation through contemporary journalistic norms and ideals. Despite this, it is clear that they see the professional identity of the journalist and the professional field of journalism as matters that should be independent of narrow political power, regarding which they as journalists must be critical and attentive to the problems it causes.

Distancing from the term, or being critical of it, was shown in narrow association with political power, with the Party and other socio-political organisations. This notion was applied by interviewees mainly to those journalists who saw their professional mission and their professional identity in line with 'socio-political working' and to journalists who gave the impression of being socio-political workers because they had visibly close relationships with the political authorities and collaborated with them in various ways (serving politics and its interests). The large majority of interviewees stated that otherwise a minority of journalists in editorial offices and journalistic organisations equated their professional action/work with the essence of the formulation. Those who identified with it were principally those who had a stronger intention to climb up the political ladder or had other political interests and thought it would make it easier for them to obtain information from the inside, from the closed circles.

> Many of us stayed kilometres away from this phrase. From the very beginning. It only meant a close relationship to and dependence on politics. Some were even proud of this phrase, proclaiming themselves to be socio-political workers, but we often thought it was a slur. That, in this way, you are selling your independence. (Gojko Bervar)

Deliberate non-identification with the formulation "the journalist as a socio-political worker" also meant that they did not want their labour to be associated with political power in any way and thus showed a distance from it. They hence emphasised the fact that they were primarily *journalists* and not socio-political workers, which is also seen in some of quotations provided above. With this attitude, our journalists created for themselves the possibility of independent and especially autonomous journalistic action and decision-making within the socio-political system.

> That is how we were treated. Even though I never approved of us being called socio-political workers. I always let them know: I am a journalist! I am not a socio-political worker because I would act differently. Even in my opinion pieces, I never 'religiously' reported on the decisions that were being made. I always had an independent, critical relationship to things. (Aleks Štakul)

The interviewees also felt that the expression was imposed on them by politics in order to gain *a formal ally*, namely, through the use of language and the explicit designation of their professional identity, with which they demonstrated an expectation of who a journalist should be in the SFRY.

> They [politicians] knew that the press is very important, that it is a factor that can either make politics or break it if it is too critical. With this concept, they wanted to say that we are in this together, we will stay together, you will not stab us in the back with critical writing. (Janez Čuček)

> [The expression] was present because politics made it present. It said: 'Journalists are socio-political workers because they are fighting for the ideals of this country'. (Ivan Praprotnik)

> I understood it as a yoke. As a way to use journalists for the purposes of daily politics. (Marjan Sedmak)

A few interviewed journalists felt that anyone who was a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, i.e., the Party, or other socio-political organisations was automatically seen as a socio-political worker who was implementing the self-managed socialist society. A contradiction arising here is that although the vast majority of former journalists were by their own accounts mostly passive members of the League of Communists, they felt no special affinity with the expression.

> Those [socio-political workers] were mainly functionaries and members of five socio-political organisations: the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, the League of Communists, trade unions, youth, and fighters. And those who were involved in these organisations were socio-political workers. They were not merely functionaries, they also sat in county communities, municipalities, and so on. (Ivan Praprotnik)

This interpretation can be expanded by some interviewees' observations who stressed that 'the journalist as a socio-political worker' was simply someone who uncritically and faithfully transmitted the conclusions, opinions and positions of the Central Committee, which they saw as propaganda, and was thus completely subordinated to politics in thought. Such journalists were not seen as autonomous in socio-political action.

> The closest definition of this concept would be that a socio-political worker is someone aware of the responsibilities expected of him by the League, in line with their politics, the current politics. (Alenka Puhar)

> [Journalists as socio-political workers] obtained their opinions at the Central Committee. (Tone Hočevar)

Interviewee Ervin Hladnik Milharčič interestingly noted that the emergence and inflation of this kind of engaged and programmatic expression meant that the alienated political power was trying to build a closer relationship with the working people. According to the interviewees' statements, the inflation of this kind of expressions had the opposite effect: they distanced themselves from the expressions and hence from the ideas that such an expression represented. The formulation "the journalist as a socio-political worker" was also seen by most journalists as a programmatic and bureaucratic platitude found in a variety of formal documents. Accordingly, they did not attribute deeper meanings to it.

> If you were to go back and search for these resolutions, documents, you would find them in abundance. But everyday people did not know what this is. / … / These platitudes were flying around. Why did they even think of a journalist being a socio-political worker apart from it being a propagandistic platitude. (Jože Poglajen)

> [The Code of Yugoslav Journalists] existed, yet it was useless. Full of platitudes. They used to say the journalist is a socio-political worker and similar stupidities. (Mojca Drčar Murko)

A few interviewees who were critical and distanced themselves from the expression sometimes took a pragmatic approach to identifying with it: they identified with the wording only when the status built around it brought them existential and professional benefits, e.g., the possibility of a higher salary, promotion and also the kind of symbolic possibility of transforming socio-political organisations, especially the Party, from the inside. Interviewee Ivan Praprotnik very ironically described this claim:

> We liked this idea of a journalist as a socio-political worker, but for one reason only, not politics. It was because the salaries of socio-political workers at the time were twice the level of journalists. And so, we said, well then, we, too, shall be [socio-political workers] and have better salaries.

Statements like this again link socio-political workers in particular with those who were active in the Party or in the narrower political power and organs, and hence obtained some existential benefits. This also leads to the conclusion that the designation of journalists as "socio-political workers" was chiefly on a symbolic level of the socialist system.

The expression discredits journalism

Some interviewees perceived the formulation as an obvious humiliation of journalistic labour and its mission. They mentioned that the authorities used the term to discredit the journalist, as they should embody the role of *a watch dog* and be perceived as such, and tried to humiliate their labour precisely by reducing the noun *worker* to the level of merely labour. One interviewee even felt that use of the word *worker* was partly inappropriate because journalists in those days already held advanced degrees and diplomas.

Again, this attitude contradicts a system supposed to be built on the power of all workers and the associated labour through which workers could realise their own political potential.

> I even stated publicly at a meeting then that we [journalists] were not socio-political workers. /…/ Because the label socio-political worker degrades the journalistic profession. The term implied that a journalist, as a socio-political worker, was serving the socio-political system. Not that he is a watchdog. /…/ This label was made to imply that journalists [as socio-political workers] were supposed to make a constructive, positive contribution to the development of society as such. But this label was at the same time degrading to the journalistic profession. (Mitja Meršol)

> [With this term] politics was trying to put us on the same level as workers. To humiliate [journalists] in a way. (Lada Zei)

Discussion and Conclusion

The paper and previous empirical analysis allow the conclusion that the formulation, treated here as a language game, which revels the journalistic professional form of action in the SFRY, is closely related to politics and broader political action, which in turn leads to three possible sub-interpretative concise meanings:

A) The affirmative conception of the formulation showed that the journalist, as a socio-political worker, was one of the forces of a system that was actively, committedly and perhaps even activistically contributing to the development and emergence of the new socio-political order, namely, the socialist community based on self-management. With such an interpretation, the journalist is not seen as subordinated in thought and action to politics, but their autonomy is intersected with the higher goals of contributing to the community, society, suggesting an Aristotelian *use of practical reason* together with the *political action* of equal agents in the public sphere and in the broader political community. Especially through associated labour and the importance of a worker – which includes a socio-political worker – as an engaged agent of the community, there is a significant political potential, inspired by the idea of creating a socialist society that would be the starting point for a *good* and fair life for all people.[27]

27 Franck Fischbach, *Kaj je socialistična vlada? Kar je živo in kar je mrtvo v socializmu* [*What is a Socialist Government? What is Alive and What is Dead in Socialism*] (Ljubljana: Krtina, 2019), 12, 14, 24, 38, 40, 69.

This kind of understanding the formulation is consistent with the interpretation presented in the first part of the paper, and it is precisely with this explanation that we bridge the prejudices and judgements attached to journalism and the journalist's action in this historical timeframe. With this interpretation, we also recognise the huge possibilities for further research since it offers us a more complex reflection and understanding of a form of journalistic action, especially in line with the alternatives on which the Yugoslav revolution and system were built.

B_1) The second, frequent interpretation that emerges from the analysis is that, through the use and conception of the expression, the Party and the other main socio-political organisations sought to mark the journalist's action with their own goals and purposes, also including the simulated pretension of the common struggle in the construction and development of, on one hand the self-management society and on the other the socialist political community. Use of the formulation was also an attempt to control journalists in their actions. The interviewees thus noted that the designation "socio-political workers" denoted their autonomous action and thought, and above all their professional identity, which they already then understood as meaning that the journalist's labour had to be independent of political power and its intentions.

The interpretation of this strand is linked to a statement by Rastko Močnik, who in 1984 wrote that the journalist as "a socio-political worker" was "an agent of bureaucratic class struggle",[28] which sheds light on the following: although the authorities wished to construct the active and engaged power of all working people, including by declaring journalists as socio-political workers, in a way they failed to do so. Thus, for most interviewees this kind of designation was either a mere programmatic and bureaucratic phrase purposely invented by the authorities to 'simulate' or 'fake' a common struggle for a new order, or was simply intended to show that the journalist's identity in this system must only be somehow linked to narrow political power, even if in terms of the *common good*.[29]

B_2) This explanation is related to the previous one. Some interviewees saw a minority of journalists as socio-political workers completely subordinated to the authorities, implying that those journalists were direct transmitters of opinions and positions that were formed in closed, internal political circles. Namely, they were in a sense propagandists for the Party and its interests.

However, through the paper we wanted to show the complexity of use of the language game "the journalist as a socio-political worker". We addressed the formulation in the first part with the historical-conceptual method and in the second part with the qualitative method of in-depth semi-structured interviews with former journalists. With both methods, we tried to approach the Yugoslav time and space in a distanced

See also: Franck Fischbach, "Delo in možnost demokratičnega javnega prostora [*Labour and the Possibility of a Democratic Public Space*]," *Filozofski vestnik* XXXIV, No. 3 (2013): 30–32.

28 Rastko Močnik, "V boju za svobodo javne besede – danes [In the Fight for Freedom of Public Expression – Today]," [foreword] in *Cenzura in svoboda tiska* [*Censorship and Press Freedom*], Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Ljubljana: Univerzitetna konferenca ZSMS: Republiška konferenca ZSMS, 1984), 18.

29 Aristotel, *Nikomahova etika*, 47–51.

way, by entering into the understanding of the expression internally and adapting to the normative ideas of the time: who the journalist "as a socio-political worker" should be. The two methods led us to several possible perspectives for explaining the term, which confirms the basic point that the formulation cannot be explained by a single universal definition. What is 'universal' in the expression is precisely its concrete connection to politics.

The multiple possible perspectives of understanding show that language and its usage are components of human affairs, of the intersubjective world, which in essence is spontaneous, contingent, plural and unpredictable. Through their own particular perspectives, use of language and the outline of their professional and personal histories/(auto)biographies, the interviewees interpreted and explained one of the most important concepts in Yugoslav journalism and presented the different possibilities of journalistic actions and practice which, alongside possible interpretations of the formulation, also give an incentive to research and explore the complexities of the Yugoslav socio-political system, possible alternative forms of journalistic activity and an alternative liveness in a manner of Catherine Samary,[30] who sees, e.g., in the Yugoslav self-management socialism subversive potential to transform society and political communities and generally in the area of human affairs.

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Appendix A

Table 1: Interview data, including full name of interviewee, their birth year, interview length, date and the type of media interviewee worked at.

Last name, name	Interview length [minute]	Interview date [year-month-date]	Interviewee birth year	Media type		
				Newspaper	Television	Radio
Ambrožič, Lado	127	2021-07-22	1948	X	X	X
Bergant, Boris	183	2021-06-18	1948		X	
Bervar, Gojko	130	2021-06-11	1946			X
Čuček, Janez	124	2021-07-15	1937	X	X	
De Corti, Borko	139	2021-06-17	1948	X		
Dobljekar, Nevenka	109	2021-07-13	1952	X	X	X
Drčar Murko, Mojca	252	2021-06-22	1942	X		X
Golob, Milan	112	2021-08-11	1937	X		
Gorjup, Ada	48	2021-08-13	1943			
Grah, Stane	192	2021-07-19	1946		X	
Grizila, Sonja	125	2021-07-20	1951	X		
Grobovšek, Bojan	91	2021-07-22	1949	X		
Hladnik Milharčič, Ervin	101	2021-08-12	1954	X		X
Hočevar, Tone	128	2021-07-19	1946	X	X	
Ivančič, Miloš	171	2021-07-21	1948	X		X
Jeklin, Bernarda	110	2021-07-12	1936	X		
Kajzer, Janez	135	2021-08-19	1938	X		
Kodrič, Zdenko	155	2021-07-13	1949	X		X
Komparič, Nina	129	2021-08-13	1945	X	X	X
Kovač, Božo	160	2021-06-23	1935	X	X	
Kozinc, Željko	137	2021-07-14	1939	X	X	
Kremžar, Leo	171	2021-08-17	1949			X

Last name, name	Interview length [minute]	Interview date [year-month-date]	Interviewee birth year	Media type		
				Newspaper	Television	Radio
Maksimovič, Branko	151	2021-06-16	1945	X	X	
Meršol, Mitja	100	2021-08-09	1945	X		
Pečko, Otmar	116	2021-06-21	1948		X	
Pengov, Nadja	82	2021-08-16	1944			X
Poglajen, Jože	84	2021-06-14	1950	X		
Praprotnik, Ivan	90	2021-08-10	1947	X		
Puhar, Alenka	142	2021-07-14	1945	X		
Rupnik, Anton	158	2021-07-20	1937	X		
Sedmak, Marjan	129	2021-08-09	1938	X		X
Štakul, Aleks	156	2021-08-16	1944	X	X	X
Šuligoj, Boris	115	2021-06-16	1953	X		
Vizovišek, Slavko	158	2021-06-17	1949	X		
Založnik Rustja, Zora	78	2021-07-16	1939	X		X
Zei, Lada	159	2021-06-21	1941	X		X

Nina Žnidaršič

NOVINARJEVO DELOVANJE V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI: RAZUMEVANJE FORMULACIJE »NOVINAR KOT DRUŽBENOPOLITIČNI DELAVEC«

POVZETEK

Prispevek se ukvarja z analizo jezikovne igre ‚novinar kot družbenopolitični delavec', ki je bila sicer profesionalna oznaka za novinarjevo delovanje v nekdanji socialistični Jugoslaviji in zapisana v Kodeksu novinarjev Jugoslavije do leta 1988. Analiza izraza je zasnovana z dvema metodama: zgodovinsko-pojmovno metodo in

družboslovno kvalitativno metodo poglobljenega polstrukturiranega intervjuja, ki ga lahko imenujemo tudi pristop k oralni zgodovini. Z obema metodama se skuša z analizo vstopiti v čas in prostor notranje, prilagajoče se tedanjosti. Prvi del prispevka je namenjen analizi formulacije skozi programska in angažirana besedila, ki so nastajala prav v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Avtorica prispevka poskuša z metodo zgodovinsko-pojmovne analize zajeti idejo formulacije, hkrati pa predstaviti utrip in duh, ne samo časa, ki ga proučuje, temveč tudi duh, ki veje iz rabe same jezikovne igre. Drugi razdelek prispevka je namenjen empirični analizi 34 poglobljenih polstrukturiranih intervjujev z nekdanjimi novinarji, ki jih je avtorica prispevka skupaj z dr. Jernejem Amonom Prodnikom izvedla med junijem in avgustom 2021. Intervjuvani novinarji se profesionalno-demografsko umeščajo predvsem v obdobje od začetka šestdesetih let, zato je empirična analiza umeščena v analizo rabe fraze v času Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije in v prostor nekdanje socialistične republike Slovenije.

Že zgodovinsko-pojmovna analiza je pokazala, da je proučevana formulacija v tesnem odnosu s politiko in političnostjo, vendar ne na način, da bi bil novinar kot družbenopolitični delavec propagandno gonilo ozke politične oblasti, ampak da naj bi prav prek lastne prakse in političnega delovanja prispeval k izgradnji in razvoju po eni strani samoupravljanja, kar predstavlja družbeno in ekonomsko raven ter idejo podružabljanja, po drugi strani pa socialistične skupnosti, kar predstavlja raven politike, pa tudi političnega delovanja. Sam izraz družbenopolitični (delavec) združuje prav obe ravni delovanja. Tako se identiteta novinarja v tem času normativno izkazuje skozi postavko, da novinar naj ne bi bil »zgolj« poročevalec in opazovalec družbenega dogajanja, temveč naj bi z lastno prakso in izdelki utelešal angažiranega akterja družbe in politike. Branje vizij in idej Edvarda Kardelja razkriva pojmovanje, da je sistem javnega obveščanja, kamor se uvršča komuniciranje po tisku, radiu in televiziji, razumljen kot ena izmed temeljnih političnih sil sistema, kot del širše *skupne* oblasti, ki zasleduje vzpostavljanje tistih socialističnih in samoupravnih idej, ki še niso v polni meri ali sploh niso uresničene/izvedene. Prav branje takih besedil daje vtis, da je mogoče na proučevan koncept pogledati tudi skozi drugačne in predvsem kontekstualne perspektive, obenem pa ustvarja kompleksnost novinarske dejavnosti v času in prostoru.

S poglobljenimi polstrukturiranimi intervjuji z nekdanjimi novinarji je analiza, komplementarno prejšnji metodi, zasledovala notranjost pomena in rabe jezikovne igre ‚novinar kot družbenopolitični delavec', kajti vsi intervjuvani novinarji so izkusili prostor in čas, ki ga prispevek naslavlja. Skupaj z njimi se je rekonstruiralo prostor in čas in iskalo morebitne drugačne pomene proučevane formulacije. Pridobljeni podatki intervjujev so podčrtali politično esenco termina, in sicer se je raba termina v odnosu do politike in politične skupnosti izkazovala na različne načine. Manjšinski del intervjuvancev je imel afirmativen odnos do termina oziroma je nanj skušal pogledati skozi kontekst, v katerem je nastal in bil rabljen. Ta pogled se sklada z zgodovinsko-pojmovno analizo. Ti novinarji so novinarja kot družbenopolitičnega delavca videli povsem na isti ravni kot (višje) politične odločevalce, predvsem pa mu pripisali aktivno in angažirano vlogo (mnenjski voditelj), ki vpliva na zavest bralcev, poslušalcev, gledalcev

in z lastnim angažmajem prispeva k razvoju in nastajanju samoupravne socialistične skupnosti. Po drugi strani pa je izrazito velik del intervjuvanih novinarjev do pomena in rabe izraza pristopil kritično in distancirano, kar je impliciralo tudi njihovo videnje profesionalnega delovanja novinarja, ki mora biti neodvisen in popolnoma avtonomen v razmerju do politike in politične oblasti. Pojem so videli predvsem kot izrazni način, kako skuša politična oblast novinarje utiriti v lastne cilje, interese in potrebe dnevne politike.

Prispevek pa ne nazadnje skuša odpreti premislek o alternativni formi novinarskega delovanja, ki jo ponuja prav razumevanje jezikovne igre ‚novinar kot družbenopolitični delavec'; takšen novinar naj bi bil primarno aktivist in angažiran akter v družbi in širši politični skupnosti, v aristotelovskem pomenu besede skupnega dobrega.

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Remembering Tanjug: Analysing the Re-Articulation of Journalistic Roles at the National News Agency of Socialist Yugoslavia****

IZVLEČEK

SPOMINJANJE TANJUGA: ANALIZA REARTIKULACIJ NOVINARSKIH VLOG NACIONALNE TISKOVNE AGENCIJE V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI

Vloga novinarstva v družbi je zgodovinsko vezana na prevladujočo konceptualizacijo svobode tiska ter specifične družbene, institucionalne in materialne pogoje produkcije novic. Študija proučuje samopercepcije novinarjev, ki so delovali v obdobju socialistične Jugoslavije, in sintetizira njihove spomine na novinarske usmeritve in delovanje z vidika položaja novinarstva v družbi. Študija temelji na ustnih zgodovinskih intervjujih z nekdanjimi novinarji, ki so od poznih petdesetih do devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja tudi kot uredniki in tuji dopisniki delali pri tiskovni agenciji Tanjug, ki je veljala za informacijsko hrbtenico zveznega medijskega sistema v Jugoslaviji in agencijo z mednarodno veljavo. Z združevanjem študij »novinarskih vlog« in raziskav »zgodovin poklicnega življenja« ima študija dvojni prispevek. Prvič, opredeljuje prilagodljive strategije spominjanja, ki jih intervjuvani novinarji uporabljajo, da se legitimirajo kot profesionalci in relevantni interpreti novinarstva v SFRJ. Drugič, razkriva več odtenkov znotraj običajnega, pogosto poenostavljenega razumevanja novinarjev kot sodelavcev oblasti v času socializma in prepoznava tri novinarske vloge:

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privilegiranih posredovalcev, nadzornih analitikov in razsvetljevalcev, ki so specifične manifestacije sodelovalne funkcije novinarstva.

Ključne besede: novinarske vloge, zgodovine poklicnega življenja, intervjuji, Tanjug, Jugoslavija

ABSTRACT

Historically, the role held by journalism in society is linked to the dominant views on freedom of the press as well as the specific societal, institutional and material conditions of news production. This study explores self-perceptions of journalists working in the period of socialist Yugoslavia and synthesises their recollections of journalistic orientations and performances with respect to journalism's place in society. Methodologically, it is based on oral history interviews with former journalists, who also worked as editors and foreign correspondents from the late 1950s to 1990s, at the Tanjug news agency, considered to be the federal media system's information backbone in Yugoslavia. By combining 'journalistic roles' studies and 'occupational life history' research, this study makes two contributions. First, it identifies the adaptive strategies of remembering used by the interviewed journalists to legitimise themselves as professionals and relevant interpreters of SFRY journalism. Second, it reveals nuances within the common, often simplified understandings of journalists as collaborators with power during socialism, and highlights the roles of privileged disseminator, monitoring analyst, and educator as particular manifestations of the collaborative function.

Keywords: journalistic roles, occupational life histories, interviews, Tanjug, Yugoslavia

> The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has always paid great attention to journalism, knowing how important the social and political role of journalists is in a democratic and free self-managing society. Journalists have never been asked to be blindly obedient, but we have always reacted in those cases when there was not enough objectivity in presenting the socio-political situation in our country and when journalistic articles could have a detrimental effect on our development or Yugoslavia's reputation in the world.
>
> President Tito, November 1970, *Naša Štampa*

This is how President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito (1970/1980) addressed journalists upon the 25th anniversary of the Federation of Journalists of Yugoslavia (SNJ).[1] His address not only shows how political power defined the place of journalism in society, but the boundaries of journalists' institutional

1 Josip Broz Tito, "Od novinara se nikada nije tražila slijepa poslušnost," in: *Tito o informisanju*, ed. Miroslav Đorđević (Beograd: RTB. 1970/1980), 179, 180.

position in the political arena. Tito regularly interpreted the normative foundations of journalism, reflected on media representations of society, and gave moral lessons to journalists. For instance, in the aftermath of the 'Croatian Spring' reform movement (1967–1971), Tito expressed his dissatisfaction with the work of the press, stating that it "discourages us from believing that we can go forward despite all the difficulties".[2] Later on, after the 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Cuba (1979), he praised journalists, "In a word, you did a great job. And the task was not easy, neither for you nor for us".[3] Such public reflections by Tito shed light on complexities in the journalism–power–citizenry nexus, what was solidly in place and hat caused tension, along the continuous re-configuration of Yugoslav journalism.

The place journalism held in socialist Yugoslavia was fluid and changed with the position of the media vis-à-vis the state and the Communist Party, fluctuating between liberalisation and coercion in different periods.[4] Although journalism was normatively conceived through Marxism-Leninism, the discussions on journalistic orientations revealed that they not only stemmed from the official ideology, but from various, even contradictory influences during the re-institutionalisation of the media in Yugoslavia. In the changing political, economic and cultural context, the notion of journalists as 'socio-political workers' was continuously re-negotiated against the normative foundations, professional and political ideal(isation)s, media practices and journalistic (self-) perceptions in the multi-national society,[5] and even contested in the later years of SFRY.[6]

Against this backdrop, the main goal of this study is to explore journalistic role orientations and performances in socialist Yugoslavia based on occupational life histories of Tanjug news agency journalists. Combining theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches to 'journalistic roles'[7] and 'occupational life history' research[8] permitted us to examine complex historical dynamics within journalism and reconsider its place in society. Namely, the occupational life history approach allowed us to not

2 Josip Broz Tito, "Ne slažem se sa štampom kada dramatizira pojedine slučajeve," in: *Tito o informisanju*, ed. Miroslav Đorđević (Beograd: RTB. 1971/1980), 191.

3 Josip Broz Tito, "Novinari odlično obavili posao u Havani," in: *Tito o informisanju*, ed. Miroslav Đorđević (Beograd: RTB. 1979/1980), 243.

4 Zrinjka Peruško, Dina Vozab and Antonija Čuvalo, *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems* (London, New York: Routledge, 2021), 76–131. Melita Poler Kovačič, "Normative Role Orientations of Yugoslav Journalists," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 62, No. 1 (2022): 67-69.

5 Gertrude J. Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 124–27. Mitja Gorjup, "Ponuditi moramo svetu nov tip informiranja," in: Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo (Izbor govorov in člankov)*, ed. Vlado Jarc (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1975/1978), 59–66. France Vreg, "Jugoslovanska šola novinarstva," in: France Vreg, *Demokratično komuniciranje, izbrana dela*, eds. Slavko Splichal and Igor Vobič (Ljubljana: Založba FDV, 1983/2020), 111–24.

6 "Slovenski novinarji nočejo biti družbenopolitični delavci: iz razprave na posvetovanju DNS," *Teorija in praksa* 25, No. 5 (Maj, 1988): 627.

7 Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim P. Vos, "Journalism Beyond Democracy," *Journalism* 19, No. 2 (February 2018): 146–64.

8 Oren Meyers and Roei Davidson, "Interviewing Interviewers", *The Communication Review* 20, No. 4 (October 2017): 277–95, https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2017.1377952.

simply study journalistic "narrated roles"[9] in the fore[10], but also to consider journalistic roles as both "referential" (i.e., telling a story about the past) and "evaluative" (i.e., linking these stories to the present moment in which the story is narrated)[11] regarding the place of both journalism and Tanjug in socialist society. The national news agency Tanjug (established in 1943) was the information backbone of the federal media system in Yugoslavia[12] and the coordinating agency of the Non-Aligned News Agency Pool (NANAP) (established in 1974) with considerable international relevance in the global news system.[13] Tanjug held a central position in the institutional framework of journalism, thus making it a relevant case for a historical study of journalistic roles. For that purpose, the authors adopted the method of oral history interviews to conduct semi-structured conversations with former senior journalists, who had also worked as editors and foreign correspondents at the news agency from the late 1950s to 1990s.

Theoretical Framework and Historical Context

Journalistic roles in socialist Yugoslavia

Journalistic roles refer "to the way journalists perceive, articulate, and enact generalized expectations as to how journalism is serving society, both in normative and descriptive terms",[14] while their remembering entails additional referential and evaluative dimension.[15] We therefore understand remembered journalistic roles as forms of 'present' personal perceptions and articulations of the roles that journalists performed in 'past' practice. In other words, they are narrated as reinterpretations against, to paraphrase Hanitzsch (2019), what journalists *should have done* (normative role orientations), what they *(cl)aimed they did* (cognitive role orientations), what journalists *actually did* (practised role performance), and what they *thought they did* (narrated role performance).[16] Journalistic roles thus, as a "retrospective mechanism" (ibid.), become a more complex reflection of changes in norms and ideals as well as journalistic practices and (self-)perceptions. Understood in this way, journalistic roles are connected to the historical conditions and journalism's place in society, here socialist Yugoslavia.

In the post-war years in early socialist Yugoslavia, journalists were normatively conceived as collective agitators, propagandists and mobilisers according to the

9 Thomas Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," in: *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, eds. Tim P. Vos and Folker Hanusch (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2019): 4, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0029.

10 Hanno Hardt, "Newsworkers, Technology, and Journalism History," *Cultural Studies in Mass Communication* 7, No. 4, (1990): 346–65.

11 Meyers and Davidson, "Interviewing Interviewers," 281.

12 Peruško, Vozab and Čuvalo, *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*, 111.

13 Christian Vukasovich and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever Happened to Tanjug?," *International Communication Gazzette* 74, No. 8 (October 2012), 693–710.

14 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1.

15 Meyers and Davidson, "Interviewing Interviewers," 281.

16 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1–9.

mystified Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the press.[17] Later on, following the introduction of socialist self-management, journalists were re-institutionalised as "socio-political workers" through inner normative contradictions, as an analysis of the ethics codes indicated.[18] The normative foundations of Yugoslav journalism included the salient journalistic roles of advocate of the proletariat and facilitator of the development of socialist society defined by self-management, Yugoslav patriotism, and ideas of non-alignment. At the same time, journalists aimed to provide 'objective' information, to be critical of the acts and ideas of technocratic bureaucracy, liberalism, nationalism, and individualistic opportunism, as well as to intervene in social life by contributing to education and development. As previous research shows,[19] embedded within the media that struggled to function as open socialist tribunes and drivers of established societal goals, journalistic roles were (re)negotiated between what appeared as informational-instructive and facilitative-collaborative roles.

Over time, the normative eclecticism of the "Yugoslav school of journalism"[20] was changing along with the media sphere's gradual liberalisation and journalism reorientation to critical openness, undogmatic Marxist analysis of reality, professional ethics, and by refuting state centralism in the information system and bureaucratic apologetics. Journalism's place in society was re-articulated with ideas arising from different journalistic traditions, such as detached observation, promoting deliberation, monitoring and criticising the holders of power, and being aligned to commercial interests and alleged audience needs.[21] The idea of the press as a political tribune with journalists providing chronicles of the socialist reality, monitoring and revealing social relations while heralding progressive tendencies among the self-managing workers seemed pivotal in journalism's idealisations.[22] Nevertheless, a survey conducted by SNJ in 1969 showed that a large majority of journalists answered a series of questions in line with the role of "apologists" in political reporting, while only a small number aligned themselves with the role of "critic", indicating difficulties in independent journalistic conduct with respect to the (in)formal political power.[23] While almost two-thirds of the journalists in SNJ were party members, only about one- fifth were actively engaged in socio-political action beyond the newsroom.[24] This was seen in journalistic conduct mostly reproducing the contradictions of the one-party political system[25], in which "the political elites believed that the press should be written by party officials

17 France Vreg, *Demokratično komuniciranje* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1990), 205–16. Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 16–19.

18 Poler Kovačič, "Normative Role Orientations of Yugoslav Journalists."

19 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 118–27.

20 Gorjup, "Jugoslovanska "šola" novinarstva," in: Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo (Izbor govorov in člankov)*, ed. Vlado Jarc (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1975/1978), 56, 57. Vreg, "Jugoslovanska šola novinarstva," 111–24.

