

This publication was supported by the Austrian Federal Chancellery (BKA) from Funds for Cooperation with Central and Eastern European Countries.

This project was made possible with grants from: PHARE Democracy Programme of the European Commission; European Commission Program to Support Democracy and the Peace Process in the Republics of the Former Yugoslavia.

The Council of Europe contributed funding to this project in Albania and Croatia.

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) contributed to the project in Slovenia.

The Open Society Institute (OSI) supported the participation of Greek Helsinki Monitor in this project.

Copies available from:

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights
Rummelhardtgasse 2/18, 1090 Vienna, Austria
Tel: (+43-1) 402-73-87 or 408-88-22; Fax: (+43-1) 408-74-44
E-mail: helsinki@ping.at

-and-

Greek Helsinki Monitor
P.O.Box 51393, GR-14510 Kifisia, Greece
Tel: (+30-1) 620-01-20; Fax: (+30-1) 807-57-67
E-mail: office@greekhelsinki.gr

This publication is also available in the web site <http://www.greekhelsinki.gr>

ISBN: 960-86206-0-0

© 1998 by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF)
All rights reserved

mariana lenkova
editor

'hate speech' in the balkans

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF)

ETEPE

table of contents

Preface <i>Aaron Rhodes</i>	5
Part I : General Presentation	7
Introduction <i>Panayote Elias Dimitras</i>	8
'Hate Speech': (Re)Producing the Opposition Between the National Self and the 'Others' <i>Nafsika Papanikolatos</i>	10
Part II : Summaries of National Reports <i>Mariana Lenkova</i>	29
Reporting on the Monitoring of 'Hate Speech' in the Balkan Region	30
Albania	31
Bosnia	35
Bulgaria	36
Croatia	39
Greece	43
Special Section: The Imia/Kardak story	65
ρ The Apotheosis of Hate Speech: The Near-Success of (Greek and Turkish) Media in Launching War <i>Panayote Elias Dimitras</i>	65
ρ The Greek-Turkish "Imia/Kardak" Crisis in Dates <i>Vasiliki Neofotistos</i>	69
ρ The Greek Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict <i>Vasiliki Neofotistos</i>	71
ρ The Turkish Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict <i>Ferhat Kentel</i>	77
Kosovo	81
Macedonia	84
Montenegro	86
Romania	88
Serbia	96
Slovenia	108
Appendices	109
Media Monitored	110
The Media Scene in the Balkans in 1995 <i>Mariana Lenkova</i>	116
Contributors to this Volume	124
Contributors to the Project 'Media Freedoms and Hate Speech in the Balkans 1995-6'	125

preface

The “role of the media” -a common concern of media in the West- is not yet well-explored although shamefully abused in post-totalitarian societies, some of which are still less “post” than “totalitarian.” But given especially the well-documented relationship between ethnically-motivated slaughter in the Former Yugoslavia and media propaganda, e.g. by Mark Thompson in *Forging War* (London: Article 19;1994), the topic has become an important one to human rights organizations like the IHF that seek not only to report on human rights violations but also to promote, at the local level, the political and moral values that support the respect for human rights.

The notion of a transnational media-monitoring project based in the Balkan Helsinki Committees, focusing on the problem of “hate speech,” emerged in the IHF Secretariat in 1993, thanks largely to the efforts of Liselotte Leicht. It took considerable time to develop it fully and to put together a funding structure that would allow us to support this work in eleven different countries or provinces. The IHF is deeply grateful to those sponsors, which include the PHARE Democracy Programme of the European Commission; the EU’s program to Support Democracy and the Peace Process in the Republics of the Former Yugoslavia; the Council of Europe; the Austrian Federal Chancellor’s Office (which made possible the publication of this volume); and the United States Institute of Peace. The Greek project partner was supported by a grant from the Open Society Institute (OSI).

We are also grateful to the Helsinki Committees and other NGOs that took part, and especially to the colleagues in Greek Helsinki Monitor who took on the challenging task of distilling the national reports and analyzing their contents, and writing this report. I also wish to acknowledge with thanks the efforts of Therese Nelson, whose portfolio as Legal Counsel included management of the project; Dardan Gashi, who assisted as a Consultant, and Sylvia Hordosch. In the latter phases of the project, Brigitte Dufour, Legal Counsel; Jennifer Lincoln-Lewis, Researcher; and David Theil, Financial Officer have all worked hard to administer this complicated project.

While our reason for organizing this project was to generate documentation by giving civil human rights organizations the means and a framework within which to monitor hate speech in the media, our ultimate goal is more ambitious. The result of our work is more than a record of hate speech. It is a mirror reflecting the kinds of ideas and feelings that are expressed in hate speech, and their cultural and historical context. Although translated into and thus in a sense homogenized into the English language, this report conveys the taste, the texture, the interior moods of the language that incites racial and ethnic violence, the rejection of international human rights standards, and contributes to violations of human rights in the Balkans.

In constructing this mirror, which is of course not a large or perfect one, we invite not only our colleagues in the Balkan media but all members of our societies to take a hard look. Hate speech in the media inspires ethnic hatred and prejudice, but also feeds upon their presence among the population, the media “market.” If the “consumers” of the media reject hate speech, it will recede. If professional journalists distinguish between fact and opinion, and indeed act professionally by rejecting the role of conduits for nationalistic hate speech, human rights and peace will have a better chance everywhere.

Aaron Rhodes
Executive Director
International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights

part I

general presentation

panayote elias dimitras

nafsika papanikolatos

general presentation

Introduction

The wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslav republics shook European public opinion. It was thought that, since World War II, only 'third world' countries and/or authoritarian regimes were barbaric enough to resort to violence to solve their problems; European countries were thought to be exempt from such savagery. Then came the Yugoslav crisis, and the West woke up to a dreadful reality.

Not only was war used to (re)define the post-Yugoslav configuration of that part of Southeastern Europe; it was supplemented by atrocities against non-combatants (rape, ethnic cleansing, etc.), which the 'civilized' West thought were no longer possible. The bewildered public opinion had forgotten -to be more accurate, the opinion makers had chosen to make the publics forget- that all these excesses had been the 'trade mark' of the 'other Balkan wars' of the early 1910s, fought with a similar aim - definition of the post-Ottoman configuration in the region. In fact, in an interesting comparison with the recent Balkan crisis, the ethnic cleansing at the time was precipitated, if not outright motivated, by the Great Powers' ill-conceived scheme to 'manage' the Macedonian problem following the Ilinden uprising. Through it, they had called for ethnically homogeneous administrative regions to be drawn within the ailing Ottoman Empire.

Atrocities at the mass level, though, cannot happen unless the masses are appropriately motivated. For a Bulgarian to butcher a Greek, or for a Greek to rape a Turk -while both felt that they were thus carrying out their 'national duty'- these peoples had to be indoctrinated to 'love to hate and hate to love' their enemies, which in most cases meant all their neighbor nations or competing ethnic groups. In fact, from the early days of modern nation

formation in the region (early 19th century) to this very day, there has been an almost systematic will to refuse the existence of the neighbor nation in the Balkan peninsula. The Illyrianist movement in its Pan-Croatian form (19th century) considered all Southern Slavs as Croats. It was reciprocated (in the 20th century) by a denial of the existence of separate Croat and Slovene identities by Pan-Serbian nationalists like the inter-war Radicals. Likewise, the Bulgarian distinct nation was challenged by Croats, Serbs and Greeks. Serbian nationalism also considered Albanians 'lost Serbs', who had become 'savages', and 'their nationalism was the product of Austrian and Italian intrigue'. The latter view was shared by Greek nationalists too, who contested the existence of a separate, non-Greek Albanian nation. Naturally, the irredentist Croat and, especially, Serbian nationalism had no room for the Bosnians, demeaned as 'Asians, unstable, perverted' etc. Likewise, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks have never come to terms with the presence of culturally distinct Macedonians and Vlachs in the area. The Macedonians have been considered as 'Southern Serbs' by the Serbs, 'Western Bulgarians' by the Bulgarians, and 'Slavophone Greeks' by the Greeks, who in the 1990s have regularly called the Republic of Macedonia with the demeaning name 'a Skopjan statelet' and its inhabitants - 'Gypsy-Skopjans', 'Balkan Gypsies', 'Skopjan Vlachs'. On the other hand, the word 'Vlah' has often had a pejorative meaning among Croats and Albanians (derogatory for Serbs) and Greeks (meaning 'coarse').

Only when the wars in former Yugoslavia reached their height did many people discover that similar systematic deprecation of the (potential) enemy had been in the workings of the mass media of the -still supposedly coexisting- Croatian and Serbian federal republics. So, the Croats and the Serbs, were conditioned to

general presentation

'remember' what they had been told to 'forget' under Tito, i.e. the Ustasha and Chetnik atrocities in World War II. They had then been 'informed' that such actions started being repeated, and were thus ready for the first 'hot war' in post-World War II Europe.

The problem has not been confined only to these two countries. Throughout the Balkan region, the media are producing such 'hate speech', that the publics are being conditioned to support any new conflict that may arise. Public opinion polls, in fact, indicate that there is hardly any people in the area which has widespread positive feelings for any of its neighbors, as they almost all have, for example, for many West European peoples.

This widespread alarming trend in the Balkan media led the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) to launch its perhaps most ambitious regional program to date: monitoring (between August 1995 - May 1996) the 'hate speech' produced by the media in all countries of the region. The IHF aimed not only at providing to the extent possible a comparable data basis in these countries, but also at using it, or seeing it used by all other interested individuals or institutions, so as to raise awareness to this phenomenon and its consequences on the way democracy functions in each country, as well as on national and regional security. The short period of the project and the large number of teams involved unavoidably led to unequal results: some country reports were more extensive and more complete than others; and this is reflected in the presentation here of the final report prepared by a research team of Greek Helsinki Monitor (GHM).

Nafsika Papanikolatos explains the reasons of 'hate speech' and summarizes its main tendencies in the region; while Mariana Lenkova gives summaries of the country reports made available to her, while she

has also been responsible for the editing of the book. In the country reports, we have inserted a special section on the Imia/Kardak crisis between Greece and (not included in the project) Turkey where not only was 'hate speech' abundant but the media played a crucial role in the development of the crisis: there we have been able to also reproduce a related presentation of the Turkish media coverage of the crisis. We are grateful to our Turkish colleague Ferhat Kentel who graciously allowed reproduction of his analysis here; to Adamantia Palidis who diligently assisted the GHM research team to carry out the challenging task of writing this report; and to the Open Society Institute (Budapest) for its sustained support to the work of GHM that has made possible the undertaking of projects like this one.

Panayote Elias Dimitras
Spokesperson
Greek Helsinki Monitor

general presentation

hate speech': (re)producing the opposition between the national «self» and the «others»

nafsika papanikolatos

In an excellent study of history, geography and language schoolbooks, a group of Greek social scientists concluded that the original source which makes people susceptible to nationalism, to the authoritarian mentality and, therefore, to 'hate speech', is education. In modern societies the fundamental «mechanism of cultural homogenization in the shaping of a collective national identity» is provided by the institution of education¹. Not all persons are prepared to accept or even are able to communicate in a language which may be compared to George Orwell's *1984*, called «newspeak». Nevertheless, we must recognize that not all people are able to defend themselves from becoming conditioned to conceptualize the world around them in linguistic images which violate the principles of liberty, equality, solidarity and human dignity. A language of a limited vocabulary which permits one to get rid of the ambiguity and the uncertainty in human coexistence and communication. This is achieved through the use of very precise discriminatory and selective vocabulary which tries to legitimize negative thinking about all those who are not «us», those who are the «others». 'Hate speech' as we try to show in the examples used in this report is limited precisely to such a language. This language in fact reflects the type of national identity a people develops, the level of cultural, ethnic, religious homogeneity that is cultivated in order for the national "self" to "prove its uniqueness in relation and contradistinction to other nations." As it is

explained in the research conducted by the Greek scientists, "describing national identity means also describing and evaluating the 'others'." This is why, as this study of Greek primary schoolbooks tells us, "a structural element of a national identity is the existence of the 'other'." National identity is thus shaped through a double process: "structuring and differentiating, of incorporation and exclusion." The process of constructing the "we" in opposition to the "others", as it is explained, "requires archaic operations" which utilize rudimentary generalizations, functioning as crude means of detachment which will later provide the basis for opposition.² National, religious and linguistic stereotypes are among the most visible examples of 'hate speech' that function as means of differentiation and exclusion in the process of national identity formation.

'Hate speech' is a moment in the process of forming national identities and its intensity varies depending on historical, social and political circumstances which may provide the conditions for establishing a more or less inflated national "self" as against the "others." For example, a highly homogeneous idea of the nation provides always greater need for 'hate speech' reproduction to maintain that homogeneity; on the contrary, a national "self" which integrates to a lesser or greater degree the "others" without negating them, requires, of course, less the aid of 'hate speech' to maintain a degree of identity. We will not try to explain here why in some countries historically 'hate speech' (re)production has been less essential the opposition of the national 'self' and the 'others'.

It is important to reevaluate 'hate speech'

¹ Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona, eds. *What is our fatherland? Ethnocentrism in education*, Alexandria publications, 1997 (in Greek), pp.12-13 & 25.

² *Ibid* pp.14-16.

general presentation

(re)production in the media, and particularly in respect to the very idea of freedom and pluralism in the media. In other words, it is necessary when we interpret 'hate speech' in the context of national identity formation, to evaluate the conditions within which it develops. The conditions of freedom in that particular country and the notion of freedom which develops in the context of 'hate speech' as an essential moment in the formation of the national 'self'. The national identity that was (re)produced by the educational process and the 'hate speech' which it requires is most often reproduced and propagated by the media. This is why it is necessary to examine the media critically as conveyors of an open and tolerant national consciousness or a defensive, non-tolerant and hence aggressive national consciousness. It is important to add that while totalitarian societies may be more viable to nationalist ideology and therefore to 'hate speech' vocabulary, precisely because they have cultivated and exploited to its limits the "us-against-them" mentality,³ nevertheless, they should not be viewed as providing a monopoly in the (re)production of 'hate speech', or as it is more correctly referred to, to the "the politically correct language" (ibid.). As several recent studies have proven, societies which have not gone through a totalitarian process, but on the contrary are recognized as being democratic, were found to have mass media which provide abundant reports using 'hate speech' vocabulary. And, of course, as this report shows the Greek media is such an example, which proves how much 'hate speech' is linked to the continuous process of "national self understanding." (Frangoudaki) The level of "national self

understanding" that a society has reached, "whether [its] national identity is strong enough in a way that it does not require to protect itself defensively" and is therefore sufficiently tolerant, non-aggressive and respectful of the right to be different,⁴ can be usually traced by examining carefully the messages conveyed by the media.

Civil society in order to defend itself from the (re)production of images of an ethnocentric society by the media must reinvent the concept of citizenship. This can be achieved by educating people to be less tolerant to 'hate speech' reporting, to the authoritarian tendencies of ethnocentric education and culture, which mine individual and social responsibility. Civil society must become less passive and uncritical, as the authors of the above study suggest, towards authority and the generators of messages. This of course suggests that citizens begin to participate actively and take themselves the responsibility of critically examining what is conveyed to them in the name of the so called 'national interest'. In other words, as the participants in a roundtable on the language of hatred concluded, it is necessary that the negative system of values be opposed by a positive one based on tolerance. This can only be a result of promoting civil society and developing democratic institutions.⁵ Nevertheless, it must be noted that this cannot be established once and for all, but, as it has been proven even in Western democratic societies, it is a process which ought to be constantly regenerated.

1. *Denial of existence of minorities or even of ethnicity, stress on homogeneity*

³ Patrick Moore, "The language of hate", RFE/RL, *Newsline*, Vol. 1, No. 165, Part II, 21 The roundtable took place on November 1997 in Croatia

⁴ Frangoudaki et al. *op.cit* pp. 18-25.

⁵ Moore, "The language of hate"

general presentation

We have observed that the media in the monitored countries (re)produced 'hate speech' with different intensity and, therefore, manifested it in different ways. Oftentimes, those manifestations can be interpreted and placed in more than one distinct group since it is very hard to draw a strict line between that which may be defined as denial of existence, use of pejorative terms, or negative images, attacks on activists, NGOs or the West. Cases are interrelated and the same remark may be interpreted to be more than one manifestation of 'hate speech'.

'Hate speech' in its most explicit manifestation, and at its most intense level, is the denial of the very existence of "others" as such within the borders of a particular state, that is, the negation of the existence of minorities be they religious, cultural or ethnic ones. In this case the media attempt to stress the imaginary concept of a fully homogenous society. The negation of the existence of "others" may also go beyond the borders of a particular state, which brings forth the denial of the existence of certain ethnic identities. For example, the Montenegrin media, following the official attitude of the Belgrade ones, are highly hostile towards Croats, Muslims and Albanians. They therefore consider the Bosnian nation "non-existent", "all Catholics of Montenegro [are] Serbs", while the Slovenian media speak of the "Slovenization" of Slovenia, which implies its homogenization since it is not yet considered ethnically pure. The Serbian media are repeatedly being sarcastic about the "Farce of the Bosnian nationality" implying the non-existence of such a national identity. The Albanian media deny the very existence of minorities in Albania and they speak of a "compact ethnic state." In Croatia the media suggest that the borders between Croatia and Serbia should "remain closed for the next 50 years", and that a "Chinese wall" should "be erected between the two states" in order to

establish and protect the homogeneous nation-state. Another source writes of the eventual "Croatization" of Muslims and Serbs who have not left Croatia. In Greece the media try repeatedly to deny the existence of a Macedonian ethnic minority or the existence of a distinct Macedonian nation, which they call a "contemporary accomplishment of the Americans and their Filipinos." Besides, they also question the credibility of all international organizations' and U.S. Department of State reports on human rights which mention the presence of minorities in Greece and which are labeled as 'anti-Greek hysteria'. At the same time, the media reproduce the national ideology of the non-existence of a Turkish minority in Greece, since, the latter is recognized only as a religious minority (Muslims).