21 Dina Vozab and Dunja Majstorović, "The Transformation of Normative Approaches to Journalism in Croatian Academic Literature," *Croatian Political Science Review* 58, No. 2 (2021), 17, 18.

22 France Vreg, "Tisk in družba: Ali je Leninova misel o vlogi tiska zastarela," in: *France Vreg: Demokratično komuniciranje, izbrana dela*, eds. Slavko Splichal and Igor Vobič (Ljubljana: Založba FDV, 1957/2020), 68.

23 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 125, 126.

24 Ibidem, 118–27.

25 Slavko Splichal, *Media Beyond Socialism* (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 27.

rather than professional journalists, a belief congruent with the dominant conception of the media as means of education and propaganda".[26] During the decay of socialist self-management and the Yugoslav state in the 1980s, tensions in the political realm intensified, retrospectively showing that journalists as socio-political workers were interpellated as "agents of bureaucratic class struggle".[27]

The Tanjug news agency in different information periods

In this diverse socio-historical context, the Tanjug news agency belonged to a small category of news agencies that were operating as 'intermediaries' between world and national news agencies, "serving both a national but also a significant international market, reporting the latter from a broader perspective than that of domestic interest".[28] In her seminal work, Gertrude Robinson identified different "information periods" related with the Tanjug's growing organisational and financial autonomy in its institutional history.[29] In the first post-war years, "all content was censored" and Tanjug's function as a government instrument – fully owned and financed by it – was to "propagandize the socialist order", while monopolising all news flow to the fledgling press and radio in the country and developing its international presence as importantly defined by the Cominform break in 1948. With the beginnings of corporate autonomy and media re-institutionalisation in Yugoslavia, official pre-censorship was abolished at Tanjug, now partially financed by the media. Throughout the 1950s, it operated as a "transmission belt" for official texts, namely, the word-for-word reproduction of plans, reports and speeches, while the political news remained relatively undiversified and served governmental needs for justifying the "Titoist self-management philosophy" and its search for an independent political stance in international relations. In the 1960s, the political filtering was moved from outside of the agency to internal Tanjug councils, where the agency set its own filtering criteria. Political news was subject to the limitations imposed by "internal socialisation", the government's influence on Tanjug news production was indirect through boards, while the importance of the party 'aktiv', an institutionalised voice for the opinions and interests of both functionaries and party members, was in decline at the agency. In the 1970s, the handling of political information became once again much more sensitive after the League of Communists' return to centralism, following the 'Croatian Spring', among other political, economic and cultural factors. Financed by the media, enterprises and the government in almost equal shares, Tanjug strengthened its international coverage and emphasised federal and inter-republic reporting with (again) more carefully defined filtering criteria, also (re)affirming which subjects were 'taboo', like nationalism and criticism of self-management.

26 Ibid., 69.
27 Rastko Močnik, "V boj za svobodo javne beside – danes," in: Karl Marx, *Cenzura in svoboda tiska*, ed. Rastko Močnik (Ljubljana: KRT, 1986), 18.
28 Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever Happened to Tanjug?," 695.
29 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 81–85.

Besides the official celebratory self-portrayal of Tanjug (1983),[30] little is known about its organisation and function in the late period of socialist self-management when the notion of journalists as socio-political workers was contested by journalists themselves, eventually removed from the professional code of ethics, while journalists started to see themselves as "public workers" who were "not accountable to the working class or the League of Communists".[31] Drawing on the theoretical reconsiderations of journalistic roles, the changing socio-historical contexts of journalism's place in society during socialist Yugoslavia, and Tanjug's complex relationship with power and the citizenry, we address this research gap by posing the main research question:

How do former Tanjug journalists re-articulate their roles as they remember their role orientations and performance during socialist Yugoslavia?

This historically and theoretically informed study has two aims. While it seeks to analyse the correlation between "orientations" (norms and values) and "performance" (practices and narratives)[32] of former Tanjug journalists, its primary focus is on the process of remembering not only to locate the historical accounts of their occupational lives, but to unearth "how past occurrences are remembered, shared or consciously or unconsciously interpreted and reinterpreted over time by those who lived through them".[33]

Methodology

To address the main research question, the "collaborative (auto)biography interview"[34] method was adopted, which allowed us to explore the dynamics between the personal, institutional and societal in Tanjug's history. By collecting and analysing "individual histories", potentially contaminated with faulty memories, opinions and forgotten details,[35] this study goes through "a kind of Rashomon" with various voices and versions of the 'grand narrative'.[36]

Sampling was established through a combination of snowballing and controlling for different periods of Tanjug's development (1950s–1990s) and news agency figures holding experience not only as journalists, but also editors and foreign correspondents to address the agency's organisational structure and diversity. Initial informants from academia and journalism were used to nominate interviewees and each interviewee was then asked to suggest names of former Tanjug journalists according to the control criteria. In the periods before, between or after their foreign correspondent positions, all of the interviewees were journalists and editors for Tanjug news services for Yugoslavia and for other countries, economic information, and information

30 Tanjug, *Tanjug: Četiri decenije*. (Beograd: Tanjug, 1983).
31 "Slovenski novinarji nočejo biti družbenopolitični delavci: iz razprave na posvetovanju DNS," *Teorija in praksa* 25, No. 5 (Maj, 1988): 627.
32 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1–9.
33 Miranda J. Banks, "Oral History and Media Industries," *Cultural Studies* 28, No. 4 (March, 2014), 547.
34 Sharlene N. Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, *The Practice of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2005).
35 Banks, "Oral History and Media Industries," 545, 546.
36 Ibid.

publications and other services. The interviewees' educational background is in the social sciences and humanities, with most holding a law degree and having been members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Some had reservations about having their full names published and we thus decided to anonymise all interviewees.

Table 1: The interviewees

	Date	Period with Tanjug	Foreign Correspondent: Place and Period
int1	14/03/2017	1975–2005	Cuba (Havana): 1975–1983
int2	14/03/2017	1959–1997	GDR (Berlin): 1968–1972; Soviet Union/Russia (Moscow): 1978–1982; 1995–1996; Czechoslovakia (Prague): 1985–1989
int3	15/03/2017	1966–1994	Sweden (Stockholm): 1984–1988
int4	03/03/2017	1975–2005	Mexico (Mexico City): 1979–1983; Cuba (Havana): 1987–1991
int5	08/03/2017	1975–1992	West Africa: 1982–1987
int6	01/03/2017	1972–1992	Italy (Rome): 1985–1989
int7	18/02/2017	1959–1980; 1981–1994	Soviet Union (Moscow): 1970–1974; China (Beijing): 1976–1980; 1991–1993
int8	20/03/2017	1957–1996	Soviet Union/Russia (Moscow): 1968–1970; 1992–1996; Czechoslovakia (Prague): 1980–1984; GDR/Germany (Berlin): 1988–1991
int9	04/03/2017	1965–1996	Kenya (Nairobi): 1972–1975; Italy (Rome): late 1970s; United Nations (New York): 1986–1989; Belgium (Brussels): early 1990s
int10	09/03/2017	1959–1996	United Kingdom (London): 1975–1980; France (Paris): 1984–1988; 1992–1996
int11	22/02/2017	1978–1994	Romania (Bucharest): 1985–1988; 1991–1994
int12	24/02/2017	1969–1995	Ghana (Akra): 1977–1981; Kenya (Nairobi): 1984–1989; Italy (Rome): 1992; Switzerland (Geneva): 1994–1995
int13	07/03/2017	1970–2006	Egypt (Cairo): 1982–1986; Israel: 1987–1991; Switzerland (Geneva): 1995–1998; Belgium (Brussels): 2001–2005
int14	06/03/2017	1969–2010	Sweden (Stockholm): 1981–1985; Greece (Athens): 1987–1991; Turkey (Istanbul): 1994–1997

Each interview conversation was both 'structured' with an interview guide developed around the main problem-centred themes (biographical history, journalistic roles, journalism–power relations) and 'open' by letting the interviewees "set the course of the interview, within reason" and included follow-up questions to interrogate the process of remembering.[37] The interviews were conducted in Belgrade in public places like cafés and journalistic clubs, and in private spaces like interviewees' offices and apartments, had an average length of 1 h 52 min (shortest: 1 h 17 min; longest: 2 h 58 min). The interviews were conducted in-person in the Serbian language, audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim. The anonymised transcripts are available from the Social Sciences Data Archive in Ljubljana.[38]

The exploration of remembering journalistic roles entailed three levels of analysis. First, we used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 'to node' the journalists' statements according to the six elementary journalistic functions identified by Hanitzsch: informational-instructive, analytical-deliberative, critical-monitorial, advocative-radical, developmental-educative, collaborative-facilitative.[39]

Second, after we identified the collaborative-facilitative role as the most prominent one, we focused on the referential (i.e., journalists' accounts of the Tanjug socialist past) and evaluative (i.e., interrogating those accounts of the past with the present interview context) dimensions of a journalist's memory[40] to reveal their adaptive strategies of remembering.

This led us to the third level of analysis where we considered the collaborative role in greater depth with respect to (in)consistencies noticed in the journalistic narrated roles. The focus on adaptive strategies and 'new' negotiations of 'old' institutionalised orientations and practices meant three distinctive articulations within the collaborative journalistic role could be identified.

Results: Remembering Journalistic Roles at the Tanjug News Agency

Collaborative journalists, but not socio-political workers

The interview analysis indicates a lack of correspondence between normative foundations defining journalists as socio-political workers and the interviewees' remembering and making sense of journalistic ideals, practices and perceptions during socialism. Most interviewees regarded the notion of socio-political worker as "ridiculous" (int3, int5, int13) or "irrelevant" (int2), presenting it as an idea imposed from the

37 Mike Conway, "Oral History Interviews," *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies* (December 2013): 155–78, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444361506.wbiems177.

38 Igor Vobič and Ana Milojević, *Novinarstvo novinske agencije Tanjug u periodu socialističke Jugoslavije, 2017 [Podatkovna datoteka]* (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, Social Science Data Archives, 2022), https://doi.org/10.17898/ADP_TANJUG17_V1.

39 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1–9.

40 Meyers and Davidson, "Interviewing Interviewers," 281.

outside and characterising it as the counter-notion of a "journalist" (int3, int4, int7) or "professional" (int10), "It was going in one ear and out the other, it didn't concern me much, simply because I didn't have my personal, internal affinities to be a socio-political worker, and I didn't care" (int2). Some interviewees discussed the notion as "a phrase" (int2), "a formula" (int9) or "slogan" (int14) used by political power to define the place held by journalism in the political realm, as a means of limiting and surveilling journalism, particularly critical journalists, while stating that some colleagues were willing to accept it. Only one journalist stressed that he openly regarded himself as a socio-political worker, "I accepted that in the sense that I did responsible social work, which influenced the formation of public opinion, and with that work I informed the public in my country about the circumstances and political processes, and about the economy, sports, culture in the country where I lived. In that sense, I was a social and public worker" (int8).

While the interviewed journalists generally refused to align themselves as a socio-political worker, the interview narrations indicate the dominance of the collaborative function in Tanjug journalists' (re)assessments of their roles during the SFRY period. Namely, the interview analysis reveals a dominant understanding of Tanjug journalists as "political partners" (int5) and their journalistic conduct as "supportive of the main political line" (int7) of the SFRY government, involving their "integral" function in the development not only of self-managed socialism as a social system, but as "part of the general state policy with respect to national affairs and international relations" (int8). These inconsistencies allowed us to outline the adaptive strategies of remembering and different roles in collaborative journalism.

Adaptive strategies of remembering collaborative journalism

As the interviewees remembered the collaborative function as having been dominant, they re-articulated the thematic boundaries of their journalistic conduct as the "untouchable values" (int5) and the "limits" (int2), which were not imposed but informally identified within newsrooms by journalists and editors (int8) or were "simply known" (int2). Subjects not to be questioned and to be reported on with particular sensitivity were President Josip Broz Tito, the National Liberation Struggle during the Second World War, the idea of Brotherhood and Unity in Yugoslavia, Self-Management as a social system and philosophy, and the idea and movement of the Non-Aligned.

> Unbelievable … I mean, none of us ever slipped off that path. Nobody told us anything, they didn't force us, they didn't punish us, but everything went well. The policy of the state is like that, and in a way, I have no idea, a special, inexplicable way we knew it was like that, and we all behaved like that. I really can't even explain. (int11)

However, the interviewees acknowledged that editors and journalists identified these boundaries also through the socialisation of newcomers. In one instance, an interviewee had written a commentary about the SFRY's decision to write off the debt of some Non-Aligned countries. The commentary was accepted by the editor-in-chief

and published without the author's name. When the chief of staff in the government cabinet read the commentary aimed at a top state official, he called the managing director of Tanjug and demanded that the author be "thrown out" (int13).

> Then the director (…) called the editor-in-chief and asked, "Who wrote this?" He said: "This young man of ours". And then he [the editor-in-chief] called the chief of staff and said, "Listen, you will have to remove me, because I take responsibility". (…) Then, the next day, the secretary of the editor-in-chief told me that he had rewarded me with 40,000 dinars because of that comment. My salary, for example, was 120,000 dinars at the time. I said, "Okay". After half an hour, the secretary of the director called and said: "The director has given you a 60,000 dinar fine". I asked, "Why?". She said, "I'll put him on". And he spoke through his nose. I said, "Comrade Director, what is this?". "Kid", he said, "let this be a lesson. You are still at the level of ordinary news and you dare to write a commentary". (int13)

Not only across the interviews, but also within them at least three adaptive strategies of remembering were identified with respect to the thematic boundaries Tanjug journalists acknowledged in news agency production. These mechanisms were adopted by the interviewees not to normalise Tanjug's collaborative function so much as legitimise themselves as professional journalists in SFRY and to validate themselves as present interpreters of journalism during the socialist self-management. The first adaptive strategy was 'appropriating' the notions of 'truth', 'news' and 'accuracy', mending them with respect to the established journalism–power relationship in the country at that time and the national interests of SFRY.

> Everything that was covered and everywhere Tanjug reported from regularly, I must say, was true. With the following note: it was true in accordance with the reporting criteria at the time. So, what Tanjug did not dare, but the journalists knew about it, was considered not their fault that they did not write about it. In that sense, everything that Tanjug reported was true. (int2)

> You know what, we were always told from the top of the state, from the state, party, political or whatever, "We are working in the interests of this country and we are all doing the same job, you just do it in a different way". Let me tell you something, at that time we did not lie. We kept some things quiet. We emphasised some things, we emphasised other things a little less, but we did not lie. (…) You could write about anything, about mistakes and I don't know what else, in a way that you did not compromise your country and your people and their interests, and still tell the truth. (int8)

> I stuck to what Stane Dolanc [one of President Tito's closest allies] once said. I thought the man was right. He said something like, "Not all news, even if it's good, is necessarily good for the state". (int13)

In addition, one interviewee used this strategy to add legitimacy to his journalistic work for Tanjug by appropriating the notions of 'professionalism' and 'skill'.

> If you have accepted to work in journalism, don't dig around, you can, but you won't last long. Yet, within the frame you could do whatever you want. You could be a good professional, and skilful. (int5)

The second strategy of adaptation saw the framework of 'deciding what's (not) news' as part of 'business as usual', legitimising their other "critical reports" (int2) for the Tanjug news agency and the boundaries in their conduct as "normal" (int8) and "without a dilemma" (int14).

> You could write critically about anything that was happening in Yugoslavia, except Tito, (…), Non-Alignment, you also did not dare [to criticise] the Yugoslav National Army, but the League of Communists you did. There was criticism, even harsh [criticism]. Nobody went into experiments; we just knew what we could do. (int2)

> The briefings were at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I frequently went there. This is done everywhere in the world. We come from all national affairs newsrooms in the country without foreign correspondents, and the minister said, "Please, we are interested that our state announced this, that, this and that". And, "Please ask this question". That was a completely normal thing and is everywhere around the world. (int8)

The third adaptive strategy of remembering was to self-reflect on the thematic boundaries of Tanjug news production by using the notion of 'self-censorship', legitimising their past journalistic conduct as well as their current reasoning of it.

> We just knew it. It was self-censorship, of course. We just knew what not to write. If you write that, they will either delete it for you, or they will release it somewhere, so you will have to answer for it in some way. (int2)

> I never lied. I guess my colleagues also did not lie. Maybe they kept quiet about some things. (…) The truth can be told in different ways. Well, they announced that truth in such a way that it was not in conflict with state and party interests. It was self-censorship. It meant moving within the general framework of state and national interests. (int8)

One interviewee stressed that "keeping quiet about some things" was not enough, you also had "spit on the other side" (int14). A similar adaptation was expressed by another interviewee, operating with the notion of "propaganda" to discuss journalistic objectivity with respect to the thematic boundaries, while self-labelling Tanjug journalism as "regime" and "Titoist" (int12).

> There was, foremost, objectivity as a kind of given framework in which you move because you do not know the full truth. And then what you learned and saw you tried to adjust it a little as befitted the propaganda. (…) As far as the propaganda moment is concerned, it was exclusively Titoist in internal political journalism. (…) Most seem to have believed that I was a regime journalist based on what they could read. (int12)

Three collaborative journalistic roles

As a higher-order structure, the dominant collaborative function defined the journalistic roles the interviewees constructed through 'new' re-negotiations of 'old' institutionalised orientations and practices. Three collaborative journalistic roles were articulated in the interviews: privileged disseminator, monitoring analyst, and educator.

Privileged disseminator. This role of disseminating information was central in the interviewees' narrations, expressed through a contradictory mix of the idea of journalists as detached observers, the aspiration to provide objective accounts of news, and the concept of a mouthpiece relaying and curating official information. On one hand, the interview data indicate Tanjug journalists disseminated news in line with the "dual role" (int5) of the 'General Service', that is, informing about general news with its federal and international network of offices and correspondents, while having the "privilege" as a national agency to exclusively access and disseminate news of great societal or state importance.

> As time went on, the media scene developed more and more, newspapers and stations began to ask the state authorities for some information, there were situations when they said: "Wait for Tanjug". We conveyed the official government position. (int5)

> We had to take care not to go out of certain frames and so on, but we had the freedom to process and interpret the words of the highest-ranking officials, looking for [relevant] information. And that is what was most important in our work, that information. (int6)

One interview explains the dissemination status of the Tanjug news agency with an example of when an 'official secret' was published by mistake. He had been late for a meeting at the Chamber of Commerce.

> The topic was the debts of the Non-Aligned countries, all due to Yugoslavia. I sat down and wrote [what the chamber president was saying], Iran owes so and so, Iraq so and so, Libya so and so, everyone owes us [SFRY]. I came back to Tanjug, sat down and wrote the piece. The next morning, all of the newspapers published the story on their front pages. (…) The director, the editor-in-chief, called me and said, "Are you normal? You have revealed a state secret". (…) I had been late [for the meeting and had not heard] the president of the chamber declare "This is not for publication". (int11)

On the other hand, Tanjug journalists also disseminated news solemnly to the state leadership and high officials as members of the 'Newsroom for Information Publications and Services' (RIPS), which produced special thematic 'bulletins' and the 'Direct Telegraph Service' (DTS). Through these channels, they provided news that "should not have been published in the General Service" (int2) and "should not have reached the press according to some criteria" (int5), but was relevant for the state leadership, for instance, what was being written about SFRY in the international press.

> In fact, all of us journalists vetted ourselves in some way. Because there we transmitted agency news, which was very unfavourable to Yugoslavia, to Tito. But there was no censorship. Interesting. Sometimes, that service was three times better than the general service. (int13)

One interviewee explained that a derivative of RIPS was 'censorship' of the international press if there was "a negative text about Yugoslavia" (int4):

> I worked as a censor at Tanjug for a while. There was a group of us journalists who received all the Western press before it was distributed in Yugoslavia and, if there was for instance news about a quarrel between Tito and Jovanka [his wife], that copy did not

go out to the kiosks. It was a privilege for us because we could look at magazines and newspapers that others could not. And then to review it all. (int4)

Monitoring analyst. This salient role involves explaining events in the news or a certain relevant phenomenon in SFRY or other countries by describing the background, revealing the details and curating the statistical data gathered in order to scrutinise existing power relations, respond to misconduct or exemplify social paradoxes. On one hand, regarding this role the interviewees referred as Tanjug's correspondents from other countries, portraying their work as 'critical', yet closely bounded by the position of SFRY in international relations.

I had the luck, rather than misfortune, of publishing a lot from East Berlin [as a correspondent]. Because they criticised us [SFRY] and I treated them in the same way, within what is allowed in our occupation, of course. (int2)

In January 1985, I went as the Tanjug correspondent to Bucharest. (…) [By the end of the decade] I was the most western correspondent there. They were all from the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and I was from Yugoslavia, I did not fit in, I was disobedient. Because I was constantly critical. They were looking for various ways, through the party, through the state, through the government … And in the end, our people [Tanjug] pulled me out. (int11)

Some journalists stressed that it was common for a journalist to attend a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "not to get assignments", but for "a consultation" about the current problems of the country they were going to cover as a correspondent (int8). In this context, the interviewees stressed that through their news and analysis of other countries they were indirectly critical of SFRY.

In this way, the comparison became a matter of public opinion. When I was writing about the elections, it was written about the multi-party system, it could not have been avoided. The readers here [in SFRY] could conclude, "Yes, it's not just one party. You see, there are countries". So, by the nature of things, foreign news journalism provided many possibilities.

[W]hat I reported on from Africa was a critique of the cult of personality and dictatorship of one party. So, on two occasions, risking being returned [to Yugoslavia], I criticised from Africa what was happening in Yugoslavia and in Titoism. (int12)

On the other hand, this role refers more directly to social relations within SFRY, covering, for instance, breaches of workers' rights based on the idea of self-managed labour, corruption and crime, with a view to revealing what "endangers the achievements of the revolution" (int5).

Well, that's how it happened, in economic topics, not only at Tanjug, everywhere in journalism, to expose a director of [a certain company] for restricting the self-management rights of workers and then list economic indicators that have nothing to do with self-management, but show that this one is running the company badly and so on. (int5)

In all that, you could really write about irregularities, about the corruption that was then, something small relative to today's corruption, about thefts, bad directors, you could write about everything without any problems. (int3)

Educator. This role refers to the pedagogical function of journalism whereby journalists educate, spread knowledge, and raise awareness of the implications held by certain events or processes. The journalistic role of educator is marginally articulated by the interviewees with respect to 'oral news' performed in factories, mines, or army academies – not only by journalists of Tanjug, but other media as well. The editor-in-chief from the late 1980s stressed that oral news was "not part of the Tanjug editorial policy" (int1), but only done occasionally, while journalists from previous periods described it as "regular" and performed "by mutual agreement" (int2).

> A few journalists gathered and then the oral news was announced and then those journalists talked about what they would write in the newspaper. They tell some interesting things, present political texts and so on. For example, I took part in one, as a Tanjug journalist, on the [Yugoslav Navy training] ship Galeb [used as an official boat by President Tito]. We were with the cadets of the military academies who were sailing from Split on a trip around the Mediterranean. (int2)

> In 1974, when a new constitution was adopted, we who were working as political journalists were engaged and asked to go to collectives and explain what these changes in the constitution bring, how they affect everyday life and so on. (int8)

While explaining the main societal role of journalists in SFRY, one interviewee stressed "being present among people" (int10) and gave an example of oral news.

> So, we went to a company, a mine, and we told them about foreign or domestic policy. There was always one journalist covering international affairs, one for the current affairs, and then you had a conversation that lasted for hours. They asked about politics, about everything. / … / It was actually a nice exchange with those people and then we prepared an article. (int10)

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to determine how former Tanjug journalists re-articulated their roles as they remembered their role orientations and performance based on the occupational life history approach. During the oral interviews, the authors tried to guide the former journalists to reflect on their own work, the institutionalised practices at Tanjug, journalism practice in socialist Yugoslavia more broadly, as well as the normative foundations and professional ideals as they remembered them. Although the interviews were guided to distinguish between these levels, our respondents flattened them in their recollections, making it difficult to separate role orientations from performance while analysing their responses. The portrayals of journalism's place in society during socialism emerged as condensed assessments reduced to compact representations devoid of subtle distinctions and variations, largely resting on simplified relational generalisations in a diachronic and synchronic sense between journalism 'then' and 'now', journalism in Yugoslavia and 'elsewhere', and the journalism of Tanjug

and other media. Throughout the data, inconsistencies, tensions and contradictions were apparent in the interviewees' narrations between the normative foundations of professional journalism in socialist Yugoslavia and beyond, dominant institutional values, attitudes and beliefs regarding the place Tanjug held in social communication, and their remembering of their performance as Tanjug journalists, editors and correspondents.

Moreover, it must be considered that we examined a long time period and journalistic work in a socio-political system that was changing considerably during its trajectory, ending with the breaking up of Yugoslavia along with the fall of socialism. Historically, the place of journalism in society has always been re-negotiated with respect to the prevailing views on freedom of the press, the materiality and contradictions of news production, and the institutional re-affirmation of journalism. Regarding this, the findings support previous research into Tanjug's diverse institutional development as concerns the news agency's organisational and financial autonomy and its integral position within the changing journalism–power–citizenry nexus in SFRY.[41] The occupational life histories we gathered confirm the general trajectories of Tanjug's reconfiguration as a "transmission belt" of the state, the news agency's gradual autonomisation, and diverse (re)affirmation of 'taboo subjects' throughout its development in SFRY.

Observed within the boundaries of a national agency setting, the findings correspond to the broader transfigurations of journalism in Yugoslavia. The literature review shows that journalists in SFRY had difficulty attaining independence from the (in) formal political power and were inclined to perform as apologists rather than critics in the political realm.[42] While such role performance was congruent with the idea of journalists as socio-political workers and the dominant conception of the "media as a means of education and propaganda",[43] it was gradually contested by journalists as socialist self-management went into decay. Journalism's normative underpinnings and its idealisations were altered alongside the structural and ideological changes occurring in politics, the economy as well as international relations.

These historical gradual dynamics surfaced in our interviews when dismissing the notion of a socio-political worker as "ridiculous", "irrelevant" and the counter-notion of a "journalist" or a "professional". Further, journalists were remembering the "idea of a socio-political worker" as imposed from the outside and used for surveillance and disciplining, especially of critical journalists. However, against this de-alignment, we found the collaborative function to have been dominant in the Tanjug journalists' narrations. This kind of ambivalence might illustrate contradictions between orientation and performance, narration and practice, collective and individual in general, and journalistic articulations of their roles during the SFRY period, vis-à-vis the temporal re-evaluation of the journalism and society during socialist self-management in particular.

41 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 81–85.
42 Ibid. Splichal, *Media Beyond Socialism*. Peruško, Vozab and Čuvalo, *Comparing Post-Socialist Media Systems*.
43 Splichal, *Media Beyond Socialism*.

Against this backdrop, this study makes two original contributions. First, by identifying inconsistencies in journalistic reflections the study reflects on the remembering of journalistic roles as forms of 'present' personal perceptions and (re)articulations of 'past' orientations and performances. These inconsistencies proved to be valuable for identifying the adaptive strategies of remembering the journalists used to legitimise themselves as professionals and relevant interpreters of SFRY journalism. As the main adaptive strategies, we identified the appropriating of the notions of truth, news and accuracy, correcting news values, and interrogating self-censorship with respect to the journalism–power relationship inside the country and the position of SFRY in the international arena. Second, our analysis revealed more nuances within the common, often simplified understandings held by journalists as collaborators with the party and the state in socialist regimes. Here, the journalistic role conceptualisation and the analytical framework based on elementary journalistic functions[44] proved to be fruitful for highlighting more specific manifestations of the collaborative function (i.e., privileged disseminator, monitoring analyst, educator). The study thus contributes to the journalistic roles scholarship by introducing a historical approach to exploring journalistic reflection as a "retrospective mechanism",[45] operating against norms, ideals and media practices as well as the synchronic and diachronic complexities of personal, institutional and societal articulations of journalistic roles.

Still, we must acknowledge that human memory is generally associated with incoherence and inconsistency in our interviews could be even more specific because they relate to understanding socialism from a contemporary perspective, from which the socialist politico-economic system and journalistic collaborative-facilitative function might entail varying connotations. Namely, we analysed journalists' recollections of a system that is radically different from the one they are living in today, and that fact surely skewed their perceptions, at least somewhat. Therefore, the adaptive strategies and contradictions arising between embracing and dismissing the collaborative role in the journalists' narratives could be discussed much further relative to the question of journalism freedom from external and internal sources of influence, especially the ideology in a given system and historical context. Although we believe such an endeavour would generate interesting insights, that lies beyond the scope of this study.

This study also exposes the limits of oral history interviews, condensing institutional and societal complexities through personal reflections based on simplified relational generalisations. To overcome such limitations, we took them into account and analysed the inconsistencies, tensions and contradictions in the interviewees' narrations against a firm theoretical basis and profound contextual background. Still, our view is that further historical research into journalistic roles should not only interrogate professional remembering (interviews with former journalists), but also explore their historical re-articulations by investigating institutionalised values, attitudes and beliefs (i.e., analysis of internal media documents) and examining media performance

44 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1–9. Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalism Beyond Democracy," 146–64.
45 Hanitzsch, "Journalistic Roles," 1–9.

(i.e., content analysis of news). Given that, like in the political and academic realms, journalism's place in society during SFRY was chiefly positioned with simplified monolithic descriptions, theoretically informed and methodologically diverse scholarship is essential for shedding light on diversities.

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SPOMINJANJE TANJUGA: ANALIZA REARTIKULACIJ NOVINARSKIH VLOG NACIONALNE TISKOVNE AGENCIJE V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI

POVZETEK

Vloga novinarstva v družbi je zgodovinsko vezana na prevladujočo konceptualizacijo svobode tiska ter specifične družbene, institucionalne in materialne pogoje produkcije novic. Študija proučuje samopercepcije novinarjev, ki so delovali v obdobju socialistične Jugoslavije, in sintetizira njihovo spominjanje novinarskih usmeritev in delovanja z vidika položaja novinarstva v družbi. Študija temelji na 14 ustnih zgodovinskih intervjujih z nekdanjimi novinarji, ki so od poznih petdesetih do devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja tudi kot uredniki in tuji dopisniki delali pri tiskovni agenciji Tanjug, ki je veljala za informacijsko hrbtenico zveznega medijskega sistema v Jugoslaviji in imela veljavo v mednarodnem prostoru. Intervjuji so bili opravljeni pozimi in spomladi 2017 v Beogradu. Prepisi intervjujev so v celoti dostopni v Arhivu družboslovnih podatkov Fakultete za družbene vede.