2. Negative images of foreign Balkan peoples

Another manifestation of 'hate speech' are national, religious, linguistic and other stereotypes. While in this case it is not a question of denying the existence of "others", what we have are deprecatory descriptions in order to minimize or even to debase and humiliate them to such a degree so that the non-recognition of their respective rights and their treatment as non-beings is 'justified'. Through such negative images of the "others," the media function as mechanisms which differentiate and exclude the "others" and thus participate along with the dominant educational institutions in the production and reproduction of the image of the national self, the dominant national identity. Negation of the others does not always work directly; it may go through a disproportional presentation of the national self as superior to all others, which as a logical consequence 'justifies' in the eyes of the general public opinion the inferiority of all "others." It is important to note that all pejorative terms used by

general presentation

the media may have multiple meanings depending on when and where they are used. The significance must be sought always in the historical and sociopolitical context within which stereotypes are produced.

The Montenegrin media, for example, may use *“Ustashas”* both as a pejorative name for Croats and in labeling independence-oriented Montenegrins. Elsewhere, in the same media, *“Muslims”* in general are projected as having *“a slave attitude towards God”*, while the Sarajevo Muslims are called *“Mujahedins”* or even *“Muslim terrorists”*. The pejorative term we find most often for the Albanians in the media is *“Shiptars”* who *“not only were unable to live in peace with the Serbs and the Macedonians”* in the FRY but *“even dislike the 5% Catholic minority of their nationality.”*

In the Slovenian media, which are extremely sensitive towards foreign residents in Slovenia, especially those coming from former Yugoslavia, we often find pejorative and anti-Serb characterizations: *“Whatever you give them [the Serbs], they will not be satisfied. This is a logic which is going to stop only when [the Serbian beast] gets it on its fingers”*; or, elsewhere, *“Dragana will not wear a Chetnik uniform.”* Another example of pejorative language against a people as a collectivity is the one often used by the media in Kosovo: *“the USA and Germany are financing ‘Ustash’ [pejorative for Croatian] militants.”* The Romanian media, in turn, refer with pronounced hostility towards the Hungarian minority, especially towards its party (UDMR). Many of them are also openly anti-Semitic: *“Is Hungary Europe’s cheeky gypsy?”* or, *“Hungarism - a bag of venom on Europe’s body”* and even, *“Jesus was crucified by the Jews in 6 hours; Romania was crucified by the Hungarians in 6 years”*.

The Serbian media have an openly

“acerbic” attitude towards all *“former Yugoslavs,”* which they try to justify by calling upon what they consider their *“ingratitude”* and *“materialism”*. Derogatory words as *“blood thirsty terrorists, separatists, etc.”* can be found quite frequently. So the people of Zagreb are called *“BURGHERS THIRSTING BLOOD”* [capital in the original], while there are also references to *“Croat neo-fascism”*, *“jihadian Muslim terrorists Muslim terrorists in Sanjak.”* Separatist Montenegrins are said to have pulled a *“separatist wild shot”* while Croats, are pejoratively characterized as *“Ustashi.”* The slaughters *“of humans”* are *“the ‘trade mark’ of the ustashi. Both old and young.”* At the same time, since the Serbian media are extremely sensitive towards the Albanians of Kosovo, as well as towards all *“former Yugoslavs”*, they intimidate and threaten the readers with images of a *“massive settlement from Albania, a demographic explosion and pressure against Serbs and Montenegrins,”* in order to create *“an ethnically pure space, that is conditions propitious for the emergence of Greater Albania. Similar reasons, (...) govern the Hungarian authorities and the Islamic fundamentalist Izetbegovic.”*

The Macedonian press on the contrary besides using pejorative terms to describe Greeks, Bulgarians and Albanians, who are *“liars” “dishonest merchants”* etc., will often undertake the building up of a national image which presents Macedonians as being superior to all of their neighbors, who are also their potential enemies: *“We [the Macedonians] belong to the most intelligent nation in the world We made the world literate.”*; *“We are numerous. There are 500,000 Macedonians in Albania, two million in Bulgaria, a million in Greece(...) not to count the Diaspora.”*

A negative attitude towards the Albanian immigrants in Greece which has been expressed by a certain part of Greek

general presentation

society, often has lead Albanian media to be particularly negative towards Greece and Greeks in general. Similarly, there is a strong tendency to be negative towards Serbian people in general because of the deterioration of the conditions of life for Albanians in Kosovo. Such a negative predisposition in the media, which some times may reflect a certain reality, while it can be explained it can not be justified. Nevertheless, we consider exemplary cases of 'hate speech' when, as a consequence, media are lead to collective generalizations, negative images of a whole people. Thus the Albanian media present modern Greeks as being collectively *"banal in their slyness"* and *"in every aspect [they are] the negative side"* of the ancient Greeks. The media also speak ironically of Greece as *"the cradle of democracy,"* while the attitude of the Greek state in respect to the Albanian immigrants is presented as *"tyrannical"* and *"barbarian."* Another Albanian source which transmits a negative image of all those who do not conform to the national(ist) images of a collectivity, tells us that it would provide someone with shelter according to that person's answer to the following questions: *"First, if he hates the Kosovo Albanians or not, secondly, if he agrees that Kosovo is part of Albania, thirdly, if he is against the fleeing of Albanians from Kosovo."*

The Croatian media present without any reservations a very colorful and explicitly pejorative statement made by a representative of the radical Croatian Democratic Union, who describes Serbs as being: *"much shorter than Croats; with small, unintelligent and conic heads and all their complexes and crimes they commit are the result of those physical features."* Therefore, the conclusion is that *"Croats, as a superior race, would win in the end."* Elsewhere, the Serbian people, collectively, are described negatively, for example, *"One cannot trust the Serbs even when they speak the truth. I am glad that I am not a*

Serb." Or pejoratively, *"The hey Slavs",* or *"their' [the Serbs'] pre-historic Christmas."* The following excerpt sums up most of the negative feelings cultivated by the Croatians against the Serbs even more explicitly: *"One could ask the question about the fate Serbs created for themselves. The insanity they demonstrated, the nazism they enveloped themselves in, the cowardice which poured out of them, the double-facedness which adorned them both in times of war and diplomacy, the lies with which they praised themselves, the blood-thirstiness for which they praise themselves even in their literature."* On the other hand the Croatian media present in equally pejorative terms Macedonians as a collectivity: *"they are short, dark, and generally good-for-nothing ...not especially civilized."*

Greeks' extremely suspicious attitudes towards Turkey have led to the production of reports on the latter country and its people, which are impregnated by what may be defined as a defensive nationalism and an inflated hysteria that characterize a national "self" which perceives itself in a state of insecurity and weakness. The Greek media in that sense function as mechanisms for annihilating, through various forms of 'hate speech' and discreditable descriptions they employ, imaginary enemies. In part the extremely negative image of Turkey and the Turks in the Greek media can be traced far back to the antagonistic relations of the two countries, which have dominated their respective histories and have led to the Greek imaginary construct of Turkey as its eternal enemy threatening its territorial security and even its cultural and religious homogeneity. Recent studies have shown that the frequent presence of 'hate speech' in the Greek media may be traced to the society's relationship with its Ancient past. Also, the Greek Orthodox Church has played in the past and continues to play, to a lesser degree, today an important role in the development of modern Greek

general presentation

consciousness, a consciousness that feels highly insecure towards other cultures and religions. In fact every religion different from Orthodox Christianity is seen as dangerous for the nation and especially for the Greek youth.

The Greek media consenting to this retrogressive general attitude was the only European one which wrote superlatives about the "courageous Orthodox" Serbs. It did it not because of an ethnic affiliation towards them but strictly because of the sharing of common religious values. Thus the Greek media have exaggerated interpretations of the Yugoslav war as being an attack by the Catholic Church and Islam against Orthodoxy. This vicious circle of defensive nationalism producing 'hate speech,' which in turn produces aggressive nationalism that often leads to even more intense 'hate speech,' has not decreased with Greece's participation in European institutions. Moreover, Cyprus, the Imia/Kardak crisis, the independence of Macedonia, and the presumed attack against Orthodoxy in the context of the war in ex-Yugoslavia, have all contributed to 'hate speech.' The latter has become almost uncontrollable now, coming even from media which in the past had avoided using such negative stereotypes. In respect to the Imia/Kardak crisis the Greek media 'exploited' abundantly the word "provocation," which permitted Greece to perceive itself as the victim while Turks were viewed as the aggressors, henceforth legitimizing all pejorative remarks about them. Some examples: "provocative action of Ankara", "provocation from the landing of Turkish commandos", "unprecedented Turkish provocation [as] the Turks laughing and exchanging provocative jokes removed the Greek flag", "provocative mission" "daring provocation." Greece is described as being "humiliated"; and to make sure that the message was received we find appeals to history so that images from the past justify the action which ought to be taken in the present: "Turkish crescent on

an islet of ours", "Imia - the new Manzikert for Europe." Pejorative descriptions of the "other", the Turkish people collectively, are used generously; a few examples suffice: "crooked Tourkalades", "Memetia", "scalawags," "blusters," "thugs of the region," "omnivorous," "hordes of barbarians of the East," "Asian slayers," "butchers of our region." In the same way Turkey was seen as: "eastern hyena", "Saka Zoulou" or nurturing an "Asian and Islamic barbarism." Another instance of 'hate speech' reporting using quite strong pejorative characterizations of the "others" in the Greek media can be found when reading the descriptions of all those who opposed or questioned the Serbian activities during the war: "Westerners, in an admirable accordance with Attila, Hitler's heirs, and the Muslims everywhere, massacre a people - hero of the anti-fascist struggle and deeply Christian.!", "The new fascism has decided to wipe out the brother Serbian people"; "The Ushtasha -according to an old Serb- are the greatest fascists since the world was made and so are the Americans and Germans who help them." Using the past to justify the interpretation of the present is a quite common method of Greek media reporting: "a murderous NATO operation which has been ordered by the powerful of Islam, vengeance of the Huns from neo-imperialist Germany, the Ushtasha slaughterers of Croatia, against the two peoples who dared humiliate the Axis. The Greek and the Serbian"

3. Negative images of immigrants, religious and ethnic minorities

The negative images that the media (re)produce in order to differentiate and exclude the "others" and confirm national identity are most often directed towards minorities and immigrants. Thus the greatest victims of 'hate speech' are ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, along with the immigrants whose presence compels the constant reaffirmation of the

general presentation

dominance of the national identity. When the existence of an ethnic minority is not entirely denied, the means to blur the real state of affairs related to the recognition of equal rights for its members, is by attacking it in pejorative terms and collective generalizations. Religious minorities face a similar situation and their rights are infringed the tighter happen to be the relations between the state and the majority's religion or the official religion. In this case again through pejorative terms and generalizations their faith is degraded in opposition to the faith of the majority, either because it is viewed as an opponent or as non-faith, meaning not deserving recognition as such. Linguistic minorities perhaps appear more easily adaptable to the dominant structures of the national identity but they always are viewed as a foreign body since they have characteristics (linguistic ones) which are presented pejoratively making them unable to participate equally in the enjoyment of their right to receive, for example, education in their mother language. Immigrants, on the other hand (and this is a case which in our research concerned only Greece), are targets of 'hate speech' not so much because they shake the image of a homogeneous society as in the case of minorities, but because they question the certainty of a dominant national identity, since they introduce parallel identities which can neither be integrated nor ignored as such by the dominant one.

In Kosovo the Serbian media "recycle" the image of the "separatist" Albanians again and again, developing a climate of suspicion and tension between the two communities and fertilizing feelings of insecurity in the Serbians. All this as a consequence makes them more vulnerable to 'hate speech' directed against the Albanians. In the context of this vicious circle of feelings of fear mongering and degradation it is easy to see the participation of the Serbian media in the production and reproduction of the

negative images of the Albanian ethnicity. We read about: "*students of Albanian nationality from the Faculty of Philosophy in times of demonstrations of the Albanian separatists, secessionists and nationalists have directly attempted to turn the faculties into bastions of the ideological dogma called the 'Kosovo Republic'*"; "*Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija are continuously under the pressure of the Shiptar [pejorative for Albanian] separatists*"; "*Turkey and Albania aim to manipulate the 'Shiptars' and the Muslim secessionists in the FRY*"; "*aggressive Arnauts [pejorative for Albanian]*"; "*'Arnaut' actions against the Serbian population have been conducted with the aim to expel the Serbs and to seize their mobile and real estate using maltreatment, intimidation and killing*"; "*Serbs are supported by history, while 'Shiptars' - by ethnogenesis. 'Shiptars' aim at having numerous offspring and at providing mutual brotherhood help.*" "*the highest birth rate in Europe is in Kosovo and Metohija, which is due to the secessionist policy of the self-proclaimed Albanian leaders.*" On the other hand Albanians equally (re)produce their 'hate speech' against the Serbs whom they call: "*the Shkja*", "*Slavian-Chetnik*", "*Slavian-Communist-Chetnik*" or "*National-Communist regime*"

The positions of those Slovenian media, which are explicitly anti-foreigner and anti-minorities oriented, can be summed up in the following two statements: "*Human rights for the non-Slovenes are as a rule harmful to the Slovenes.*"; "*Clean this Country of Southerners [from ex-Yugoslavia]. Non-Slovenes to be tested.*"

In Bulgaria, coexistence with the Turkish minority and the Roma is generally considered inescapable, because their numbers are significant and they cannot be ignored. Thus the production of slighting terms and collective generalizations is very frequent in order to cleanse the threat which the presence of these major

general presentation

minorities poses over the ideology of a homogeneous society. The Roma is the group which, in this country, is more than any other one attacked verbally, sometimes even physically, because in fact it is the less willing to adapt to the conditions of the dominant culture. As a consequence, it becomes, as in most other Balkan countries, the most vulnerable group since it is the least capable of exploiting the means provided by society to defend its human and minority rights. This is why in the case of the Roma the 'hate speech' employed is exorbitant. The usual suggestions are that all its representatives are "not simply criminals but born sadists", which are followed by exaggerated negative images and collective generalizations such as: "A MOTHER WAS BAKED ALIVE IN AN OVEN"; "A ROMA BUSINESSMAN TORTURES THE WOMAN FOR HALF A DAY, CUTS HER EARS"(capitals in the original); "Gypsy Boys Chopped Two Old Men with an Ax for a Lump of Cheese"; "Railway Robberies - New Vocation of the Gypsy Gangs"; "Laying siege to trains and robbing them have become traditional occupation of whole kins of the dark-skinned"; "A Gang of Gypsies Rape a Youngster"; "Every third offense in Bulgaria is committed by Gypsies" On the other hand, concerning the Turkish minority, its members are criticized for "ethnic turbulence" or "anti-Bulgarian politics". Besides being an ethnic minority, the Turks of Bulgaria are also Muslims and are attacked with negative images pertaining to religious minorities. The threat they pose to Bulgarian national homogeneity is double - ethnic and religious. Thus we read in the media that: "Islamic Activists Secretly Gathered Children Near Pamporovo"; "Thousands of Dollars for the Preparation of the Massacre in Bulgaria."

Like all vulnerable and immature democracies having yet a very low level of democratic consciousness, tolerance towards religious "sects" there is almost non-existent in Bulgaria. Therefore groups

such as the Word of Life Evangelists are called "soul bastards", while they are accused for all sorts of conspiratorial activities in order to justify all the pejorative adjectives used against them. "YOUNG PEOPLE FROM WORD OF LIFE WORKED WITH NOXIOUS CHEMICALS TO PAY FOR THEIR BELIEF" [capital in the original] "Evangelicals' orgies"; "The Gurus from Word of Life are Turning our Children into Janissaries." Fear mongering about the spreading of Islamic "sects" and Islamic fundamentalism in Bulgaria most often in contrast to the reawakening of the Orthodox religious traditions can be frequently found in the media: "the foreign missionaries spread among Bulgarian Muslims the most dangerous Islamic branch, which calls for 'sacred war' against all other religions"; "The Islamic fundamentalism and the sects crucify the Bulgarian traditional values." Other more modern religious sects are demonized by the media in order to annihilate their right to even be recognized as religions: "SCIENTOLOGY - the realm of evil"; "Satan followers will disseminate universal death in the era of Aquarius"; "dark sects are preparing collective suicides and mass slaughter in the new year." Religious intolerance against the new "sect" is so strong that even in a textbook approved as a teaching material by the Ministry of Education in December 1995 one can read: "In recent times the non-traditional religious sects are being persecuted in many West European countries. Coercion of predominantly young people and propaganda of social passivity, in combination with use of psychotropic methods (for example 'brain-washing'), poses a serious threat to society and national security." (*The Sects - Soul Hunters* by Georgi Stoyanov).

There are two major ethnic minorities in Romania - the Hungarians and the Roma - who are the victims of the stereotypical characterizations produced and reproduced by the media confirming society's

general presentation

intolerance towards these groups. We also find pronounced anti-Semitism and religious intolerance towards Muslims. Thus, Bela Marko a hero of the Hungarian minority, is claimed to be Romanian, "An arrogant renegade whose ancestors' name was Marcu [a Romanian name]" while it is also said that the path to Christianity for the Hungarian minority goes through their Satanism: "In Oradea, Hungarians become Christians(...) through Satan." The media do not hesitate to terrorize public opinion in order to make it feel attacked by the Hungarian minority thus preparing an anti-Hungarian climate: "the demolition and devastation of the churches and the priests' homes, the expulsion or assassination of the schools, the Hungarization of the names of people and localities, the replacement of the Romanian language by the Hungarian one are actions promoted obstinately by the Hungarian nationalists."