Z združevanjem teoretskih, metodoloških in analitičnih pristopov v raziskavah »novinarskih vlog« in »zgodovin poklicnega življenja« ima študija dvojni izvirni prispevek. Prvič, z ugotavljanjem nedoslednosti v novinarskih refleksijah odraža spominjanje na novinarske vloge kot denominacije »sedanjih« osebnih zaznav in reartikulacije »preteklih« novinarskih usmeritev in delovanja. Te nedoslednosti so se izkazale kot dragocene pri analizi napetosti med osebnim, institucionalnim in družbenim, ob prepoznavanju prilagodljivih strategij spominjanja, s katerimi so intervjuvani novinarji

legitimirali sebe kot profesionalce in relevantne interprete novinarstva v socialistični Jugoslaviji. V odgovorih intervjuvancev se tako kažejo strategije prilagajanja raziskovalnemu in zgodovinskemu kontekstu, in sicer skozi apropriacijo pojmov resnice, novic in točnosti, prilagajanje kriterijev objavne vrednosti novic in preizpraševanje (samo)cenzure. Drugič, analiza razkriva več odtenkov znotraj običajnega, pogosto poenostavljenega razumevanja novinarjev kot sodelavcev oblasti v času socializma in prepoznava tri novinarske vloge kot specifične manifestacije sodelovalne funkcije novinarstva: novinarji kot privilegirani posredovalci, nadzorni analitiki in razsvetljevalci. Študija tako prispeva k raziskovanju novinarskih vlog z uvajanjem zgodovinskega pristopa k proučevanju novinarskih samopercepcij kot »retrospektivnih mehanizmov«, ki delujejo v odnosu z normativnimi načeli, idealizacijami in medijskimi praksami ter sinhronimi in diahronimi kompleksnostmi osebnih, institucionalnih in družbenih reartikulacij novinarskih vlog.

Čeprav intervjuji potrjujejo splošne poti organizacijskega razvoja Tanjuga od zgodnjih povojnih let, ko je bila agencija glasnik države, do razgibanega procesa njene avtonomizacije, skozi katerega so se protislovno potrjevale »tabu teme«, študija poudarja tudi omejitve ustnih zgodovinskih intervjujev. Te se kažejo v poenostavljenih strnitvah institucionalnih in družbenih kompleksnosti zgodovine Tanjuga skozi osebne refleksije nekdanjih novinarjev, ki temeljijo na poenostavljenih relacijskih posplošitvah med »nekoč« in »zdaj«, med Jugoslavijo in drugimi državami ter med Tanjugom in drugimi mediji. Da bi jih presegla, je študija metodološke omejitve upoštevala in analizirala nedoslednosti, napetosti in protislovja v intervjujih glede na teoretsko razumevanje odnosa med novinarstvom, oblastjo in državljani ter kontekstualno poznavanje razvoja novinarstva v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

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Remembering Media and Journalism in Socialist Yugoslavia: Oral History Interviews with Audiences***

IZVLEČEK

SPOMIN NA MEDIJE IN NOVINARSTVO V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI: USTNI ZGODOVINSKI INTERVJUJI Z OBČINSTVI

Spominske študije so se v zadnjih desetletjih razvile v plodovito interdisciplinarno raziskovalno področje, ki je veliko analitične pozornosti posvetilo tudi socialistični Jugoslaviji in njenemu razpadu. Kljub obstoju večjega števila študij o Jugoslaviji pa je vloga medijev in novinarstva v svojem delovanju bila deležna občutno manj raziskovalne pozornosti. V študiji raziskujeva, kakšno vlogo so te osrednje družbene institucije igrale v vsakodnevnih življenjih prebivalcev Jugoslavije, v kolikšni meri so jim zaupali in kako so vplivale na procese tvorjenja individualnega in kolektivnega spomina. Te problematike se lotevava prek analize 96 polstrukturiranih ustnih intervjujev z medijskimi občinstvi. Intervjuvanci so v socialistični Jugoslaviji živeli večino svojega življenja in so imeli nanjo osebne spomine, zaradi česar so lahko prispevali edinstvene in dragocene vpoglede v to zgodovinsko obdobje, ki bi jih le stežka pridobili na druge načine. Interpretativna analiza intervjujev je temeljila na deduktivnem kodiranju intervjujev, razdelila pa sva jo na tri dele: vsakodnevno uporabo medijev; zaupanje v medije in novinarstvo; ter dojemanje jugoslovanske družbe. Študija predstavlja prvi celosten kratek pregled zbranih podatkov in poudarja potencialno vrednost teh podatkov tudi za prihodnje raziskave. Zbrani podatki razkrivajo tudi, kako intervjuvanci razumejo in vrednotijo jugoslovanski režim, in na splošno zagotavljajo veliko pestrejši

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pogled na socialistično preteklost, kot ga je ta najpogosteje deležna v danes pogosto polarizirani javni razpravi.

Ključne besede: spominske študije, tematizirane življenjske zgodbe, socialistična Jugoslavija, uporaba medijev, zgodovina novinarstva

ABSTRACT

In recent decades, memory studies have become a prominent interdisciplinary field of research, with several studies focusing on the specifics of socialist Yugoslavia and its demise. Less attention, however, has been paid to the media and journalism in the life and functioning of the state. This study explores what role these central social institutions played in everyday lives of the population, what level of trust they enjoyed amongst them, and how they influenced the processes of forming collective and individual memory in socialist Yugoslavia. We consider these issues by analysing 96 semi-structured oral history interviews with media audiences. The interviewees had personal recollections of this era since they lived in socialist Yugoslavia for most of their lives and could thus provide unique and valuable insights not available by other means. Interpretative analysis was performed with deductive coding of the interviews and was separated into three parts: everyday media use; trust in the media and journalism; and perceptions of socialist Yugoslavia. This paper presents a short overview of the dataset and indicates its potential value for future research. The gathered data also reveal the interviewees' understanding and evaluation of the Yugoslav regime and, in general, provide a much more nuanced view of the socialist past than is most often found in today's polarised public debates.

Keywords: memory studies; themed life-story interviews; socialist Yugoslavia; media use; history of journalism

Introduction

In the last two decades, memory studies have become one of the most burgeoning fields of research, often bringing together a variety of disciplines and with them diverse perspectives on a range of historical issues. One such topic is socialist Yugoslavia, which has received ample attention in the broader field of cultural and media studies as an important source of memory and nostalgia of a bygone era. Similarly, there has been extensive historiographical research focusing on the specifics of Yugoslav socialism and the reasons for its collapse. In both cases, however, little attention has been paid to how media and journalism functioned in the socialist system, what role they

played in the everyday lives of its population, and what level of trust they enjoyed amongst them. It is therefore hardly surprising that only a few studies have analysed how audiences remember these arguably central social institutions.[1]

In the article, we explore how the memory of socialist Yugoslavia was created through the past use of media and especially how audiences used and perceived media and journalism in their everyday lives during the existence of Yugoslavia. We address these issues by analysing 96 semi-structured interviews with media audiences, where emphasis was placed on how the interviewees perceived journalistic reporting in socialist Yugoslavia, how they used various types of media, and whether they trusted these social institutions. Even though the focus of the interviews was on the media and journalism, their overall scope was wider. We wanted the interviewees to embed their memories in the broader context and provide an evaluation of the socialist system as a whole. We were thus also interested in the question of how the memory of the media in socialism influenced the processes of collective and individual identity formation in Yugoslavia.

The article is divided into three parts. In the following section, section 2, we present a brief synthesis of the key dilemmas that have emerged in memory studies and how they can be linked to our research. In the second part of the paper, section 3, we present the way the empirical material was collected, the framework used for conducting the interviews, and details of the method used. We gave considerable attention to these methodological and epistemological aspects because of both the largely experimental nature of the research and the sheer quantity of the unstructured data already gathered and which continues to grow. The last part of the article, which incorporates sections 4, 5 and 6, overviews some of the most notable topics addressed by the interviewees. Interpretative analysis of the interviews was done with deductive coding and leads to some general observations that may serve as an entry point for further analysis of the material.

Memory Studies and Media Remembering

Recent decades have seen remarkable interest in memory as a topic of public discussion as well as a field of research. In an overview of the field, Erll emphasises that "the practice of remembering and reflection on that practice have become an all-encompassing sociocultural, interdisciplinary, and international phenomenon".[2] She therefore notes both the political and cultural prominence of memory in the public sphere and the fact it must necessarily be treated as a transdisciplinary research problem, bridging otherwise established academic fields.

1 For exceptions, see Maruša Pušnik, *Kulturna zgodovina elektronskih medijev* (Ljubljana: FDV, 2019), Ch. 3. Sabina Mihelj and Simon Huxtable, *From Media Systems to Media Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), Ch. 8.

2 Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.

There is a consensus on at least two interrelated assumptions made in memory studies. First, memories are socially constructed by nature. They "are not objective images of past perceptions, even less of a past reality. They are subjective, highly selective reconstructions, dependent on the situation in which they are recalled".[3] A related assumption was already made by Halbwachs, a founding father of what later came to be called memory studies. He stated that "a remembrance is in very large measure a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present".[4] Second, the distinction between individual and collective memory is unclear and often blurred, with a constant interplay between them a prerequisite. Collective memory depends on individual remembering, but that remembering happens in a socio-cultural context where media and other institutions establish and shape knowledge of the past.[5] The past is always shared, making it therefore debatable whether our own memories exist at all since "there are social dimensions to the apparently most individual memories".[6] A similar observation was also made by Halbwachs when noting that "our memories remain collective" even when we were the only participants in certain events, since "in reality, we are never alone".[7]

> A man must often appeal to others' remembrances to evoke his own past. He goes back to reference points determined by society, hence outside himself. Moreover, the individual memory could not function without words and ideas, instruments the individual has not himself invented but appropriated from his milieu. Nevertheless, it is true that one remembers only what he himself has seen, done, felt, and thought at some time.[8]

These two assumptions are also very important for our empirical study. Since it is based on interviews with individuals, their recollections must be seen as interpretations, not statements of fact. Memory is deceptive and prone to various falsifications, with some authors observing that "talk is cheap".[9] Similarly to other cases, the recollections of our interviewees were also shaped by the wider context in which they developed, by the groups they formed part of, and by the intersubjective micro-context in which they were uttered. Collective memory constructs history and typically depends on interpretative struggles,[10] which naturally extends to our interviewees and their own recollections. This can be likened to the approach of social constructivism, which explores "lived experiences and interactions with others".[11]

It must be stressed that collective memory is not necessarily the same as the memory of the nation. Criticism of "methodological nationalism", which posits a nation as "the

3 Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 8.
4 Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980), 69.
5 Erll, *Memory in Culture*, Ch. 4.
6 Jérôme Bourdon, "Media Remembering: The Contributions of Life-Story Methodology to Memory/Media Research," in: *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age*, eds. Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 64.
7 Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 23.
8 Ibidem, 21.
9 Colin Jerolmack and Shamus Khan, "Talk Is Cheap: Ethnography and the Attitudinal Fallacy," *Sociological Methods & Research* 43, No. 2 (2014): 178–209.
10 Todor Kuljić, *Kultura spominjanja* (Ljubljana: Filozofska Fakulteta, 2012).
11 John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007), 36.

natural social and political form of the modern world" became prominent in memory studies.[12] Many authors based their criticism on Anderson's foundational study on the emergence of nationalisms.[13] For Anderson, nations as communities could be viewed as something that is necessarily imagined through various forms of mediated communication, which can bring about specific solidarities. A similar claim can certainly be made about memory since practices of remembrance can both create and preserve communities and identities.[14] Another point of reference was Hobsbawm, who pointed out that nationalisms are a result of the past, which is necessarily made by people, often professional historians.[15] They are the ones who are actively producing histories of particular nations, making any notion of them being somehow 'natural' impossible. Močnik's analysis demonstrates that a similar logic of production of national histories was in place amongst prominent Slovenian historians.[16] Furthermore, Hobsbawm also noted that, contrary to common beliefs, modern traditions are typically invented and then ritualised to inculcate specific social values and norms in nations.[17]

We believe these issues are especially relevant for the post-socialist context where memory of the socialist past does not necessarily correspond with the national memory, which has usually been established by the mainstream official discourse in transitional societies. Even more, in these narratives the entire history of communism is often "reduced to its totalitarian dimension",[18] reproducing a binary, black-and-white understanding of history. As Velikonja argues, Slovenia is today often perceived as the antipode of Yugoslavia, and this "ideological binarism" is further upgraded through an identity transformation: "We have transformed from former Yugoslavs into contemporary Slovenes".[19] Even if this transformation is suppressed in the nationalistic discourse, which bets on the idea of stability of the national identity throughout history,[20] processes of modern identity formation, as it is also clear in our analysis of the interviews, were very turbulent even in recent history.[21] Similarly, the aforementioned binary opposition is rarely emphasised by the interviewees themselves.

As a structural consequence of this suppression of the socialist past, the memory of this period became part of the "underground" discourse, excluded from mainstream

12 Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney, "Introduction," in: *Transnational Memory*, eds. Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 1. See also Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond," *Global Networks* 2, No. 4 (2002).

13 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, New York: Verso, 2006/1983).

14 Maja Breznik and Rastko Močnik, "Organized memory and popular remembering: The encounter of Yugonostalgia theories with socialism," *Memory Studies* (October 2021): 2.

15 Eric J. Hobsbawm "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today," in: *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London, New York: Verso), 255.

16 Rastko Močnik, *O pisanju zgodovine* (Ljubljana: Založba/*cf., 2015), Ch. 4.

17 Eric J. Hobsbawm "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in: *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.

18 Enzo Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 2.

19 Mitja Velikonja, "New Yugoslavism in contemporary popular music in Slovenia," in: *Post-Yugoslavia*, eds. Dino Abazović and Mitja Velikonja (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 62.

20 Jernej Kosi, "Je bil proces formiranja slovenskega naroda v 19. stoletju res zgolj končni nasledek tisočletne slovenske kontinuitete?," *Zgodovinski časopis* 64, No. 1–2 (2010), 154–75.

21 See Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, eds., *Memory and Political Change* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

discourses or what can also be called "official memory engineering", where retrospective remembering is highly selective in the quest for shared memories.[22] These alternative practices of remembering were mainly reflected in the rise of Yugonostalgia on a cultural level, in informal settings, and in the non-institutionalised practices of remembering.[23] This is one of the main reasons that oral history interviews concerning the socialist past have become one of the methods most frequently used in the regional development of memory studies.[24] After 1989, namely, socialism remains present in this region generally in the form of a memory which "captures the meaning of the past as a lived experience", or, more exactly, in the form of a "testimony of an experience related to history by an emotional link".[25] The popularity of Yugonostalgia was followed by extensive research into post-socialist nostalgia, which differentiated itself from traditional political historiography, but also largely avoided any direct confrontations with their portrayals of history.[26]

The binary opposition between the (national, Slovenian) present and the (multinational, Yugoslav) past, which is specific to the post-socialist context,[27] was already etched deeply into the framework for conducting the interviews, in which the binarism between the interviewer (grandchild) and interviewee (grandparent) structurally corresponded with the opposition between capitalism and socialism, together with a series of related oppositions and transitions.[28] Even if such a "bi-polar vision" is an unavoidable structural necessity in research on memory of the socialist past, it has often been acknowledged as an epistemological obstacle.[29] In recent years, an increasing amount of literature has focused specifically on the memory of media consumption in socialism[30] and that research – especially because the memory on media consumption is associated with the memory of leisure time, fun and relaxation – also reveals the complex and non-binary nature of the interviewees' evaluation of the past.

Research on media consumption in socialism is important not simply because it constitutes an important source for memory studies, but also for media and communication studies that aim to analyse the perception of socialist media by audiences, which was rarely an object of concurrent empirical research in the socialist regimes.[31] Therefore, oral history interviews represent a basic source for understanding how public life functioned in socialism.

22 Breznik and Močnik, "Organized memory and popular remembering." Compare to Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions."

23 Velikonja, "New Yugoslavism," 57–95.

24 See for example Valeria Kasamara and Anna Sorokina, "Post-Soviet collective memory,« *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, No. 2–3 (2015), 137–45.

25 Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia*, 97.

26 Breznik and Močnik, "Organized memory and popular remembering," 6–9.

27 Maruša Pušnik, "Media memorial discourses and memory struggles in Slovenia," *Memory Studies* 12, No. 4 (2017), 433–50.

28 Mitja Velikonja, "Lost in Transition: Nostalgia for Socialism in Post-socialist Countries," *East European Politics and Societies*, 23 No. 4 (2009), 536.

29 Anikó Imre, *TV Socialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 3.

30 See Imre, *TV Socialism*. Mihelj and Huxtable, *From Media Systems to Media Cultures*. Pušnik, *Kulturna zgodovina elektronskih medijev*.

31 See Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije* (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1986). Gertrude J. Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

Methodology: Oral History Interviews with Audiences

People who followed the media in a certain historical period may be seen as valuable sources of insights into the past. They can provide explanations and interpretations concerning the everyday use of different media types, while also addressing the issue of trust in these institutions and subsequently the wider social system. Since such personal insights are hardly available using other means – and with the availability of suitable interviewees naturally diminishing over time – our longer-term research goal was to build a comprehensive archive of oral history interviews. Projects like this may prove to be even more important given that the "everyday practices of readers, viewers and listeners are typically beyond the remit of sources found in institutional archival collections".[32]

All of the interviews were transcribed for the purposes of future analysis and are continually being archived in the Social Science Data Archive located at the Faculty of Social Sciences (University of Ljubljana),[33] which ensures their future unavailability does not simply turn them into "dead knowledge".[34] The empirical dataset currently consists of 96 semi-structured interviews performed in-person in Slovenian. We first constructed a general-purpose framework for conducting the interviews, with thematic areas defined very broadly so as not to miss certain phenomena with too narrow a focus. This opens up many possible avenues for future analysis of the archived material (e.g. by using focus groups) and means these interviews can serve as an initial exploratory step for studying more specific phenomena that here might only be mentioned in passing. Yet, a downside of this broadness is that the overarching insights into the material in the sections below are inevitably sketchy and introductory and thus call for further exploration.

Ethical dilemmas and framework of the interviews

The interviews were conducted by first-year undergraduate students attending the History of Journalism course (Journalism study programme at the Faculty of Social Sciences). During this course, students received hands-on training and thorough instructions on how to carry out the interviews and transcribe the audio recordings, with attention paid to the possible ethical issues involved.[35] We aimed for complete transparency and tried to clear up any pitfalls of doing this kind of research as quickly

32 Sabina Mihelj and Jérôme Bourdon, "Doing audience history," *European Journal of Communication* 30, No. 1 (2015): 3.

33 See: Jernej Amon Prodnik, *Novinarstvo v socialistični Jugoslaviji in imaginariji medijev skozi občinstvo, 2019* (Ljubljana: Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov, 2020). Jernej Amon Prodnik and Jernej Kaluža, *Novinarstvo v socialističnih Jugoslaviji in imaginarij medijev skozi občinstvo 2020* (Ljubljana: Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov, 2021). Jernej Amon Prodnik and Jernej Kaluža, *Novinarstvo v socialističnih Jugoslaviji in imaginarij medijev skozi občinstvo 2021* (Ljubljana: Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov, 2022).

34 Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 4.

35 See Jernej Amon Prodnik "Nekaj etičnih dilem pri vključevanju študentov v raziskovalno delo," *Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov*, http://www.adp.fdv.uni-lj.si/blog/2021/blog/nekaj-eticnih-dilem-pri-vkljucevanju-studentov-v-raziskovalno-delo (20. 3. 2022).

as they appeared. Even though conducting interviews was part of the students' study obligations, archiving and thereby making them available for future research was entirely optional and had no influence on their grade. An informed consent form, which detailed the research project and future access to the interviews, was a prerequisite. In the form, interviewees had an option to remain anonymous.[36] They could also retract statements they deemed too personal or sensitive for the archived version of the interview. Where appropriate, strict anonymisation was applied throughout the interviews to avoid third parties being identified.

We developed a framework for conducting the interviews that assured a standardised structure for the future comparability of the interviews, while providing the interviewers with a general direction and an overview of the topics to be covered. This interview matrix included three broad thematic areas: 1) Media use; 2) Trust in the media and journalism; and 3) Perception of Yugoslav society. We provided the interviewers with a description of these areas and several sample questions. This gave them a sense of the topics that could be addressed, but also left them with enough leeway to have a genuine in-depth conversation with their interlocutors.

To provide more control and a tidier structure, the interview matrix further divided interviews into four stages of life: childhood, youth, adulthood, and senior years. All of the thematic areas mentioned above were to be discussed separately in these stages of life, which – depending on when interviewees were born – broadly corresponded with different historical periods of socialist Yugoslavia. Adulthood, for instance, in most cases overlapped with the peak of Titoist Yugoslavia in the 1970s, while senior years largely corresponded with the rise of nationalisms and disintegration processes. We also added "events of reference", where the aim was to help interviewees remember particular historical periods better. These included the Vietnam War, the Space Race, or Tito's death amongst others. It was up to the interviewers to sensibly connect these events to a specific stage of an interviewee's life.

The interview matrix was also followed in the textual analysis of the interviews performed in NVivo, software for organising and analysing qualitative (unstructured) data. Such a deductive coding strategy is common while analysing interview transcripts.[37] In the analysis, the qualitative approach of life history was combined with the methods used in oral history and memory studies of media consumption.

Properties of the sample

Our aim was to encompass as many time periods of media use in socialist Yugoslavia as possible, ranging from the early 1950s up to the independence of Slovenia in 1991. This is why the students were instructed to choose interviewees born between 1940

36 Pseudonyms are used for those interviewees who opted for anonymity, as indicated by the use of quotation marks, for instance '*Prijazna Gospa*' (Eng. *Kind Lady*). In all other cases, interviewees are referred to by the first letter of their first name and surname, for instance *P. Bezjak*. In the majority of cases, the pseudonyms were chosen by interviewees themselves if they had decided on anonymity.

37 See, for example, Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*.

and 1955 (the arithmetic mean and median of the sample are both 1947, the mode is 1946). It was recommended they spend approximately 1 hour speaking to their interviewees. The lengths of the 96 archived interviews vary between 29 minutes and 180 minutes, with the arithmetic mean for the interviews being 59 minutes, the median 54 minutes, and a standard deviation of 25 minutes.

Even though this was not intentional, since we had limited control over the sampling process and could not aim for true representativeness, the demographic characteristics of the interviewees in our study do not deviate significantly from those of the general population in the same age bracket (65 and older). Men are slightly overrepresented in the sample (53.1%) and the interviewees also seem to have a better education since one-third hold at least a high school degree. The large majority of our informants (around 95%) were already retired at the time of the interview. About 30% of them were living in urban areas and 70% in rural ones, which more or less overlaps with the shares in the general population (in Slovenia, two-thirds of the population lives in places with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants[38]). If we were to consider the place of birth and where the interviewees grew up, the number of people living in rural areas would be even higher.

We could expect overrepresentation of the informants coming from central Slovenia because they were chosen by students who study in Ljubljana, but this bias was in fact not so pronounced: 28 interviewees for instance came from the Central Slovenia statistical region, 20 from the Drava region, 11 from the Savinja region, 9 from the Southeast Slovenia statistical region, 8 from the Gorizia region etc. Apart from the Coastal-Karst and Mura statistical regions, which are underrepresented, these numbers roughly correspond to the general shares in the population.

In the majority of cases, students chose their grandparents or other older relatives as their interviewees, meaning the sample was generally based on convenience and ease of accessibility. It must therefore be stressed that people who were living a family life and had children and grandchildren are very likely to be overrepresented in the sample. Another source of imbalance was the explicit recommendation that talkativeness, accessibility, good memory, and openness to discussion should be considered while choosing interviewees so as to make the interviews richer in content.

Finally, it must be noted that the vast majority of interviews was conducted in the month of May in 2019, 2020 and 2021, when the summer semester was coming to a close. Although this was not the topic of the interviews, contemporary socio-political events such as SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, the illiberal turn in politics and the continuous conflicts between the Slovenian government and the media were at least implicitly addressed by the interviewees and contrasted with examples from the past.

38 See Ana Vučina Vršnak, "Slovenija ostaja ruralna dežela," *Dnevnik* 9. 6. 2012, www.dnevnik.si/1042534899 (20. 3. 2022).

Everyday Media Use in Socialist Yugoslavia

Media use was the central topic of the interviews but, unlike some other research based on oral media history,[39] the focus was solely on the (journalistic) mass media, namely television, radio, and the press. Use of personal communication channels, for instance telephones, or storage media formats, such as LP records or cassettes, was not addressed. The development of the mass media was closely linked to the general development of socialist Yugoslavia and corresponds to the accelerated modernisation of socialist society between the 1950s and 1980s. In that time frame, a transition from rural to urban areas and the general transformation from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial society occurred.[40] The availability of the media thus saw considerable growth in Yugoslavia: in 1950 a total of 357 newspapers was published, while in 1974 this figure had risen to 1,988 newspapers, with monthly magazines seeing the biggest growth, from 61 to 633. In the same time frame, the number of radio sets rose more than tenfold, from 336,000 to 4,081,000, with a similar change happening with television sets, from 9.2 households per TV subscription in 1965 to 1.7 in 1980.[41]

The rise of the media accompanied broader socio-political processes, with radical changes also occurring in individual lifestyles. Even though this was not the topic of the interviews, these changes were implicitly or explicitly addressed. This is not surprising because remembering the media implies "remembering contacts with a certain world 'out there', which comes to exist through the television screen" (or, we might add, other types of media) and "generates a variety of interactions that cannot be reduced to simple viewing".[42]

Everyday use of the radio and the role of the press

The post-war situation in the early 1950s was a starting point for most of the interviews, with radio often mentioned as the most important medium in the childhood and youth of the interviewees. In 1963, namely, more than 90% of people living in Yugoslavia listened to the radio.[43] Radio was thus perceived as the most important media, even though newspapers also played an influential role in certain households. As one interviewee notes: "Radio was always in the kitchen; it was the centre of everything" ('Športni navdušenec'). Similar domestication of radio can be observed in other interviews. Its use was often described as an event that unified the whole family: "Radio was a sacred thing, it was turned on only at certain times of the day, when daily reports or music shows were broadcasted; the whole family – and sometimes even some neighbours and friends – gathered on such occasions" ('Planinski Sokol').

39 Pušnik, *Kulturna zgodovina elektronskih medijev*.

40 Eric D. Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia* (University Park PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999): 9.

41 Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 20, 21. Splichal and Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije*, 72, 80–84.

42 Jérôme Bourdon, "Some sense of time: Remembering television." *History and Memory* 15, No. 2 (2003): 13. See also Alice Bardan, "Remembering socialist entertainment: Romanian television, gestures and intimacy." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 20, No. 3 (2017): 10.

43 Splichal and Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj demokracije*, 84.

Especially popular were radio programmes, which were suitable for group listening: radio broadcasts with folk-pop music such as Četrtkov *večer* [Eng. *Thursday evening*], testimonies of the Partisans fighting in the Second World War anti-fascist movement in Še *pomnite tovariši?* [Eng. *Do You Still Recall, Comrades?*], and the Sunday noon broadcast. "We gathered in the evenings after we had finished our work / … / and we listened to the radio, especially to music shows. When I was a child, we sang a lot. In the evening one could hear singing in almost every house, particularly when people were busy with the tasks that were usually done together like pumpkin peeling or the husking of corn" ('Prijazna Gospa').

Listening to radio, therefore, fitted in quite smoothly with the existing social practices in the post-war period. Even though radio played an important role on various occasions and in specific social settings, media consumption was often restricted since it was regarded as something that encourages idleness. It was thus opposed to the urge to work as much as possible, as especially pronounced in the 1950s, a time characterised by modest living conditions in a mainly agrarian society. Interviewees who were still children at the time often described how their parents limited their media use: "There was not a lot of time for fun / … / we had to work in the fields with our parents, we only relaxed in the evening or if it was raining" (A. Golež).

Like radio, print was often associated with a particular social function of connecting the community in this early period: "I still remember how my mother said: 'the neighbour brought the newspaper!' We didn't buy our own newspapers, of course" (I. Markič). Newspapers, magazines and books were often shared or stored after reading so they could be re-used, and the topics appearing in them were often discussed by people. Reading was also regularly considered as part of leisure time: "We had time to read on Sunday afternoon, when we had fights over the newspapers from the previous week" (F. R. Steiner).

The interviewees often recalled their parents reading the press. In these memories, on most occasions the newspaper belonged to the *pater familias*: "My father was somewhat politically educated, and he sometimes read for us from the newspapers" (I. Trotovšek). Everyday socialisation typically occurred in a common physical space in local environments and the interviewees often perceived their life as being separated from the topics discussed in the press, especially when it came to politics. One respondent stated: "Those were the years when I was not interested in political stuff / … / I mostly struggled with my own things, with work, friends, and women" ('Lojtra').

Many interviewees recalled the role of the magazines, such as popular magazine *Tedenska Tribuna* (Eng. *Weekly Tribune*, popularly called *TT*), which gained in popularity because their approach adapted to their audiences' needs and was lighter in nature. Magazines devoted to specific audience profiles also became more prominent in the 1960s, for example *Življenje in tehnika* (Eng. *Life and Technology*) for technically engaged people, or *Ciciban* and *Pionirski list* for children and youth. Religious books published by Mohorjeva družba and the (bi)weekly Catholic magazine *Družina* (Eng. *Family*) were also popular and were not prohibited in Yugoslavia, as some might assume.

Television reigns supreme

Certain interviewees, especially those who had lived in an urban environment, were already familiar with the moving image format that television brought to their lives early on as they had experienced it in the cinema. In most cases, the first memories of TV were very detailed and usually referred to the early 1960s when collective watching was common. This occurred in either the richer households of a village or town that could afford to buy a television set and allowed their neighbours (notably children) to join in watching or in semi-public spaces like community halls:

> I was in seventh grade when our village got its first television set / … / we had a club in the cooperative house [Slo. zadružni dom]. People bought a TV set together, with common funds. / … / Adults watched daily reports and talk shows, and we watched movies and music. / … / Later, my father came to the idea that we should buy our own TV set, but my brother and I were against it – we were afraid that we wouldn't be allowed to go into that club anymore. ('Rumena Magnolija')

As the above anecdote reveals, socialising was an important aspect of this ritual for many, but only the early experiences were collective. Towards the end of the 1960s and later, television became an essential item in most households, while the practice of watching TV became either individualised or at least reserved for members of the nuclear family. In this period, most interviewees moved out of their parents' houses and completed their education. They began to establish their own families, usually in their own dwelling. A living room with a TV set became the main venue for consuming media and replaced the rural kitchen where large families had gathered to listen to the radio. A predominantly rural lifestyle, related to the cycles of nature and farm work, was in many interviewees' stories replaced by a modern working lifestyle in which TV often represented the biggest source of evening relaxation, especially for men: "This is like a chronic disease or addiction / … / I have always watched the evening news programme. At that hour, there had to be peace in the house" (D. Rajtmajer). Women, in contrast, were not so accustomed to watching the evening news and preferred movies or TV shows, which often started after the children had gone to bed. Of course, one can also find notable exceptions to this stereotypical pattern in the sample.