The Roma, just like in Bulgaria and in all other countries producing negative images of them, are attacked usually because this minority is the least able to defend itself. Thus one reads in the Romanian press such collective generalizations and pejorative language: "Criminality among Gypsies", they "break all records in the field of criminality", they "steal, rob and attack Romanians", "wealthy Gypsies stole even candies", they are unclean, while "commonsensical people comply with the hygiene rules to be observed in any hospital" while those "in Buzau do not want jobs, but social assistance money." The negative feelings towards this minority are so strong that there are even pejorative characterizations with an explicitly racist content: "Four little niggers [Roma]." The degree to which the Roma are portrayed negatively is evident in the very traditions of Romania which are then transmitted and reproduced by the media: "according to an old saying 'you eat like a Gypsy, behave like a Gypsy, dress like a Gypsy' therefore - 'as guilty as a Gypsy'" Elsewhere, we even read media's admission that, in fact, "The

Gypsies are the first suspects for any crime, although oftentimes they have nothing to do with it." The Romanian media also produce and reproduce strong anti-Semitic feelings which shows the perpetuation of the stereotypes of the Jews typical of the communist period: "the World Jewish Government!."; "Israel, you Will Perish By Your Own Hand"; "Jews Abuse Romanian History Again"; "Jews Must Not Interfere with Other Countries' Policies." Religious intolerance, mostly manifested against Muslim believers in Romania, is another source which often leads the Romanian media to danger-mongering and defensive attitudes towards "others," leading to negative images: "this Oriental wave is - consciously or not - an aggression against the Christian civilization."

Anti-Albanian stereotypes in the Serbian media are very frequent as indicated above. Serbian media, expressing always the general spirit of public opinion, combine religious and ethnic intolerance. Thus we read that from the "Evangelical church Stephen Bell. Allegedly the Baptist missionary of the European Christian Mission and a student of Shiptarology in Pristina (who was filed as an English agent as early as 1985), Bell has included about a hundred Shiptars in his espionage network." Most frequent are those manifestations of intolerance towards the minorities in the Serbian media, which lead to allegations of cleansing, of a homogeneous society. For example we read, "Other ethnic communities in these lands are undesirable, redundant."

Media in Bosnia-Herzegovina are characterized by negative images towards different nationalities in the country, depending on who owns the medium and the national identity which struggles to define itself [e.g. Serbian media write against Bosniaks and Croats, or Muslims and Catholics; Bosnian media - against Croats and Serbs, or Catholics and Orthodox, and Croatian media - against

general presentation

Serbs and Bosniaks, the Orthodox and the Muslims]. This vicious circle of national identities trying to defend and impose themselves by producing negative images of the 'others' leads to the following stereotypes and pejorative characterizations: "balije" [pejorative name for Muslims]; "poturice" [convert to Islam]; "Turks"; "Islamic fundamentalists"; "Djihad soldiers"; "Islamic terrorist forces"; "Mudjahedins"; "Bosniaks are a handful of lepers who will respect the Croat laws"; "there will be no Croats, no Turkey, but only the Republic of Srpska."; "When the wolves from the mountain of Trebevic decide to start, the Turks will remember who the Serbs are. When the Serbs start from all sides, there will be no Muslims alive"; "balije [are like] plague"; "when lies and the Serbs are concerned, there is no possible mistake. They are all liars (...) The more they lie, the more they are Serbs(...) The bigger the lie, the better the Serb(...)"; "Ustasha" [pejorative for Croats; the pro-fascist collaborators during WW2.] When necessary even a superiority attitude is invoked to annul the significance of all "others" in order to affirm the national self: "The New York bankers hate us, the Serbs, because we are the best European nation and the cornerstone of the European civilization(...)"

The Macedonian media primarily reproduce and cultivate negative images of the numerous Albanian minority in this country, thus treating this minority with suspicion. For example, we read that, "Albanians push Macedonia into war."; "the Shquiptar [Albanian] parties in the government which, after a finger was given to them, took the whole hand and are now reaching for the head." But we also find the reproduction of inter minority feuds: "Political parties of the minorities [Albanians and Turks] want a tax in blood from us, the Macedonians-Muslims."

In the Croatian media the major victims of

pejorative characterizations and collective generalizations are the Serbian followed by the Muslim minority there. For example reporting on Serbian soldiers is colored by strong anti-Serbian stereotypes: "Mr. Cicak gave the journalists a picture of the Greater Serbian beasts, who allegedly cry before fleeing from Croatia. Every reasonable person knows that they cry from happiness, looking forward to the hospitality of the international war criminals a la Milosevic, Arkan and the Chetnik leader Seselj."

The Greek media have started producing and reproducing a prominent feeling of "Albanophobia" among the Greeks since the arrival of a significant number of Albanian immigrants in Greece. In fact, if we look deeper, we will see that "Albanophobia" in Greece is more a Greek media product than a reflection of social and political attitudes. The Greek media have cultivated a high level of tolerance to 'hate speech' directed towards Albanian immigrants, putting aside the fact that until recently there used to be no institutions in Greek society, which were ready to prepare both sides for a harmonious coexistence. 'Hate speech' produced by the media, in turn, reproduced more prejudicial attitudes towards Albanians, leading to antagonistic and negative relations between Greeks and the Albanian immigrants and, in turn, between Albanians and Greeks in general and the Greek minority in Albania in particular. Of course, negative images in the Greek media are not directed only towards the Albanians but also towards all immigrants. So we read in the media: "Albanians 'have choked' Imathia"; "the bestiality of the Albanian thugs"; "Greece is about to come under Albanian occupation(...)"; "The Greek state is obliged to (...) uproot them and cut their legs off." An example of how political parties and the government have participated in and enhanced the production of negative images and fear mongering about immigrants in general and Albanians in particular, is the

general presentation

statement made by the leader of the official opposition M. Evert in Parliament: *"The foreigners make up 6% of the workforce at the expense of the unemployed Greeks. In addition, most of them are not insured and thus deprive the insurance system of revenues. This situation cannot and should not go on any longer. It has to be stopped at once. We are determined for that"*. At another occasion we read: *"The country is flooded by torrents of foreigners"; "most of them choose to join gangs and the Mafia in big cities. In this way, they earn more money faster."* On the other hand, the idea of providing immigrants with education in their language is an anathema since it would threaten the Greek nation. *"Albanian schools in Greece Such an act however, not only opposes our national interests, undermining of our national interests."* As in most Balkan countries, in spite of its participation in European institutions and considering itself a democratic state, Greece remains strongly intolerant towards religious minorities, especially in view of the entanglement that persists between the Greek state and the Orthodox Church. Hence, besides the established religious faiths - Catholics, Protestants and Jews - who are often victims of the Greek media's negative images because they threaten the national faith, the smaller and less known religious "sects" are attacked mercilessly and there is no limit to the negative images that are invented to nullify them as such. Thus KEFE, or the so called Scientologists, is presented to be *"a dangerous heresy", "a school of murderers", "an organization of hallucinations", "an international gang with money, sex and suicides", "a terrorist-destructive organization which incites the(...) extermination of every opponent."* Greek public opinion is intimidated by the media with images such as: *"Hundreds of dangerous parareligious organizations 'recruit' youths. Destroy families. Organize 'armies'. Threaten lives. Insult Greece, moral principles, the Church. Apply insane methods. Evade taxes. Operate without*

license etc., etc." There is no hesitation to reveal the origins of this fear mongering; so we read in the media the release of the Holy Synod of the Greek Church: *"all these 'religions' and organizations aim at the fading of the national consciousness of their victims."* According to Father Nektarios *"it is surely a deed not only of Satanists but also of other Atheists and other Jehovah's Witnesses, who respect neither the icons nor the churches."* On the same line we read: *"the war has overtly been declared by the enemies (...) of the faith, the history, the nation (...) Boetia has even been acclaimed the 'capital' of Jehovah's Witness, one is for sure: that they are not kidding. It is time we (the Greek Orthodox) stop kidding ourselves."*

The only internal minority which is openly a target of multiple derogatory characterizations and collective generalizations by the Greek media are the Gypsies, since all other minorities are 'non-existent' and the contradictions with the Muslims of Thrace leave little room for the wide circulation media sources to engage in 'hate speech' production that may provoke tensions between Greece and Turkey. Thus, we read for example, that: *"Gangs of gypsies rape, steal, kill. Murderers in Athens"; "Terror everywhere. Effusion of crime. The gangs (...) of Gypsies shoot to kill"; "The revenge of Gypsiness. The unrestrained gangs knock about and remain at large"; "EL.AS should not back off. (...) It is obliged to clean up this place from the scums of society who murder and rape (...) There is no more latitude (...) Cleaning up and extermination of all these rascals in whichever convenient way."*

4. Attacks against minority activists

Other manifestations of 'hate speech' are media attacks against minority activists, who are often called agents of "mother" country, autonomists or separatists, thus bringing forth suspicion and hostility

general presentation

towards the minority in question. In the Bulgarian media, for example, we read about "foreign agents": *"Turkish conspiracy in the Rhodopes mountain."* The Serbian media, following the official line, calls the leaders of the Albanians of Kosovo "secessionists" and "terrorists," in order to awaken defensive and aggressive feelings amongst the Serbian population. There is talk about the *"Shiptar secessionists"* an expression used often by many Serbian newspapers; it is deprecatory in a double sense - against an ethnic group and connoting secession. In Romania, media express an openly hostile attitude towards the Hungarian minority, especially towards the latter's party - UDMR. *"The government in Budapest employs in Transylvania a kind of chauvinism which proves to be now, in UDMR's [Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania] policies, the same incurable disease"; "The Hungarian State - Instigator of UDMR's Anti-Romanian Actions"; "The UDMR terrorists "; "the Hungarian minority unjustified separatism, following purely political interests"; "the devil's disciple [the UDMR leader, a clergyman] proposes can you believe it? - HUNGARIAN AUTONOMY IN TRANSYLVANIA!"; "The insolence of Hungarian leaders goes beyond the sickest imagination"; "UDMR Neo-Nazis Shout"; "Functioning according to the conspiratory principles of the Mafia and Freemasonry."* The collaboration between different minority leaders is another image often presented by the Romanian media, in order to create a sense of national insecurity among the Romanians: *"The Gypsy chief Dan Voiculescu, followed like a servant by the Jew Florin Bratescu"; "Gypsies and Jews ...have schemed to subdue the Romanians by making use of various plans and means; but with the same goal: to enslave Romanians economically speaking, to annihilate their freedom in their own country"* In Greece, the media targets the public opinion through fear mongering about the leaders of "the so-called Macedonian minority."

So we read for example about the *"Rainbow autonomists", "an unprecedented provocation of the agents of Skopje", a "pro-Skopjan, anti-Greek small band."* Less frequently, but as a means to mobilize the public against Turkey which is manipulating the Muslim minority, we read about *"Fears about provocation in Thrace(...) (...) foreign secret services intend to create a hot spot in Thrace and the target of a potential provocation will be the dense Muslim minority, which is already under mobilization under instructions from the Turkish consulate in Komotini."*

5. Attacks against NGOs, journalists, intellectuals

'Hate speech' against independent journalists, intellectuals and NGOs who question both the status quo and the national myths is frequent among media in the Balkan region. In contrast to the media of mature democracies where conflict and opposition are recognized as an element of policy and society, media in ex-communist or ex-socialist states tend to have an heightened sensitivity and emotional prejudice, which take the form of 'hate speech' concerning independent intellectuals and actual or alleged ex-communists. The former are attacked because there is a lack of democratic consciousness and therefore a lack of tolerance for a diversity in opinions, while the latter cannot be viewed in any other way than as carriers of the authoritarian consciousness of the past and therefore any metamorphosis which they may have undertaken is viewed suspiciously. In fact, the passion for a complete rejection of the past, as the only alternative to its abolition in every aspect of everyday life, naturally leads to adverse authoritarian and prejudicial attitudes, which hamper the process of democratization.

The more totalitarian the previous regime

general presentation

has been, the more absolute the rejection of the past and therefore the more intolerant are the media towards the views of democratic intellectuals who do not praise the new “good society,” or of intellectuals who are suspected still to be affiliated with the ideology of the old “good society” that failed in its project. The dominant imagery is that of a society rid of conflict, which is called a “democratic” and “open market” society. The idea of democracy as a continuously developing process of social and political institutions is still quite foreign and the media cannot but reflect this democratic immaturity which still provides fertile ground for ‘hate speech’ directed against the idea of freedom of opinion, or freedom of speech.

NGOs, independent intellectuals and journalists are, therefore, viewed as “spies” and «traitors» by the media of societies which have not yet had a sufficient practice of the democratic rules of freedom of speech and of participation in matters of civil society. In addition societies engrossed by nationalist feelings NGOs, independent intellectuals and journalists cannot be viewed in any other way but as “traitors” to the national cause and supporters of foreign interests. So we have two factors leading to ‘hate speech’ against an autonomous and pluralistic civil society in the Balkan region: firstly the habits of the authoritarian inheritance and secondly the defensive and aggressive national self that we encounter so often in the area.

In the Balkans we encounter a lack of a democratic consciousness which in the post communist states is not only a product of nationalist ideology (as is the case of Greece) but of the authoritarian leftovers of the previous regime, making democratic attitudes more difficult to acquire and enhancing nationalist passions, which appear to replace the ideological unity which used to provide (to institutionalize) the previous authoritarian regime. In the Balkan media we can still

observe an absence of democratic consciousness in the form sensibility towards authoritarian tendencies in politics and society which opposes the idea of a ‘good society’ rid of conflicts and accepts opposition and debate.

A characteristic example of intolerance to media pluralism can be observed in the media of Montenegro where we read that “the EU has estimated a long time ago how much each one of our independent media costs.”; “little money is given in exchange for strict obedience to the foreign bosses”; “the work of such media is not worth more than that.”

Most Balkan media demonstrate great difficulty in tolerating the alternative opinions and practices of NGOs. Thus in the Romanian media “the Romanian Helsinki Committee” is attacked for seeing Hungarian party representatives because this could “could only smear, once again, Romania’s image in the world, for interests that ‘we overlook’.” In the Serbian media we read an anti-NGO and an anti-West report about “Hosts of all sorts of ‘rapporteurs’ perambulate Sanjak these days. With the help of the local ‘protector of human rights’ Sefko Alomerovic [the Chair of Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sanjak] they spread blatant lies about Serbs and the status of the Muslims in Sanjak.” Bulgarian media, employing very direct anti-NGO negative images, tell us that: “[The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee and The Human Rights Project are] “profiteering from the ethnic intolerance in Bulgaria.”; “Different pseudo Liberals and pseudo human rights defenders like the notorious Mr. Krassimir Kanev [the Chair of the BHC] are regularly inventing fabrications to incriminate Bulgaria in front of the world and to gain his foreign salary.”

Serbian media of Bosnia attack all Serbs who chose other than the nationalist path. So we read that “[The Serbs living in the government-controlled areas are labeled

general presentation

as] «traitors», «Alija's Serbs.»

Media intolerance in Albania towards all that may recall images of the past is very strong. Thus there is an abundance of 'hate speech' directed towards the Socialists and the independent intellectuals [we are dealing with the 1994-95 period when the Democratic Party was in power]. We read thus, that: "Serbia spends hundreds of thousands of dollars in Albania to finance dogmatic leaders of the Albanian opposition, former PLA leaders and the newspapers 'Koha Jone' and 'Zeri i Popullit.'"; "When the Democratic Party asked for independent newspapers, Sigurimi created 'Koha Jone' through which it intended to intimidate the public opinion and, at the same time, to guarantee Serbia its own newspaper in Albania." Independent intellectuals and NGOs are suspected of being foreign agents or ex-communists: "The Enemies of Albania."; "Ambassadors of Soros, instead of true ambassadors of the Albanian culture"; "Fatos Lubonja denied our identity"; "[The Albanian Helsinki Committee (AHC)], ex-agents of Sigurimi [the Albanian Secret Service] persons with corrupted biographies"; "[the aims of the AHC's member Arben Puto are] a) to defend with all possible means the Communist crimes and their authors(...) and the persons who are against democracy today; b) to profit materially from this committee as much as possible"; "According to a recent document Arben Puto has the role to undermine our democracy through his organization [the AHC] which, through a partly underground activity, works on the eve of the elections for the communists' case."; "Judas Arben." About independent journalists and anti-nationalist intellectuals we read that they are "Graphic excrement."; "Bollino ['Gazeta Shquiptare'] is well known for defamation and Stalinist attitudes"; "[the journalists of 'Gazeta Shquiptare'] are ready to sell not only their mother's language but even themselves"; "Racists as Bollino have to be expelled from Albania." There is also a combination of anti-leftist

and an anti-European attitude: "For the European Community it does not matter that the lady representing Article 19 in Tirana has some obligations to the chiefs of the leftist press in Albania because she has slept for a long time in their houses." The Croatian media's sensitivity is strong when it comes to the accusations against alleged war criminals. They provide an occasion for Croatian nationalism to be reproduced and for the low level of democratic consciousness to be confirmed through reports on NGOs, intellectuals and the alternative media: "There is no doubt that a large campaign for putting Croatia on the court bench has been launched in the international circles recently. Allegedly there are violations of human rights and the rights of national minorities here. The basis of that campaign was presented by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF)"; "The people who have defamation as their purpose, cannot do anything else but make trouble. Ivan Zvonimir Cicak [Chair of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, CHC] is involved in personal forgeries, gargling in the quicksand Cicak makes insulting stupidities, spreading leftist, demagogic, moldy phrases and trying to add new elements to the old, but permanent accusation of alleged Croatian genocide"; "The fact is that Cicak's work for this Committee is not -to put it mildly- at all Croatian"; "always the same people from Croatia work in 'sister' organizations such as the Balkan War Report, the Aspen Institute, the Helsinki Committee, the Anti-War Campaign, Press Now and Pax Christi treat the state as an African one, while every normal person sees that it is European. will make a mountain out of a molehill. Look how they have succeeded in transforming President Tudjman from a participant in the anti-fascist war into an 'Ustasha!' just overnight"; "Mr. Banac. Just some five or six months ago the latter was a serious candidate for the office of President of the Republic. Instead of that, he was offered the position of Parliamentary Minister of the Serb minority in Croatia"; "states eight

general presentation

points for Cicak's and Banac's insults against the Croatian people because they equate the genocidal aggressors - the Serbs - with Croats and other non-Serbs against whom Serb savages committed the most terrible crimes ever seen in history."