Television was crucial in the popularisation of sports fan culture in Yugoslavia, with interviewees mentioning ski jumping, skiing, the Olympic Games, football World Cups, and basketball World Cups as examples. There is little doubt that the most prominent example of a televised event was Tito's death in 1980, as announced by the TV anchor Tomaž Terček. With his recognisable and memorable voice and always serious manner, most interviewees could recall exactly what they were doing and how they felt when he uttered those famous words: "Comrade Tito has died". When the interviewees were asked which journalists they could recall from Yugoslavia, most remembered TV anchors and announcers, which goes far to demonstrate the role of TV in producing celebrities, even in a non-Western context. Memories of the most important public events – from the first moon landing in 1969 to the war for

Slovenian independence in 1991 – were in one way or another connected to television watching, but often quite vaguely, which confirms Bourdon's point that "much of our media experience, especially in an increasingly mediated world, is not encoded (or not primarily) as specific 'media experience'".[44]

Trust in the Media and Journalism

> There was no dilemma concerning whether "to believe or not". I would say that we trusted what we were watching and listening to. (A. Žabjek)

Memories connected to people's feelings and attitudes regarding the past are especially prone to falsification since emotions, opinions and beliefs we have of certain phenomena today can easily affect the perception of our past attitudes to them.[45] While these issues must be taken into account, the interviewees' responses seem unambiguous: most conceded that they believed in the information transmitted, particularly before Tito's death in 1980, and were generally not critical of journalistic reporting in socialist Yugoslavia. They did not look for alternative sources of information, but also did not regard themselves as being deprived of different worldviews. Statements like "We trusted the media, there was no alternative" ('Bela Lilija') or "We believed everything, there was only one TV channel" (A. Žener), were common in the sample.

Comparisons between trust in the media and the absence of diverse sources is one of the most frequent topics the interviewees noted, especially in their childhood and youth. When asked about their belief in the news, they often made comparisons with today's overabundance of information from many different – and often opposing – sources. It is only in such an environment that the question of belief in the news could even be raised. One interviewee for instance mentioned that her first doubts about credibility appeared when the media became similar to what it is today: "People who were supposed to inform us started to insult each other / … /, the same event has many different interpretations, I don't know what is right anymore" ('Lepa gospa').

The everyday influence of the wider social context was frequently acknowledged by the interviewees as an important reason for them trusting the media and the Yugoslav system in general: "That's how we were raised" (P. Bezjak); "My father told me not to criticise / … / I didn't like it when people were criticising things" (J. Krek); "We trusted the media because of the 'brotherhood and unity', we were unified: one for all, all for one" (D. Borovnik). Particularly for the earlier periods, it seems that criticism was often considered rude and unnecessary, as something tearing apart the social cohesion. That is why criticism of journalistic reporting did not form part of usual small talk, as is often the case today.

44 Bourdon, "Media Remembering," 61.

45 Michael Ross, "Relation of implicit theories to the construction of personal histories," *Psychological Review* 96, No. 2 (1989): 341–57.

(Lack of) Information diversity and sources of criticism

The absence of information plurality was often mentioned while describing the media situation in the 1950s, when radio was the main source of daily news for many households. In this historical period, a diversity of political views was generally seen as a threat to social cohesion due to the devastating consequences of ideological differences during the Second World War. Older people who had lived through that epoch often discouraged any kind of political debate, even in private settings. Those in search of different worldviews frequently used foreign media and depended on the radio signals coming from across the borders. The influence of Western media was especially important for people living in the border regions: *Radio Trst* (Eng. *Trieste*) was followed in the Upper Carniola region and *Radio Graz* in Carinthia and some parts of the Styria region. Slovenian programmes broadcast on *Radio Vatican* and *Voice of America* were also often mentioned as sources of information with alternative, 'Westernised' political views, while *Radio Luxembourg* was important for introducing Yugoslavia to Western pop culture in the early 1960s.

At least to some extent, journalists could criticise specific local problems and flaws, but as the interlocutors realise today it was not possible to doubt the social system's foundations. For instance, one interviewee noted: "There would be a special kind of problem if someone tried to criticise the ideal of brotherhood and unity among different nations / … /, this ideal had to be preserved and respected" (H. Molan).

The first signs of criticism usually corresponded with youthful stubbornness and disobedience. In some cases, this was related with the reading of comics (Miki Muster and his famous comic *Zvitorepec* were mentioned many times) and satirical magazines like *Pavliha*, which enjoyed high circulation and popularity. In this context, Fran Miličinski – Ježek (Eng. *The Little Hedgehog*), the award-winning satirist, comedian, director, writer, chansonnier and self-proclaimed clown, was often mentioned as a figure whose jokes were seen as an implicit critique of the system. Similarly to how Bardan describes the New Year's Eve television programme in socialist Romania[46], it seems that what contributed to the popularity of Ježek's performances was its mildly subversive nature, ambiguous expressions, and "the structure of feeling" describing the bittersweet life of an ordinary little man in the socialist reality, with whom audiences could easily identify. The structure of jokes circulating in non-formal environments (usually directed against important members of The Party, such as Stane Dolanc) followed the same recipe.

The rise of liberal politics and student social movements in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s and early 1970s was not perceived as a turning point for most of the interviewees, who also paid scant attention to the political crisis related to the Croatian Spring (also known as Maspok) between 1967 and 1971. They usually saw this as a conflict between the Croats and Serbs, which was not as important for the situation in Slovenia. Expressions of nationalistic tendencies were often recognised as a classic example of

46 Bardan, "Remembering Socialist Entertainment," 11.

forbidden content in the media sphere of socialist Yugoslavia, but the interviewees often perceived this censorship as a positive side-effect of stricter control of the media content, particularly when they took account of the consequences of such nationalistic discourse later in the 1990s. Even the first memories concerning the diversity and pluralism of political views in the media are often associated with the rise of conservativism and nationalism during the 1980s, when, for instance, "Slovenian and Serbian views on the situation in Yugoslavia began to diverge radically" ('Dušan Anon').

The male interviewees' experience of military service was often described as a paradigmatic example of the actual solidarity existing among the different Yugoslav nations where the principle of "brotherhood and unity" was, on one hand, manifested in practice, but where on the other any expressions of disobedience or rebelliousness were also strictly rejected. One interviewee mentioned that his hair had to be shortened due to the military rules, another had minor problems after criticising the quality of weapons, while many of them remembered the mandatory daily practice of group watching the evening news on television, which they regarded as a typical example of the authoritarian tendencies of the system.

Censorship and contradictions of freedom of speech

While discussing criticism and censorship, the interviewees often related these phenomena to interpersonal relationships. This seemed a bigger concern for them than potential control of the media content. Instances of undercover agents monitoring discussions in pubs and inns were frequently mentioned. Similarly, anecdotes were given about encounters with police or customs officers. Both were perceived as incarnations of the non-democratic system since they could act strictly if not treated properly. Problems that emerged with the work environment and career development due to the public expression of political opinions, religious affiliation or a controversial family history are another common theme discussed in the interviews. Still, these anecdotal cases were not very pronounced and were told almost as trivia that rarely had a defining influence on the interviewees' lives or their overall attitude to the system. They should therefore be evaluated systematically against other historical sources, which lies beyond the scope of this article.

In general, answers regarding freedom of speech vary widely. Some interviewees stated they did not dare to be critical even in a private setting, especially in the 1950s. Others mentioned there were no particular issues attracting such criticism among friends or co-workers. Some interviewees did not regard themselves as being in any way deprived of free speech, while others noted they did not even have a need for any such criticism. This was explained as an outcome of their relative happiness, satisfaction with individual and social life, and feeling of social security: "As kids, we lived in a bubble, without problems, without deep considerations as to what was going on in the media" (H. Molan). "There were no [political] parties, no questions as to who to believe. I got my first job and went there immediately. Everything was pleasant" (R. M. Perlič).

Such favourable social circumstances not only led to a lack of interest in criticism, but also a broader absence of interest in journalistic reporting: "I wasn't deeply interested in the reporting by the media. When you are young, you are not interested in that, but I never doubted whether it was true. / … / We were living our lives, socialising, playing games / … / we didn't ask ourselves whether we trusted the media" ('Cvetoča orhideja'). Especially news about domestic politics – a prime example being summaries of various Party meetings – were considered boring and separate from the interviewees' actual lives.

Perceptions of Socialist Yugoslavia

"To some extent, you'll always be limited, remember that. Always!". (F. Mastnak)

As observed in the literature, self-consistency in identity presentation is a general tendency among the interviewees.[47] In our study, where the relationship between interviewer and interviewee also corresponds to the seemingly contradictory binary opposition between the present and the past (and simultaneously between capitalism and socialism), this tendency was even more pronounced: the interviewee's perception of their own identity was in fact rarely caught in two paradigms opposed to each other. They did not regard themselves as being subjected to some radical transformation, such as what happened to the socio-political system in the transition years.

The interviewees' opinions of the socialist regime and quality of the media reporting offer insights that reject simple and unambiguous black-and-white narratives of the past. They also partially reveal the complex logic of the identity-formation process during (and after) socialist Yugoslavia, while serving as a good illustration of why unequivocal anti-communism and demonising of the socialist past have difficulties becoming an attractive ideology in Slovenia with mass political appeal. As emphasised by Wilmer, "people living in Yugoslavia identified themselves in terms of multiple, intersecting, and sometimes overlapping identities".[48] Even if their Slovenian identity was always important and not necessarily suppressed, people also identified as Yugoslavs, as workers, and as active builders of society.

Opinion on the regime and identity formation

The Yugoslav identity based on the "normative foundations of anticapitalist Marxism", which is also "anti-Stalinist" in nature, "emphasized the 'socialist' rather than communist basis for Yugoslav society, 'self-management' in the economy, and the coexistence, however uneasy, of national ethnic and socialistic civic identities".[49] This identity

47 See Joshua Kaldor-Robinson, "The Virtual and the Imaginary," *Oxford Development Studies* 30, No. 2 (2002): 177–87.

48 Frankie Wilmer, *The Social Construction of Man, the State and War Identity, Conflict, and Violence in Former Yugoslavia* (London: Routledge, 2002), 81.

49 Ibid., 86.

was expressed and maintained through many public rituals, for instance *the Relay of Youth* (Slo. *Štafeta mladosti*) or the *Train of Brotherhood and Unity*, and especially through admiration of the figure of the leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz – Tito. It was also related to the feelings of pride that emanated from the country's international reputation as a unique, powerful and independent entity, that was neither East nor West. Even the Yugoslav communication system was unique and significantly different from the stereotypical image of the state-owned and centralised Eastern European media.[50]

In this sense, it is no surprise that regrets about the collapse of Yugoslavia, which the interviewees viewed as a respected society (and not on the periphery of the First world), were often present in the interviews. Similar arguments appeared when some interviewees tried to explain the quality of Yugoslav journalism. It was typically seen as a very respected profession and its interpretations of world events were mostly considered to be neutral. Yugoslavia was not part of the Western or Eastern bloc and Yugoslav audiences were supposedly receiving objective information about world events. One interviewee, for instance, stated that "reporting was objective / … / Yugoslavia was not a fan of Russia, / … / We were freer, we were not as repressed as people living in Hungary or Czechoslovakia" (A. Zupančič). One question many interviewees lacked an exact answer for was how and when this Yugoslav identity disappeared, or indeed, whether today it is still somehow present.

Even though the period of socialist Yugoslavia is often presented as a repressed and somewhat rejected part of Slovenian history – an obstacle to realisation of the 1,000-year-old dream that finally came true upon Slovenian independence – our interviewees' memories of Yugoslavia were rarely marked by any significant traumas. As one interviewee noted: "None of our generation – in contrast with those born in the 1930s – experienced any atrocities" ('Lojtra'). Even though the interlocutors had varying evaluations of the socialist regime – with many mentioning negative aspects of the system, for instance the Goli otok concentration camp for political prisoners – they had not undergone a radical experience (such as war) in their lifetime. A certain sense of reconciliation with the past can thus be discerned from the responses: "That's how the system was. It was a one-party system and we agreed with that /…/ we thought it was just right back then. That's how they taught us / … / and that's what we taught our children. / … / It was considered normal" ('Prijazna Gospa'). Even though such a stance dominates, some interviewees mentioned the discomfort they felt when they retrospectively realised the regime's problematic aspects or the post-war killings of local collaborators with the Nazi regime.

The past is a foreign country? Comparisons and (dis)continuities

The conversations ended with questions concerning how the interviewees view the past regime today. It seems that the students had often implicitly anticipated that

50 See Slavko Splichal, "Media Research in Socialist Slovenia/Yugoslavia: Some Afterthoughts," *Triple-C* 18, No. 1 (2020): 350–59.

their interviewees would emphasise the radical otherness of the past. Yet, on the contrary, they often rejected such simplistic assumptions and argued that the change might not be so radical after all. One interviewee for example said: "Some of us are satisfied and others are not. Those who are dissatisfied now, were also dissatisfied back then and will be dissatisfied in 10 years time" (A. Zupančič). Another stated similarly: "It was hard back then for working people like us, but it is the same today, we are living in difficult times" ('Julijana').

Such a stance, which stresses that 'nothing ever changes', is probably generally characteristic for the perspective of 'ordinary people' whose lives are not necessarily dramatically affected by the regime change. However, the reason for the frequency of this view in our sample might also be attributed to the fact that Yugoslav self-managed socialism was significantly more democratic and open than in the Eastern European regimes, which is why the transition to market capitalism was not necessarily seen as such a radical event. Similarly, differences between contemporary journalism and journalism of the past were often relativised by the interviewees, as evidenced by several similar statements: "The media is always the same / … / you can never believe it 100%" (M. Martinšek). "The journalistic profession has always been under pressure" (J. Maj). "There have always been good journalists / … / and there have always been poor journalists acting on the behest of someone" (S. Mlakar).

The idea of historical continuity is also seen in political opinions regarding the regime. The majority of interviewees were completely devoted to the unity of Titoist Yugoslavia before 1980, while the same people later also unanimously supported the Slovenian independence movement. This transition seems to hold a deep structural influence on the interviewees' understanding of their individual and group identity. Memory regarding the gradual change in worldviews is especially murky. In general, the interviewees' responses fail to provide deep insights into the precise course of historical development throughout the 1980s when this change was underway. They sometimes mentioned the influence of dissident media like *Mladina* and *Nova Revija*, and events that added to the liberalisation of civil society (the rise of alternative culture, the punk movement, JBTZ court proceedings etc.).

Yet, the interviewees even more often explained the beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia with anecdotes from their own lives. These examples often describe the rise of banal nationalism on the level of everyday life. They also involve simplified economic reasoning, with claims that Slovenia put proportionally more funds into the common Yugoslav budget than it received from it, while combining this with the supposed laziness of the 'southerners'. Many jokes circulating at the time illustrate this well: "In Slovenia, a concrete mixer is spinning, while 'in the south', a piglet on a spit is spinning [Slo. *V Sloveniji se vrtijo mešalci, na jugu pa odojki*]" (H. Molan). This narrative seems to be so effective because it corresponds with two main arguments for Slovenian independence: first, with the idea that Slovenians are culturally different from the other nations of Yugoslavia and, second, that independence would be accompanied by rising economic prosperity, as implied by the notion of Slovenia as "The Switzerland

of the Balkans". It is therefore not surprising that the criticism of contemporary politics often referred to the failure to realise these hopes: "They promised us another Switzerland / … /, but now we are closer to the Visegrad Group" (D. Pernek).

The other reason it is difficult to locate the exact point of the transition might relate to the fact that in both the period of Titoist Yugoslavia and the times of Slovenian independence public opinion was very homogeneous. In contrast to this, when the interviewees tried to explain the biggest difference between the past and the present, they often used the dichotomy between the homogenous society with a unified will (as something not necessarily negative) and the divided society in which we are currently living: "We experienced brotherhood and unity, and I miss that today" (V. Štiglic). "I am quite confused by the media reporting today – the news is so diverse / … / as it suits the actor which supports or funds certain media. Today, it is difficult to know what the real truth is" ('Bela Lilija').

Individualism, which replaced unity and uniformity, was often presented as the main structural reason for the polarisation of society in which everyone has their own truth. Even if most interviewees agreed that they once missed plurality and diversity, they often still described the situation today as democratisation that "has gone too far". As one interviewee noted: "There is only one truth, there cannot be many truths" ('Želimir Anon').

Conclusion

Many aspects of socialist Yugoslavia continue to be under-researched and deserve more attention in the future. Our aim in the empirical part was to add a small piece to this puzzle. We paid special attention to the influence media use has on the process of creating collective and individual memory, identities, and ideological positioning through time, and the evaluation of the Yugoslav regime compared to today's post-socialist Slovenia. We necessarily had to resort to certain generalisations when it came to the insights provided by the interviewees. Our study should hence be seen as an initial exploration, a roadmap presenting possible directions for other researchers, who should probe these topics further. The conducted interviews enable unique insights into the everyday use of the media by ordinary people, which often go missing in other approaches that, for instance, merely analyse institutional changes or use typical archival material. The interviews can thus serve as an inductive entry point for new ideas and possible avenues for research or as a supplementary source for other empirical material.

Since we were forced to make broad generalisations, we treated the sample in a homogenous manner. Still, all of the archived interviews include basic demographic data, which makes it possible to further analyse the sample from this point of view and construct different profiles based on gender, level of education, or geographical location. Generalisations made from a few individuals to the whole population always

carry risks and possible problems and thus it makes sense to put more focus on specific social subgroups and their memories.[51] Further segmentation of the sample or profiling of the interviewees could offer a possible solution in this regard, especially because we aim to continue with this project in the future and thereby expand the archive with additional interviews.

The drawing of firm generalisations seems especially tricky when it comes to the issues of legitimacy and questions concerning trust in relation to particular institutions. This is very much the case when opinions are polarised, at least among some groups and individuals.[52] To a considerable extent, socialist Yugoslavia remains such a contested and emotionally charged historical era, and significant differences might exist between the memories of certain social groups. Digging deeper into the dataset therefore seems necessary to provide an unbiased interpretation.

In our opinion, there seems little doubt, however, that the interviews provide a substantially more nuanced understanding of a contradictory social system than is usually afforded in public discussion. For a long time, this system enjoyed remarkable legitimacy amongst the general population and these interviews can help give some answers about why that was the case, and why – at least to an extent – it still remains so. The interviewees address many of these issues, yet in the broadest sense they also provide insights into how political opinions in the most general sense are formed, developed, solidified, entrenched and self-justified through an individual's personal history.

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Jernej Kaluža, Jernej Amon Prodnik

SPOMIN NA MEDIJE IN NOVINARSTVO V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI: USTNI ZGODOVINSKI INTERVJUJI Z OBČINSTVI

POVZETEK

Spominske študije so se v zadnjih desetletjih razvile v eno izmed plodovitejših raziskovalnih področij, ki praviloma združuje različne discipline in s tem raznolike vpoglede v vrsto zgodovinskih tematik. V teh analizah je bilo precej pozornosti posvečene socialistični Jugoslaviji in njenemu razpadu, vendar sta bili vloga in funkcija medijev in novinarstva v delovanju te države največkrat spregledani. To je težava, še posebej glede na to, kako pomembno vlogo igrajo te institucije v modernih družbah. V študiji sva se osredotočila na vlogo, ki so jo te institucije igrale v vsakdanjih življenjih prebivalcev Jugoslavije, stopnjo, do katere so jim zaupali, ter na vpliv, ki so ga imeli ti spomini na proces vzpostavljanja identitet in vrednotenje socialističnega sistema kot celote.

V članku se teh problemov lotevava s pomočjo analize 96 polstrukturiranih ustnih intervjujev z medijskimi občinstvi, ki so jih študenti dodiplomskega programa Novinarstvo na Fakulteti za družbene vede (Univerza v Ljubljani) izvedli v letih 2019, 2020 in 2021. Intervjuji so bili izvedeni osebno in so v povprečju dolgi eno uro. V celoti so bili transkribirani in so v takšni obliki tudi arhivirani v Arhivu družboslovnih podatkov, zato so dostopni za nadaljnje analize. Intervjuvanci so po vnaprej postavljenem kriteriju morali biti rojeni med letoma 1940 in 1955, študenti in študentke pa so

jih izvajali predvsem s svojimi starimi starši, ki so v socialistični Jugoslaviji živeli večino svojega življenja in imajo nanjo torej prvoosebne spomine.

Interpretativna analiza intervjujev je temeljila na deduktivnem kodiranju intervjujev in je bila zastavljena že z matrico za izvajanje intervjujev, ki so ji morali pri izvedbi pogovora slediti izvajalci intervjujev. Na osnovi matrice sva empirični del razdelila na tri dele. V prvem delu sva se osredotočila na vsakodnevno uporabo medijev, kjer ugotavljava, da je v začetnem povojnem obdobju poleg tiskanih medijev v življenjih intervjuvancev osrednjo vlogo pričakovano odigral predvsem radio. Spremljanje tega medija je bilo pogosto kolektivno, podobno pa je veljalo tudi za prvo obdobje televizije, torej predvsem v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. Podobno kot na Zahodu televizija od sedemdesetih let dalje postaja osrednji množični medij. V drugem delu empirične analize sva se osredotočila na zaupanje v medije in novinarstvo in ugotovila, da so posebej v začetnem obdobju intervjuvanci kljub omejeni informacijski raznolikosti do njih gojili visoko stopnjo zaupanja. Novinarstvo kot profesijo so cenili tudi kasneje. Zaupanje je povezano tudi s tretjim delom, ki analizira dojemanje jugoslovanske družbe in poudarja relativno visoko stopnjo legitimnosti tega sistema med sogovorniki. Do prave erozije je pričelo prihajati šele v osemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja.

V študiji sva bila zaradi dolžine in vsebinskih omejitev primorana v nekatere posplošitve, kar nama je omogočilo kratek pregled zbranih podatkov. Kljub omejitvam ti splošni zaključki nakazujejo visoko vrednost teh podatkov za prihodnje raziskave. Prvoosebni intervjuji namreč omogočajo edinstvene in dragocene vpoglede v to zgodovinsko obdobje, ki bi jih le stežka pridobili na druge načine. Omogočajo bistveno pestrejše razumevanje tega protislovnega obdobja, kot pa ga je največkrat deležno v čustveno razvnetih in polariziranih javnih razpravah, ter odpirajo možnosti za razumevanje razlogov, zaradi katerih ta sistem še naprej uživa relativno visoko stopnjo zaupanja. Arhivska dostopnost intervjujev in cilj, da se projekt izvajanja intervjujev nadaljuje tudi v prihodnje, bi morala služiti kot spodbuda za nadaljnje raziskovanje teh empiričnih podatkov, ki je zaradi njihove količine in obsega nujno. Sama sva se lahko dotaknila le osrednjih poudarkov, zato lahko ti podatki služijo tudi kot dopolnilo k drugim osnovnejšim raziskovalnim virom ali kot induktivna vstopna točka za iskanje novih idej in raziskovalnih poti pri preučevanju tega zgodovinskega obdobja.

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Ilija Tomanić Trivundža*

"Eritreja, moja dežela": Photoreportage and Positive Representation of a Distant Other**

IZVLEČEK

»ERITREJA, MOJA DEŽELA«: FOTOREPORTAŽA IN POZITIVNA REPREZENTACIJA DALJNEGA DRUGEGA

Prispevek analizira reprezentacijo daljnega drugega na primeru fotoreportaže »Eritreja«, ki je izhajala med avgustom in novembrom 1988 v tedniku Mladina in velja za najobsežnejšo fotoreportažo, ki je bila kdajkoli objavljena v slovenskem tisku. Za analizo besednih in slikovnih strategij za konstrukcijo drugosti je uporabljena multimodalna analiza okvirjanja novic, ki jo dopolnjuje metoda poglobljenih intervjujev z ustvarjalcema fotoreportaže. Analizirana fotoreportaža odstopa od takratnega novinarskega poročanja in dominantnih novičarskih okvirov, ki so Etiopijo in Eritrejo povezovali skoraj izključno s tematikama vojne in lakote. »Eritrejina« drugačnost izhaja iz njene vpetosti v domače politične boje (slovenski boj proti jugoslovanskemu centralizmu) in Mladinine takratne uredniške politike (boj za svobodo izražanja skozi napade na tabuizirane teme jugoslovanskega političnega sistema).

Ključne besede: fotoreportaža, reprezentacija drugega, komunikacijska neenakost, okvirjanje, Etiopija

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses how distant Others are represented in "Eritreja" photoreporatge, that appeared in ten consecutive issues of the Mladina magazine between August and November 1988 and is regarded as the most extensive photoreportage ever published in Slovenian printed media. Multimodal framing analysis complemented with semi-structured interviews with the photographers are conducted to the examine verbal and visual strategies for the construction of Otherness. The divergence of this particular photoreportage from the leading news topics (famine and war) and its positive representations of the distant Other are traced to the photoreportage's resonance with the domestic political agenda (Slovenia's struggle against the centralisation of Yugoslavia) and Mladina's editorial policy (advocating freedom of speech via challenging taboo topics in Yugoslavia).

Keywords: photoreportage, Othering, communication inequality, framing, Ethiopia

Introduction

Although photography has been vital for creating and cementing the visual imaginary of the nation by appearing in periodical press since the end of the First World War and been an indispensable and routine part of news reporting in Slovenian media at least following the end of the Second World War,[1] the Slovenian history of journalism largely remains the history of the written word. While the recently published *On the Other Side: Slovenian Photoreportage*[2] managed to set up a tentative framework for such a project, a comprehensive history of Slovenian photojournalism has yet to be written. This article seeks to help fill the mentioned gap.

Between 12 August and 4 November 1988, the political weekly magazine *Mladina* published multi-part photoreportage on the political and living conditions in war-torn Eritrea. Produced by the brothers Gorazd and Jože Suhadolnik, *Mladina's* exclusive "report from the ground" ran for ten consecutive issues of the magazine and is regarded as the most extensive photoreportage ever published in Slovenian printed media. The significance of *Eritreja*[3] photoreportage for the history of Slovenian (photo)journalism lies not only in its unprecedented scope. First, at the time *Eritreja* was a relatively rare application of the genre of photoreportage to report on politically significant international topics, hotspots and events. It is not that these topics were not high on the

1 Ilija Tomanić Trivundža et al., "Photoreportage in the Slovenian Press. A 'small history' in four turns," in: *On the other side: Slovenian photoreportage, No 1, Introduction*, ed. Julija Hoda (Ljubljana: Galerija Jakopič, 2021), 126–32.

2 Julija Hoda et al., eds. *On the other side: Slovenian photoreportage. No 1, Introduction; No 2, Identity; No 3, Power; No 4, The Everyday* (Ljubljana: Galerija Jakopič, 2021).

3 Throughout this text, *Eritreja* (Slovenian spelling) is used to refer to *Mladina's* photoreportage while Eritrea (English spelling) is used to refer to the territory.

political or media agenda, but visual coverage of them was scarce, notably of political events and life in the countries of Yugoslavia's political allies in the Non-Aligned Movement. Such coverage was typically reduced to sporadic spot-news images and protocol photographs of country's political elites or diplomatic meetings. Due to their scarcity, the few photoreportages which were produced, provide important material for studying the processes of imagi(ni)ng geographically distant Others. Second, *Eritreja* is important for its context – it is inseparably connected with *Mladina's* struggle for greater freedom of public expression during the second half of the 1980s by provocatively challenging taboo topics in socialist Yugoslavia, such as 'the life and work' of Marshal Josip Broz Tito and 'accomplishments of the revolution', namely, the self-management system, the foreign policy doctrine of Non-Alignment, and the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA).

In the late 1980s, tensions started to mount between the federal YPA and the both reformist and increasingly nationalistic political elites in Yugoslavia's constituent republics. *Mladina* often placed itself at the forefront of these debates, championing topics like civil military service and criticising the plans to increase military spending. The relationship between *Mladina* and the YPA escalated in February 1988 when *Mladina* openly criticised the Federal Secretary of Defence Admiral Branko Mamula's visit to Addis Ababa, calling him a "merchant of death" for selling arms to famine-stricken Ethiopia. This turned into an open confrontation between *Mladina* and the YPA, lasting throughout the spring of 1988 and culminating in the arrest of *Mladina's* journalists and editors Janez Janša, David Tasić and Franci Zavrl, along with YPA officer Ivan Borštner on charges of having revealed military secrets. Their subsequent trial before the military court (popularly known as the JBTZ trial), with which the YPA intended to tame Slovenia's reform aspirations, became a galvanising moment in the process of its succession from Yugoslavia.

Given its position at the intersection of domestic and international narratives, *Eritreja* is both a unique and informative example for studying the representation of distant Others. The article commences by situating *Eritreja* within a specific trajectory of the development of photoreportage as a genre within the context of Slovenian (photo)journalism. The main research question considered in the article – *How is the Other represented in the Eritreja photoreportage?* – is addressed through a two-step multimodal framing analysis. The first step focuses on reports appearing in *Delo* and *Mladina* in the spring of 1988 when Yugoslavia's arrangements for arms sales to Ethiopia amidst the burgeoning humanitarian crisis had drawn journalistic criticism. In this step, the competing dominant news frames are identified. Against this contextual background, the second step in the analysis focuses exclusively on *Eritreja* and its representation of Otherness. In an attempt to trace the factors influencing the content and look of the published photoreportage, the multimodal framing analysis is complemented with semi-structured interviews with the authors of the photoreportage.

Slovenian Photoreportage and Imaging of Distant Others

Over the past century, Slovenian media has chiefly used the genre of photoreportage for domestic stories, harvesting its visual storytelling potential to create and maintain the 'imagined community' of the Slovenian nation. The idiosyncratic development of photoreportage in Slovenia[4] is an outcome of constraints in the political context (e.g. pre-war censorship or the post-war, one-party system), difficulties of operating in a small market (e.g. limited resources and audience), the (un)availability of printing technology, the perceived social role of journalism and the status assigned to photography as a means of journalistic reporting. While tracing the main shifts in the perceived role of the photojournalist and of the status attributed to photography within journalism, Tomanić Trivundža, Babnik and Skočir[5] identify four major periods in development of photoreportage in Slovenia during the 20th century: *nationally-conscious photoreportage*, typical of the pre-war period, *socialism-building photoreportage*, characteristic of the post-war reconstruction and social transformation, socialism reform-oriented *initiative-giving photoreportage*, which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and *watchdog photoreportage,* which gradually appeared in the late 1980s and dominated the post-independence journalism in the 1990s and early 2000s. *Eritreja* falls in the category of watchdog photoreportage, which was not solely driven by the desire to "record and show the conditions on the ground". During the late 1980s, watchdog photoreportage was both a fact-finding and fact-checking operation in which photographs supplied visual proof of verbal accounts. It was initially used in Slovenian media as part of efforts to break out of the information silos of the Yugoslav republican media[6] and the official information diet. As the tensions between Yugoslav republics grew, Slovenian media commenced independent investigations of the situation on the ground, initially related to the 'Kosovo question' and later to stories indicating the failures of Yugoslavia's self-managed economy.

Slovenian media's use of photoreportage for imaging distant Others is naturally closely linked to Yugoslavia's leading role in the Non-Aligned movement (NAM) and the federation's associated economic, military, educational and cultural cooperation with developing countries. The media's interest in using photoreportage as a vehicle to narrate Yugoslavia's increasingly global economic and political engagement gradually developed in the 1970s and early 1980s, albeit it was by no means a large-scale or systemically supported endeavour. The main news outlets invested in acquiring exclusive

4 Tomanić Trivundža et al., "Photoreportage in the Slovenian Press."

5 Ibidem.

6 Yugoslavia's media landscape was a patchwork of republic-based media which, due to the relative political autonomy of the republics and linguistic obstacles, focused on their national/republic-based audiences. In 1986, 2 years before Eritreja's publication, printed news was conveyed to Yugoslav citizens by 27 daily newspapers and over 1,400 weeklies and periodicals. Only a handful of them sold more than 10% of their circulation outside of the republic in which they were based. – Slavko Splichal, "Razvoj množičnega komuniciranja v socialistični Jugoslaviji," in: Slavko Splichal and France Vreg, *Množično komuniciranje in razvoj* demokracije, (Ljubljana: Komunist, 1986), 73, 74, 76–80.

information on international affairs, developing their own proprietary networks of foreign correspondents[7] to complement the already extensive network of foreign correspondents of the Yugoslav press agency Tanjug.[8] However, these were investments in journalism of words, not images. Even after Tanjug became the coordinating institution of the pool of press agencies from the Non-Aligned countries (NAPAP) and thus led the movement's struggle against the domination of information flows coming from Western international news agencies, the resources were committed to independent textual rather than visual news reporting.[9]

Limited resources meant that much of the published photoreportages in Slovenian dailies (mostly *Delo,* but also *Dnevnik, Večer*) and weeklies (initially *Tovariš,* later *Teleks and 7D*) were 'marriages of convenience' whereby journalists were given cameras to supply images for their own stories. Another common type of the reportage was a 'side job' produced by professional photojournalists covering official (diplomatic or sporting) events abroad. Professionally produced 'mission-specific' photo-reportages were generally limited to sporadic accounts of international conflicts relevant to Slovenia/Yugoslavia (e.g. the Iraq–Iran conflict due to the presence of Yugoslav construction workers in Iraq) or to liberation movements whose struggles resembled or were inspired by the Yugoslav Second World War resistance (e.g. Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, West Saharan Polisario Front). These exclusive journalistic accounts typically succeeded in presenting the topic to domestic audiences from a distinctly Slovenian/Yugoslav perspective, although the extent to which they offered an immersive visual experience of the situation in the field and a 'home-grown' representation of distant Others is debatable. In part, this was a result of the limited frequency and space given to photoreportage. Even more importantly, it may be attributed to the restricted selection of topics (conflict and official politics) and their visual style. Unlike the genre's earlier post-war applications in the magazine *Tovariš*, the photoreportages in question did not follow a clear formal template, such as the array of different types of shots and motives, or used the more engaged, personal or even artistic approach typically fostered in the genre.[10] As is shown below, *Eritreja* is an example of photoreportage that departs from this approach and marks the gradual transformation of the (photo)journalist's perceived role from that of socio-political worker to one of professional observer.[11]

7 In 1988, *Delo*'s own network consisted of 10 foreign correspondents and a number of regular contributors.

8 In 1983, Tanjug had 30 foreign correspondents, including 1 in Addis Ababa. – Velimir Budimir, *Tanjug: četiri desetletja* (Belgrade: Tanjug, 1983).

9 Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, "Many Voices, One Picture: Photographic Coverage of Foreign News in Slovenian Daily Press (1980, 2004)," *Javnost / The Public* 13, 2 (2006): 21–40.

10 Stylistically, they were closer to the 'home-grown' style of news photography. For more on this, see: Hanno Hardt, "Predstavljanje osamosvojitve: podoba/tekst slovenskega fotožurnalizma," *Teorija in praksa* 40, 4 (2003).

11 Tomanić Trivundža et al., "Photoreportage in the Slovenian Press."

Framing Ethiopia: Outlining the Boundaries of the Controversy

Eritreja was not a project in its own right but came in response to a charged domestic political debate. This means analysis of these contestations must also chart the pre-existing boundaries of the controversy. Drawing on Entman's[12] conceptualisation of news frames as ways in which journalists define problems, provide causal interpretations, assert moral evaluations or suggest desirable action in relation to reported events, a range of dominant, complementary and oppositional frames is identified. This rudimentary qualitative inductive framing analysis does not aim to quantify the frames but to trace the dynamics of frame formation and contestation[13] and map the range of legitimate positions from which *Eritreja* could address *Mladina's* readers before its journalists had even entered Eritrea. In total, 25 articles from *Delo* and 24 from *Mladina* were analysed. For *Delo*, a database of articles published between December 1987[14] and May 1988 was searched using designated keywords (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Avgust Pudgar, Branko Mamula, Mladina) and the articles directly relating to the arms-trade affair and conflict in Ethiopia were selected for further analysis. The search for topic-related articles in *Mladina* was manual and covered the period from December 1987 to December 1988. Qualitative interpretation of text and images, salient keywords, metaphors, labels, and an evaluation of actors and actions were conducted on the levels of topical and event-specific frames.[15] In the second stage of the analysis, the process was applied to all ten chapters of *Eritreja* and their announcements in *Mladina*.

On Thursday, 4 February 1988, the last page of *Delo* prominently featured a commentary by its Nairobi-stationed foreign correspondent August Pudgar. In the 700-word-long text entitled *Admiral in the midst of hunger*,[16] Pudgar reflected on the visit by Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary of Defence to Ethiopia during which an agreement on military cooperation between the two countries was signed. Although the line between presenting the concerns voiced by (unnamed) Western and African press and the correspondent's own concerns is in places blurred, the overall condemnatory tone of the commentary is undeniable. Amidst a great humanitarian crisis, threatening the lives of 5 million people, Yugoslavia had been selling guns to the hunger-stricken undemocratic regime rather than saving civilian lives by donating humanitarian aid. The visit is explicitly labelled as grotesque, noting that even the biggest exporters of arms to Ethiopia were currently focusing on delivering humanitarian aid to the

12 Robert Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, 4 (1993).

13 Robert Entman, *Projections of power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 48.

14 Although the controversy started in February 1988, the sample was extended to cover Mengistu Haile Mariam's visit to Yugoslavia in December 1987 during which the invitation for Mamula's subsequent visit was made by the Ethiopian side. Interestingly, neither *Delo* nor *Mladina* reported on Mengistu's visit in December.

15 Stephen Reese, "Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the war on terror," in: *Doing news framing analysis*, eds. Paul D'Angelo and Jim Kuypers (New York: Routledge, 2010), 17–42.

16 Avgust Pudgar, "Admiral sredi lakote," *Delo* 4 February 1988, 16.

country. In the commentary, two complementary frames appear alongside the central frame of the immorality of prioritising arms trade over humanitarian relief. The first concerns Yugoslavia's foreign policy of Non-Alignment, namely, its stated advocacy of peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and its principled support for liberation movements. Not only is the Yugoslav position questioned (the policy of peacefully resolving conflict and becoming one of the leading arms exporters to developing countries), but Pudgar also raises the question of the "just recipient" of Yugoslav support by labelling the Eritrean side as "resistance" movement fighting for independence from Ethiopia. The second complementary frame concerns the YPA's role in dictating political and economic life in Yugoslavia given the substantial contribution made by the arms trade (then estimated at USD 2 billion) to the struggling national economy.

The publishing of this commentary caused a commotion in circles of the military and the federal government. Two days later, *Delo* published an article of comparable length on the same part of the last page – a standard feature of a correction but not labelled as such – which listed various forms of Yugoslav economic and educational collaboration with Ethiopia. Pressure began to mount on *Delo* and Pudgar. The Belgrade-based daily *Borba*, the official newspaper of the Yugoslav League of Communists, published a rebuttal written by the Yugoslav federal Secretary for Information Svetozar Duritović which also demanded that *Delo* correct its "serious errors of editorial judgement". Pudgar was called in for an interview at the Yugoslav embassy in Nairobi.[17] Duritović's rebuttal introduced three oppositional frames which were to dominate the federalist perspective in the following months: unfounded attacks on the YPA, Yugoslav foreign policy's consistent commitment to emancipatory struggles and the principles of Non-Alignment, and the dangerous propositions of Slovenia's reform aspirations, complemented by an emphasis on Yugoslavia's continuous developmental support for Ethiopia. *Delo* reprinted the *Borba* article on 10 February together with an editorial response by Danilo Slivnik who dismissed Duritović's accusations and argued for *Delo's* editorial independence. This signalled a move from event-specific to topical framing in which the visit to Ethiopia was no longer important in itself but served merely as an example pointing to need for public scrutiny of the YPA.

On 12 February,[18] 2 days after *Delo's* response to *Borba, Mladina* published an editorial on the subject entitled *Mamula go home.*[19] Signed collectively as "editors", it was penned by *Mladina's* journalist Gorazd Suhadolnik who labelled the head of the Yugoslav delegation Admiral Branko Mamula a "merchant of death". "The chief editor Zavrl showed me Pudgar's article, asking if I would write an editorial", as Suhadolnik recalls the event: "Looking back, this no longer seems to me as spontaneous as it

17 According to Mamula, Pudgar claimed during the 'interview' at the Yugoslav that his commentary had been heavily edited by *Delo* to give it a more condemnatory tone. See Igor Mekina and Svetlana Vasović, "Poslovil se je admiral Mamula", *Insajder* 21 October 2021, https://insajder.com/slovenija-intervju/poslovil-se-je-admiral-mamula%C2%A0vse-ki-so-sodelovali-pri-tem-bi-najprej-poslal-v (25 January 2022).

18 On 11 February, *Delo's* weekly magazine *Teleks* published an editorial critical of the unaccountability of the YPA. However, the editorial did not question the Yugoslav engagement in Ethiopia and presented quite a lengthy discussion on the need to reform the YPA. – Andrej Novak, "Generals and generations," *Teleks* 11. February 1988, 2.

19 "Mamula go home," *Mladina*, 12 February 1988, 1.

did back then. He knew I would do it very emotionally".[20] *Mladina's* editorial framed Mamula's visit to Ethiopia in a similar way to *Delo's* commentary. The dominant frame was the immorality of arms sales amid a humanitarian disaster. Yet, Suhadolnik's editorial was written as a much more direct and personal attack on the Federal Secretary of Defence. Mamula was not only a personification of the army, the charge of immorality by the YPA was transferred to him personally as he is openly labelled a morally objectionable individual. The dominant frame rendering the YPA "worthy only of contempt" is complemented by the frame of the two-faced foreign policy (the hypocrisy of selling "guns with flowers of Non-Alignment in their barrels" and advocating the policy of non-interference while knowing that the guns would be used to fight civil wars and guerrillas). Like *Delo's* commentary, *Mladina's* Friday editorial was swiftly denounced by *Borba* on Monday (15 February), making similar accusations.

The tensions escalated throughout February and March. Aided by federal institutions and the Serbian media, the YPA launched a two-pronged attack on Slovenian media and the Slovenian political elite, leaving the League of Communists of Slovenia to weigh up its reformist agenda against the mounting threat of a declaration of a state of emergency in Slovenia. The YPA concluded that it had been the victim of a "special warfare" attack instigated by the Yugoslav immigration and foreign secret services with the intention of breaking up Yugoslavia. According to the YPA, as the principal exponents of this attack the Slovenian media needed to "fall back in line", as did the Slovenian political elite.[21]

In interviews he gave in the 1990s and in his memoirs,[22] Mamula insisted that the military delegation's visit to Ethiopia had been grossly misrepresented by the Slovenian media. Minutes of the 185th meeting of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia dated 3 February 1988, when Mamula was reporting on the delegation's visit to Ethiopia, and the written report submitted by the military cabinet of the Presidency seem to support his claim.[23] Apart from arranging the conditions for the use of an already existing earmarked and only partly drawn down loan, Mamula appears to have been quite a reluctant "merchant of death" in Addis Ababa. He reports on Mengistu Haile Mariam's plans to build up Ethiopia's military industry as "completely unrealistic" and "beyond the boundaries of reason". The feasibility study the Yugoslavia side committed itself to preparing in the controversial agreement is seen as a way for "grounding" Mengistu's plans and postponing the decision to enter

20 Gorazd Suhadolnik, interview.

21 A more detailed description of this multi-layered confrontation cannot be given due to space limitations. It included heightened tensions between the YPA and (Slovenian) political authorities, tensions between the Yugoslav federal and Slovenian authorities (on both the level of federal government and the League of Communists), frictions between federal and republic institutions (public prosecutor's office), difference in stances between the Slovenian League of Communists and the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, as well as open confrontation with Belgrade-based media. For a condensed description of this, see Viktor Meier, *Yugoslavia: A history of its demise* (London, Routledge, 1999), 58–64. Branka Magaš, *The destruction of Yugoslavia* (London: Verso, 1993), 115, 116 or Kenney Padraic *A carnival of revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 225–27.

22 E.g. Mekina and Vasović, *Poslovil se je admiral Mamula*. See also Branko Mamula, *Slučaj Jugoslavija*. (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 122, 123.

23 RS AJ, DT 42/1, folder 282.

into extensive military collaboration. Extreme caution is advised given the political sensitivity of the matter and Ethiopia's inability to finance the venture. Interestingly, a day before Pudgar's commentary was published in *Delo*, Mamula raised concerns regarding – in his opinion – the exaggerated publicity that the Ethiopian side had given to the event, noting that the event's visibility while withholding information about details of the agreement had led to speculation "in other countries about what we want and what we are doing. I think it provoked criticism in the Arab countries".[24]

Following the initial standoff, *Delo* continued to publish Pudgar's articles on political events in sub-Saharan Africa[25] and with sporadic reports on Ethiopia following the event-based paradigm of journalism. While these news reports on famine and conflict[26] also provided ample background information on the Eritrean liberation struggle and exposed the atrocities committed by the Ethiopian regime, they no longer clearly connected the conflict with Yugoslavia's foreign policy or the YPA. Instead, the dominant humanitarian frame was now complemented with the frame of Eritrea's just struggle for liberation, while the debate on Ethiopian arms trade and the YPA moved from the news to the readers' letters section of *Delo's* Saturday supplement *Sobotna priloga*, where it remained present until the end of June 1988.

Unlike *Delo*, *Mladina* decided to escalate the conflict. In the process, it harvested the framing potential of the visuals – namely photographs, but also illustrations. The 19 February edition thus carried both a commentary responding to Belgrade's criticism and a full-page mock advertisement – a photo of a visibly starved African begging for food, captioned with a quote attributed to Hermann Göring ("Guns will give us power, we will only get fat from butter") and a phrase used as justification for the Yugoslav arms sales ("If we will not do it, someone else will"). In the next five issues, *Mladina* published a special section entitled *Afrika, moje dežela*,[27] featuring a total of 14 articles. The frames advanced in the *Afrika, moja dežela* section were the humanitarian crisis in Ethiopia, the immorality of the Yugoslav arms sales (labelled e.g. as "a contribution to the global image of hell"), especially to regimes with a dubious democratic record. The frame questioning the extensive contribution of arms sales to the Yugoslav economy also appeared, supporting the claim for the need for public control of the YPA. Unattributed images of starved Ethiopian children, familiar from the 1984–1985 Ethiopian famine, prominently accompanied several articles. While photographs promoted the humanitarian crisis frame, editorial illustration was used to support the immorality of the arms trade to undemocratic "friendly" regimes (e.g. the magazine cover from 8 April 1988). Parallel to this, *Mladina* also exposed how Admiral Mamula's seaside villa was being built using conscripts as unpaid labour,[28] reinforcing the frame

24 Ibidem, 490, 491.

25 Although for the rest of February, news on Ethiopia came from the Tanjug news feed and Tanjug's correspondent Radomir Sekulović.

26 E.g. Avgust Pudgar "Drama na severu Etiopije," *Sobotna priloga* 16 April 1988, 25. "Eritrejski uporniki o etiopskem nasilju," *Delo* 19 May 1988, 1. "Etiopska vlada se je trdno odločila uničiti gverilce," *Delo* 25 May 1988, 7.

27 The slogan referenced Slovenia's popular tourism promotion slogan *Slovenija moja dežela*.

28 The expose ran over four issues between 4 and 23 March 1988.

of the YPA's immorality. *Mladina's* reporting is hence a combination of topical (YPA and arms trade) and event-specific frames (Ethiopia). In April, event-specific frames gain greater prominence as *Mladina* publishes a letter from Eritrean exchange students from Ljubljana,[29] followed by a short photo-interview under the title *Eritreja must be free!*[30] With this, *Mladina's* emphasis moves from analysing the situation in Ethiopia to advancing the arguments for the justness of the Eritrean struggle for independence from the centralist and undemocratic Ethiopian regime. Within this frame, the parallels between Eritrea and Slovenia are unmistakably present and Eritrea (rather than Ethiopia) is promoted as the side which should be on the receiving end of Yugoslavia's policy of supporting decolonisation and resistance movements.

70 Films and 20 Interviews – (Re)Framing the Distant Other in *Eritreja*

It is within these pre-existing boundaries of controversy that in late July *Mladina* published a one-page announcement of forthcoming photoreportage. Entitled *The Eritreans are winning*,[31] it features six small photographs with captions highlighting the first-hand experience, exclusivity and timeliness of the upcoming photoreportage. "*Mladina's* journalists have just returned from a 3-week trip around Eritrean liberated territory", reads one caption: "They have shot around 70 films and [conducted] 20 interviews". In total, *Eritreja* consists of ten 3-page chapters published over ten subsequent weekly issues of the magazine. A total of 45 photographs were published, with a further 11 being used for one magazine cover and three announcements of the reportage.

One of these announcements[32] features a full-page photograph of the partly decomposed corpse of an Ethiopian soldier, accompanied by a handwritten caption: "He is in the army now". The blunt juxtaposition of image and text, typical of *Mladina's* often sarcastic (and politically incorrect) style of "page 6" rubric, is by no means a neutral announcement of the upcoming content. It instead reminds readers of *Mladina's* initial motivation for producing *Eritreja* (a critique of the YPA and Yugoslav foreign policy) and advances the magazine's general anti-military stance and comments on the rhetoric and celebratory rituals of the YPA's conscription service.

The Suhadolnik brothers travelled to Eritrea in search of traces and consequences of the Yugoslav military aid to Ethiopia, but soon discovered that the 'real story' lay elsewhere. Only *Eritreja's* initial chapter[33] focused directly on the conflict, describing

29 "Eritreja be free!!!!," *Mladina*, 8 April 1988, 14.
30 "Eritreja must be free!," *Mladina*, 15 April 1988, 6.
31 "Eritrejci zmagujejo," *Mladina*, 22 July 1988, 6.
32 "He is in the army now," *Mladina*, 12 August 1988, 6.
33 Gorazd Suhadolnik and Jože Suhadolnik, "Smrt in svoboda v Afabetu," *Mladina* 12 August 1988, 41–43. Chapter 5 also addressed the conflict more indirectly via a story of a refugee who had survived the 12 May massacre in She eb. Gorazd Suhadolnik and Jože Suhadolnik, "Priča iz doline," *Mladina* 23 September 1988, 38, 39.

the EPLF's recent ground-breaking victory in the battle of Afabet. The descriptions of the effectiveness of the EPLF's guerrilla warfare and the Ethiopian army's military tactics, especially its attacks on the civilian population, leave no room for doubt concerning who the aggressor is. And while this supports the Eritrean "just cause" frame, other frames that demarcate the pre-existing boundaries of the controversy are conspicuously absent. The Eritrean "just cause" frame is even more saliently articulated in next chapter of *Eritreja,*[34] a group interview with high representatives of the EPLF who stress that Eritrea's right to independence has been ignored by foreign powers due to their own strategic and economic interests. According to them, the same is true for Yugoslavia, whose economic interests deny Eritrea "the right to choose its own path" of development and modernisation, as advocated by the NAM. In the interview, the question of Yugoslav military aid is brought up and while the EPLF representatives confirm its existence, they do not ascribe it with much weight.[35]

The Yugoslav military cooperation with Ethiopia appears not to be *the* story from the Eritrean viewpoint. Once on the ground, *Mladina's* journalists reach a similar conclusion – that the *real* story was not the intended exposé of "the hypocrisy of Yugoslav foreign policy, which supports the Ethiopian dictatorship". They struggled to find traces of Yugoslav military aid on the ground: "In places where fighting had occurred, we would for example look for it, but for example on crates of ammunition the Cyrillic inscriptions were in Russian, not in Serbian".[36] Interviews with POWs were also not incriminating. The "real story" of the "expedition" was the "discovery" of Eritrea itself. "I saw no hungry children in Eritrea", recalls Jože Suhadolnik: "Since we travelled with the UN representative [due to the limited budget], we were more exposed to the humanitarian perspective than to direct combat. We saw the investment in the education of children, the effectiveness of the healthcare system, [gender] equality /.../ and these were at the time truly big topics for Africa in general".[37]

Mladina's editorial from 2 September[38] acknowledges the importance of the "real story" and its unexpected relevance for Slovenia. What is at stake, claims the author, is not the cover-up of the hypocrisy of the Yugoslav foreign policy and the immorality of the YPA, but something bigger. "Like Christopher Columbus", the Suhadolnik

34 Gorazd Suhadolnik and Jože Suhadolnik, "Ali so sovjetska ljudstva res proti eritrejskim?," *Mladina*, 26 August 1988, 34–36.

35 The cooperation dated back to the 1950s and continued after the 1974 revolution, regardless of Yugoslavia's close ties with the Selassie regime, due to fears of growing Soviet influence in the NAM countries. By 1988 however, the collaboration was small-scale in nature due to Ethiopia's reliance on the Soviet Union. – Milorad Lazic. "Arsenal of the Global South: Yugoslavia's Military Aid to Nonaligned Countries and Liberation Movements," *Nationalities Papers* 49, 3 (2021): 428–45. The limited extent of collaboration between the two countries is seen in a report on the Yugoslav delegation's visit to Ethiopia submitted to the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The report notes that Ethiopia had used up just 30 of the 200 USD million of previously earmarked Yugoslav loans and outlines how the last USD 40 million tranche of those set aside loans would be used to establish an ammunition production facility.
RS AJ, DT 42/1, folder 282, pp. 270–84. Regardless of the relatively small scale of the collaboration, the visit by the Yugoslav military delegation met with disapproval from the Soviets, then the largest supplier of arms to the regime. See Mamula, *Slučaj Jugoslavija*, 122, 123.

36 Jože Suhadolnik, interview.

37 Ibid.

38 Robert Botteri, "Eritreizacija," *Mladina*, 2 September 1988, 1.

brothers "have discovered for us a new country. A different Eritrea, a country entirely different from what it should be like according to our media".[39] Botteri argues that the false, stereotypical mental image of Eritrea is in fact a result of communication inequalities. Due to control over the flows and content of information imposed by official institutions, "our mass media" fail to accurately report the events. The problem is larger than the resulting false images in our heads. It is about missed opportunities to learn from others: "we could learn from the Eritreans, that civil society, in the absence of an independent state, needs to self-organise /.../".[40] With exception of the first two chapters, the bulk of *Eritreja* focuses on this 'real story': Eritrea's healthcare (chapter 3) and education systems (chapter 4) and its connection to the economy and agriculture (chapter 8), the institutionalised care of orphans (chapter 7), the treatment of Ethiopian prisoners of war (chapter 6), advancement of women's rights (chapter 9), and self-organisation and humanitarian aid (chapter 10).

Eritreja's narration is a mix of surprising finds and semi-disguised admiration. Conveyed through factual accounts of Eritrean institutions, at times consisting of unusually detailed descriptions of their organisational structure and policies, the chapters are narrated through a combination of eyewitness accounts and interviews. Even if the narrative is factual and the photographs visually vouch for the text, *Eritreja* does not subscribe to the objectivity ideal promoted by the American paradigm of journalism. The journalists are clear about the fact they have picked a side, not in advance, but based on what they saw and heard in the field. "It became a rather rapturous report on the liberation movement /.../ We were captured by the enthusiasm of people, this is how I imagined the spirit in Yugoslavia in 1945 or '46, the thrill of building their own vision of socialism, equality...".[41]

This makes it easy to see why *Mladina's* reporting was labelled by the Ethiopian side as enemy propaganda.[42] *Mladina's* journalists were well aware of their limited access to information (e.g. they did not visit larger cities), but they assign this largely to their lack of financial resources and language barriers rather than to EPLF propaganda. Still, the significant overlap of the main topics advanced by *Eritreja* with those

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Gorazd Suhadolnik, interview.

42 During the publication of *Eritreja*, *Mladina* also published a lengthy interview with the consul of the Ethiopian embassy in Belgrade ("Mi jih imenujemo teroristi in banditi," *Mladina*, 5 August 1988, 42, 43) and a 2-page open letter from the Association of Ethiopian students in Yugoslavia, that accused *Mladina* of advancing counter-revolutionary propaganda and even of becoming an international coordinator of terrorism ("Eritreja se ne bo odcepila od matične Etiopije!!!," *Mladina*, 9 September 1988, 36, 37). Still, the framing of these rebuttals indicates that *Mladina's* motivation for their publication was not to present the arguments of the other side, but to draw parallels between the official propaganda of the Ethiopian and Yugoslav regimes (e.g. charges of counterrevolutionary activities), and to pair the policies of Addis Ababa with those of 'Belgrade' (e.g. centralism, denial of the right to a referendum on independence). Interestingly, Mamula's position on Ethiopia and the EPLF appears to have been very similar to Mladina's. In his classified briefing to the Yugoslav presidency, he explicitly disagreed with Ethiopia's official line, saying "We know what Eritrean and other movements are", compares Ethiopia's forceful relocation of civilians from Eritrea and Tigray with concentration camps and criticises the regime for straying away from proper socialism. – RS AJ, DT 42/1, folder 282, pp. 485, 486.

present in Avgust Pudgar's article from 25 May 1988[43] suggests at least some degree of successful information handling and framing by the EPLF's press office.

On the pages of *Mladina*, Eritrea's struggle for independence emerges as a story of a well-organised, advanced, progressive and in many aspects ingenious liberation movement successfully fighting a much stronger and brutal enemy. The narrative, reminiscent of the Yugoslav national liberation's struggle during the Second World War, would be immediately recognisable to *Mladina's* readers: guerrilla warfare, active participation of female resistance fighters, networks of secret hospitals, sub-terrain factories, lively educational and cultural activities in liberated territories, introduction of gender and social equality, humane treatment of POWs, protection of war orphans, the enemy's brutal and indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population. Even the derogatory label used for the Eritrean resistance fighters by Ethiopians echoed the all too familiar "Banditen" used by the Nazis to refer to the Yugoslav Partisans.

Eritreja does not advance the humanitarian or white saviour frame typical of Western media news from Ethiopia (and other developing countries) at the time, which was also strongly present in some of *Delo's* reports. *Eritreja* proposes that Eritreans are not in need of our humanitarian help but our political recognition.[44] They are not presented as passive victims but as members of a functioning, self-organised community. They are neither helpless nor the threatening African Other, they are in fact very much like us. If anything, Eritreans resemble a better version of our socialist selves, or at a minimum a version of our better former socialist selves. Eritreans as a distant other are given agency on the levels of both words and images. On the level of text, this is most prominently achieved via interviews. In six chapters, the journalistic eyewitness accounts and factual information are extensively complemented with fragments of interviews with civilians and EPLF representatives while four chapters are in fact transcripts of interviews (with high-ranking EPLF representatives, a female rights activist, an Eritrean refugee, and Ethiopian POWs), accompanied only by Suhadolnik's brief introductions and concluding commentaries. The chapters are not without the author's presence, the typical genre characteristics of a (photo)reportage, but descriptions of newswork, logistic practicalities and personal impressions are neither the story in itself nor the driving force of the narrative. Similarly, the presence of the author[45] is not asserted via the genre's openness to more expressive uses of language and its flirtation with literary forms of expression.[46] Jože Suhadolnik's photographs also depart from the typical conventions of the genre, such as the stylistic and

43 Avgust Pudgar, "Etiopska vlada se je trdno odločila uničiti gverilce," *Delo* 25 May 1988, 7.

44 Unlike in Ethiopia, where starvation was threatening an estimated 5 million people, there was no hunger in Eritreja in the summer of 1988 according to *Mladina's* journalists who attribute the difference to Eritrea's more advanced methods of farming, better education of farmers, collective labour efforts, and fairer allocation of crops.

45 Unlike several of the previously published Slovenian international political photoreportages (e.g. Uroš Lipušček and Joco Žnidaršič, "Edini prijatelj – gore," *Teleks*, 11 January 1980, 22–24), *Eritreja* is not about spotlighting the journalist.

46 Smilja Amon, *Ustroj reportaže v luči raziskovanj teorije novinarstva in literarne teorije* (University of Ljubljana, MA thesis, 1974).

topical ones criticised for example by Lutz and Collins,[47] or those linked to the more macro level critique of exploitative humanitarian voyeurism advanced by Sontag[48] and numerous others. In *Eritreja,* Eritreans as the distant other are principally portrayed as subjects rather than objects. They are not reduced to (passive) images of picturesque elderly, ethnic types, exotic or sexualised black beauties or smiling children[49], but are depicted as active members of society, performing a range of complex tasks (from the production of pharmaceutical drugs to medical examinations and teaching). Neither are they reduced to a backdrop: in the majority of photographs (34 out of 45), they are depicted through individualised portraits or appear in small groups of three to four people in which their faces are still identifiable.

Although *Eritreja* is not without images typically associated with modes of othering, these are consistently offset by images which give agency to the distant Other. Chapter 9 on female emancipation and the struggle against female genital mutilation for example opens with a full-page mosaic of portraits of Eritrean women, three of which are reminiscent of the "ethnic type" approach (the origins of which can be traced to racist biological and physical anthropology[50]), yet they are offset by subsequent photographs depicting a female welder, the portrait of the interviewed female EPLF activist, and two images depicting the entry to her underground office, and her work desk. In a similar vein, although the chapter on orphans in a refugee camp features images of smiling and playful children, it opens with an atypical full-page photograph of an Eritrean orphan holding Lego blocks. The smiles of the orphaned children are not appeals for humanitarian aid but testimonies to their decent living conditions.

The photographic renunciation of Othering is also achieved via several visually inconspicuous, even boring photographs depicting interviewees and interview settings, which are reminiscent of the uneventful domestic political news photographs prevalent at the time. This visual domesticity was further promoted by the images' almost complete subservience to the text. Rather than allowing for autonomous storytelling, there are several instances in *Eritreja* where photographs are crudely and directly made to support the written text. The contrast between sophisticated and more prosaic images is indeed quite blunt. This was a result of *Mladina's* editorial practice in which the selection and layout of photographs is a privilege held by the editors and designers.[51] "I had no say in the final selection of images, they did the standard gig, selected or cropped the images according to the text. They treated images as fully subservient to words, not as equals. /.../ Of course, I wasn't pleased with the result".[52] From a purely visual standpoint, *Eritreja* was unlike *Mladina's* photoreportages in its use of portraits instead of candid

47 Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

48 Susan Sontag, *On photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

49 Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 87–118.

50 Elanor Hight and Gary Sampson, "Introduction: Photography, "race" and post-colonial theory," in: *Colonialist photography: Imag(in)ing race and place*, eds. Elanor Hight and Gary Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.