It is interesting that Greek media, mostly due to national, cultural and religious insecurities, have a high level of 'hate speech' against independent intellectuals, journalists and NGO's that have a non-ideological or non-chauvinistic attitude towards Turkey and speak of the Republic of Macedonia and of the existence of minorities in Greece. Thus we read in reports with negative images, that "Some native 'flowers' [pejorative ironic term in Greek] like some Pan. Dimitras [spokesperson of Greek Helsinki Monitor], were very welcome probably overdid it in his talk, presenting our country as the biggest minority oppressor in the Balkans"; "In a well-governed state, people like Nikos Dimou [a well-known writer and member of the Advisory Council of GHM] would have been arrested long ago"; "Didn't Dimitras hear anything about the barbarities of 1955? Or is he by any chance straining at a gnat and gulping down the camel? (...) Only devious people and hypocrites would waive the comparisons."

6. Attacks against the West

Another common use of 'hate speech' is employed in attacking the West, for example in suspecting that it provides agents and participates in plots against the interests of the nation in question. In many cases the origin of such negative images of the West lies both in national insecurity and in the communist ideology of the "big brother" who plots and decides the destiny of the world. However, the important thing is not whether what are defended are the remnants of a logic that belongs to another time or a visible or invisible nationalism. The consequence is that it hinders the

process of democratization and the development of a democratic consciousness, while bringing forth a 'justified' arbitrariness and intolerance of the authorities and the public opinion.

In Montenegro, in accordance with the official Belgrade position, the media frequently provides examples of 'hate speech' against the international community, which is seen as "plotting against Serbs and Montenegrins." We read that Bosnia exists as an independent state due to the West or that Serbs were attacked both by the West and the Vatican. "Do these wretched people know that even the Austro-Hungarian empire didn't succeed in creating the non-existent Bosnia"; "in the end the Serbs would be very similar to the Kurds."; "The Vatican's conspiracy against the Serbs." The Kosovo Serbian media, in the same line, victimizes the Serbians. We read that: "the USA and Germany are financing 'Ustash' [pejorative for Croatian] militants"; "German officers and soldiers participated together with American instructors and consultants"; "For centuries the Vatican has been plotting against the Orthodox Serbs, under the pretext that it fights against schismatics, criminals, etc"; "so the Pope and Broz have struggled against the same enemy - against the Serbian people, against the Serbian state and culture"; "the Vatican, the American administration and the Fourth Reich have trampled down all civilized norms of behavior against the Serbian Orthodox nation"; "the barbaric bombarding of civil and military targets in Republika Srpska, [which] clearly indicates that the aim of the USA and its allies is not simple revenge but the total annihilation of the Serbian people" The Serbian media present an image of the whole international community, especially of Germany and the USA, as "plotting to exterminate the brave Serbs", while Catholicism and Islam are "the masterminds" of the above mentioned plot. We read that, "The Drina is the Croat dream, and the Vienna-Islamic goal:

general presentation

fundamentalists and Catholics, Muslims and Croats, are jointed in one federation in Washington”; “200,000 Krajina Serbs its enforced migration might well have been coolly typed on the political computer of some baron in the West with the idea to construct his peace”; “It is a misconception that hired guns are usually Americans. Their hands are clean: they get the UN, local conscientious citizens, universalistic intelligentsia, fundamentalists, and when this is not enough, they take plances, and rocketsNazi, American, Terrorist, Organization”; “The special UN reporter for human rights first and foremost is the Vatican’s and Germany’s man of confidence a.k.a. vehement anti-Orthodox”; “The Hague Tribunal has made it clear to the Serbs that in the contemporary world there can be crime without punishment, or punishment without crime, depending on what the powerful say.”

Romanian media present an image of a Western takeover of the country reminiscent of the communist period vocabulary: “never have our intelligence services been so powerless and paralyzed by foreign agents, never has the Romanian been so scoffed at by all these foreigners who rob us and plot to tear our country to pieces”; “The historians can also offer documents to persuade the US that it is against historical truth to incriminate Romania in the Nazi-Fascist Holocaust Museum; against historical truth is also to declare marshal Antonescu a war criminal”; “NATO and the UN turn into Mafia gangs”; “Soros Foundation - Horrible Sink of Orgies and Criminality”; “Soros Foundation - Stinking Gutter of Sex Orgies and Criminality”

Croatian media follow official positions in criticizing the West for being responsible the campaign against its war alleged criminals or for the Soros Foundation, which is considered to epitomize anti-Croatianism. “There is no doubt that a large campaign for putting Croatia on the court

bench has been launched in the international circles recently”; “The Hungarian Jew, Soros, and various other anti-Croatian, anti-human and anti-Catholic organizations are poisoning our youth.”

Greek media saw a Western, mainly American, bias in favor of Turkey during the Imia crisis: “With American backing the (...) game in Imia. Made in the USA”; “the Allies [are] Pro-Turkish (...) Pilates”; “anti-Greek and a lot of times pro-Turkish the Europeans’ attitude”; “filthy American plan with Turk executioners”; “the Americans fell in love with Ciller but they want to screw us; go to hell, you perverts!”; “the national humiliation in Imia is THEIR DEED which they will bitterly regret.” Similarly, all action which is actually or apparently in favor of Macedonia is a consequence of the “puppets of American diplomacy in Macedonia.” The war in ex-Yugoslavia is interpreted entirely from the Serbian or the Orthodox point of view. Thus we read about “a major provocation, the murderous shelling of Sarajevo”; “A conspiracy of the West’s secret services is behind the slaughter in the market of Sarajevo, but also behind the respective one which took place last year”; “When NATO wants to bomb Serbia, it will drop a bomb in Sarajevo, kill some people and then bomb”; “The new fascism has decided to wipe out the brother Serbian people” ?”; “The Ushtasha - according to an old Serb- are the greatest fascists since the world was made and so are the Americans and Germans who help them.” NATO is presented as “a useless organization of insane politicians and militaristic criminals (...) Which anthropoids are these hot-headed dwarfworms.” The Greek media reflect the official sensitivity towards the Turkish minority (recognized only as Muslims) and reproduce ‘hate speech’ images which imply plots, agents, conspiracies etc.: “The Turk agents of MIT who pretend to be the ‘offended’ Muslims of W. Thrace were received even by (...) generals in Ankara!”; “these deplorable

general presentation

rascals, wherever they are Greece will throw out of her soil, of her area, any scum who wishes to plot against her national independence and honor (statement by PASOK MP E. Yannopoulos). *"An exercise of blackmail about Thrace. NATO and the Turks conspire"; "NATO undermines Greece's national independence."* The conclusion of the Greek media is that minorities in Greece are an invention of international human rights organizations and the U.S. Department of State reports: *"despicable report of the State Department on the (...) oppressed minorities in Greece"; "on human rights which are allegedly oppressed in Greece"; "Anti-Greek hysteria against our country via the report on human rights", because "the State Department sees minorities-ghosts."*

7. 'Hate speech' based on "non-facts"

Another manifestation of 'hate speech' is information based on "non-facts" which usually afterwards are not denied although they have been disproved by facts. The intention was naturally to mislead public opinion. This kind of false information is non-information because it is not based on real facts, but, rather, the objective is to produce more or strengthen negative attitudes that may exist towards a group of persons or an individual. Such "non-facts" can appear whenever the event is still going on and information flow is still not complete; in order to limit it to a particular point of view, "non-facts" are added to the existing information. In Greece, for example, during the Imia crisis the media played a strong role in danger-mongering about apparent events in Turkey which had never happened. We read in the Greek media in those days that in Turkey, *"Radio and television channels during the national three-day festivities were full of: 'the Turkish provocation in Imia is expected exactly on the national holiday' (...) 'Provocation by the Turks on Imia on March 25' (...) But, when the stories were running, the viewer*

found out that, especially yesterday [25/3] nothing happened on the rocky-islet" Or, similarly, from another source, *"Oh, no and again no! This time the Turks went too far (...) To put in doubt the reputable analysts of [the TV stations] 'MEGA', 'Antenna' (...) (as well as of a lot of newspapers) who insisted vehemently all these three days that we were to have a 'hot incident' in Imia on March 25? Well, this goes far beyond any limit! (...) Next time I request that the whole Turkish battle plan be 'on air' so that they would know exactly what to do. Let's say that this time there was (...) a lack of coordination"* and this is why *"the goats on Imia are still waiting for the Turkish ecologists."* At another instance, again in the Greek media, we read about the Satanist burning a church; something which never took place as such.: *"Satanists burn the churches!"; "The Satanists prepare human sacrifices!."* What followed was an almost invisible denial a few days later, in the small print of only two newspapers, where it was stated that the police had already established that the Orhomenos church had been burned down out of negligence, while no progress was made in identifying the causes of the second fire.

Similarly, the media first wrote of *"Saint Michael and Gabriel in the flames of Satanists"; "An invasion of Satanists in a cemetery."* Later it was admitted that *"the firemen did not find any symbols of Satanists in the remains of the fire and consequently the arson was attributed to common -impious- criminals."* So when it became obvious that the Satanists had not committed those acts, the related information was published by some newspapers but took up less space in the columns than their alleged implication in the aforementioned incidents did. We read that it was caused by a *"vandal of the cemetery has psychological problems"; "Satanists are three minors"; "Juvenile burglars"; "played a joke a gaudy one (...) Unfortunately [some] newspapers, showing absolutely no scruples, reached the panic*

general presentation

and agitation everywhere in Salonica because of the Satanists' and other such things."

8. 'Hate speech' provoking violence

'Hate speech' is sometimes employed in order to provoke violence, conflict and to imply irredentism. Consequently, it is obvious that 'hate speech' produced not only by media but also by state authorities can contribute to a climate of manipulated intolerance in which acts of violence, persecution, and arsons can take place.

In Croatian media, for example, we get an uncritical presentation of the Croatian President openly suggesting that the conflict between Serbs and Croats is irreconcilable, thus implying the justification of violence towards the Serbs: *"Croatia's future was not safe, while they*

[the Serbs] were living in Knin' Tudjman compared Serbs to 'cancer destroying the Croatian national being at the very heart of Croatia'."

The Greek media, on the other hand, speak of the lost lands in the past projecting irredentism: *"There are no lost fatherlands but only unredeemed fatherlands and we should keep this in mind."* During the Imia crisis, the Turkish journalists' activity on the islet was defined by the media in exaggerated terms, in order to exclude any doubts about who the aggressors were: *"landing," "invasion," "agents' assault."* Raising aggressive intentions seemed to be in those days the Greek media's objective: *"Let's stand up at Thermopylae", "Ciller for Imia? We for Constantinople () which is beyond any doubt Greek", "let's answer with new Thermopylae, Marathons and Salamines."* In any case, both feelings of hatred and instigation to violence are

implied.

part II

summaries of national reports

mariana lenkova

summaries

monitoring and reporting on 'hate speech' in the balkan region

In August 1995 the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) embarked on a major documentation project to monitor the presence of 'hate speech' in the press and broadcast media in the Balkan region. The overall goal of the project was to contribute to the development of responsible media which reflect the fundamental principles of pluralism and tolerance.

The specific objectives of the project were:

1. To build the capacity among non-governmental human rights organizations within each of the countries/provinces to recognize, systematically monitor and understand 'hate speech';
2. to create a record of specific cases of 'hate speech', especially where it appears connected to actual violence;
3. to raise the consciousness of the population about 'hate speech' and its link to intolerance, hostility and possible violence towards the targeted individuals or minority groups within the specific country and towards the population of a neighboring country.

The monitors were collecting and documenting 'hate speech' directed against four target groups: 1) individuals or minority groups (ethnic, political, religious, cultural, etc.) residing within the country; 2) populations of a neighboring country; 3) human rights activists, anti-nationalist opposition parties and independent intellectuals; and 4) journalists.

On the basis of this material the monitors produced a series of reports which documented 'hate speech' in the individual countries/provinces on a monthly basis placing it in the context of political developments which have occurred in the

country during the same period of time. The reports also investigated incidents in which specific instances of human rights abuse and violence appear to be related to 'hate speech' in the media.

It should be stressed that the monitors were human rights activists (almost exclusively people from the respective Helsinki Committees), so an important aspect of the project was for it to be a training exercise for these activists and not a scholarly or professional research of media analysts. Due to this, the final products from the monitoring in the different countries are rather dissimilar. Thus the more experienced teams produced comprehensive and in-depth reports, while others were less so.

The GHM team, on the basis of its own extensive reports, the two interim reports it produced in December 1995 and in March 1996, as well as on the basis of national reports subsequently made available to it, undertook the challenging task of writing the final report of the project.

One should be aware that the book must be read as 'glimpses' of hate speech, and not as an exhaustive study. This was due to the fact that, as said above, some teams did more comprehensive reporting than others; and that, for technical reasons unrelated to the national teams' abilities, some monthly reports from some countries were not available to the authors of this book. For some countries, both shortcomings concurred. Hence, no one should compare the intensity of hate speech between any two countries based on the extent of their coverage in this book.

Even in such a situation, though, the main trends in the media are well pronounced. Still, the best approach would be to read this report in addition to the other work on the Balkan region, produced by other teams.

Greece

The coverage that this neighbor gets in the Albanian media is usually related to the problems of the numerous Albanian immigrants in Greece. *"For the names we are changing now we shall think over tomorrow."*; *"45,000 names changed"*; *"Greece incites the forgetfulness of the Albanian names."* [The article treats the case of the Albanians who change their names in order to have it easier to be allowed to go to Greece and to find a work there.] (R.P, 3/8); *"In this world there are not only respectful Greeks."* (R.P, 12/9).

On the other hand, there are the issues concerning the Greek minority in Albania, which consequently involve Greece as well. *"If Greece really intends to honor its soldiers who were killed during the Second World War, it can take their bones and put them in a new pantheon in Athens, while in Albania will honor only those who died for Albania."* [the article is accompanied with a caricature of a card player who holds three cards: the minority card, the Orthodoxy card and the card of emigration, i.e. Greeks play against Albania with these three cards.] (A, 5/10).

The party supported mainly by the Greek minority is subjected to mockery and hatred: *"The President of the Association of the Gypsies held at the conference that 120,000 Gypsies are faithful soldiers of the PBDNJ [the minority party Union for the Defense of Human Rights]"*; *"considering that there are only 60,000 Greeks in Albania this party risks to change its base of support from the Greek minority to the gypsy minority."* (A, 17/11); *"The conference of the anti-Albanians."*; *"PBDNJ puts itself out of law"* (B.I.K, 23/11); *"PBDNJ - an instrument of OMONOIA."*; *"Albania is not multiethnic; it's a compact ethnic state from Tivari to Preveze, from the Adriatic to Skopje."*; *"A tribute [the conference] for falsifications of history and the truth(...)"*; *"What do you want more than what we*

have guaranteed to you? Why do you ask for schools in Gjirokaster, Delvine and Saranda at a time when these towns are compact, totally Albanian?"; *"You do not have the right to say that you have contributed to soften the tension between our two neighboring states, because at the time when the chauvinist Greeks, members of those obscure circles which rule that country today, tortured our immigrants putting lit cigarettes and napalm in their body(...)"* (T.D, 25/11).

All these bring forth the following conclusion: *"The speculations of Greek chauvinism with the words 'We are the cradle of democracy' are now proverbial. Wise people know that the present day Greeks have nothing to do with the ancient Greeks. On the contrary - the former are in every aspect the negative side of the latter. Even their slyness, being much more banal, is different from that of Ulyse. They speak with pride in the name of 'the cradle of democracy' but their state's activity is an example of tyranny, and their relationship with the Albanians - a sign of barbarity."* (E.D.K, 23/1)

Serbia

Serbia is generally seen in the context of the difficulties that the Kosovo Albanians encounter. Thus the attitude of almost all Albanian media is openly hostile both towards Serbia itself [*"To give shelter to the Serb refugees in Albania? This is unacceptable"*; *"Before I would have made him three questions: First, if he hates the Kosovo Albanians or not, secondly if he agrees that Kosovo is a part of the Albanian, thirdly if he is against the flee of the Albanians from Kosovo. According to his answers, I would have given to him shelter or not."* (G.S, 1/8)], and towards anybody who dares have a more tolerant opinion. [*"The humanism of Ceka [the leader of the Democratic Alliance, who suggested that Serbian refugees from Krajna be accepted*

albania

in Albania] plays for the Serbs.”; “(...) his [Ceka’s] cosmopolitanism as a politician and his statement that he is ready to give shelter to a Serb refugee at his home sounds very shivering(...)” (R.D, 16/8); “The alliance with the executors of the crime” (R, 9/8). “The Attack” - a poem by the most well known Albanian writer Mitrush Kuteli full of hate against the Serbs and Montenegrins where the word “shkjah” with a very pejorative meaning is used - was published in E.D. (4/8).