51 The practice, still prevalent in Slovenian media, remains a permanent source of frustration for photojournalists and is a lasting indicator of the second-rate status held by photojournalists within newsrooms. See Ilija Tomanić Trivundža and Igor Vobič, "The photojournalist as a worker within the contradictions of the history of journalism," in: *On the other side: Slovenian photoreportage. No. 3, Power*, ed. Julija Hoda (Ljubljana: Galerija Jakopič, 2021), 68–87.

52 Jože Suhadolnik, interview.

street photography or a typical everyday life scene approach, resulting in readers feeling closer to the depicted subjects than usually happened with the magazine's photoreportages of the time depicting (closer) Others, such as Kosovo Albanians.

Conclusion and Discussion

As a news story, *Eritreja* went against the prevailing news narrative of the time that framed reports from Ethiopia as either stories of armed struggle or famine. It was instead a story about the absence of the latter and the transformative social impacts of the former, set against domestic policy agendas (Yugoslav foreign policy, public control of the military, the democratisation of Yugoslavia) and the magazine's advancement of its editorial policy (freedom of press, investigative reporting).

From the perspective of the main research question, *Eritreja* is a clear example of a news story where distant others are not represented as Others. However, irrespective of the similarities revealed (e.g. a self-organised 'indigenous' version of socialism, parallels with the Partisan movement) and lack of negative treatment, they are not presented as one of 'us'. Eritrean otherness is not the (neo)colonial cultural or civilisational Otherness. *Eritreja* does not subject Eritrea to the Eurocentric gaze in which 'black Africans' emerge as largely helpless victims of poverty, violence and/or natural disasters in need of 'our' help, a narrative which renders the role of capitalism and the history of (neo)colonialism invisible. The all too familiar visual template of famine victims, 'pot belly' children and white aid workers, with which *Mladina* initially confronted the YPA, is completely missing from the photoreportage. Images of everyday life in a country at war vastly outnumber the macabre photographs of armed struggle.[53] The Otherness is avoided in both text (e.g. the focus on self-organisation and giving voice via interviews) and images (e.g. steering clear of travel photography tropes). Although a developmental perspective and comparative framework are still present in the photoreportage, their unpacking requires careful contextualisation within the NAM framework. Just as Betts[54] warns that Tito's protocol photographs cannot adequately be read by a straightforward application of the mainstream post-colonial analytic apparatus that would reduce the images to the visual trope of white coloniser, the narrative of the 'backwardness' of traditional Eritrean society must be contextualised within the third-world claims for the right to develop alternative, 'indigenous' models of development and modernisation, and accompanying discourses of socialist revolution. Claims of the backwardness of traditional Eritrean society – voiced by the interviewees and not by *Mladina's* journalists – are inseparable from the claims of revolutionary progress and the EPLF's vision of social reorganisation.[55]

53 Of the 56, only 2 depict fallen (Ethiopian) soldiers.

54 Paul Betts, "Crveni vetar promene: afrička štampa o Titovim posetama Africi tokom procesa dekolonizacije," in: Radina Vučetić and Paul Betts, *Tito u Africi: Slike solidarnosti* (Belgrade: Muzej Jugoslavije, 2017), 66, 67.

55 The different views of Eritrean and Western feminists on women's liberation, presented in chapter 9 (Gorazd Suhadolnik and Jože Suhadolnik, "Lepe Eritrejke," *Mladina*, 21 October 1988, 38–40), are illustrative example of this.

Further contextualisation (which lies beyond the scope of this paper) would be needed to situate *Eritreja* in the trajectory of journalistic representation of Ethiopia in Slovenian press from the early days of the 'special relationship' between Haile Selassie and Josip Broz Tito through to the fading days of the non-alignment struggle. Regardless of its special place in Yugoslav foreign policy[56] and its continuous presence in textual news reports, the 'image' of Ethiopia appears to have been markedly absent from Slovenian and Yugoslav press, reduced to a visual register of protocol photographs and Eurocentric imagery of (Western) press agency spot news coverage.[57]

But even without this further analysis, *Eritreja* shows that the question of the representation of distant others cannot be reduced to information dependency or the scarcity of resources alone. *Mladina's* sudden discovery of the 'real story', of the 'real image' of Eritrea not only raises questions about information dependency, but also to failure of the spot news paradigm as such. In itself, it is an insufficient mode of representing social reality and must be complemented by investigative multimodal long-form journalism. Moreover, *Eritreja* demonstrates the extent to which the representation of distant Others depends on the editorial policy of the news outlet involved, as well as the broader political milieu[58] structuring the politics of objectification and mediated pity.[59] As shown above, *Eritreja* is as much, if not more, a story about 'us' than it is a story about 'them'. This is also evident in the 'clear cut' from the topic made by *Mladina* following the publication of *Eritreja's* last chapter. Events in Eritrea were only picked up by *Mladina* 12 years later, in a macabre photoreportage by Aleš Slatenšek[60] that focused on yet another iteration of the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia. By that time, the *Eritrean* regime was far from being a beacon of progressive social reform. No reference was made to *Eritreja*.

One of the more lasting effects of *Eritreja* on the Slovenian mediascape is that it exposed the potential and benefits of 'indigenous' photoreportage as a journalistic strategy for reporting on important international events or hotspots. Throughout the 1990s and first decade of the 2000s, *Mladina* and *Delo* (but also *Dnevnik* and *Večer*) resorted to photoreportage, giving in-depth accounts from a domestic perspective. A number of photographers and photographer-journalist tandems came to master the genre. Yet, this proliferation of the genre should not be mistaken for systematic support for it among the media outlets. In the vast majority of cases, the published

56 Ethiopia was the first sub-Saharan country with which socialist Yugoslavia established diplomatic relationships. It was also one of the first recipients of Yugoslav military and developmental aid. See Lazic, "Arsenal of the Global South." Cf. Paul Betts, "Crveni vetar promene."

57 This is for example evident in Tanjug's photo-service archive on Ethiopia (AJ, Tanjug, folder 60, 169, 223).

58 The 'Afro-pessimism' and its underlying structure of the West as subjects and aid givers and 'Africans' as objects of pity, as victims of natural forces and destiny, which brushes aside the questions of (colonial) history and (neo-colonial) economy, is an ideological and, by extension, a political project (see e.g. Beverly Hawk, ed., *Africa's Media Image* (New York: Praeger, 1992)). The Western media coverage of Ethiopian famines during the 1980s was substantially influenced by the Cold War frame, presenting the failings of a "communist country". On recent variations, see Mel Bunce, Suzanne Franks and Chris Paterson, eds., *Africa's Media Image in the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

59 On the structure of the latter, see e.g. Lilie Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorskih of Suffering* (London: Sage, 2006).

60 Aleš Slatenšek, "Eritrejska polja smrti," *Mladina* 26 June 2000, 38–43.

stories were – like *Eritreja*[61] – the result of the journalists' and photojournalists' convincing pitch of a story or the successful sale of an already completed assignment. Unsurprisingly, this bottom-up culture ran out of steam[62] as the main print outlets faced the dual crisis of falling revenues and the Internetisation of news consumption, which made projects like *Eritreja* mythological episodes from a bygone journalistic era. *Eritreja* itself became lost in the myths of a bygone era, eclipsed in Slovenian state-building narratives by the story of the JBTZ trial which ran parallel to it.

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61 *Eritreja* was not born as a top-down editorial decision but out of Gorazd Suhadolnik's successful pitching of the idea. Their remuneration was minimal. "I had to pay for the films myself, I developed them, I even printed the photographs at my own expense. All I got [paid] was a travel allowance", Jože Suhadolnik, interview.

62 For more on this, see Nika Perne, "Contemporary Slovenian photoreportage," in: *On the other side: Slovenian photoreportage, No 1, Introduction*, ed. Julija Hoda (Ljubljana: Galerija Jakopič, 2021), 184–91.

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Ilija Tomanić Trivundža

»ERITREJA, MOJA DEŽELA«: FOTOREPORTAŽA IN POZITIVNA REPREZENTACIJA DALJNEGA DRUGEGA

POVZETEK

Prispevek analizira reprezentacijo daljnega drugega na primeru fotoreportaže »Eritreja«, ki je izhajala med avgustom in novembrom 1988 v tedniku *Mladina*. S svojimi desetimi poglavji in skupno 45 objavljenimi fotografijami velja »Eritreja« za najobsežnejšo fotoreportažo, ki je bila kdaj objavljena v slovenskem tisku. Fotoreportaža je nastala v kontekstu *Mladininega* boja za svobodo javnega izražanja in kritike državnih institucij, v prvi vrsti Jugoslovanske ljudske armade. Ta je februarja 1988 prerasla v odkrito konfrontacijo s tedanjim vodstvom Jugoslovanske ljudske armade z objavo uvodnika »Mamula go home«, v katerem je *Mladina* kritizirala obisk Zveznega sekretarja za ljudsko obrambo SFRJ Branka Mamule v Etiopiji kot nemoralen (trgovanje z orožjem med veliko humanitarno krizo), jugoslovansko zunanjo politiko pa kot dvolično in nedosledno. Konfrontacija je postopoma prerasla v širšo kritiko Jugoslovanske ljudske armade, jugoslovanske zunanje politike in jugoslovanskega centralizma ter poleti 1988 kulminirala v »procesu proti četverici«.

Motiv za nastanek fotoreportaže »Eritreja« je bil »preveriti situacijo na terenu«, preiskati sledi jugoslovanskega trgovanja z orožjem z Etiopijo in prikazati, kako je uporabljeno v boju proti eritrejskemu ljudskemu osvobodilnemu gibanju. A rezultat tritedenskega raziskovanja »na terenu« ni pripeljal do obsodbe »trgovanja s smrtjo«; namesto jugoslovanskega orožja sta *Mladinina* reporterja Gorazd in Jože Suhadolnik »odkrila Eritrejo«, ki jo *Mladininim* bralkam in bralcem skozi fotoreportažo prikažeta kot družbeno in politično progresivno nastajajočo državno tvorbo.

»Eritreja« je z vidika študij (zgodovine) novinarstva na Slovenskem pomembna na dveh ravneh. Z vidika razvoja fotoreportaže kot vrste novinarskega sporočanja zaznamuje prehod iz »pobudniške« v »poročevalsko« fotoreportažo, v kateri novinar in fotoreporter ne nastopata več v vlogi družbenopolitičnih delavcev, temveč kot neodvisna poročevalca – očividca, ki temo »na terenu« preiskujeta v imenu obveščenosti javnosti. Ob tem predstavlja »Eritreja« eno zgodnjih aplikacij te vrste novinarskega poročanja za pokrivanje pomembnih mednarodnopolitičnih dogodkov in žarišč. Hkrati je pomembna tudi z vidika reprezentacije oddaljenega drugega. Je namreč primer fotoreportaže, ki odstopa tako od dominantnega etnocentričnega in (neo)kolonialnega pogleda, v katerem je oddaljeni drugi reduciran na podobe tujosti in eksotičnosti (Drugosti), kot tudi od takrat uveljavljenega vizualnega narativa o Etiopiji, zamejenega na podobe lakote in vojne.

Analiza besednih in slikovnih strategij za konstrukcijo drugosti pokaže, da se »Eritreja« konstrukciji Drugosti na besedilni ravni izogiba predvsem skozi »dajanje glasu« eritrejski strani v obliki dolgih izjav in prepisov intervjujev ter odsotnost

odkritega vrednotenja reporterjev. Na vizualni ravni so ekvivalent te strategije veliko število portretnih fotografij, ki ne podlegajo konvencijam upodabljanj eksotičnega Drugega, ter podobe, ki kažejo lokalno prebivalstvo kot aktivne člane družbe pri opravljanju raznolikih kompleksnih opravil, ne pa kot žrtve ali zgolj pasivne prejemnike pomoči. Vizualno in besedno je strategija preseganja Drugosti utemeljena na iskanju vzporednic med slovensko/jugoslovansko in eritrejsko družbo, ki slednjo predstavlja skozi *Mladininemu* občinstvu domačne vsebinske in interpretativne okvire jugoslovanskega narodnoosvobodilnega boja in povojnih prizadevanj za izgradnjo naprednejše družbene ureditve. Multimodalna analiza okvirjanja novic, ki jo dopolnjuje metoda poglobljenih intervjujev z ustvarjalcema fotoreportaže, pokaže, da drugačnost »Eritreje« v veliki meri izhaja iz *Mladinine* takratne uredniške politike in tematske vpetosti fotoreportaže v domače politične boje.

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"The Case of Comrade Dragiša Pavlović"

The Yugoslav Media Space and Its Perception Through the Example of the Main Political Weeklies' Coverage of the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia***

IZVLEČEK

»PRIMER TOVARIŠA DRAGIŠE PAVLOVIĆA«
JUGOSLOVANSKI MEDIJSKI PROSTOR IN NJEGOVO DOJEMANJE NA PRIMERU POROČANJA OSREDNJIH POLITIČNIH TEDNIKOV O OSMEM PLENUMU CENTRALNEGA KOMITEJA ZVEZE KOMUNISTOV SRBIJE

Prispevek obravnava vprašanje homogenosti jugoslovanske medijske krajine, ki je že v sodobni literaturi in časopisju bila obravnavana kot izrazito republiško usmerjena. Za vsebinski okvir analize sta avtorja iz množice tem v politično razgretih osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja odbrala poročanje o dogajanju na osmem plenumu Centralnega komiteja Zveze komunistov Srbije. O tej temi so najobširneje in najbolj poglobljeno poročali redki jugoslovanski politični tedniki, ki so v prispevku predstavljeni, analiziran pa je tudi

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njihov diskurz. Iz analize se nakazuje zaključek, da so politični tedniki sicer bili usmerjeni v republiško okolje, vendar pa so zaradi široke mreže povezav med obravnavanimi mediji in novinarji bili bistveno bolj jugoslovansko usmerjeni, kot so to menili v času njihovega izhajanja.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, Jugoslavija, mediji, politični diskurz, politična zgodovina

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the question of the homogeneity of the Yugoslav media landscape, which is already considered to be distinctly republican in modern literature and newspapers. From a variety of topics in the politically heated 1980s, the authors chose reports on events at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia as the basis for analysis. The rare Yugoslav political weeklies reported on this issue most extensively and in detail, and article deals with presenting and analyzing their discourse. The analysis suggests that the political weeklies focused on the republican environment but, because of the extensive network of connections between the media outlets and journalists in question, were significantly more Yugoslav-oriented than they were thought at the time of publication.

Keywords: Slovenia, Yugoslavia, media, political discourse, political history

The Unity of the Yugoslav Media Space?

In the Slovenian historical memory of the media landscape of socialist Yugoslavia during the 1980s, the period between 1987 and 1991 has made the most prominent impression. At that time, the tensions between the Slovenian and Serbian political leadership led to the outbreak of the so-called "media war", which put a heavy strain on the mutual relations and did not come to an end until the very disintegration of the common state. On the other hand, this war was distinctly unequal, as, on the Serbian side, we can observe the silent takeover of the most important media players, which then allowed for the consolidation of the new Serbian Party leadership; while on the Slovenian side, the Party leadership attempted to control the social unrest mainly by implementing technical measures (occasional seizures of the individual issues of the disobedient press). In response to the critical articles coming from Serbia, Jože Smole, the president of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People at the time, asked in the daily newspaper *Borba*: "Why are certain objectionable texts published in the Slovenian press, being responded to with prominent commentaries that reach millions of readers and are thus provided with unacceptable publicity?"[1]

1 Krste Bijelić, "Slovenija i Jugoslavija: zašto (1): Sindrom 'paralelnog toka,'" *Duga* 359, 28 November – 11 December 1987, 67.

However, this process – popularly called the "Slovenian syndrome" in the "newly composed journalism"[2] of the second half of the 1980s – was not a novelty: it had dominated the Yugoslav media landscape for a decade or more before the escalation of the problems[3] and processes of differentiation,[4] which became a constant in the Yugoslav politics and society after the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. Even before, this issue had been a part of ideological campaigns, and the individual republics' policies towards the opposition were very different. "In the second half of the 1980s, the attempts at all-Yugoslav ideological campaigns became uncommon, mostly due to the interest in exposing particular environments to criticism – especially Kosovo and Slovenia, and by the end of the 1980s Croatia as well."[5] In this context, it can be argued that no single media space existed in Yugoslavia, although the processes taking place in the environments of the various republics and media companies were essentially quite similar. In his pioneering work on the position of Slovenians in Yugoslavia,[6] Božo Repe thus stated: "In the 1980s, cultural and economic differences, poor mutual familiarity and stereotypical ideas about each other – despite living together for decades – started to increase in the 1980s. News systems functioned mainly within the individual republics."[7]

Such observations were nothing new: Mitja Gorjup, a prominent expert on the Yugoslav journalism and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Delo*, had already addressed these issues in the 1970s: "To sum all of this up, I will focus on the basic problems of the Yugoslav press in general, which can be reduced to a single predominant theme: the entire Yugoslav press is essentially not Yugoslav enough. It does not nurture the Yugoslav dimension enough in terms of information and the political presentation of events and trends.[8] This question was on the minds of the journalists themselves:

2 The term stems from a somewhat pejorative expression for the so-called newly composed folk music, a type of popular music that was becoming increasingly loaded with nationalist symbols. – Rory Archer, "Assessing Turbofolk Controversies: Popular Music between the Nation and the Balkans," *Southeastern Europe* 36, No. 2 (2012): 179.

3 In 1974, the editor of the *Delo* daily newspaper addressed this issue in an editorial: "During the festive days leading up to the New Year, the Yugoslav press focused on 'Slovenian topics' a lot. One of the most interesting of these was the recruitment of workers from the other republics in Slovenia." Thus, the Slovenian syndrome started becoming apparent already very early on: "And precisely because the problem exists and because it is serious – and because we should write about it and discuss it rather than ignoring it – we should also underline that just as quickly as writing or speaking carelessly and insensitively can leave a bad taste, it can also create dilemmas in people, introduce a kind of an intimate agitation which, if abused, can become political, to which we must pay particular attention to in Yugoslavia … / … In its famous series of articles about Slovenia, NIN from Belgrade has already… / … What worries me most is the undertone that can be felt in some of the Yugoslav press. Perhaps the NIN magazine expresses it most evidently." – Mitja Gorjup, "Da bi se bolje razumeli," *Delo*, 4 September 1974, 7.

4 "Not everything in Yugoslavia can be made uniform. We would be happy if we had many more alternative solutions to all of the important issues than we have now. We cannot accuse everyone who disagrees of being anti-communist." – Ibidem.

5 Božo Repe, *Slovenci v osemdesetih letih* (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2001), 22.

6 Božo Repe, "Zakaj so Slovenci vstopili v Jugoslavijo in zakaj so iz nje odšli?," in: *Jugoslavija v času: devetdeset let od nastanka prve jugoslovanske države*, ed. Bojan Balkovec (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2009), 36.

7 Precisely this theme was underlined in the report about the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia in the political weekly *NIN*. "The differences in the development of Slovenia and the rest of Yugoslavia is completely obvious, but, on the other hand, the gap between Slovenia and its western neighbours has been increasing in recent years." – Šćepan Rabrenović, "Slovenija na jugu," *NIN* 1843, 27 April 1986, 9.

8 Mitja Gorjup, "Preveč vase zaprta kultura (Iz razprave na sestanku osnovne organizacije ZKS 'Delo' – časopisi), 16. januarja 1974," in: Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo* (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1978), 96.

in 1985, a consultation of Yugoslav journalists was held in Novi Sad, titled "Yugoslav Contents in the Public Press", which saw the unity of politics as the precondition for the unity of the Yugoslav news system. In this regard, Jug Grizelj, an exceedingly Yugoslav-oriented journalist of the Serbian magazine *NIN*, pointed out that this did not refer to the statistical calculations of Yugoslav contents in the individual media (these averaged between twenty and thirty percent – a piece of information that the speakers at the conference kept pointing out as proof of disunity). However, the fact remained that various environments perceived the same process differently, even though Grizelj justified it with the globally present processes of decentralisation, democratisation, and personalisation of information.[9]

In 1977, Gorjup also raised the question of the Yugoslavianisation of the newspapers of the individual republics. "I think we are too narrowly focused on the republics. Of course, we are primarily republican newsletters, but we need to provide our readers with as much information about Yugoslavia as possible. We are not succeeding, though. In addition, a kind of mentality is spreading that the affairs of the individual republics should only be discussed in the newspapers of those republics…" Thus, he underlined the problem related both to the "Slovenian syndrome" and later to the media war, as "the notion that one should only mind one's own business and leave one's neighbours alone"[10] was also a problem.

"I believe that this issue is taking on very problematic proportions. Such behaviour inevitably leads to closing ourselves within the republican borders, which is certainly not beneficial. Another issue I think is problematic is the over-sensitivity of the Yugoslav environments to what is written about them elsewhere. What is happening now is that we often write about events in the other republics unproblematically and uncritically. Thus a kind of an idyllic image of Yugoslavia is being created in the mass media, suggesting that there are no problems, difficulties, or misunderstandings. This is, of course, at odds with reality… / … The public media simply avoid any 'non-idyllic' information, leading to a paradox: because of this, people often refuse to believe us. We need to shape the public opinion in such a way that people know that the state, through its constitutional mechanisms, is capable of resolving all the objective socio-economic and political contradictions without any political drama and scandals."[11]

Therefore, the critical Serbian journalist Ivan Torov describes the period before the process under consideration as one of relative media freedom: "The first five or six years after Tito's death – after an initial lull due to the uncertainty inevitably provoked by the departure of a great leader – will certainly be remembered as a period of a more notable liberation of news outlets from the political shackles they had been

9 Jug Grizelj, "Jedinstvo nije u rukama novinara," *NIN* 1832, 2 February 1986, 19.

10 Thus, the President of the Slovenian Assembly Miran Potrč gave a lengthy interview for the weekly magazine *Nin*, which came across as a justification in front of the Serbian public, as it was essentially devoted to his previous statement for the British BBC regarding the issue of the distribution of foreign-exchange assets in the Yugoslav federation. – Šćepan Rabrenović, "Čije su devize: predsednik Skupštine SR Slovenije Miran Potrč govori za NIN," *NIN* 1864, 21 September 1986, 13–16.

11 Mladen Pleše, "Pravi pogum je povezan z znanjem," in: Mitja Gorjup, *Samoupravno novinarstvo*, 145, 146.

subjected to. Critical analyses of the economic and political realities were approached more and more courageously, many scandals and abuses were exposed, and free professional journalism was increasingly successful in filling the empty space resulting from the lack of cohesion in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Already in the first half of 1985, it was believed that Serbian journalism, along with many other newspapers in the other republics, was experiencing a democratic development that would be difficult to stop. Publications such as *Borba*, *Duga*, *NIN*, *Mladost*, and *NON* dictated the rhythm in this new wave and doubtlessly had a significant impact on the increasingly visible changes in the leading media companies…"[12] A similar trend could also be attributed to the developments in the Slovenian media, most prominently among weeklies. After 1984, the previously benign if not almost boring newsletter of the Socialist Youth League of Slovenia *Mladina* became clearly radicalised.[13] Along with the magazine *Teleks* from the *Delo* newspaper company, it developed into the most important Slovenian political weekly.

When asked about it, Jure Apih, the first editor of *Teleks*, agreed that at the time, this magazine represented a medium through which the society communicated with itself since the only official newsletter of the League of Communists, *Komunist*, simply adhered to the Party directives, while in the daily newspaper *Delo*, reporting was restricted to what had been agreed upon with its official founder, the Socialist Alliance of Working People.[14] Thus, he actually responded to a claim made by the former editor of *Delo* Mitja Gorjup when the *Teleks* weekly was being conceived: "With the advancement of technical possibilities and the increasing flow of information, journalistic work is starting to influence the public opinion more and more, while the public opinion also keeps gaining more and more influence on the political decisions. On the one hand, this offers the information media greater opportunities and power, but, on the other hand, it also confronts them with greater responsibility, as by highlighting and interpreting information, the press can make a significant contribution to the creation of a certain public climate."

As Ljubomir Tadić wrote, the task of the press was therefore clear because "under socialism, the public opinion appears as a form of social consciousness for the purpose of coordinating the interests in tackling social issues or as the qualified, competent, clear, and understandable reasoning of the working people regarding the general activities of the community." In this sense, it is a permanent and important mental presupposition of socialist democracy.[15] The activities of the Socialist Alliance of Working People (SZDL), officially the broadest socio-political organisation in Yugoslavia that represented a much wider forum than the League of Communists, was thus one of

12 Ivan Torov, "Sunovrat srpskog novinarstva (delovi iz knjige)," in: *"Antibirokratska revolucija": (1987–1989)*, eds. Bojana Lekić, Zoran Pavić, Slaviša Lekić and Imre Sabo (Beograd: Statusteam in Službeni glasnik, 2009), 270.

13 Sonja Merljak Zdovc, "Slovenska revija Tovariš in njeni revialni 'tovariši' v drugi polovici dvajsetega stoletja," *Prispevki k zgodovini slovenskih medijev*, ed. Maruša Pušnik (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 2008), 535.

14 Ervin Hladnik Milharčič, "#intervju Jure Apih, časnikar: prej so se časopisi delali za partijo, mi smo ga delali za bralce," *Dnevnik.si*, 24 October 2020, https://www.dnevnik.si/1042941784, accessed on 1 March 2022.

15 Ljubomir Tadić, *Javno mnenje u savremenom društvu, javno mnenje o Prednacrtu novog Ustava* (Institut društvenih nauka: Beograd, 1964), 31.

the forms of public opinion – a place where the public gathered and was shaped, and where the common consensus of the self-managers was being developed. On the other hand, the SZDL was simultaneously the factor of the broadest social control. "The organisational structure of the SZDL and the way in which it operates allow it to initiate, discuss, propose, and agree on solutions to various social issues. Meanwhile, the mass media as a form of shaping and expressing the public opinion is of particular significance. Moreover, the SZDL also formally possesses 'its own' daily press (*Borba* as the newsletter of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, *Vjesnik* as the newsletter of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, etc.). The institution of editorial and programme councils in other major media (weeklies, magazines, radio, TV) allows the SZDL to notably influence their policies."[16]

The shape of the media landscape in Yugoslavia was therefore also dictated by the political structure. In 1986, Joža Vlahović, the first editor of the Zagreb weekly *Danas*, thus stated the following: "For a long time, we have not had a situation where the main newspapers would simultaneously be Party newsletters. That is how it used to be. Everything published today, except newspapers like *Komunist*, of course, is a kind of a voice, if not a body, of the Socialist Alliance – from *Borba* and *Politika*, *Vjesnik* (*Delo*, author's note) and so on…" The manner of writing was still controlled, though – as it is evident from the example of the *Teleks* magazine, where the editors Apih and Anton Rupnik were dismissed due to the negative reviews of the articles on the socialist morality, while the cause for the replacement was the publication of an interview with the controversial Italian publicist Oriana Fallaci.[17] A similar conclusion can be drawn regarding the popular fortnightly *Duga*: in terms of contents, this publication was quite similar to the early *Teleks*, and according to the editor of the *Danas* weekly, it had been a victim of political pragmatism before a thorough editorial change in 1985. "Unfortunately, pragmatism is most important for newspapers. Certain weeklies end up in serious conflicts with the 'daily' pragmatic policy and can easily get a shady reputation, although some of them rightfully so and for a good reason. In terms of their spirit and mission, weeklies should fight for more room for their activities (for the strategic goals of the society) and are not obliged to submit to the dreary and often narrow-minded daily politics…/… I think it was precisely *Duga* that has experienced a lot of this firsthand. If I can put it this way, it was the very magazine that would often get caught in the pitfalls of pragmatism, but with the overtones of politics I could not agree with. Well, now I read about the better assessments by both the Party organisation and the board of your magazine…"[18]

In this context, Joža Vlahović was probably referring to the report from the *Duga* publishing board,[19] which radically altered its orientation in October 1985: "We are

16 Katarina Spehnjak, "Narodni front Jugoslavije (SSRNJ – razvoj, programsko-teorijske osnove i procesi u društvenoj praksi 1945–1983)," *Povijesni prilozi* 3, No. 3 (1984), 67.

17 Merljak Zdovc, "Slovenska revija Tovariš in njeni revialni 'tovariši'?," 537.

18 Tatjana Tagirov, "Ne pucaj na novinara: Joža Vlahović, Borac sa prave strane barikade," *Duga* 332, 15 – 28 November 1986, 10–14.

19 The official founder of the magazine was the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, but it was published under the auspices of the prominent publishing house BIGZ.

firmly decided to create a newspaper with an unequivocally Yugoslav, socialist, and self-management orientation as the best bulwark against nationalism, anti-communism, and dogmatism. During this time, we have gathered thirty journalists from twenty Yugoslav editorships and many scientific, cultural, and socio-political workers from practically all parts of the country. We believe that in this way, we can free ourselves from the stereotypes that have accompanied *Duga* for a decade – that it is a kind of a dissident if not even a Greater Serbian newspaper…"[20] However, even after that, the publication did not manage to avoid controversy: in 1986, it published a lengthy interview with Dimitrij Rupel, whose views managed to inflame the Slovenian-Serbian relations. The editorship therefore faced a long conversation/justification with the Slovenian political leadership.[21] The magazine itself will not be the subject of the analysis of the events surrounding the Eighth Session of the League of Communists of Serbia. However, it is intriguing as an example of a publication that became one of the first to take the side of the Session winners because of the previous actions that had been taken against it due to its orientation and its handling of "hot topics".

The role of political weeklies among the media was important, as their way of reporting differed considerably from that of daily newspapers. The period under consideration was their golden age, despite the drops in circulation during the times when the editorships were being disciplined, resulting in less public attention. The more they were perceived as "Party newspapers", the lesser their influence. This trend can be observed in the examples of *Teleks*, *Danas*, as well as *NIN* and *Duga*. This made the weekly political newspapers more independent from the day-to-day politics.[22] The editor of *Danas* agreed: "Political weeklies – as well as other similar publications – are, by their very design, a synthesis of all the dailies at the end of the week. Therefore, they do not share the excuse of the daily newspapers, which are often forced to react hastily and superficially. At the same time, as soon as weeklies attempt to conduct deeper analyses, they end up in a delicate situation, as they more often face unpleasantness, clash with certain individuals from politics but also from the economy and culture, and frequently stumble upon the interests of the daily politics and strategic orientations." During the period we are researching, the main Slovenian daily newspaper *Delo* was much more neutral than the writing of the political weeklies *Teleks* and *Mladina.* After 1986, the Zagreb-based *Danas* paved the way for the positioning of the Croatian politics that was not evident from the writing of the daily owned by the parent media company *Vjesnik*. Finally, the Serbian *NIN*, published by the newspaper company of the daily *Politika* – which became the first proponent of the new political trends in Serbia – still resisted this trend in the first months of 1988. Already in 1983, *Danas* and *NIN* were recognised as the most important political weeklies in Yugoslavia.[23] In

20 Grujica Spasović, "Produžite vašom ulicom: Sednica izdavačkog saveta Duge," *Duga* 331, 1 – 14 November 1986, 38.

21 Marko Zajc, "Poletni aferi kritičnih misli: Tomaž Mastnak in Dimitrij Rupel, slovenska kritična intelektualca med jugoslovansko in slovensko javnostjo v letu 1986," *Studia Historica Slovenica* 20, No. 3 (2020), 921–55.

22 Merljak Zdovc, "Slovenska revija Tovariš in njeni revialni 'tovariši'," 530.

23 "Nekatere ocene vsebinske naravnanosti in ekonomskega položaja revije Teleks v letu 1983," *apih.si*, http://www.apih.si/nekatere-ocene-vsebinske-neravnanosti-ekonomskega-polozaja-revije-teleks-v-letu-1983/, accessed on 1 March 2022.

this regard, we should also note that all the weekly newspapers under consideration expressed their Yugoslav orientation, including the Cyrillic *NIN*.[24] With ample references to the writing of the other weeklies, by reprinting articles from the Yugoslav press or by commenting on them, the Yugoslav dimension was usually maintained by all the weekly publications.[25] However, as it was established in the assessment of the content and orientation of *Teleks* in 1983, "a review of these articles revealed that the *Teleks* readers could get the impression that everything was wrong in the other provinces and republics, that there was nothing but scandals, affairs, and economic failures, that they were only fighting among themselves, arguing, scheming against each other, and that they were rife with nationalist outbursts. The *Teleks* readers only learned the most 'juicy bits' of long interviews published in other newspapers.[26] To return to the claim that no common media space existed in Yugoslavia – or rather that the media spaces of the individual republics were prevalent[27] – the actual reach of these publications in Slovenia is also evidenced by the results of the Slovenian Public Opinion survey for the year 1988, carried out in June 1988. *Teleks* and *Mladina* reached between 30 and 50 percent of the population, while the political weeklies from the other republics had a much smaller reach, e.g. 11 % for *Danas*, less than 8 % for *Duga*, and only 5 % for *NIN* – and even in these cases, the readers indicated that they very rarely consulted the press from the other republics. Compared to the daily newspapers, the difference was even greater, with *Delo* reaching 65 % of the Slovenian population and Zagreb's *Vjesnik* 11 %, while less than 5 % of respondents had ever got their hands on *Politika*, the most notorious newspaper at the time.[28]

The "Eighth Session" and the Beginning of the Collapse of the "Eighth Republic"

The thesis of the disunity of the Yugoslav media space is almost ubiquitous in the contemporaneous literature and even more so in the media themselves. On the issue of reporting about the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, Svetislav Spasojević wrote the following in the *NIN* magazine: "It is not necessary to develop the thesis about the connection between the leaderships of the republics and provinces and their press, but in this connection lies a part of the

24 "Ohrabrenja u vremenu iskušenja," *NIN* 1853, 6 July 1986, 16.

25 For example, in the summer of 1987, the *Nin* magazine reprinted extracts from the most controversial texts from the Slovenian media on several pages. – "Slovenačko ogledalo štampe," *NIN* 1963, 23 August 1987, 20–24.

26 "Nekatere ocene vsebinske naravnanosti in ekonomskega položaja revije Teleks v letu 1983," *apih.si*, http://www.apih.si/nekatere-ocene-vsebinske-neravnanosti-ekonomskega-polozaja-revije-teleks-v-letu-1983/, accessed on 1 March 2022.

27 In this context, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a slight exception: there, *Danas* and *NIN* had a large readership, the main local newspaper company *Oslobođenje* published the weekly newspaper *Nedjelja*, while the youth newspaper *Naši Dani* was probably more influential in the period under review.

28 Niko Toš, "Slovensko javno mnenje 1988 [Podatkovna datoteka]," *Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov* (Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, 2000), https://doi.org/10.17898/ADP_SJM88_V1, accessed on 1 March 2022.

reason why some of the assessments of the press in Ljubljana and Zagreb about the political situation in Serbia were met with unusually harsh reactions in Belgrade…". Then Spasojević returned to the metaphor of the eight mirrors held up to the public by the media of the Yugoslav republics and provinces.[29] Was the Yugoslav media space truly as fragmented as the contemporaneous analyses and some historical interpretations suggest? We will attempt to answer this question by analysing the media visibility of the rise and consolidation of Milošević's domination in Serbia, with the emphasis on the famous Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (23 – 24 September 1987).

The authors of the present article are particularly interested in how the Yugoslav magazines (especially the Serbian *NIN* and Croatian *Danas*) and Slovenian magazines (*Teleks, Mladina*) reacted to Milošević's consolidation of power in Serbia. The *NIN* and *Danas* weeklies were both aimed at the Yugoslav public, even though they were also influenced by the political and media circumstances in Serbia or Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the Slovenian socio-political magazines counted on the Slovenian audience: they were Slovenian in terms of language as well as content, although they were also a part of the broader Yugoslav media space. In the middle of the 1980s, the Yugoslav media space was undergoing a process of democratisation, and the editorships were breaking free from the confines of the political forums, especially in the larger centres (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana).

The Rise of Milošević in Serbia and the Media

From the very outset, the rise and the establishment of the authoritarian Milošević's regime were linked to the media landscape in what was then the Socialist Republic of Serbia. According to Miodrag Marović, a researcher of the history of the *Politika* newspaper, in the 1980s, *Politika* was not only a victim of political manipulations like in the previous decades but also became a public means of retaliating against the editorial offices that refused to accept the new "single-mindedness" in its nationalist manifestation. After Tito's death, several personalities appeared at the top of the Serbian political forums until Slobodan Milošević assumed control with a Party putsch in October 1987. The rise of the ambitious economist and banker was the result of factional struggles between the two most powerful leaders of the Serbian League of Communists: Dragoljub (Draža) Mihajlović, one of the leaders of the 1972/73 showdown with the Serbian Party liberalism, and Petar Stambolić. In 1984, the Serbian leaders sought a replacement for Dušan Čkrebić, as he moved from the position of the leader of the Serbian League of Communists to the post of the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Petar Stambolić ensured that his cousin Ivan Stambolić, who had previously headed the Belgrade City Committee of the League of Communists, was appointed to the vacant position. Ivan

29 Svetislav Spasojević, "Kako preživeti štampu," *NIN* 1927, 6 December 1987, 12.

Stambolić's previous position was filled by Slobodan Milošević. As the leader of the Belgrade Communists, Milošević – in cooperation with his wife Mira Marković, who headed the University Committee of the League of Communists – created a scandal over Marxism as a compulsory subject at the University, which was opposed by prominent Party intellectuals. Already as the head of the Belgrade League of Communists, Milošević started to take issue with the youth press (*Student*, *Mladost*, *NON*), which opposed his and Mira Marković's plan to make Marxism a compulsory subject at the faculty. Although this episode revealed that Milošević had broader ambitions, in 1986, Ivan Stambolić, who then took over as the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, nevertheless nominated him his successor as the leader of the Serbian Communists. Before the Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia in 1986, Draža Marković – the uncle of Milošević's wife Mira Marković – publicly opposed Milošević's selection for the highest Party position in Serbia but was not successful. In May 1986, at the Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, Milošević was elected as the President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. After his election, Milošević immediately tried to take control of the central Serbian newspaper company *Politika*, and he appointed his confidant Živorad Minović (the former *Politika* correspondent from Požarevac) as the president of the Commission for Information of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and as the deputy director of *Politika*. When Stambolić's candidate was chosen as the director of *Politika*, Živorad Minović took over this newspaper's editorship.[30]

In January 1987, *Politika* and the Serbian media landscape were shaken by a scandal made possible precisely by this newspaper's new editor. *Politika* published a defamatory article titled "*Vojko i Savle*" (Vojko and Savle), in which an unknown writer slandered, beyond any decency, two prominent Serbian academicians: the medical doctor Gojko Nikoliš and the physicist Pavle Savić. The publication of this satire, which was below any level of journalistic standards, caused a cultural and political scandal of Yugoslav proportions. A group of *Politika* journalists organised a petition condemning the publication of the article and demanded that the editor be held accountable. The petition was signed by 67 journalists from *Politika* and 47 of their colleagues from the other publications of the *Politika* newspaper company, which represented a minority of this company's journalists. The petition demanded that the true author be revealed, but the editor refused. According to Sonja Biserko, the goal of the defamatory article was to intimidate the increasingly vocal and prominent critics of the system, and allegedly, it was also related to the media disclosure of the planned Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, published by the newspaper *Večernje novosti* in September 1986. Meanwhile, Milošević kept actively suppressing the journalists' attempts at emancipation, meddling in the personnel policy of the Serbian media, and installing his supporters in various positions. By visiting Kosovo polje at the end of

30 Miodrag Marović, *Politika i Politika* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2002), 215–33. Nebojša Vladisavljević, *Antibirokratska revolucija* (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2020), 86–106.

April 1987, Milošević supported the Kosovo Serbs spectacularly.[31] According to the historian Vladimir Petrović, the visit marked the beginning of a new media strategy. The presentation of the visit on RTV Belgrade enthroned Milošević as the national leader. His statement "*Niko ne sme da vas bije*" (no one is allowed to beat you) became a television attraction in Serbia: it was broadcast endlessly on the Belgrade television, allegedly by the RTV Belgrade Deputy Director Dušan Mitrević, Milošević's personal friend.[32]

Meanwhile, Milošević's former mentor Ivan Stambolić was unhappy with the development in the direction of Serbian nationalism: he believed that the radicalisation of the Kosovo question was undermining the Serbian efforts to change the relations between the republic and the autonomous provinces and opening the door for nationalist hysteria. While Stambolić avoided a confrontation with Milošević, the Serbian media kept underlining the conflict between "Ivica and Slobo". Milošević was supported by *Politika* with Žika Minović at the helm and by the Serbian television. In this tense atmosphere, on 4 September 1987, an incident took place at the military barracks in Paračin, where an Albanian soldier killed four soldiers and wounded several others. The Belgrade press, led by *Politika*, commented on the tragedy in an anti-Albanian manner. In his memoirs, Ivan Stambolić wrote that after the incident, *Politika* started to incite Serbia "as if on command". The head of the Belgrade City Committee Dragiša Pavlović, a social scientist and university professor, attempted to calm the nationalist hysteria in agreement with Stambolić. At a meeting with newspaper editors on 11 September 1987, Pavlović underlined the dangers of Serbian nationalism regarding Kosovo. Pavlović's associate Radmilo Kljajić illustrated the described phenomena of Serbian nationalism with examples from the newspapers *Politika*, *Politika Ekspres*, and *Intervju*. In the following days, *Politika ekspres* and *Politika* launched a media onslaught against Dragiša Pavlović. As the president of the League of Communists of Serbia, Milošević took advantage of the comments in *Politika Express* as a reason to convene a meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, where Pavlović's statements would be discussed. The famous Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (23 – 24 September 1987), broadcast live on Belgrade television, represented a complete defeat for Dragiša Pavlović and Ivan Stambolić. In his action against them, Milošević used mainly the loyal and previously unestablished cadres from the province. Dragiša Pavlović was dismissed from the leadership of the League of Communists, and at the beginning of 1988, he was even expelled from it. Meanwhile, Stambolić, who held the post of the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, was increasingly attacked by the mainstream Serbian media under the influence of Milošević until he resigned under public pressure at the end of 1987. Simultaneously, the purge in the managements and editorships of media companies continued. Party commissions demanded "accountability" at all levels. Apart from the function of the editor of *Politika*, Živorad Minović also

31 Kosta Nikolić, *Niko ne sme da vas bije, Slobodan Milošević u Kosovu Polju 24 – 25 April 1987* (Beograd: ISI, 2006).
32 Vladimir Petrović, "Uloga medija u učvršćenju vlasti Slobodana Miloševića," *Istorija 20. veka*, 2 (2013), 183–204.

assumed the post of its director. The *NIN* weekly was the publication that managed to resist Milošević's purges the longest. At the beginning of 1988, Milošević replaced its editor-in-chief, but the journalists rebelled and refused to write in accordance with the new guidelines. The ultimate destruction of the journalistic independence of *NIN* took place in June 1988, when the local municipal committee of the League of Communists organised a commission of inquiry, which interrogated the *NIN* editors and journalists and imposed harsh Party punishments on them.

Vladimir Petrović noted, however, that it had not been the media that had brought Slobodan Milošević to power: he had gradually ascended up the Party ladder, assisted by Ivan Stambolić. Nevertheless, on this ambitious path, Milošević recognised the importance of controlling the mass media, which was decisive for his domination over his former mentor. Once at the helm of the Serbian Communists, he attempted to maintain and justify his monopoly with a new political mission: the solution to the Serbian national question. The media sphere became a key tool in consolidating Milošević's power and developing it into a regime.

Danas

The *Danas* weekly was founded in 1982 as a project of the newspaper company *Vjesnik*. It was planned as Zagreb's rival to the Belgrade weekly *NIN*.[33] The magazine *Vjesnik u srijedu* (*VUS*), launched in 1952, is deemed as its predecessor. In the early 1970s, *VUS* was going through a crisis, as several journalists were removed for supporting the "Croatian Spring". After the purges during this period, the magazine never recovered, despite the attempts at modernisation, and it ceased to exist in 1977.[34] Already during the first year of its publication, *Danas* gained significant influence thanks to its analytical and critical writing, reaching a circulation of 120,000 copies. However, due to the political pressure, its first editor-in-chief Joža Vlahović was forced to resign in May 1983, which led to the weekly changing its concept and losing its readership (the circulation dropped to 30,000 copies). After 1986, when Mirko Galić (1986–88) and Dražen Vukov-Colić (1988–90) were the editors-in-chief, it grew into a very influential weekly with a circulation of between 100 and 180 thousand copies. In the second half of the 1980s, the weekly critically addressed the most crucial social issues, encouraged liberal and democratic solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, and cautioned against the rise of Slobodan Milošević.[35] Marinko Čulić, a journalist of the *Danas* weekly during this period, told the *Lupiga* website in 2017 that *Danas* had been a Yugoslav magazine sold all over the former country. More than a fifth of the magazine's copies were sold outside of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The focus of

33 Alemka Lisinski, "Novinarstvo i mediji: izazovi osvojenih sloboda," in: *Jugoslavija: Poglavlje 1980–1991*, ed. Sonja Biserko (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2022), 528.

34 "Vjesnik u srijedu," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021), http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=64990, accessed on 6 March 2022.

35 "Danas," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021), http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=69427, accessed on 7 March 2022.

the magazine was to cover the relevant events throughout Yugoslavia. *Danas* reacted harshly to Milošević's rise, with the journalist Jelena Lovrić being particularly critical of him. According to Čulić, Milošević allegedly threw an issue of *Danas* to the floor in a moment of anger and literally stomped on it. The former *Danas* reporter Jasna Babić especially highlighted the atmosphere of political freedom and the *Danas* editorship's tolerance of original and provocative topics.[36]

Mladina

According to the American historian Patrick Hyder Patterson, it is somewhat surprising that in the 1980s, the official newsletter of the youth organisation in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia transformed into an alternative political newspaper. In the complex system of the late socialist self-management, the Socialist Youth League of Slovenia (ZSMS) was one of the socio-political organisations that operated relatively independently. Although media liberalisation was a phenomenon characteristic of the entire Yugoslavia at the time, the trend was most obvious in Slovenia. The communist authorities in Slovenia tolerated the critical youth press, and only in specific cases would it resort to various means of interfering with the editorial policy.[37] The actual freedom to write and publish was not limitless: certain topics were still considered taboo. For decades, *Mladina* served as the internal magazine of the ZSMS, informing its members about the past and future activities and providing them with ideological guidance. It was disseminated through the extensive network of the ZSMS organisation. Despite its broad reach and institutional funding, *Mladina* had few readers. It was allegedly so boring that even some of the municipal committees of the ZSMS refused to pay the compulsory subscription. The poor handling of the economic crisis after Tito's death on the part of the authorities resulted in political instability. New trends in popular culture emerged (punk), and new social movements were born, including the pacifist, antimilitarist, environmentalist, feminist, and gay/lesbian movements. At its 12th Congress in 1982, the ZSMS substantially changed its fundamental principles. It dedicated itself to a broad range of topics that concerned the youth, but above all, it adopted a stance that legitimised the criticism of the system. Moreover, it – even if shyly at the beginning – defined itself as the protector of the new social movements that were institutionalised into the system of socialist self-management through the ZSMS. All of this was reflected in the editorial changes of the *Mladina* magazine. In addition to a critical attitude towards the social reality, the magazine also started exploring light-hearted or entertaining topics – including graphic depictions of sexuality. As early as in the first half of the 1980s, *Mladina* exposed the influence of the League of Communists and other political forums on the media editorships. The

36 Jerko Bakotin, "FELJTON-HRVATSKA ŠTAMPA 80-IH I DANAS: Zlatno doba novinarstva i njegova propast," *Lupiga.Com*, https://lupiga.com/vijesti/feljton-hrvatska-stampa-80-ih-i-danas-zlatno-doba-novinarstva-i-njegova-propast, accessed on 6 March 2022.

37 Patrick Hyder Patterson, "The East is Read: the End of Communism, Slovenian Exceptionalism and the Independent Journalism of Mladina," *East European Politics and Societies* 14 (2000), 411.

editorship of *Mladina* redefined the boundaries of media freedom, using innovative strategies to attract readers. By transforming itself into an alternative medium, the weekly helped educate a critical readership that was becoming increasingly sensitive for critical issues and taboos. The provocative style of writing became a trademark of *Mladina*, which increasingly functioned as a free platform where all social critics could present their views and ideas.[38]

Teleks

The *Teleks* magazine was founded as a modern political weekly based on the tradition of two editions of the ČGP *Delo* newspaper company, *Tovariš* as a family weekly and *Tedenska tribuna*, which were merged into the joint *ITD* edition between 1974 and 1977. The altered media consumption that followed the rise of television called for a new concept for the magazine, which was envisioned by Ante Mahkota. Due to the death of the director of the ČGP *Delo* newspaper company Mitja Gorjup and the change in management positions, Jure Apih, primarily a marketing expert, became the magazine's first editor. The editorship's report shows a design that was much more commercially oriented: "In *Teleks* – the *Delo* company's informative weekly – the consistency with the contents of the *Delo* daily newspaper is reflected especially in the influences of the everyday Slovenian, Yugoslav, economic, domestic, cultural, and foreign politics on the published materials. The journalistic approach is adapted to the fact that as a weekly, the publication cannot normally be the first to publish the relevant information. However, it can produce more complete, synthesised, commented, precise, and selective information. *Teleks* should thus mainly cover the events whose importance, exceptionality, and appeal would otherwise not be sufficiently prominent in the flood of other daily information or which would lose the attention of the readers too quickly. An equally important area of interest for *Teleks* is the discovery of those facts and images that are present among us, but at the same time hidden, concealed, and invisible, and which only journalistic research can reveal and draw attention to. The magazine's aim is therefore not only the transmission but also the creation of information. Last but not least, *Teleks* should provide its readers with a package of relaxed, interesting, and entertaining reading. Thus, we have outlined the structure of the newspaper in our basic content document. It was clear to us (and the Co-Council also assessed this issue) that *Teleks* is a publication that cannot be aimed at the broadest readership, which is already covered quite successfully by other newspapers (*ND*, *Jana*, *Stop*, *7D*, etc.), but rather at those who are also interested in more demanding information."[39] The magazine boasted an impressive circulation for the time,[40] but it

38 Blaž Vurnik, *Med Marxom in punkom* (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2005), 345–49. Bernard Nežmah, *Časopisna zgodovina novinarstva na slovenskem med letoma 1797 in 1989* (Ljubljana: Koda, 2012), 313–36.

39 "Poročilo uredništva Teleks, december 1979," *apih.si*, http://www.apih.si/1329–2/, accessed on 1 March 2022.

40 70,000 copies in its first year of publication, which is about half the circulation of the similar Croatian weekly *Danas* when it started coming out in 1982. - "Naklada revije Teleks," *apih.si*, http://www.apih.si/naklada-revije-teleks/, accessed on 1 March 2022, and Tagirov, "Ne pucaj na novinara: Jože Vlahović," 12.

started to decline sharply in the 1980s – partly due to a change in the editorial policy as a result of the critical assessment on the part of the Slovenian regime.[41] In 1980, in the time leading up to the democratisation process, the different outlooks on the political reality – which were, however, not the result of political dissent but rather of the desire to increase visibility and sales – were the reason for the dismissal of the editorship.[42] Despite the high profile of the weekly, the decline in its circulation continued throughout the 1980s. *Teleks's* role as a release valve was assumed by the *Mladina* magazine as a "political project", and in 1990, *Teleks* stopped coming out for business reasons.

NIN

In Yugoslavia, the Serbian political weekly *NIN* (*Nedeljne informativne novine*) had both a long tradition[43] and a high circulation, half of which – according to Najdan Pašić, a former journalist and later a prominent politician and social theorist – ended up in the other republics. It started coming out in 1951 and became a part of the central publishing house *Politika* in 1958. At the paper's peak in 1981, its circulation amounted to 180,000 copies.[44] After a staff purge in the 1970s, resulting from a showdown with the liberal Serbian political leadership, it was taken over by a new generation of journalists in the late 1970s, who elevated it to a high and professional standard. In the spirit of democratisation, they were often a thorn in the side of the power structures.[45] During the changes in the leadership of *NIN's* parent company *Politika*, which became a tool for the promotion of the new Serbian leadership and for discrediting the Party's opposition, the weekly remained independent and professional long after the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.[46] However, it faced severe pressures following the Serbian leadership's interference with the media landscape and was accused of both nationalism and excessive criticism of nationalism at a time of unfathomable changes in the course of the Serbian politics, as Mirko Đekić, *NIN's* editor at the time, complained in an editorial.[47] He was dismissed a week after the editorial, and a loyal replacement from the parent company, Predrag Vuković, was appointed as acting editor.[48] By installing a new, proven editorial board, the political leadership helped him pave the way for a change in *NIN's* editorial policy.[49] However, the disciplining of the staff did not go according to the plan: despite the change at the

41 The magazine was discussed by the Commission for Agitation and Propaganda of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

42 Nežmah, *Časopisna zgodovina novinarstva*, 300.

43 A weekly with the same name, published by the circle of the then illegal Communist Party of Yugoslavia, existed for a short time in 1935. – Nikola Šegota, "Zagrebačke čestitke," *NIN* 1775, 6 January 1985, 52.

44 "НИН — Википедија," https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr/%D0%9D%D0%98%D0%9D, accessed on 2 March 2022.

45 Milan Milošević, "Ministar i NIN," *NIN* 1914, 6 September 1987, 5.

46 At the time of controversies and staff struggles for the leadership of the *Politika* newspaper company, it kept reporting objectively and did not adopt the discourse that had become dominant in the Serbian media landscape, from daily newspapers to television. – Slobodanka Ast, "Smenjivanje direktora Politike," *NIN* 1920, 18 October 1987, 16–19.

47 Mirko Đekić, "Značajne reči," *NIN* 1921, 1 November 1987, 9, 10.

48 "Mirko Đekić razrešen dužnosti glavnog i odgovornog urednika Nin-a in Predrag Vuković imenovan za v. d. glavnog i odgovornog urednika Nin-a," *NIN* 1923, 8 November 1987, 8.

49 "Izdavački svet Nin-a," *NIN* 1925, 22 November 1987, 13.

top, the policy of the weekly was very slow to change and also required staff purges.[50] Thus, the consolidation of the new course and the identification with the new political orientation continued well into 1988 and is symbolically marked by the first interview with the Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević, conducted almost sycophantically by the new editorship under the leadership of Đoko Stojičić and published on 3 July 1988.[51]

The Analysis of the Response of the Magazines *Danas*, *NIN*, *Mladina*, and *Teleks* to the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (23 – 24 September 1987)

A common feature of the *Danas*, *Teleks*, and *Mladina* magazines – regardless of their different profiles – is the almost complete absence of references to the politician Slobodan Milošević before the famous Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, although he had been the leader of the Serbian League of Communists since 28 April 1986 and had faced Serbian demonstrators in Kosovo on 24 April 1987. Naturally, the Serbian *NIN* did follow the political rise of the Serbian leader and the events in Kosovo. This lack of references is partly due to the journalistic discourse, especially in *Danas* and *Teleks*, which, although critical, were closer to the mainstream at the time. During that period (1986–87), *Mladina* already cultivated an image of an alternative and provocative medium. In the analyses of the socio-political organisations' politics and particularly of the League of Communists politics at the Yugoslav level, the actors or protagonists of certain factions are rarely mentioned. The journalists usually describe the clashes between different factions or ideological struggles in an impersonal way. The nuances in the use of the established terms from the self-management communist vocabulary are also important, e.g. bureaucracy, differentiation, democratic centralism, antagonism, etc. This means that commentators could criticise Slobodan Milošević's politics without mentioning the protagonist. *Mladina* would more often mention political actors in a negative context. For example, it mentioned Milošević in an article of 20 March 1987 about the failed organisation of a symposium on new forms of genocide in Belgrade. The symposium was organised by Vladimir Dedijer and hosted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. *Mladina* claimed that when the President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia Milošević had read the programme of the symposium, he had immediately prevented it.[52] When *Mladina* reported on the Serbian demonstrations in Kosovo on 24 April in its weekly review of events titled *Zlopamtilo*, it did not name Milošević. Furthermore, for the subsequent media and political history,

50 "Violinista na krovu," *NIN* 1930, 27 December 1987, 27.

51 Đoko Stojičić, Teodor Anđelić, Dragan Jovanović and Tomislav Peternek, "47 pitanja Slobodanu Miloševiću: Jugoslavija i socijalizam – istorijske tekovine," *NIN* 1957, 3 July 1988, 8–15.

52 D. T., "Politika je presodila, znanosti ne potrebujemo," *Mladina*, 20 March 1987, 6.

it is certainly not irrelevant that Milošević's famous motto "*niko ne sme da vas bije*" ("no one is allowed to beat you"), promoted by TV Belgrade at the time, was not mentioned either. The Ljubljana weekly *Teleks* did not even register Milošević's visit and the events in Kosovo, while *Teleks* mentioned him only briefly on 14 May 1987 in a commentary on the "ideological plenum" of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which took place in Belgrade after the Kosovo events. In its commentary, *Teleks* also referred to the articles published in *NIN* and *Danas*, but it paid more attention to the standpoints of Slovenian Party leader Milan Kučan. At the Party summit, Kučan warned of the danger of "constant purges" and "differentiation" in the League of Communists, which were preventing the social crisis from being resolved.[53] Compared to the two Slovenian magazines, *Danas* devoted much more attention to the events in Kosovo on 24 April and to the ideological plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Regarding the Kosovo events, *Danas* wondered what had actually happened. It cited different sources and listed various interpretations of events. *Danas* did not quote Milošević's famous sentence either, but it did provide a more detailed description of the events. The crowd of people that gathered apparently shouted that they were being beaten by the police and demanded the resignation of Azem Vlasi, the leader of the Kosovo Communists, with whom Milošević had a meeting. Milošević supposedly reacted by demanding that order be maintained without the police. The *Danas* journalists clearly demonstrated the difference between the official statement of the Priština police, which strived to justify the moderate use of force, and Milošević's statement that the police had no reason to intervene. The *Danas* commentators did not accuse Milošević of siding with the Serbian nationalist protesters, but they did write the piece in such a manner that this interpretation was also possible. The article concluded by quoting the assessments of various Party officials, who stressed the need to distinguish between the legitimate demands of the Serbs that their problems in Kosovo be solved and their nationalist aspirations.[54]

Danas paid the most attention to the marathon Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (23 – 24 September 1987). The magazine's cover featured a picture of the deposed Pavlović, the commentator Jelena Lovrić analysed the session on five pages, and Pavlović's biography was published as well. In a dedicated section, the Zagreb weekly also published a transcript of Pavlović's controversial speech, which, according to the journalist, the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia who were deciding his fate had not received before the meeting.[55] The journalist openly asked what Pavlović had done to deserve such a harsh punishment. Would sacrificing Pavlović and his comrades be

53 Igo Tratnik, "Opomin časa za poglabljanje idejnih razlik," *Teleks*, 14 May 1987, 23.

54 Gojko Marinković, Miloš Antić, "Što se zapravo dogodilo," *Danas*, 3 May 1987, 20.

55 Parts of the speech were also published by the then still undisciplined *NIN*, but not until three days after the end of the Session. At the time when the issue was being prepared for print, the Session had still been ongoing, and therefore only an official explanation concluding the report from the previous session of the Belgrade City Committee was published in a separate section. – "Šta je Pavlović rekao," *NIN* 1917, 27 September 1987, 18–20.

enough, or was this the beginning of a process that some called differentiation and others ruthless reckoning? The question remained unanswered, although the journalist quoted one of the participants in the debate, who remarked that they had been hunting a rabbit but caught a wolf. The metaphor suggested the links between Pavlović and the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Ivan Stambolić, who had written a letter of support for Pavlović after a meeting with newspaper editors on 11 September. According to the commentator, the most plausible theory was that it was all a clash between two leading figures in the Serbian leadership: Ivan Stambolić and Slobodan Milošević. The insiders argued that no major differences existed between these two politicians in terms of what they wanted, but rather merely in how to achieve it. Nevertheless, they were associated with two different orientations in the Serbian League of Communists as well as with two different concepts. These two lines exhibited different attitudes towards Kosovo and the Serbian nationalism as well as towards democracy and the methods of the Party work. One line was convinced that the counter-revolution was to be found in all Yugoslav nationalisms, including Serbian, and that using the *Politika* newspaper to encourage emotional reactions in the Serbian public could be dangerous.[56] Moreover, this faction was also convinced that in the case of Pavlović, the principles of intra-Party democracy had been violated. The other line did not declare its opinions so clearly. Although it adopted the position that all nationalisms were bad in principle, it primarily emphasised the fight against the Albanian nationalism. This faction was openly prone to emotional reactions and spoke out publicly against "cool heads" in politics.[57]

Danas published a harsh critique of the factional struggles in Serbia as a biography of Dragiša Pavlović. The article titled Čovek *drugog vremena* (A Man from Another Era) was signed by Ratko Rodić. This was an editorial pseudonym, as no journalists with this name existed, and allegedly, the article was (according to subsequent testimony) written by Aleksandar Tijanić, then a journalist at the Belgrade weekly *NIN*.[58] The commentator claimed that Pavlović's biggest problem was that he repelled people with his perfection. Just like Milošević, Pavlović belonged to the group called "*mladoturci*" (Young Turks), which Ivan Stambolić promoted in order to carry out a generational change in the Serbian leadership. Only once he had attained the position of the leader of the Belgrade Communists, Pavlović supposedly realised that lately, the Party positions had been divided according to the principle of "one Stambolić supporter – one Milošević supporter". Allegedly, each of these two "mini-Parties" controlled its own medium. Stambolić was said to control the *NIN* weekly, while Milošević controlled *Politika* and *Politika Express*. Pavlović was allegedly the victim of poor timing: he spoke out openly at the moment when the distribution of the political power between several

56 The same argumentation can be found in *NIN*, where Milan Milošević already emphasised this in the heading of the report from the Belgrade City Committee meeting. – Milan Milošević, "Trenutak istine," *NIN* 1917, 27 September 1987, 18–23.