In January the negative image of the Serbs was enriched with one more accusation: “The Socialists and ‘Koha Jone’ are financed by Serbia”; “Hundreds of millions per year for the Albanian Communists. The secret police [Former Albanian Sigurimi] takes the money from Serbia in order to finance the Socialist deputies and the ‘Koha Jone’ daily.” (A., 24/1); “in the last few days an ex- Sigurimi agent has told him that huge sums of money are coming from Moscow, through the Serbs, to reach the Albanian Socialists and the ‘Koha Jone’ paper. Through this money the Communist world leads the spying activity against the ‘Albania’ paper and controls the policy of Tirana’s government.” (A, 24/1). A whole series of articles followed, all of them implying Serbia as the ‘bad guy.’ “USD 20 million from Serbia to destabilize Albania.” (A, 25/1); “The report of the Zanoni Press Office, published in the ‘Albania’ yesterday, discloses the greatest political scandal in Albania. The report indicates that Serbia spends hundreds of thousands of dollars in Albania to finance dogmatic leaders of the Albanian opposition, former PLA leaders and the newspapers ‘Koha Jone’ and ‘Zeri i Popullit.’” (A, 25/1); “When the Democratic Party asked for independent newspapers, Sigurimi created ‘Koha Jone’ through which it intended to intimidate the public opinion and, at the same time, to guarantee Serbia its own newspaper in Albania.” (R.D, 26/1); “Serbs invest in the Socialists in order to keep Kosovo.” (A, 27/1); “Had Albania been stronger, the Serbs would have found

it more difficult to rule over Kosovo.”; “We, who are in the Secret Police, are at the service of the Socialists, the opposition and Serbia, which supplies the money. Serbia needed the ‘Koha Jone’ daily from the very beginning, so it supplied money especially at the moment of the inception as an independent newspaper. The money received by ‘Koha Jone’ used to come in abundance from Serbia some years ago, whereas now it is rich enough with the money it has received, becoming the first newspaper in Albania thanks to its nourishment by Serbia. Hence, there has always been a good relationship between Serbia and Albania’s communist system (composed of Socialist opposition spies, of ‘Koha Jone’ and ‘Zeri i Popullit’). There has been a good understanding between the Serb and the Albanian communists. It has started a long time ago and belongs to an ‘historical’ tradition. In the context of this understanding, the Albanian communists have been puppets of Serbia and Serb policy since Kosovo is a big problem for the Serbs.” (A, 30/1); “We are referring to the fact that we, the Albanian communists, have always been strangers and devoid of human sentiments. We have been compelled to always play the roles of puppets which the Serbs ordered us to recite aloud. This pressure led to an abnormal and destructive coexistence, for it has always represented a situation devoid of freedom, a situation in which suffering from domination was an obligation for us, in the same way as you suffered from it when you tried to impose it on others. The Albanian people have been tortured by us, while the agents and we - the officials of the regime - have been tortured by the Yugoslavs, to whom we were compelled to obey in the name of the Albanian people. The Serbs have always bought us, the communists, and we have always sold ourselves out for their money in order to keep alive our delirium of power and wealth, which ran counter to the interests of the people.”; “The Serbs have set their eyes on Albanian prosecutors and have

tried several times to buy them but have not succeeded. We, from the Socialist opposition, are still trying to buy the refugees of the present Republic. In fact, we - the agents - have been ordered to bribe some prosecutors in Fier and Gjirokaster(...)" (A, 1/2)

NGOs, Independent Journalists, and Intellectuals

Most of the monitored media showed a tendency to use defamation and hate speech against individuals, just on the basis of the latter's political beliefs and activities. *"The Enemies of Albania."*; *"Ambassadors of Soros, instead of true ambassadors of the Albanian culture."*; *"The speech of Fatos Lubonja concerning Albania was banal and very offending. He denied our identity."*; *"offending for the dignity of the country"*; *"Albanians sold to the foreigners."* [after Fatos Lubonja's speech at a meeting of intellectuals] (A, 29/9); *"This man [independent intellectual Edi Rama] who shows himself today as if being a sinless priest cheated shamelessly the French people when Albania was a bunker and now, when Albania is trying to gain its dignity, is lying again."*; *"Since Albania does not face the problem of the national pollution from the aggression of minorities, we are not appealing to be chauvinist nationalist. The fact that Albania has persons like Rama and Lubonja is not enough to encourage nationalism in order to balance them."* (A, 3/10); *"Look at the 'famous' intellectual [Edi Rama], the 'giant' of Albanian culture who tried to show to France and Europe how cruel was the fate, which forces him to live in a country without dignity, cultural tradition and history, like Albania."* (R.D, 4/10).

The Albanian Helsinki Committee (AHC), member of the International Helsinki Federation, did not escape from this defaming campaign either: [the AHC is

composed of] *"people nostalgic of the past", "secretly connected with the Socialist Party", "ex-agents of Sigurimi [the Albanian Secret Service]"; "who are interfering in the affairs of justice."* (R.D., T.D.); *"The open bias on the part of nostalgic of the past people, as well as the presence of persons with corrupted biographies, are not to the benefit of an institution [the AHC] that symbolizes the respect for human rights in Albania."* (A, 22/10); *"[the aims of the AHC's member Arben Puto are] a) to defend with all possible means the Communist crimes and their authors(...) and the persons who are against democracy today; b) to profit materially from this committee as much as possible"* (R.D, 12/12); *"If any sneak pretends that this kind of paradox [the defense of the persecuted people by their persecutors] is in accordance with the democratic rules, we will answer that they are in harmony with the shame of democracy. Kristin fon Kohl, who does not know the situation in Albania and can fall into the traps of A. Puto who appeals for human feelings toward a criminal like Nexhmije Hoxha or a thief like Fatos Nano."*; *"According to a recent document Arben Puto has the role to undermine our democracy through his organization [the AHC] which, through a partly underground activity, works on the eve of the elections for the communists' case."* (L., Dec.); *"For this chameleon which has extraordinary capacities to change his face(...)"*; *"there are people who have seen with their own eyes his face of a cannibal(...)"*; *"Judas Arben [Arbet Puto](...)"* (R.D, 21/1).

Various journalists were also subjected to hate speech. *"Graphic excrement."* [about the writings of the independent journalist Frrok Cupi who supported Ceka's statement on the Serbian refugees] (R, 16/8); *"From a Fascist newspaper to a Mafia one"* [an article against 'Gazeta Shqiptare'] (R.D,6/8); *"The newspaper of Bollino ['Gazeta Shqiptare'] is well known for defamation and Stalinist attitudes."*

albania

(R.D, 17/8); *“The humiliation of the Albanian language is an uncivilized act of Bollino and his group (fighting unit) of speakers of Albanian.”* (R.D, 3/8); *“[the journalists of ‘Gazeta Shqiptare’] know even the prostitute’s and blackguard’s slang(...) they are ready to sell not only their mother’s language but even themselves...”* (R.D, 3/8); *“Racists as Bollino have to be expelled from Albania.”* (T.D, 22/9)

The International Community

A seminar, organized by the international organization Article 19, got a predominantly negative coverage in the pro-Democratic Party papers. *“SEMINAR ONLY FOR LEFTIST JOURNALISTS”*; *“For the European Community it does not matter that the lady representing Article 19 in Tirana has some obligations to the chiefs of the leftist press in Albania because she has slept for a long time in their houses.”*

(A, 12/3). There were also explicit insults directed to the representatives of the organization: *“The persons [in a pejorative sense, like ‘the creatures’] from Article 19 are now openly declaring themselves as philanthropists of the leftists press(...)”*; *“If for the honorable lady, the leftist journalists are more politically and aesthetically agreeable than the others, this is a matter of female taste which has nothing at all to do with the funds of the European Community(...)”*; *“For these reasons the representatives of Article 19 in Albania are not credible(...) because everyone may think that they are concerned only when one of the drinkers of Fidelli’s cafe, who accompany the honorable Article 19 representative during and after drinking are attacked(...)”*; *“For the European Community, it is not important that the lady representing Article 19 in Tirana has obligations to some chiefs of the leftists press in Albania, because she has slept with them for a long time(...)”* (A., 12/3)

Table of media initials: **Rilindja Demokratike** (R. D.); **Gazeta Shqiptare** (G.S.); **Zeri I Popullit** (Z.P.); **Koha Jone** (K.J.); **Aleanca** (Al.); **Republika** (R.P.); **Rilindja** (R.); **Albania** (A.); **Tribuna Demokratike** (T.D.); **Balli i Kombit** (B.I.K.); **Liria** (L.); **E Djathta** (E.D.); **E Djathta Kombetare** (E.D.K.); **Alternativa SD** (A.S.D.); **Populli Po** (P.P.); **Dita Informacion** (D.I.).

Muslims

The Bosnia Muslims are presented through open hate speech in most of the Serb language publications, as well as in some Croatian ones. Stock words like: “*balije*” [pejorative name for Muslims]; “*poturice*” [convert to Islam]; “*Turks*”; “*Islamic fundamentalists*”; “*Djihad soldiers*”; “*Islamic terrorist forces*”; “*Mudjahedins*” (S.R.P, August) are the ones usually employed. Open threats like the following are not the exception, but rather, the rule: “*Bosniaks are a handful of lepers who will respect the Croat laws, otherwise they will cease to exist(...)*” “*(...) now this is the Croatian state, not Herzeg-Bosnia. If Balija [pejorative name for Muslims] do not accept this, they will cease to exist.*” (C.TV S.M, 20/1). “*there will be no Croats, no Turkey, but only the Republic of Srpska.*”; “*When the wolves from the mountain of Trebevic decide to start, the Turks will remember who the Serbs are. When the Serbs start from all sides, there will be no Muslims alive.*” (S.R.P, September). Thus the conclusion comes that “*balija* [are like] *plague*”, so “*life is impossible with balije*”; “*(...) it is better to live as a refugee than to live with them [balije]*”; “*it is impossible to live in Alija’s state(...)*” (S.T.P, February-March)

Serbs

On the other hand, when Muslim or Croat media write about the Serbs, the same hateful generalization (with a changed target) come to play. “*How often could*

one pass judgments concerning a whole nation. It wouldn’t be serious. But, when the lies and the Serbs are concerned, there is no possible mistake. They are all liars. From the child to the old man. From the primitive peasant to the Patriarch Pavle and his axons. They are all liars(...) *The more they lie, the more they are Serbs(...)* *The bigger the lie, the better the Serb(...)*” (H.R, 19/8); [The Serbs living in the government-controlled areas are labeled as] “*traitors*”, “*Alija’s Serbs*” (S.R.P, August).

Croats

The Croats also get their share of hate speech. They are usually referred to as “*Ustasha*” - the pro-fascist collaborator during WW2. (S.R.P, August).

The International Community

Depending again on which national group speaks, different external enemies are condemned. Thus for the Serbs everything is to blame on “*the Vatican-Islamic conspiracy*” (S.R.P, August). This conspiracy involves almost the whole international community. As Dragosh Kalajie, Vice President of the Committee for the protection from the Den Hague Tribunal, says “*The Den Hague Tribunal is not a real Tribunal. It expresses the position of the USA(...)* *The New York bankers hate us, the Serbs, because we are the best European nation and the cornerstone of the European civilization(...)*” (S.T.P, 24/2)

Table of media initials: Hrvatske Rilec (H.R.); Glas (Gl.); Serbian Oslobodjenje (S.O.); Oslobodjenje (O.); Vecernje Novine (V.N.); Serb TV - Pale (STP); Croatian TV - Studio Mostar (C. TV - S. M.); Srpski Radio - Pale (S. R. P.).

bulgaria

Roma

This group has an almost daily presence in the Bulgarian media. The usual suggestions are that all its representatives are "not simply criminals but born sadists." That is why the reader is faced with horrifying pictures like the following: "A THUG FROM THE TOWN OF ISPERIH COMMITS VICIOUS MOCKERY WITH A RELATIVE OF HIS, A MOTHER WAS BAKED ALIVE IN AN OVEN"; "A ROMA BUSINESSMAN TORTURES THE WOMAN FOR HALF A DAY, CUTS HER EARS" (24 C, 2/8). "Gypsy Boys Chopped Two Old Men with an Ax for a Lump of Cheese" (168 C, 20/8). "Railway Robberies - New Vocation of the Gypsy Gangs"; "Laying siege to trains and robbing them have become traditional occupation of whole kins of the dark-skinned." "Gypsy gangs of 20-30 people every day ransack trains loaded with cigarettes, electronics, etc." The article concludes with a generalizing comment about the unmotivated cruelty of the Roma: "If they cannot pinch something, the robbers give way to their spite by breaking and cutting whatever is left." (24 C, 30/8). "A Gypsy Raped an Orphan; the incident is not an exception due to the fact that the orphanage is next to the Roma neighborhood" (S, 27/9). "A Gang of Gypsies Rape a Youngster"; "Gypsies will Drown the Town of Pernik in Blood to Revenge on Raiko Krasta" (N, 20/9). "A Perverse Gypsy Makes Porno Photos Using Schoolgirls" (24 C, 15/10). Thus the idea that Gypsies and Bulgarians cannot live together is introduced and recycled again and again. "The Gypsy Paradise is Hell for the Bulgarians"; "Another Battered Soul, How Long?"; "tortured Bulgarians who live in Gypsy ghettos" [and] "do not dare to go out in the Gypsy paradise"; "arrogant Gypsies" vs. "helpless Bulgarians." (A, 25/10). "Every third offense in Bulgaria is committed by Gypsies"; "an act of revenge against the Gypsies on the part of the Bulgarians, victimized by their attacks" (T,

7/10). What can be more convincing than the following story, which brings forth the strongest possible hatred towards all Gypsies. "A butcher impaled his lover"; "the sentimental romance between a gypsy and a Bulgarian woman ended with a barbaric murder"; "the beastly dark-skinned butcher impaled his sweetheart, stabbed her face and her naked body with a kitchen knife, and in the height of execution bit off her breast" (T, 31/10)

Turks

There are two basic lines of reasoning employed by the media while discussing issues related to the Turkish minority. On the one hand they present the danger of economic and political domination of the Turks in the Bulgarian areas in which they are the majority of the population. "Dogan [the leader of Turkish minority's party - the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, MRF] Threatens with Ethno-crisis"; "Tatarchev [Bulgaria's Chief Prosecutor] is Passive"; "ethnic turbulence"; "anti-Bulgarian politics" (N, 29/10); "(...) the outlook of the creation of some ethnic, religious or party orientated investment or privatization funds. Quietly are some people preparing to do it, others are just announcing their intentions. The MRF demonstrates it with an extraordinary arrogance. Moreover, this party is not hiding its intentions to exploit the mass-privatization to establish economically autonomous regions from the places where our countrymen the Muslims live."; "In the respective companies [eventually privatized by the Turkish minority] there will be no jobs for Bulgarians and probably the Bulgarians will refuse working there. This will lead to an unprecedented migration wave of ethnic Bulgarians, who will lose their livelihood in the region, in return the Turkish population will increase in absolute number. In other words these Bulgarian territories will be taken over by ethnic Turks." (D, January).

bulgaria

On the other hand is the ever-present threat of Islamic fundamentalism. *"Islamic Activists Secretly Gathered Children Near Pamporovo"* (D, 22/8). *"Thousands of Dollars for Preparation of the Massacre in Bulgaria"*; *"Bulgarian Muslims are the New target of Muslim Extremists"* (168 C, 18/9).

Apart from that the media stress their suspicion on Turkey's role in regard to its co-patriots outside its borders. *"Turkish conspiracy in the Rhodopes mountain"* (S, 1/11). *"Kurdzhali [a Bulgarian town where many Turks live] is arming itself with organized deliveries from Turkey"* (S, 21/11). As a result of all this, the situation is seen as particularly bothering, because *"The MRF can shed someone's blood on account of the elections in Kurdzhali"* (D, 27/12) and because *"The Bulgarian Turks will demand autonomy before the year 2000"* (K, January).

Religious Minorities

Media are openly hostile to any religion other than Orthodox Christianity. The Evangelists from Word of Life are called *"soul bastards"*; *"on account of a single right [freedom of religion] of several dozens of misled boys and girls, the rights of the whole nation and of the state may decline"* (K, 18/8). Thus the reader learns that *"YOUNG PEOPLE FROM WORD OF LIFE [are] WORKED WITH NOXIOUS CHEMICALS TO PAY FOR THEIR BELIEF"* (24 C, 21/8). *"A village in the Rhodopes shrieked its complaints against Evangelists' orgies"* (D, 23/8). The following accusation is the most frequent: *"The Gurus from Word of Life are Turning our Children into Janissaries."* (N, 19/9). Oftentimes the papers do not specify which religion they have in mind, because the mere label that something is a "sect" is enough to influence the readers. *"A Nine-year Old Boy was Kidnapped by His Sectarian Mother"* (N, 28/9).

Moreover, the new religions are feared, because of their supposed influence on the decision makers of the country. *"Sects detain Bulgarian intellectuals and statesmen with sex related discredits"*; *"People from the elite of our society fall into the sects' clutches. Shameful materials about politicians and their families are expected to appear."* (S, 23/11). *"The Mormons exported three hundred thousand archive microfilms"*; *"every second Bulgarian has a file in the archives of the Mormons in Salt Lake City."* (K, 15/12).

The Islamic "sects" are not forgotten either: *"the foreign missionaries spread among Bulgarian Muslims the most dangerous Islamic branch, which calls for 'sacred war' against all other religions"* (168 C, 18/9); *"The Islamic fundamentalism and the sects crucify the Bulgarian traditional values"* (N.T, January).

Some other, even more "obscure" cults are also presented as "centers of the ultimate evil." *"The Psycho-Center SCIENTOLOGY - the realm of evil"*; *"undermining of souls through God's name sacrilege."* *"The sect [Scientology] has already set up branches in Bulgaria"* (NS, 15/10). *"Satan followers will disseminate universal death in the era of Aquarius"*; *"dark sects are preparing collective suicides and mass slaughter in the new year"* (24 C, 30/12).

Keeping all this in mind, it is not surprising that the following textbook was approved as a teaching material by the Ministry of Education in December 1995. *"In recent time the non-traditional religious sects are being persecuted in many West European countries; they are being outlawed and subjected to legal repressive action on part of the law-enforcement bodies (police, prosecution, security services, etc.) Nevertheless, it had been a long time before restriction upon the activities of non-traditional religions, had been exerted in this country, a fact which allowed the latter*

bulgaria

strike stable position in Bulgaria. Coercion of predominantly young people and propaganda of social passivity, in combination with use of psychotropic methods (for example 'brain-washing'), poses a serious threat to society and national security." ("The Sects - Soul Hunters", a book by Georgi Stoyanov).

NGOs, Independent Journalists, and Intellectuals

The NGOs are seen as spies of foreign states, which have unlimited funds for financial support. *"Obviously the activities of such organizations [The Human Rights Project] serve somebody's interests"* (D, 8/8). *"[The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee and The Human Rights Project are] 'profiteering from the ethnic intolerance in Bulgaria'; [follows an ironic suggestion to] imprison only criminals with a certificate for pure ethnic origin, so that the European monitors be sure that we [Bulgarians] are strict in observing the Gypsy rights."* (T, 4/9). *"Foundation dissipates dollars for research"; "unthinkable spilling of money"; "distributing money to Gypsy children to party and, so called, go back to school"* (D, 13/12; against the International Center for

Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations).

Moreover, the people who work for these organizations are "traitors of the national interests", because *"The human rights activists [from the BHC] accused once more our country that it allegedly discriminates against people due to their ethnic belonging"* (T, 6/11). *"Different pseudo Liberals and pseudo human rights defenders like the notorious Mr. Krassimir Kanev [the Chair of the BHC] are regularly inventing fabrications to incriminate Bulgaria in front of the world and to gain his foreign salary"* (24 C, 20/12). *"It seems that rights and freedoms are more essential than our national security"* (168 C, 1/8).

The International Community

Some international organizations also get negative coverage in the Bulgarian mass media. *"Amnesty International Sobs In Vain About Beaten Gypsies in Bulgaria"* (T, 7/10). *"If Soros went to Turkey and Israel to 'open' them, he would be chased and kicked out"; "a liberal brothel reigns in Bulgaria. Bulgaria is not governed by Bulgarians and for the benefit of the Bulgarians"* (168 C, 1/8).

<p>Table of media initials: 24 Chasa (24 C); 168 Chasa (168C); Dneven Trud (T); Noshten Trud (N.T.); Zhult Trud (Z.T.); Standart (S); Nedelen Standart (N.S.); Kontinent (K.); Novinar (N.); Demokratsia (Dem); Duma (D); Bulgarian National TV - Channel 1 (BNT-1); BN TV - Channel 2 (BNT-2); Nova TV; Bulgarian National Radio Program 'Horizont'.</p>
--

Serbs

Serbs receive some of the strongest negative coverage in the Croatian media. Even the Croatian President openly says that “Croatia’s future was not safe, while they [the Serbs] were living in Knin’ Tudjman did not hide his relief at the fact that the Serbs had left Krajina, stressing that his appeal to the Serbian population during the Storm military operation was made only for the world’s sake. He compared Serbs to ‘cancer destroying the Croatian national being at the very heart of Croatia’ and concluded that ‘There is no return to the past.’ He did not ask them to return. He ironically bid them ‘bon voyage’, bidding them farewell with many harsh, ugly and most inappropriate words for a politician, allowing vengeance and hatred to flow out from his mouth.” (N.L, 3/9) Similar racist qualifications are made by other politicians as well. “Serbs are much shorter than Croats; with small, unintelligent and conic heads and all their complexes and crimes they commit are the result of those physical features. Croats, as a superior race, would win in the end.” (N.L, 29/8, a statement by Tudjman’s personal representative Sime \odan, one of the radicals of the Croatian Democratic Union); “One cannot trust the Serbs even when they speak the truth. I am glad that I am not a Serb. I am a mutt - I have German, Slovak and Croatian blood, but not one bit of Serb blood, and that makes me happy.” (H.S, March).

Indeed, the usual attitude is that Croats are superior to Serbs, while Former Yugoslavia is seen as a “mother” to the Serbs and an obnoxious “step mother” to the Croats. “Croats could be easily put off by: ‘No, you cannot have it!’ And the wonderful state which fed them, would not give the money to the Croats. No gratitude on the part of the Croats! The hey Slavs [pejorative for Serbs] allowed them to work at the Serbian seaside during summer, and these Croats

just wanted to steal that money. Yuck! Those were wonderful times! Winter would come. In that winter we celebrated New Year, and Santa Clause brought us presents. Santa Clause’s face would never appear before December 28th , in case anyone would ever think that we celebrated ‘their’ [the Serbs’] pre-historic Christmas.” (H.S., F.T, 22/12); “This is why the hey Slavs’ hurt feelings had to be redeemed on New Year’s Eve. It had to be made clear to everyone that this was ‘Serbian land,’ so Serbian young men can do whatever they please there(...) All these years we have been listening to traditional folk music (it was understood that ‘folk’ referred to Serbs only). Every year we watched Mijo Aleksic and above all - Ckalja. He was a real hey Slav with a cocked ‘sajkaca’ or, at times, with a greasy French beret - a merry, stupid, but tricky Serb from head to toe, a man whose personality embodied the victory of the Serbs against the Croats” (H.S, 29/12); “Communism is perfect, they used to tell us, but the people are not good, because people are not perfect. The people had to be changed, removed, killed, because they were not perfect and therefore - they were unable to implement perfect communism. And those people were us. And that is how we have waited for years for our Messiah, lived in hope, which slowly faded, in order to understand why we had to undertake such a long and narrow tunnel. At the end of this communist tunnel, the Serbs waited for us, shot at us, threw missiles, grenades, bombs and knives at us, destroyed, burnt and killed not only our hopes for a better socialist future but also us” (H.S, 26/4).

On the basis of all this, the following generalizations are made: “One could ask the question about the fate the Serbs created for themselves. The insanity they demonstrated, the nazism they enveloped themselves in, the cowardice which poured out of them, the double-facedness which adorned them both in times of war and diplomacy, the lies with which they praised themselves, the blood-thirstiness for which they praise themselves even in their

croatia

literature. All this put them into the position of negotiators who are not on even ground. They wanted to be this, they did not want to be on even ground. Until now, they have always considered themselves to be above all the others. However, they became something altogether different. The insane opponent, whom some wish to use for their advantage, and others have already learned to evade, because of his incompetence. Such an opponent, whom both sides support, so that he does not tumble down.” (Vs, 25/7)

Even the future bilateral relations between Croatia and Serbia are seen through the “magnifying glass” of hatred. *“On this occasion we should add that Croatia and Serbia must normalize their bilateral relations. They must recognize each other, but to their ‘Cece’, ‘Brene’, and ‘Tijanice’ the Croatian borders should stay closed forever. And that should be established by law for at least the next 50 years. Let them sell their philosophies of ‘no one is to blame’ and ‘why did we need this’ to the Romanians, Bulgarians and Greeks. But between our two states a Chinese wall must be erected. On the Danube and in the middle of the Bokakotorska bay. And that should be done as soon as possible and should stay forever(…)” (H.O, 1/1); “In reality there is only one minority lying behind minority rights - the Serbian one. The latter actually has refused to accept its status as a minority and regardless of their numbers, the members of this minority see themselves as a majority. Behind the ill-will concerning the return of the Serbs, the Croats, helpless and undefended, hear how they would be forced to accept the return of the treacherous Serb bandits, who fled after their defeat.” (H.S, 3/5)*

Macedonians and other nationals from Former Yugoslavia

Some of the former “sister” nations are not spared from the negative attitude of the Croatian media either. “Ljupka [a

Macedonian singer living in Croatia], why didn’t you marry a Macedonian? Is it because they are short, dark, and generally good-for-nothing(...)? Ljupka, what differences are there between Croats and Macedonians? They say that Macedonians are not especially civilized.” (C.T, 1/1) On the other hand comes the following statement, which openly advocates ethnic cleansing of the non-Croats. *“We have often been accused of wanting a Greater Croatia. God Forbid! Such a Croatia would include Iran, Karantanija, White Croatia, Crakow (...) What we want is a real Croatia with its borders being Subotica - Zemun - Drina - Sandzhak - Boka Kotorska. We don’t want, therefore, anything too big. If our Croatian Muslims today do not wish to be Croats, they will wish to be one day. One must have patience. And those Serbs, if they had stayed in Croatia - they would all be Croatized within one or two generations.” (S.D, May)*

The International Community

Whenever different countries and organizations raise their voice against violations of human rights in Croatia, the media postulate that *“There is no doubt that a large campaign for putting Croatia on the court bench has been launched in the international circles recently. Allegedly there are violations of human rights and the rights of national minorities here. The basis of that campaign was presented by the International Federation for Human Rights (IHF), released to the public on September 1. The report is based on the findings of the UN monitors and presents facts about the ‘systematic destruction and theft of Serbian homes and public buildings’ and makes hypotheses about the existence of ‘mass graves in the Knin cemetery.’ The statement also contains the testimonies of individuals who have witnessed maltreatment and killing of Serb civilians during and after the Storm military-police operation. It is further said that the IHF obtained its information from the Croatian Helsinki Committee.”*

(H.O, 10/10).

Some newspapers are even more hostile in their comments on the supposedly good-will advice which is given to Croatia from abroad. *“Topich considers the comparison with a similar ‘district’ in Berlin ridiculous, because there are only Germans in Berlin, while in Mostar there are two nations. ‘If this thing which Koschnik wants in Mostar were possible, why doesn’t he, Kinkel, and others go to Switzerland and make mixed cantons of Germans, French and Italians?’ There they have only pure national cantons, but when they come here they wonder why we don’t want mixed cantons. I wonder why they have to be surprised by our attitude. Or maybe they consider us members of some tribes!?”* (V.L, 12/8); *“Thus, in its desire to be the leading force influencing the future of Southern Europe, Britain is interfering with the internal political affairs of Croatia, searching in them the possible formal explanation of its own political actions (...) The so-called ‘Zagreb crisis’ is one such explanation”* (Vs, 19/5); *“The Hungarian Jew, Soros, and various other anti-Croatian, anti-human and anti-Catholic organizations are poisoning our youth.”* (V.L, January)

NGOs, Independent Journalists, and Intellectuals

In harmony with the idea of the international conspiracy against Croatia, NGOs which dare smear the good image of their country are accused of being well-paid traitors. *“The people who have defamation as their purpose, cannot do anything else but make trouble. Ivan Zvonimir Cicak [Chair of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, CHC] is involved in personal forgeries, gargling in the quicksand. Every day in every way, he is blowing things up in order to get hold of more and more, but he immediately turns everything around him into mud. His latest achievement is summarized under the common title ‘International Tribunal for*

War Crimes in the Area of Former Yugoslavia’(...) Under a mask of high aims and alleged CHC autonomy, Cicak makes insulting stupidities, spreading leftist, demagogic, moldy phrases and trying to add new elements to the old, but permanent accusation of alleged Croatian genocide(...) On the wings of this Cicak-Krapac edition, in which they have involved some young, they say talented composers of sick melodies, all these fly out of Croatia into the warm circle of the international public, which has never been as thirsty as now, after the settling of war accounts. They are thirsty for Pilate’s type washing of the hands. Here, at home, it is a matter of sadism in tandem. Crossed-arm sadism. About the perversion of war voyeurism. From that comes the sweet delight in advance of a trial. This is just one step from the lynching” (V.L, 12/8); *“The fact is that Cicak’s work for this Committee is not -to put it mildly- at all Croatian and is different from the work of Vladimir Sheks, who founded the Croatian Committee for Croatia as far back in time as in 1988 (of course, without any salary), and whose role in founding this organization in democratic Croatia is completely ignored.”* (V.L, 3/5).

The position of the people working at these organizations is found extremely damaging for the country because *“(...) always the same people from Croatia work in ‘sister’ organizations such as the Balkan War Report, the Aspen Institute, the Helsinki Committee, the Anti-War Campaign, Press Now and Pax Christi? And yes, they simultaneously take each opportunity to attack our government in power? Europe would not have any idea about some evictions, if all those organizations together did not make such a big deal out of them and then promoted their cause through various petitions and political lobbying. A government which refuses to play by their rules bothers them. They treat the state as an African one, while every normal person sees that it is European. In the name of ‘equality,’ which they are so fond of, they would like to*

croatia

control the major media, the intellectuals, and to force the authorities not to take carefully considered self-defensive measures. Unfortunately, our authorities sometimes do that, and that is exactly what they want. They will take advantage of every occasion and will make a mountain out of a molehill. Look how they have succeeded in transforming President Tadjman from a participant in the anti-fascist war into an 'Ustasha!' just overnight" (Vs, 17/5).

Even the well-known intellectual Ivo Banac is accused of being a "blind weapon" in the hands of foreign interests. "When Mr. Banac is in question, the work-provider [referring to Soros] should this time tighten his purse-strings a bit more. Namely, the uncovering of the dangerous disease which is biting this work-receiver who has intellectual strength, in conjunction with the market offer made by the work-provider, have radically diminished the grant made to Mr. Banac. Just some five or six months ago the latter was a serious candidate for the office of President of the Republic. Instead of that, he was offered the position of Parliamentary Minister of the Serb minority in Croatia" (H.O, 10/6); "(...) states eight points for Cicak's and Banac's insults against the Croatian people because they equate the genocidal aggressors - the Serbs - with Croats and other non-Serbs against whom Serb savages committed the most terrible crimes ever seen in history."; "To those who constantly invite us to pardon criminals and their associates I suggest they come with rolled-up sleeves to the smoking ashes left behind by the Serb fascists in Croatia so that they sober up from pardoning and take the appropriate court proceedings against these criminals, as is be the practice in developed Europe, in America, and in the rest of the moral and civilized world." (Vs, 6/6).

An especially serious "crime" which these

people commit is the fact that they defend the human rights of the Serbs inside and outside of Croatia. "So that this interview leaves an even better impression on the Polish readers, Mr. Cicak gave the journalists a picture of the Greater Serbian beasts, who allegedly cry before fleeing from Croatia. Every reasonable person knows that they cry from happiness, looking forward to the hospitality of the international war criminals a la Milosevic, Arkan and the Chetnik leader Seselj. Not accidentally, Cicak tried to further blacken the present Croatian government chosen by a majority of the Croatian people just before the October 29th elections" (V.L, 12/8); "His [Cicak's] activity for the Croatian Helsinki Committee is in accordance with his 'turnaround'. He daily accuses Croatia through periodic interviews in domestic and foreign press, statements, discussions, round-tables () He has transformed himself into a virtual contradiction of himself - into an extreme denunciator of Croatia and a fighter for the 'human rights' of Serbs" (H.O, 6/5).

And last, but not least, the media publish some extreme statements which carry reminiscences of the Dark Ages, as an interview with Milan Ivkovic. "As conservatives we believe that people are not equal, just as nations are not the same. That is why we would like to create the conditions for women's return to their traditional role tied to the home, so that gender differences are respected. In this we differ from the leftist feminists. That is why we are going to break up such meetings of theirs (...) We are against all those feminist and pacifist groups because we suspect that their members are the enemies of the Croatian state who, just until yesterday, were communists or Yugoslavs. We would like to intimidate, even though we are not terrorists in the sense that we will not open fire on every person who does not have a

<p>Table of media initials: Vjesnik (Vs); Vecernji List (V. L.); Novi List (N. L.); Slobodna Dalmacija (S.D.); Glas Slavonje (G.S.); Hrvatsko Slovo (H.S.); Feral Tribune (F.T.); Hrvatski Obzor (H.O.); Croatian TV (CTV).</p>
--

clear conscience, but he is a good Croat" (N.L. 9/1)

Albania

The approach of Greek media when it comes to covering Albania can be summarized in one word "Albanophobia." This is true both as regards the coverage of the relations between the neighboring countries, as well as of the situation of the numerous Albanian immigrants in Greece.

The talks between Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias and his Albanian counterpart Sereki about the educational rights of the Greek minority in Albania, in early September, were not fruitful. This provoked the media to speak of "intransigent" (SKY 1/9), "narrow-hearted" (ET1 1/9), "particularly provocative" (MEGA 1/9), "inflexible if not offensive" (E.T. 5/9, p. 6), "rigid" (A. 3/9, p. 1) behavior of Mr. Sereki, his "attitude of conceit and arrogance" (AP. 2/9, p. 4), making him appear as "an irrational and insolent neighbor" (AP. 2/9, p. 4), "cruelly negative" (E.T. 2/9, p. 5) when he "insisted(...) like a tyrant on the matter of the Greek minority's education in Albania" (ETH. 2/9, p. 4). "The Albanians' inadmissible and totally anti-democratic positions which nevertheless proved to be like 'reinforced concrete'" (E.T. 3/9, p. 18) constituted a "premeditated humiliation by the Albanians" (E.T. 2/9, p. 9) since the Albanian Foreign Minister "arrived with the mask of a good neighbor" (E.T. 1/9, p. 6) only to transform himself to an "untrustworthy" man (ETH. 2/9, p. 4), who had only one purpose: "Papoulias, do learn to read" (A.T. 2/9, p. 6).