57 Jelena Lovrić, "Anatomija slučaja Pavlović," *Danas*, 29 September 1987, 9.

58 "Aleksandar Tijanić – Istinomer," *Istinomer.rs*, https://www.istinomer.rs/akter/aleksandar-tijanic/, accessed on 1 March 2022.

centres in Serbia collapsed and a single power centre emerged. Nations are like people – they prefer to put up with their own diseases rather than a doctor. The principle of "one Serbia – one nation" was being joined by the principle of "one opinion – one leader", and there was a danger, the journalist argued, that dissenting views might be labelled as anti-Serbian. In such a climate, any attempts at a dialogue turned into an ideological dispute, making any discussion impossible.[59] Tanja Torbarina, known for her ironic and critical style of writing, also mentioned the session under consideration in her column about television: "Apparently, things are becoming democratic: the ten-hour debate of the Belgrade Central Committee is being broadcast on TV. Dragiša Pavlović is the subject of a dispute. He was also condemned because he showed no remorse or self-criticism regarding his opinion, which he had arrived at through reflection and observation."[60]

In the Slovenian press, *Mladina* was the magazine that devoted the most attention to the Eighth Session. On 2 October 1987, it published an editorial on the developments in the Serbian politics, written by the editor of the internal politics section David Tasić. The journalist in question was the most "Yugoslav" member of *Mladina's* editorship at the time. In 1981, he had moved to Ljubljana from Serbia to study, and apart from *Mladina*, he also wrote for various Yugoslav newspapers and was well acquainted with both the Yugoslav and Serbian media landscape. In his editorial, Tasić clearly defined the developments in the Serbian leadership. He mentioned Dragiša Pavlović's warnings about the rise of the Serbian nationalism in *Politika*, which marked the beginning of a ruthless political struggle. Also this time, Slobodan Milošević, who had already proved to be a fan of repression in his confrontations with political opponents, resorted to any means at his disposal. He bypassed all of the Party's statutory rules and got Pavlović dismissed on the pretext of undermining the unity. In Tasić's view, the unity platform was clearly a platform for open Serbian nationalism. He was clear in his opinion that if this prevailed, it would mean that Serbia would return to the romantic nationalism of the 19th century while Yugoslavia would enter the most serious political crisis of the post-war period.[61] In the same issue, *Mladina* published an article by the Belgrade-based independent journalist Milovan Brkić on the clashes in the Serbian Party regarding the media and Pavlović, which had apparently been written before the Eighth Session. Brkić informed *Mladina's* readership about the importance of the media landscape for the factional disputes in the Serbian Party. He described Pavlović as a reasonable politician and Milošević as a hardliner who gathered people without authority around him and put relatives and friends in prominent positions. He was particularly critical of Milošević's wife Mira Marković, whom he renamed Elena (alluding to Elena Ceaușescu, the wife of the Romanian dictator). Brkić claimed that Slobodan Milošević, until recently an anonymous economist, wanted to assert himself at all costs, while Ivan Stambolić kept avoiding controversy with Milošević.[62]

59 Ratko Rodić, "Človek drugog vremena," *Danas*, 29 September 1987, 12, 13.
60 Tanja Torbarina, "Katastrofičari," *Danas*, 29 September 1987, 34.
61 David Tasić, "Nacionalistična platforma," *Mladina*, 2 October 1987, 1.
62 Milovan Brkić, "Komunisti proti komunistom," *Mladina*, 2 October 1987, 32, 33.

In the following issue of *Mladina*, a comprehensive report on the purges in the Serbian Party was published. The article was signed by a certain Nešo Dragošević – most probably a pseudonym, as the author of this article has not been able to find a journalist by that name anywhere else. "Pavlović was ousted in a typical rigged political process aimed at discrediting him by any means necessary", the journalist was clear. "Now that the authoritarian spirit backed by a firm hand has prevailed, the question rightly arises as to who in Serbia will now even dare, without fearing for their own head, to speak out about Serbian nationalism or to criticise the undemocratic methods of the senior leadership."[63] Miha Kovač commented on the Belgrade purges in the *Čejeni in Šošoni* section. In his commentary, Kovač repeatedly referred to the Zagreb-based *Danas*, where he had acquired the most crucial information. Kovač described the reprisal against Pavlović as disgusting: almost all the speakers only accused Pavlović of thinking independently, while they (if the claims made by *Danas* were true) had not even read the speech he was accused of making. The fight against one's own nationalism in the home environment was no longer a fundamental moral virtue of the Yugoslav communists, the commentator established. The old ideology was collapsing and a new one was emerging, with Serbian revanchism aimed at the abolition of Kosovo as an autonomous province. The amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, discussed in all of the Yugoslav political forums, went in the direction of restricting the republics and provinces. The Yugoslav unitarism met the fundamental demand of the Serbian nationalism: the abolition of Kosovo as an autonomous province. It appeared that the Serbian nationalism would be articulated as the Yugoslav unitarism. Kovač did not stop at the Serbian nationalism: instead, he also commented on the "democratic" nationalism of the Slovenian intellectual opposition from the circle of the *Nova revija* magazine. During the same period, the Slovenian literary historian and philosopher Taras Kermavner was publishing his texts titled *Pisma srbskemu prijatelju* (Letters to a Serbian Friend) in the Slovenian and Serbian press, which attracted considerable media attention.[64] In Kermavner's opinion, the cornerstone of democratisation was that society recognised itself as divided. Allegedly, the Slovenian society succeeded in doing this, especially by publicly discussing the killings committed by the communists after World War II. According to Kermavner, this discussion undermined the ruling ideology, which allowed for democratisation. According to Kovač, Kermavner formulated an ideology in which universal and anational democratic elements appeared as a part of the national ideology. For several years, democratic freedoms had been promoted by *Mladina* as the newsletter of the ZSMS, which had adopted democracy as its political programme – and all this without any national, Slovenian connotations. Kovač was clear: what the Yugoslav unitarism and Slovenian "democratic nationalism" had in common was that they both functioned as national ideologies. This meant that within Yugoslavia, political definitions

63 Nešo Dragošević, "Montiran proces, Kako je odstopil Dragiša Pavlović," *Mladina*, 9 October 1987, 8, 9.

64 Balázs Trencsenyi, Michal Kopeček, Luka Lisjak Gabrijelčič, Maria Falina and Mónika Baár, *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe: Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 114.

were transforming into the characteristic features of the Yugoslav nations (Slovenians were democratic and Serbs unitarist). In Kovač's opinion, the solution lay in radical democratic reforms throughout Yugoslavia, ensuring that the national identification became merely one in a series of possible democratic identifications.[65]

The same issue of *Mladina* reported on the arrest of the Serbian journalist Milovan Brkić, who had published an article on Milošević and Pavlović in this magazine's previous issue. Apparently, Milošević's war against the media reached Slovenia as early as in 1987. When the Belgrade magazine *Student* was being disciplined and accused of anti-Titoism[66] by the Serbian Party leadership, the editorship of the Maribor student magazine *Katedra* handed over the central part of its publication to its Belgrade colleagues for editing. "The *Katedra* magazine, which would be sent by train from Maribor to the south of the country and also sold on the streets of Belgrade, was probably the only voice of the public protest against the purges initiated by the pivotal Eighth Session of the Serbian League of Communists at the time," Igor Mekina, a member of *Katedra's* editorship, later recalled.[67] On 30 June 1987, *Katedra* published an article in which Brkić criticised the purges in the Serbian political leadership. Brkić was accused of "disturbing the public", even though the issue of *Katedra* in question had not even been released. The magazine was also confiscated for other critical articles. The prosecutor's office in Maribor justified the accusations against Brkić with the explanation that around a hundred copies of the banned magazine had disappeared from the printing house and been illegally distributed around Maribor. According to *Mladina*, without any announcement, the Serbian police violently arrested Milovan Brkić on 29 September 1987. On the same day, he was tried and sentenced to fifty days in prison. *Mladina* was positive that his arrest was not a coincidence. The relentless critic of the political activities of the Milošević – Marković couple was brutally arrested for publishing an article in *Katedra* on 30 June 1987 as late as at the end of September, a few days after the "Eighth Session", where Milošević had consolidated his power.[68] The Slovenian critical public was primarily concerned with the role of the Maribor law enforcement and judiciary in suppressing the freedom of the press. The petition signed by the majority of the Slovenian alternative movements expressed fear that the same logic could be used to imprison Slovenian intellectuals on the proposal of some Serbian police station.[69]

The first issue of the *Teleks* weekly after the Eighth Session was published on 1 October, giving the journalists ample time for their first reflections on the recent developments. In the *Teleksova tribuna* section, the journalist Srečo Zajc commented on the purges in the Serbian Party and underlined the Party's insistence on maintaining its monolithic nature. Zajc was much more cautious in his criticism than *Mladina* and mainly considered the role of the League of Communists. The main reason why

65 Miha Kovač, "Požig Reichstaga II, Čejeni in Šošoni," *Mladina*, 9 October 1987, 11, 12.
66 Marović, *Politika i Politika*, 228.
67 Igor Mekina, "Natiskane izvode bodo uničili," *Katedra*, June/July 2011, 25, 26.
68 Adriano Kiršić, "Stalinizem na pohodu," *Mladina*, 9 October 1987, 13.
69 Mariborsko pismo ob ovadbi Milovana Brkića, *Mladina*, 9 October 1987, 14.

Stojanović and Pavlović came into conflict with the decisions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia was the fact that they had drawn attention to the Serbian nationalism: was it nationalism or a struggle between two factions, the peaceful and the monolithic? The author wondered whether the same fate would befall Ivan Stambolić. The method chosen by the leadership of the Serbian League of Communists consolidated monolithicity. The League of Communists would lose its character of a voluntary alliance of supporters as well as its historical opportunity to reunite a divided Yugoslavia. In his view, this was only possible with a modern, humane, and pluralist programme, through the separation from the state apparatus and rehabilitation of self-management. Srečo Zajc claimed that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had been buried by the Serbian nationalism, while the new Yugoslavia was born out of patriotism and the programme of the Yugoslav communists. Meanwhile, a third Yugoslavia was not possible "because we will scatter like a flock of geese". The League of Communists should put a stop to the "divide and conquer" policy pursued by the national and local leaders in order to cover up their past sins related to the economic policy.[70]

The *Teleks* journalist Jasna Venturini strove to understand the "Eighth Session" purges from the viewpoint of historical comparisons. She compared the events to the showdown with the Serbian "liberalism and technocratism" in 1972. In October 1972, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia had held a multi-day session where – at Tito's initiative – the leaders of the Serbian communists at the time (Marko Nikezić, Latinka Perović) had been dismissed.[71] The similarities between the two sessions supposedly included the problems being solved in a series of long meetings and through newspaper companies, as well as "heads rolling at the end". In both cases, the management of the newspaper *Politika* had been involved in the disputes. Although the journalist was clear that a major purge had taken place in the Serbian communist leadership and that such activities would likely continue, she was cautious in her conclusions. She pointed out that the "Eighth Session" had been characterised by honest observations during the discussions, and honesty could help make the League of Communists healthier.[72] In addition to the article, *Teleks* published individual statements by the participants of the discussion and the chronology of Dragiša Pavlović's expulsion. In the same issue, readers could read a report from a roundtable in Celje, organised by *Teleks* in cooperation with the ZSMS. The topic of the roundtable was the freedom of information, and the invited participants included "direct actors of the freedom of public information": journalists, sociologists, politicians, prosecutors, judges, and lawyers. *Teleks* summed up the journalists and editors who had defended the freedom of expression in particular.

On 22 October 1987, *Teleks* published a more critical commentary on the situation in Serbia. Janko Lorenci described the death of the dialogue and the new monolithicity

70 Srečo Zajc, "Monoliti," *Teleks*, 1 October 1987, 5.
71 Dušan Bilandžić, *Zgodovina Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije* (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1980), 429.
72 Jasna Venturini, "Ena izključitev in množica neznank," *Teleks*, 1 October 1987, 9–11.

in the largest of the Yugoslav republics. What was the reason for the rapid rise of Milošević's faction? Lorenci claimed that the essence lay in a combination of several factors: a mix of socio-political demagogy and populism, the indulgence of nationalism and anti-Albanian sentiments, the control of most press, and Yugoslavia's indifference towards Kosovo and the crisis in Serbia. The journalist argued that a "quick and decisive" solution to the Kosovo issue was not possible, and if Milošević's hardliners were not aware of this, then they were out of touch with reality. Lorenci agreed with the *Danas* commentator Jelena Lovrić, who was worried about the silence of the federal authorities. If Serbia was drifting towards the authoritarian option, then this was very bad for Serbia as well as for Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia could only be strong with a strong Serbia, but only a democratic Serbia could be strong, the author concluded.[73]

Teleks would often write about Serbia, but usually about things that concerned the Slovenian reality as well – for example about the relations between the Serbian and Slovenian leadership or the relations between the Slovenian and Serbian cultural workers – while it paid less attention to Serbia as a topic in itself (Kosovo was the only exception). It seems that after the "Eighth Session", the editorship of what was then the central Slovenian weekly focused on detailed research of the political and media situation in Serbia. In November 1987, *Teleks* published an extensive three-part analysis of "the methods, goals, and consequences of the showdowns in Serbian journalism" by the journalist Jasna Venturini. At the beginning of this series of articles, the author established that many journalists in Serbia had been dismissed in the autumn. According to her, it was clear that the main sin of the media that were under attack was the lack of support for the decisions reached at the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. When she looked for someone to discuss this topic with in the Belgrade newspaper companies, the journalist detected a great deal of mistrust. No one at *Politika* wanted to talk. The situation was different at the *NIN* magazine, where they pointed to the political pressures from the Serbian communist leadership.[74] A week later, Jasna Venturini noted that the events of the "great purge" in the Serbian journalism outpaced *Teleks's* writing. Before the second part of her article was even published, Mirko Djekić, the editor-in-chief of the *NIN* weekly, had been dismissed. Sava Kržavac, the president of the Information Section of the Serbian SZDL, tried to convince the journalist that the recent developments in Serbian journalism were nothing unusual. He assured her that there was no cause for concern among journalists, nor was it true that a list of unwanted journalists existed. The journalist received a completely different testimony from the *Politika* journalist Radmilo Kljajić, who had been dismissed as the secretary of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade at the "Eighth Session" as well as expelled from the League of Communists. Kljajić was appalled at the accusations at the "Eighth Session" and by the draconian punishment imposed by the Party leadership. He found no rational reason for this but suspected it was the revenge of the Milošević – Marković family. As it was, Kljajić had recently published a contribution on

73 Janko Lorenci, "Umiranje dialoga v Srbiji," *Teleks*, 22 October 1987, 12, 13.
74 Jasna Venturini, "Na konici oblasti I," *Teleks*, 5 November 1987, 13.

the revolutionary movement in Belgrade, in which he had mentioned Mira Marković's mother in a negative context.[75] In the last part of her article on the Serbian media affairs, Jasna Venturini described the purges at the TV Belgrade news programme. In the run-up to the "Eighth Session", the editor of *TV Dnevnik*, the daily news programme, allowed a comment by the *Danas* journalist Jelena Lovrić, who characterised the leadership of the Serbian League of Communists as dogmatic and Stalinist. The editor was punished with a pay cut, while the news programme editor was dismissed, even though the journalists' collective was against this. Meanwhile, the editor of the *Svet* magazine Jelisaveta Jevremović was also under attack for reprinting Radmilo Kljajić's defence from the federal youth magazine *Mladost*. Just like *Borba*, the main newspaper of the Yugoslav communists, the *Mladost* magazine was beyond the reach of the Serbian authorities. Therefore, it could still afford to be critical of Milošević's "line". Jasna Venturini concluded that the "cleaners" of the Serbian journalistic scene had no problems when the founder of the media was the Serbian SZDL, but things got complicated in the case of other founders. "However, with a bit of goodwill, even such minor difficulties can be overcome," the author concluded cynically.[76]

Epilogue

How does the brief analysis of the writing of *Danas*, *NIN*, *Teleks*, and *Mladina* about this pivotal event reveal the character of the Yugoslav media space during the crisis of the Yugoslav political system? The "Eighth Session" has a special place in the historiography of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Researchers rightly refer to it as one of the milestones on the path towards the establishment of the authoritarian Milošević's regime in Serbia and as one of the turning points in the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. For example, the German historian Holm Sundhaussen defined the "Eighth Session" as Milošević's "putsch".[77] From the viewpoint of the political history focusing on the public, however, it is legitimate to ask whether the media commentators of the time perceived the decisive character of the "Eighth Session". All commentators of the analysed media defined the "Eighth Session" as special and groundbreaking, and in the above-mentioned magazines, all of them evaluated the session as a possibility that the Serbian politics might develop in a dangerous direction, even though no one predicted the disintegration of Yugoslavia at that time.

The common feature of the magazines under consideration was the profound scepticism towards the nationalistic phenomena in Yugoslavia. We can argue that all three magazines were critical of the "Eighth Session" in the sense of rejecting Slobodan Milošević's policies, his authoritarianism, and the newfound Serbian nationalism, while *NIN* was outwardly less critical of the new policy and sometimes described

75 Jasna Venturini, "Na konici oblasti II," *Teleks*, 12 November 1987, 6–8.
76 Jasna Venturini, "Na konici oblasti III," *Teleks*, 26 November 1987, 12, 13.
77 Holm Sundhaussen, *Jugoslawien und seine Nachfolgestaaten* (Dunaj: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 251.

it with different emphases, but in terms of the balance of forces and this magazine's position in the Serbian media space, it can nevertheless be seen – until the purges of its editorship – as a voice of the opposition. In terms of terminology, all the magazines were critical of the term "differentiation", which they interpreted as a euphemism for Party purges, authoritarianism, and suppression of intra-Party democracy. However, the critical attitude was expressed in different ways. All the magazines celebrated the freedom of speech and democracy in the broadest sense. *Danas* was the most careful in its texts: criticism was concealed in selected quotations and rhetorical questions but still clearly evident to the educated reader. This Zagreb-based weekly evaluated the events by paying much attention to the "Eighth Session", especially with the image of Dragiša Pavlović on its front page. *Teleks* initially reacted in a principled and cautious manner but later became much more critical. The writing of *Mladina* was the most honest and without any convoluted comparisons and rhetorical questions: it tried to be straightforward and used the most critical discourse.

We cannot fully accept the thesis that the Slovenian media space was relatively closed due to the specificity of the Slovenian language. The Yugoslav public was not merely an extension of the Slovenian media space but rather also an important part of the narrower Slovenian public. This supports the thesis of the complex, even liminal nature of the Yugoslav public, which was thus both the sum of the publics of the individual republics and provinces as well as the single, all-Yugoslav public. The coverage of the "Eighth Session" beautifully illustrates this interplay of levels and the unusual richness of the journalistic (and general communication) networks. The Zagreb-based *Danas* collaborated with the Serbian journalists who would publish critical texts regarding the Serbian leadership under pseudonyms (Aleksandar Tijanić). The member of *Mladina's* editorship David Tasić came from Serbia, was a respected youth journalist at the Yugoslav level, and understood the political situation in Serbia very well. *Mladina* also collaborated with the critical freelance journalist Milovan Brkić. He, together with other Belgrade journalists, regularly published his articles in the Maribor-based *Katedra*, which at one time became an alternative newsletter of the Belgrade students. The collaboration between *Katedra* and the journalists of the *Student* magazine indicates that critical journalists were able to use the differences between the media regimes in the different republics to their advantage. The editorship of *Teleks* made up for its poor initial knowledge of the Serbian media scene with investigative journalism in Belgrade.

The Croatian music critic and journalist Ante Perković titled his book on the Yugoslav pop-rock music scene *Sedma republika* (The Seventh Republic). In it, he mainly analysed the part of the Yugoslav rock that defined itself nationally and politically and supported exclusive nationalist projects with its activities. However, he also described the fate of the part of popular music that "remained faithful to the supranational and pacifist idea of rock and roll in spite of everything".[78] He called this long-term

78 Samo Rugelj, "Sedma republika: Pop kultura in razpad Jugoslavije – recenzija," *Bukla.si*, https://www.bukla.si/knjigarna/umetnost/glasba/sedma-republika.html, accessed on 8 March 2021.

phenomenon the Seventh Yugoslav Republic.[79] A similar framework could be applied to the Yugoslav public as well. A Yugoslav-wide network of critical but non-nationalist journalists existed who supported the democratisation of the society (mostly in the context of the existing system), pointed out economic failures (e.g. the Agrokomerc affair) and the dangers of both unitarism and particular nationalisms. Could this network be defined as the "Eighth Republic"? The media network branched in all directions, not only between the same categories of the Yugoslav media. The media saw Yugoslavia as their own country, recognising its complexity and calling for tolerance and dialogue. Women journalists played an important role in the all-Yugoslav journalistic network, especially at the *Danas* weekly, to a lesser extent at *Teleks*, and even less at *Mladina*. There were significant differences between them, also conditioned by the environments of the particular republics, but we can nevertheless identify a common field of values that held this pan-Yugoslav media grouping together.

The Party purges after the "Eighth Session" were closely linked to the purges in the ranks of the press. With the emergence of media populism associated with authoritarian nationalism, these purges had a devastating effect not only on the Yugoslav Party and the political structure but also on the Yugoslav media network. The transnational Yugoslav Republic of Journalists started to crumble. Media cooperation was overshadowed by the media wars. If, in his work on Yugo-rock, Ante Perković suggested that the "Seventh Republic" survived Yugoslavia, then we can conclude that the "Eighth Republic" of Yugoslav journalism was not so fortunate.

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Jurij Hadalin, Marko Zajc

»PRIMER TOVARIŠA DRAGIŠE PAVLOVIĆA« JUGOSLOVANSKI MEDIJSKI PROSTOR IN NJEGOVO DOJEMANJE NA PRIMERU POROČANJA OSREDNJIH POLITIČNIH TEDNIKOV O OSMEM PLENUMU CENTRALNEGA KOMITEJA ZVEZE KOMUNISTOV SRBIJE

POVZETEK

Jugoslovanska medijska krajina je že v času svojega obstoja bila ocenjena kot fragmentirana, informacijski sistemi naj bi delovali predvsem v okviru republik in naj bi odsevali interese republiške oziroma pokrajinske oblasti. Dolgoživa teza, ki je z leti dobivala skorajda dogmatski značaj, je zato v prispevku analizirana in potrjena z množico navedb sodobnikov. Pod drobnogled je nato vzet tudi jugoslovanski medijski sistem in načini njegovega nadzora, predvsem pa je bila v procesu analize medijev prisotna jasna segmentacija tiska, ki jasno opredeli, kateri mediji so bili za razumevanje političnih procesov v Jugoslaviji najpomembnejši in so imeli tudi relativno močno prisotno zavest o potrebi po podrobnejši analizi in kritičnem poročanju o dogajanjih v svojem matičnem okolju in izven njega. To so bili politični tedniki. Vloga političnih tednikov v medijski krajini je bila pomembna, saj so se po svoji obliki poročanja bistveno razlikovali od dnevnega časopisja. Njihova zlata doba je bila ravno v obravnavanem obdobju, kljub padcem naklad v časih discipliniranja uredništev, ki so vodila k manjši javni pozornosti. Bolj ko so jih dojemali kot »partijski časopis«, manjši vpliv so imeli. A analiza tekstov, objavljenih v jugoslovanskih tednikih, je to tezo, ki je bila ob načrtovanju raziskave postavljena kot ena od osrednjih raziskovalnih vprašanj, postavila pod vprašaj.

Drugi namen prispevka je analiza medijske vidnosti vzpona in konsolidacije Miloševićeve prevlade v Srbiji s poudarkom na znameniti osmi seji CK ZK Srbije (24.–26. september 1987). Avtorja predvsem zanima, kako se je na Miloševićevo utrjevanje oblasti v Srbiji odzval jugoslovanski revialni tisk (predvsem srbski *NIN* in hrvaški *Danas*) in kako slovenske revije (*Teleks*, *Mladina*). Tednika *NIN* in *Danas* sta bila usmerjena v jugoslovansko javnost, čeprav sta bila tudi pod vplivom političnih in medijskih razmer v Srbiji oziroma Jugoslaviji. Slovenski družbenopolitični magazini so računali na slovensko občinstvo – bili so slovenski tudi po vsebini, ne samo po jeziku – čeprav so bili po drugi strani del širšega jugoslovanskega medijskega prostora. Sredi osemdesetih let

je v jugoslovanskem medijskem prostoru, še zlasti v večjih centrih (Beograd, Zagreb, Ljubljana), potekal proces demokratizacije medijskega prostora, uredništva so se izvijala iz oklepa političnih forumov.

Teze o slovenskem medijskem prostoru, ki naj bi bil zaradi specifičnega slovenskega jezika relativno zaprt, ne moremo povsem sprejeti. Jugoslovanska javnost ni bila samo podaljšek slovenskega medijskega prostora, bila je tudi pomemben del ožje, slovenske javnosti. To govori v prid tezi o kompleksni, celo liminalni naravi jugoslovanske javnosti, ki je bila seštevek posameznih javnosti republik in pokrajin pa tudi ena, vsejugoslovanska javnost. Poročanje o »osmi seji« lepo kaže na ta preplet ravni in nenavadno bogastvo novinarskih (in splošno komunikacijskih) mrež. Zagrebški *Danas* je sodeloval s srbskimi novinarji, ki so pod psevdonimom objavljali kritična besedila o srbskem vodstvu (Aleksandar Tijanić). Član uredništva *Mladine* David Tasić je prihajal iz Srbije, bil je spoštovan mladinski novinar na jugoslovanski ravni in je dobro razumel politične razmere v Srbiji. *Mladina* je sodelovala s kritičnim samostojnim novinarjem Milovanom Brkičem. Brkić je skupaj z ostalimi beograjskimi novinarji redno objavljal v mariborski *Katedri*, ki je v nekem obdobju postala alternativno glasilo beograjskih študentov. Sodelovanje *Katedre* in novinarjev *Studenta* kaže na to, da so kritični novinarji znali uporabljati razlike med medijskimi režimi v različnih republikah v svojo korist. Uredništvo *Teleksa* je začetno slabo poznavanje srbske medijske scene nadoknadilo z raziskovalnim novinarskim delom v Beogradu.

Hrvaški glasbeni kritik in novinar Ante Perković je svojo knjigo o jugoslovanski pop-rock glasbeni sceni naslovil *Sedma republika*. Čeprav je v tej knjigi analiziral predvsem tisti del jugoslovanskega rocka, ki se je nacionalno in politično opredelil in je s svojim delovanjem podpiral ekskluzivne nacionalistične projekte, je prikazal tudi usodo tistega dela popularne glasbe, »ki je vsemu navkljub ostal zvest nadnacionalni ter pacifistični ideji rokenrola«. Ta fenomen dolgega trajanja je poimenoval sedma jugoslovanska republika. Podoben okvir razmišljanja bi lahko uporabili tudi za jugoslovansko javnost. Obstajala je vsejugoslovanska mreža kritičnih, a ne nacionalistično usmerjenih novinark in novinarjev, ki so podpirali demokratizacijo družbe (večinoma znotraj sistema), opozarjali na gospodarske napake (na primer afera Agrokomerc) ter na nevarnost unitarizma in partikularnih nacionalizmov. Medijska mreža se je spletala v vse smeri, ne samo med istimi kategorijami jugoslovanskih medijev. Na Jugoslavijo so gledali kot na svojo državo, priznavali so njeno kompleksnost in pozivali k strpnosti in dialogu. Med njimi so bile velike razlike, pogojene tudi s posameznim republiškim okoljem, kljub temu pa lahko identificiramo skupno polje vrednot, ki so to vsejugoslovansko medijsko združbo držale skupaj.

Partijske čistke po »osmi seji« so bile tesno povezane s čistkami v novinarskih vrstah. Te pa so s pojavom medijskega populizma, navezanega na avtoritarni nacionalizem, delovale uničujoče ne samo na jugoslovansko partijo in politično strukturo, ampak tudi na jugoslovansko medijsko mrežo. Transnacionalna jugoslovanska novinarska republika je začela razpadati. Medijsko sodelovanje so zasenčile medijske vojne.

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VPOGLEDI 13

VPOGLEDI 17

VPOGLEDI 19

VPOGLEDI 22

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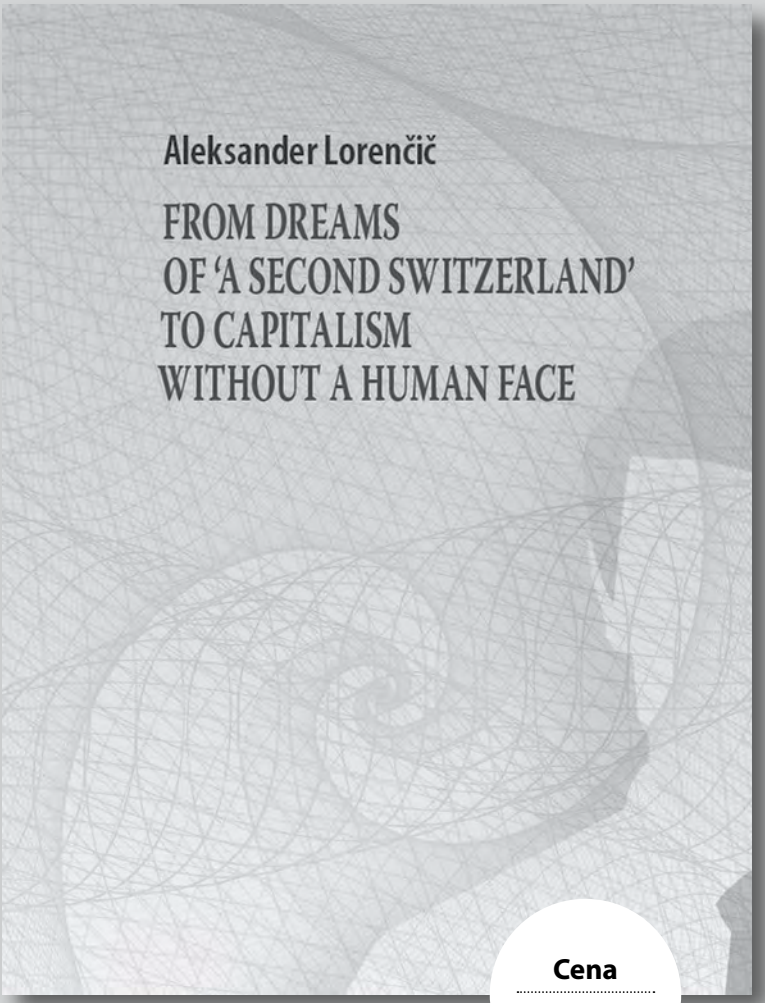
22 VPOGLEDI MIMOHOD BLAGA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ZA NOVEJŠO ZGODOVINO