"The Albanians became insolent!.." (AP. 2/9, p. 6) is the only conclusion which the media could draw after "[T]he Tyrants of Tirana, by the most impertinently manner which springs from the obscurantist regime of Hoxha, did not allow after all the

teaching of the Greek language" (AP. 22/9, p. 4). "The efforts of all Albanian governments aim at the complete de-Hellenization of the ethnic minority through attacks against the areas of the Orthodox religion, language, history, traditions etc." by leading to the "strangulation of Greek education in Albania" (AP. 1/9, p. 6).

The day following the snag in the Greek-Albanian talks, there was a plethora of information associated with incidents in Greece in which Albanians were implicated: "Albanian illegal immigrants 'hit' villages in Imathia [in Northern Greece]" (A.T. 2/9, p. 14); "Albanians 'have choked' Imathia" (K. 2/9, p. 7). However, "Tirana should learn that Greece is never blackmailed nor does it tolerate offenses. The time of the whip has come" (AP. 2/9, p. 4).

The rebellion of the inmates in the largest prison of the country in Korydallos, in mid-November, which started with the assault of a drug addicts' group on the pharmacy and resulted in the detention of prison guards, was presented by the media as "the dominance of both the 'law' of brutal violence as well as of the bestiality of the Albanian thugs and the Greek 'godfathers' of the night" (AP. 18/11 p.13). "In the prison the problems are caused mostly by the Albanians" (ETH. 17/11 p.14), "armed with (...) drills, knives, iron bars and pieces of broken glass, the almost 300 Albanian inmates of Korydallos play a leading part in the acts of violence. What is more, most of the juvenile prisoners have fallen victims to outrageous maltreatment, even to sexual one" (AP. 17/11 p.14). Moreover, "the Albanians, brandishing the knives, do not want to hear anything about bringing the uprising to an end" (AP. 19/11, p.14), and "they spread fear and panic among the others" (ETH. 18/11, p.14). In the light of the above gruesome picture it is only natural that readers are offered the following a multiple-choice quiz: "Is it bad for an Albanian lifer to rape a juvenile Greek

greece

in custody? a) Not at all, for the sake of strengthening of the relations between the two peoples; b) We deserve it because we took Argyrocastro away of them in 1940; c) No, as long as it will not lead to a serious relationship. Is it allowed for a juvenile Greek in custody to resist his Albanian liferapist? a) We have never heard of such inhumanity; b) Shame on him to hurt a poor foreigner like that c) It is brutal racism!" (EL. 19/11 p.96).

There were some dissident voices which did not join the "choir of hatred." *"Racism? Racism of course"* (EL. 20/11 p.9). *"There is racism which is no longer latent but open. Which has affected the nadir of prisons, but also the higher spheres of the intelligentsia. Racism which constitutes a propaganda object by the media out of frivolity (only?) (...) We do not tolerate the contemptuous reference to the people (...) We do not tolerate the segregation between Greek and foreign inmates (...) Because if we let another segregation pass between them and into our conscience, then not only will the attempted disorientation by the godfathers achieve its purpose but also something worse will be achieved: the increase of intolerance by geometrical progression. And the other will then be only the other and not our man at all. But didn't fascism and nationalistic hysteria begin somehow like that?"* (A. 19/11 p.3)

When PASOK's MP D. Vounatsos said that *"There are no lost fatherlands but only unredeemed fatherlands and we should keep this in mind"* (Mega 25/11), Eleftherotipia was the only paper which disapproved of it *"That is, let the areas inhabited by Greeks become parts of the Greek State, let us conquer Constantinople, reach Kokkini Milia [in Asia Minor], let the marbled king [last Byzantine emperor] rise from the dead and the likes. Aeraaa [war cry of Greeks against Italians in World War II] (...)"* (EL. 10/11)

In December the media kept working on

the building of a horrifying enemy in the face of the Albanians. The death of four people and the injuring of four more, after a fire had broken out in a house in Vyronas in the early hours of 11/12, was considered by the great majority of the monitored Greek media to be a *"holocaust by Albanian 'mobsters'"* (K. 12/12 p.7); *"a wild mass execution by the Mafia of Albanians"* AP. 12/12 p.1); *"The Albanian Mafia gets out of hand"* (N. 12/12 p.1); *"the dreams of eight Albanians were trapped in the nets of the Albanian Mafia"* (N. 12/12 p.16), as *"the way this mass killing was done proves that it was organized by the Albanian Mafia"* (ANT1 11/12). And as if these comments were not enough, the papers started *"injecting"* the public with warning that *"Greece is about to come under Albanian occupation(...)"* (E.T. 14/12 p.8); *"Yesterday's atrocious crime is almost nothing compared to what daily happens with the 'Albanian Mafia', all these tramps who dashed out of Albania's galleys. (...) What are we going to do with them? The thing is flaring up dangerously!"* (ETH. 12/12 p.22); *"the Albanians have turned Athens into a jungle. We feel completely defenseless"* (AP. 12/12 p.15); *"The action of the Albanian Mafia has gone over the top (...) The Greek state is obliged to (...) uproot them and cut their legs off. And then, wrap them up and send them back to where they came from"* (AP. 15/12 p.12).

However this hysteria did not overcome all the newspapers. *"From where can we gather that the hideous crime in Vyronas is a deed of the 'Albanian Mafia'? Is it possible to regard the indications, conjectures and the claims -of obvious expediency- of the Police as proofs, which produce unequivocal titles and unequivocal decisions?"* (EL. 13/12 p.30); *"The perpetrators are still unknown. Probably Albanians as the first testimonies insinuated. But they could also be Greeks (...)* No matter how the clamorous race-flatters insist, malice is not written on some racial genes nor is it completely absent from some other

ones, i.e. ours. And if a human turns into a wolf for his fellow-human, his race is not to blame for this nor are there criminals by birth and civilized by birth" (K. 12/12 p.1). Another story which stirred the Greek public in December was the "mass escape of Albanians from the prison" (A.T. 18/12 p.48). The ferocious beating of the fugitives after their arrest, as it was presented by television stations, provoked the indignant reactions of many of the papers: "Excess zeal or thuggery the beating of fugitives after their arrest?" (R. 19/12 p.23); "No invocation of the violent or tough character of some Albanian inmates justifies such brutal barbarity and excessive zeal of degradation!" (N. 18/12 p.16); "Those gory Albanians who were dragged like animals in a slaughterhouse by executioners, may be in prison for a loaf of bread, two tomatoes, a forgotten overcoat. They may even be murderers, but which legitimacy gives the right to the barbarity of the men in uniform emerge brutal, arbitrary and provocative?" (EL. 18/12 p.20).

The Leader of the Official Opposition M. Evert said in the Parliament: "The foreigners make up 6% of the workforce at the expense of the unemployed Greeks. In addition, most of them are not insured and thus deprive the insurance system of revenues. This situation cannot and should not go on any longer. It has to be stopped at once. We are determined for that" (A. 10/5, p. 16). In the same context, we read the following comments: "The alarm sounds in the nests of the extra sensitive 'windfuckers' [anemogamides in Greek] (...). The supposedly progressive windbags have to understand that, after all, Greeks do not owe a thing either to the Albanians or to the Romanians or to the Poles or to the Russians who arrive here for work and food (...) The country is flooded by torrents of foreigners" (E.T. 14/5 p. 4); "most of them choose to join gangs and the Mafia in big cities. In this way, they earn more money faster." (E.T. 13/5, p.18). Here again there were some media who opposed strongly

this "explosion of the primitive right-wing" (EL. 11/5, p.24) of Mr. Evert who "with the racial attacks against the illegal immigrants [undertook] the role of Le Pen" (A. 11/5, p.16). "Let us hope that our various neo-fascists will understand that they were not given a blank order to 'take the law into their hands'" (V. 12/5, p.17). "Fascism, racism, and populism go hand in hand. They lurk in 'reliable political and social institutions.' And then, the -isms are even more dangerous. Because they take the form of both a political stand and an opinion which may carry away the ignorant people. All those who do not know that unemployment is not dealt with violent exclusions, but with radical changes in the production process" (EL. 11/5, p.24).

Bulgaria

The Greek media did not have many articles on the northern neighbor. Apart from the usual references to the economic plight of the people there, the only openly negative comments had to do with different Bulgarian leaders. "The Bulgarian President against the rapprochement with Greece" (K. 1/11 p.1); "Zhelev blackmails [us] with Turkey", "the fact that the Americans do not want the strengthening of Greek-Bulgarian relations at Turkey's expense caused the statement by Zhelev" (ETH. 12/11 p.17). He is "anti-Greek" (E.T. 9/11 p.17), "pro-American" and "does not conceal his sympathy for the American pro-Turkish plans" (A.T. 27/11 p.5) since "he is ill-disposed towards Greece, claiming that the improvement in the bilateral relations disturbs Ankara" (ETH. 20/11 p.5); "It was not the first time that our 'friend' has distanced herself from a 'pro-Greek' policy" (K. 3/11 p.9); "The expanded Greek-Bulgarian cooperation is being developed on a -also- precarious substratum. The relation is not affected by the partner Athens but by the interposing Ankara. Athens' obligation to keep her eyes open

greece

on Thrace is rendered equally evident" (A.T. 16/11 p.4). To cut it short, there are only "stubs from the Bulgarians!" (E.T. 12/11 p.26); "Headache of (...) equal distances. New problem with Sofia's 'double talk'" (N. 9/11 p.3); "Zhelev's crude blackmail towards Greece" (E.T. 21/11 p. 17) "Despite the friendship 'attack' by Mr. Stefanopoulos in Sofia, Zhelev insists.. Turkishly" (N. 23/11 p.5).

Macedonia

Whenever the issue of the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece is addressed, the impression that "the Skopjans have put forward an irredentist demand for their(...) 'minority' in our Macedonia, when it is known that there are neither 'Skopjan Macedonians' nor any similar minority in Greece" (A.T. 9/9, p. 47), prevails. Besides, "there was never a distinct nation of Macedonians, it has never been mentioned anywhere and it does not exist. (...) This is a contemporary 'accomplishment' of the Americans and their indigenous Filipinos in Skopje and in Athens." (A.T. 9/9, p. 4).

Although the cultural expression of the ethnic Macedonian minority is not tolerated, the Macedonian minority party Rainbow inaugurated its Florina office on September 6, with a sign in both Greek and Macedonian. This action was characterized as "an invasion of Slavs in Florina" (A.T. 7/9, p. 7); "an unprecedented provocation of the agents of Skopje" (E.T. 8/9, p. 9); "an insolence of the Rainbow autonomists" (E.T., 10/9, last page); an action "of the members of the so-called Slavomacedonian [sic] organization Rainbow" (MEGA 7/9); "of the puppets of American diplomacy in Macedonia" (R. 15/9, p. 3); "of teleguided provocateurs of Gligorov's irredentist regime in Florina" (E.T. 13/9, p. 4); "a provocation of the well-known pro-Skopjan, anti-Greek small

band" (AP. 10/9, p. 15); "Greece is finished (...) a ceremony of Bulgarizing Florina (...) unprecedented preaching of hatred against Greeks from the pro-Skopjans who admit that they made a party seeking separatism" (ST. 13/9, p. 1).

Reportedly, then, "the inhabitants of Florina were horrified (...) as they had not seen a sign in pro-Bulgarian characters in their city since the time of Nazi occupation in 1941" (AP. 7/9, p. 8). "The declaration of the Vronteros' Commune President, Mr. Vassilis Tsepas, is characteristic of the climate that prevails in the area: 'If they think that we here are going to let our borders move south to Olympos, they are mistaken. We will arm ourselves to keep Greece in the place it deserves from its long history'" (A.T. 7/9, p. 7). On the same day, the offices were broken into and the sign was stolen.

On the whole, the print media stressed the "provocations of the pro-Skopjans" making use of headlines like: "Invasion of Slavs in Florina" (A.T. 7/9, p. 7); "Pro-Skopjans raised their heads" (AP. 7/9, p. 8); "Slav provocation by Rainbow AP" (E.T. 12/9, p. 10-11); "Uprising against Skopjan agents" (E.T. 13/9, p. 27); "Florina became a powder keg" (E.T. 15/9, p. 17)

Consequently, the hate speech produced not only by the media but also by the state authorities contributed to a climate of manipulated intolerance in which acts of violence, prosecutions, as well as arsons took place. "Such scare-mongering evaluations, such doomsday rhetoric poison the climate in the Greek border area, they give the impression that a new 'Western Thrace' is emerging in Northern Greece, and they aim at dynamiting the rapprochement with the neighboring country" (A. 8/9, p. 12). "Do the authorities believe that all these actions against Greek citizens are within the constitutional framework? Or do they believe that the prosecutions do not expose the country internationally? (...) It seems that the spirit

of New York [where Greece and Macedonia signed an interim agreement the same day the Rainbow offices were set ablaze] will not affect Florina for quite some time(...)" (A. 15/9, p. 12).

In later months, some of the papers started an open campaign full of *ad hominem* remarks against Father Nikodimos Tsarknias, who was indicted for "pretension of authority" because he had become a member of the Orthodox Church of Macedonia. PASOK MP S. Papatthemelis said *inter alia* in a debate in Parliament: "a(...) queer [in Greek, *kinaidos*: a word for homosexuals, with a highly offensive meaning] priest was sent in Warsaw by Gligorov in order to spread anti-Greek propaganda" (EL. 30/4 p.11). Eventually Father Tsarknias was acquitted on appeal by the Misdemeanor Court of Edessa (May 8, 96). The acquittal was presented by some print media as "trial (...) of the well known propagandist of Skopje (...) who was defrocked for being queer as well" (AP. 13/5 p.10). "A Greek citizen and defrocked priest from the Church of Greece that ordained him is at the same time an employee of a foreign state, hired to work against Greece! Indeed an unprecedented phenomenon called 'human rights'" (A.T. 27/5 p.4). "An application in order to open (...) a Macedonian church in Macedonia will file the well-known corrupt to (...) the extreme Nikodimos Tsarknias, a former priest of the Greek Orthodox Church and now a wandering agent of Skopjan propaganda (...) The essence of this case is that the Skopjans have not got a better spokesperson of their propaganda than a ruthlessly corrupted person. It is natural that he is equally corrupted in other activities as well (...). Corruption is one thing, personal particularities is another(...)" (A.T. 11/5 p.13).

Romania

This country is almost non-existent in the Greek media. It was mentioned just when part of the media monitored presented "four Romanians" (MEGA 2/4) as suspects for the robbery and murder of the accountant D. Papadopoulos in early April. "Four foreigners killed an accountant in his office in broad daylight (...). Perpetrators of the atrocious murder are, according to eye-witnesses, possibly Albanians or Romanians" (A.T. 3/4 p.9). However, there was a dissident point of view: "They caught the Romanians, the murderers ran away(...). (...) The arrest of three Romanians, who were considered - without being- to be the perpetrators of yesterday's [2/4] ferocious crime (...) harmed the efforts for the arrest of the real murderers" (AP. 3/4 p.21). It is noteworthy that the disclaimer of the Romanians' involvement in the robbery and murder, was presented only in a few cases: "As far as the Romanians who were thought to be suspects are concerned, (...) no evidence turned up against them" (EL. 4/4 p.18); "after all (...) the four foreigners (...) had nothing to do with the murder and were released" (MEGA 3/4).

Serbia

The Greek media employed all their power to defend Greece's valuable relationship with Serbia. Most of the articles were full of hate speech towards the West and different international organizations. The shelling of the market of Sarajevo on August 28, which caused the death of 37 civilians and led to NATO's military reprisals against the Serbs, was presented by almost all Greek media as a provocation. "The launching of the long prepared operation "Deliberate Power" had as a pretext a major provocation, the murderous shelling of Sarajevo" (ETH. 7/9, p. 2); "A conspiracy of the West's secret services is behind the slaughter in the market of Sarajevo, but also behind the respective one which took place last year" (AP. 8/9, p.

greece

18)

Moreover, "with half-words the revelation that the Serbs are not implicated in the dropping of the shell in the market of Sarajevo [is reported]. (...) In this case, it is a provocation. When NATO wants to bomb Serbia, it will drop a bomb in Sarajevo, kill some people and then bomb" (SKY 1/9). Political Spring MEP, Ms. K. Daskalaki, mentions: "The airplanes from the other side of the Earth mercilessly bomb the Serbs, for whom there is the 'certainty' (I wonder how?) that they dropped the famous shell (for the other one, the old one, the one of Muslim origin, there is complete silence, and we have covered it up very well), and they kill women and children which, since they are Serbs, it don't matter very much" (K. 3/9, p. 4). According to this reasoning "the Westerners, in an admirable accordance with Attila, Hitler's heirs and the Muslims everywhere, massacre a people -hero of the anti-fascist struggle and deeply Christian. And they put the firearm on our temple: Back off!" (E.T. 5/9, p. 4). "The new fascism has decided to wipe out the brother Serbian people" (A.T. 6/9, p. 10).

In such a situation, it is not surprising that NATO is portrayed as "a useless organization of insane politicians and militaristic criminals who have fired their missiles against Bosnian Serb civilians. (...) Which anthropoids are in the end these hot-headed dwarfs of NATO so that they fire their missiles safely against CIVILIANS? And how does mankind put up with these worms?" (A.T. 12/9, p. 3). "The Ushtasha - according to an old Serb- are the greatest fascists since the world was made and so are the Americans and Germans who help them" (ETH. 4/9, p. 35). "Some scums, who consider themselves to be 'progressive', applaud a murderous NATO operation which has been ordered by the powerful of Islam, the important oil-rich states. And they satisfy the feeling of vengeance of the Huns from neo-imperialist

Germany and of their collaborators, the Ushtasha slaughterers of Croatia, against the two peoples who dared humiliate the Axis. The Greek and the Serbian" (A.T. 10/9, p. 19).

There were few skeptical, if not outright dissident views: "who is giving the right to whom to assert unequivocally from kilometers away that the shell in Sarajevo was dropped by the Muslims or the Bosnian Serbs? As if any other possibilities do not exist. As if all Muslims just as all Bosnian Serbs are completely 'under control'" (A. 13/9, p. 6). "Because of the fact that millions of uninformed viewers are daily invited to take a stand on disputes like the Bosnian one, the stereotypes of the good and the bad ones, the Catholics and the Orthodox, the Croats and the Serbs, the friends of the West and its enemies are forged rather easily" (EL. 3/9, p. 41). "This year the headquarters of Greek disinformation have decided to resurrect the retracted hoax [that an EU report claimed that the February 1994 shelling of the Sarajevo market was done by Muslims] and baptize it reality. Against the (...) real reality that the Bosnian Serb terrorists are the ones who besiege Sarajevo from the surrounding hills and who, only in the first two years, had fired 300,000 missiles on its inhabitants. You see, in Greece we are far behind Serbia. At least there, there are many more who do not believe Dr. Karadjic, when he said last year (6/2/94) that the 68 dead people were shop windows' mannequins!" (A. 8/9, p. 6).

At the beginning of the new year John Shattuck, US Undersecretary of State responsible for human rights, visited the Serbian capital and made a statement that "some 7,000 people are missing after the occupation of Srebrenica" (A. 23/1 p.4) by the Serbs. This was characterized as "a bomb of an American Undersecretary. They got (...) a shovel for war crimes" (ETH. 23/1 p.25), "new anti-Serbian mania" (K. 23/1 p.1), "new anti-Serbian 'attack' of the Press

(...) *the international Press prefers to 'exploit,' once more, certain denunciations about the existence of common graves which contain victims of the Serbs from the 'slaughter in Srebrenica'"* (K. 23/1 p.8). *"The West is 'blind' to the Muslim ferocity. They are trying to present the Serbs as the only 'bad' side"* (E.T. 23/1 p.21)

Turkey

Turkey is the country which gets the most profound hostile coverage in the Greek media. Indicative of this characteristics is the near real war over the rocky islet Imia, which the media in Greece started and then their Turkish counterparts flared up even more [See separate chapter on the Imia Crisis].

Almost a month and a half after the incident between Greece and Turkey in Imia we saw that *"the escalation of the Turkish provocative attitude is not a seasonal phenomenon"* (ETH. 3/3 p.8). *"Ciller's new provocation"* (E.T. 2/3 pp. 12-13); *"a hostile ship rams a warship of ours in Imia!.."* (A.T. 2/3 p.1). *"A new Turkish provocation"* (A. 2/3 p.3), *"dramatic and extremely dangerous incident"* (A.T. 2/3 p.10), *"A Turkish patrol boat (...) provocatively violated our territorial waters [and] rammed the Greek gunboat"* (MEGA 2/3). *"The allegedly 'secular' state of Turkey follows faithfully the example of its bloodthirsty founder Kemal Ataturk"* (A.T. 3/3 p.10), *"Ankara's dirty game (...) for Tigris - Euphrates"* (E.T. 3/3 p.32), *"Turkey is now opening a front even in Thrace with the agents of Komotini Consulate as the spearhead"* (E.T. 3/3 p.18). *"Tomorrow [the Turks] will reach Euboea (...) Should by any chance our (...) infallible finally make a mistake?"* (AP. 2/3 p.9). However, it was also said that *"this new Greek-Turkish 'incident' with the warships near Imia looks more like a collision (...) But there must be no complaint. We did not let it ride, mildly, the 'incident' (...) Yes, yes no complaint at all!"* (K. 3/3 p.24).

In addition, *"new provocations in Imia. A Turkish warship prevented the Greek shepherd, who was accompanied by two of our warships, from getting on the rocky-islet," "a new unprecedented provocation"* (MEGA 16/3), *"incident [which] marks the provocative and aggressive attitude of Turkey in the region"* (statement by the Minister of the Press D. Reppas, SKY 19/3), since *"every day that goes by, the Turks become more insolent in the Aegean"* (statement by PASOK MP Karolos Papoulias, E.T. 20/3 p.5). Also, the Turks *"'locked' the (...) doors of the Aegean!"* (ETH. 18/3 p.1), *"Imia # 2 set up by the Turks"* (N. 18/3 p.1 title). At the same time, *"the Navy and the Coast Guard deny the(...)hot incident which the shepherd of Imia describes"* (EL. 18/3 p.1). *"And he should stop deploring us with Imia and his animals because - it is about time he knew it - the country will not get involved in adventures for a barren island just because this is what the bellicose and the channels which directed the crisis want"* (EL. 18/3 p.20).

In such a climate the following quotes are indicative of the aggressiveness cultivated by the media: *"new Turkish provocations. (...) Representatives of the informal minority committee which is controlled by the Turkish Consulate in Komotini, met (...) with Turkish President Suleiman Demirel, who expressed, in his statements, Ankara's full solidarity with the 'Turks of Western Thrace'"* (E.T. 1/3 p.20). *"A new provocation from Demirel. The minority question indirectly raised by the President of Turkey"* (AP. 1/3 p.6), *"impudence is more than enough in the prospective European neighboring country"* (EL. 1/3 p.8), *"the Turks seem to be determined to escalate the tension"* (K. 2/3 p.3), *"The Turk agents of MIT who pretend to be the 'offended' Muslims of W. Thrace were received even by (...) generals in Ankara! So that there is no doubt any longer about what they are getting at (...) And because in*

greece

Greece the self-explanatory things must not be omitted, we ask: 'Have we started taking precautions?'" (EL. 1/3 p.64) However, the question was asked: "By the way, why is it thought to be exasperating for the leaders of the Muslim minority to go over to Turkey, to be received by Mr. Demirel and to care about the rights of the minority? (...) Excuse me, but when leaderships of our minorities come to Greece, do we bring into play the same characterizations?" (EL. 2/3 p.24).

At the same time, "continuation of the provocation (...) We have a provocative attitude, let's call it like that, at the airport of Constantinople. The employees at the airport scrutinized all the pieces of luggage, insulted and subjected the wife of the Greek Consul in Constantinople to humiliating controls" (SKY 22/3), "the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs went far beyond any limit of impudence" (MEGA 23/3), "Ankara heightened (...) the climate with an illegal control of the luggage of a Greek diplomat's wife" (A.T. 23/3 p.7). "So from now on we'll have to guarantee [the Turks' security], by turning their luggage inside out and by stripping the Turk diplomats and their wives to the buff, every time they wish to travel by Turk Havas Yolari(...)" (AP. 23/3 p.9)

Consequently, "Our 'friend' and 'ally' neighboring Turkey was a very good student of Hitler (...) Should we by any chance wake up?" (R. 16/3 p.22). [What happened] "to those 'I tan i epi tas' ['return with your shield or on it' in Ancient Greek] 'Molon Lave' ['come and grab these from us if you dare' in Ancient Greek] Souli? Alamana? Gravia's inn? 1940's NO? To 'the children of Greece, the children?'" (AP. 14/3 p.22). "We inform [the Turks] that we, the Greeks, unite (...) when our country is in danger and become a fist in order to grind the one who plots against us" (ETH. 12/3 p.40). "And I repeat the oath of the ancient Athenian teenager: '(...) And I shall defend the sanctities by myself and by others' (...) Come on! On your feet! All those who are

Greeks!" (comments by ND MP V. Polydoros, AP. 12/3 p.8).

"The Turks play with fire in Imia. They plan to send (...) ecologist agents on the rocky islet on March 25" (AP. 23/3 p.5), "Turkish agents, dressed up as ecologists this time, may attempt to (...) feed the goats" (A.T. 23/3 p.5), "on a standby for a new hot incident" (EL. 23/3 p.1), "as the national holiday of March 25 comes close, the concern that Turkey will move on to new provocation in the area is increasing" (MEGA 23/3). "Ankara plans provocation in the area of Imia by landing Turkish civilians, allegedly ecologists" (SKY 23/3).

Moreover, "while we celebrate the National Regeneration, Attila 3 in Thrace, the Dodecanese" (A.T. 24/3 p.1 title), "the Turks, on the pretext of a serious danger for the 'Turkish minority', prepare 'Attila' in Thrace and the Dodecanese" (A.T. 24/3 pp.12-13). "Ankara is likely to 'land' shepherds (in reality 'agents') on Imia on the pretext to give aid to the sheep and goats which are on the rocky islet" (V. 24/3 p.14). "Oh (...) no this is a provocation! March 25 selected by the Turkish ecologists to feed the goats on Imia" (A.T. 24/3 p.96), a fact that "will constitute one more gradual provocation which will be continuously aggravating until it results either in a general concession on the part of Greece (...) or in a confrontation. And we must get ready for this confrontation without defeatism, with composure and with dash" (statement by PASOK MP, D. Vounatsos, SKY 23/3). On the other hand there was an ironic comment too: "if the goats on Imia are so much of a problem, why don't they put rabbits on it?"

Furthermore, a point was made, that the danger-mongering did not reflect any actual fact that happened or was to happen these days: "Radio and television channels during the national three-day festivities were full of: 'the Turkish provocation in Imia is expected exactly on the national holiday' (...)

'Provocation by the Turks on Imia on March 25' (...) But, when the stories were running, the viewer found out that, especially yesterday [25/3] nothing happened on the rocky-islet" (EL. 26/3 p.8) "Oh, no and again no! This time the Turks went too far (...) To put in doubt the reputable analysts of [the TV stations] 'MEGA', 'Antenna' (...) (as well as of a lot of newspapers) who insisted vehemently all these three days that we were to have a 'hot incident' in Imia on March 25? Well, this goes far beyond any limit! (...) Next time I request that the whole Turkish battle plan be 'on air' so that they would know exactly what to do. Let's say that this time there was (...) a lack of coordination" (R. 27/3 p.4) and this is why "the goats on Imia are still waiting for the Turkish ecologists" (N. 26/3 p.3)

The International Community

The joint session of the National Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Greek Parliament with the Parliamentary and Public Relations Committee of the West European Union's Parliamentary Assembly (WEU/PA) on security problems in the Mediterranean, the perspective of solving the Cyprus issue, the Macedonian issue, the Greek-Turkish relations and the Yugoslav crisis in mid-October ended in a "Greek-British confrontation" (A. 13/10 p.2).

All Greek media seemed to adopt the standpoint that "the three British did not just have a point of view different from ours, which is honest and correct on the basis of the real facts. Their attitude was clearly hostile. They appeared to fully accept the positions of Greece's opponents." (E.T. 14/10 p.11); "British provocation inside the Parliament, (...) extremely impudent anti-Greek attack" (E.T. 13/10 p.8); "unprovoked British 'bombing' of our positions on our national issues" (AP. 13/10 p.10); "extremely

impudent and unprovoked British attack against our country, and in particular, inside the Greek Parliament" (A.T. 13/10 p.6); "Man, look who's talking!.. (Hey, Kid!.. Fetch a portion of (...) a solution 'Irish-style' for the Skopje issue and another (...) 'pure from the Falklands' for Tancu in the hope (...) we settle our differences, quickly!.. O.K. boss??? Happy???)" (A.T. 17/10 p.10).

Moreover, "they came ignorant, uninformed and provocative 'the feather-brained from Western Europe', the English 'drivers' of the Turkish armored vehicles, which divided Cyprus. They came, allegedly sober, since they are 'logical', the frenzied, in order to teach 'realism' to the humble Balkan people of Athens" (EL. 14/10 p.28). "British against Greece in a demonstration of anti-Hellenism and ignorance" (K. 13/10 p.1) who "developed their points of view and gave their orders with the brutality of suzerains" (R. 13/10 p.8), since they "reciprocated our hospitality with provocation" (Mega 12/10), consequently they are asked "Lords(...) GO HOME!" (A.T. 13/10 p.6).

However, the "incendiary statements" (A.T. 13/10 p.6) "provoked rudely the Greek MPs" (E.T. 13/10 p.8) who, after "having united, 'hammered' their foreign colleagues" (N. 13/10 p.7) and "held the British allegations in check 'by returning fire'" (AP. 13/10 p.10). Thus, PASOK MP Th. Pangalos "cut the ground from under the unprepared English MPs' feet" (EL. 13/10 p.64) by referring to a "hypocritical attitude of Britain" (ET 1 12/10) since "Britain is a guarantor of the island and bears the responsibility for today's situation - violation of the international law by Turkey" (N. 13/10 p.7). He also asserted that "we like the Serbs. We had the impression that we are on the right side. Some people are trying to prove us that we have to re-write history" (Mega 12/10). At the same time ND MP Ms. M. Koutsikou maintained that "the use of the term Macedonia by the neighboring country is

greece

connected to the irredentist dispositions of groups of people, who come even from terrorist organizations, which develop theories that have nothing to do with History" (ANT 12/10). Furthermore, "such an [Albanian] minority does not exist. When we were accepting Albanians, others were throwing them into the(...) sea" (A.T 13/10 p.6).

Finally, ND MP Eu. Haitidis called the government to proceed with "actions of protest, disapproval and demand for concrete refutation of the provocative assertions" (AP. 14/10 p.10) and "to gather information through its diplomatic delegations who among these gentlemen or those of other foreign state-run organizations and media which develop anti-Greek, pro-Turkish or pro-Skopjan propaganda own real estate or other economic interests in occupied Cyprus, Turkey and Skopje!" (A.T. 14/10 p.7). "We shouldn't raise hell with the British MPs. Who showered abuse on us, in our home(...) Besides, they are both English and Tories, a lethal combination. Most disagreeable from long time ago" (A. 15/10 p.8).

Again in October there was a meeting between the Minister to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ant. Livanis with the Official Opposition Leader Mr. M. Evert in order for the latter to "pass on a grave piece of information on a national issue [which, in spite of the publicity given to the meeting, was not communicated to the general public], excited imagination and strengthened scenarios [related to] apprehensions about dangerous developments" (EL. 13/10 p.7). The media "recycled" the issue immediately, producing a whole series of frightening stories which were not based on any facts. "Fears about provocation in Thrace(...) (...) foreign secret services intend to create a hot spot in Thrace and the target of a potential provocation will be the dense Muslim minority, which is already under

mobilization under instructions from the Turkish consulate in Komotini" (E.T. 13/10 p.10). "The President of ND, Mr. Evert, fears provocation. Deep concern about Thrace" (E.T. 14/10 p.10).

Consequently, more voices joined the "choir" of scare-mongers. "Government afraid of provocation in Thrace" (EL. 14/10 p.6), "Scenarios of tension in Thrace" (R. 14/10 p.6). PASOK MP Mr. St. Papatthemelis "pointed out that 'nothing is accidental' (...) it is certain that Thrace constitutes Turkey's strategic target" (A.T. 14/10 p.7) while the opinion that "the national 'secret' was about the creation of impressions [as] it is possible that the [Livanis-Evert] meeting concerned domestic affairs about which both sides would not want anything to be known" (A. 14/10 p.2) was set out.

Then the information is given that "To Vima" [a 'reliable' Sunday paper with the largest circulation] publishes a story on a plan in the form of a staff maneuver. (...) It is substantially about a conflict scenario which anticipates NATO's intervention and almost exclusively concerns Western Thrace. The solution which will be proposed by the Alliance, and is no other but the partial autonomy of Thrace, is also included in the plan." (ANT 14/10), as well as the estimation, in the same news bulletin, of Howard University Professor N. Stavros that "NATO has been transformed into a lever of imposition of a new world order. (...) It is highly alarming". The information is confirmed by the newspapers: "To Vima reveals a most serious national issue which the government is already aware of. NATO's plan for(...) Thrace's autonomy! 'Conflict' 'exchange of populations' and 'mapping out of new borders'. Maneuver on paper without the participation of Greek officers" (V. 15/10 p.1 title). "The event acquires (...) grave significance mainly for three reasons: Firstly, NATO is not used to carrying out, even on paper, maneuver of theoretical

interest only. Secondly, the 'maneuver on paper coincided (?) with an upheaval which is sustained ever since in the minority element of Thrace (...) Thirdly, the exclusion of Greek officers from the exercise indicates that it is not merely about an innocent as much as imaginative working hypothesis" (V. 15/10 p.8).

Subsequently, it was argued that "We have to be prepared not only to express our wrath by 'means of an open hand' but also to shatter and trample these deplorable rascals, wherever they are, who think that they are going to play games in Greece. No more games. Greece will throw out of her soil, of her area, any scum who wishes to plot against her national independence and honor" (statement by PASOK MP E. Yannopoulos on ANTENNA 15/10). "There must be a very strong Greek warning. The gentlemen of NATO are not entitled to play games" (statement of PASOK MP St. Papatthemelis on Mega 15/10).

It was heard however that, "I think it is an exaggeration - let alone an irresponsibility - of To Vima, to the extent that we all know that these organizations, but also the superpowers like the USA, and probably Germany, make various hypothetical scenarios for eventual cases of crisis. (...) A lot of the scenarios are not applied because they form working hypotheses which function as case studies for scholars and military or politicians" (statement of Panteios University Professor Chr. Giallouridis, Sky 15/10).

Even after the official NATO denial of the existence of such plans and the exhortation to "remember - because we blow up these stories very much in Greece - that a few years ago there were NATO scenarios which forecast a military coup in Belgium, a country which is the seat of NATO itself" (Sky 16/10), the debate continued "We came from Asia Minor, we were given a rough time and now the Americans wish to bring us Turkey here? No!" "They are going

to create a Bosnia, just as they have done in Serbia" (statements by inhabitants of Thrace, ET 1 16/10). "I am afraid that Thrace and the Aegean are in the next order of priorities in the plans of the new order" (PASOK MP M. Kapsis, Mega 16/10).

At the same time, there was talk about an "insidious stab in Thrace. NATO is playing into the hands of Ankara." (E.T. 16/10 p.1 title). "Attention! We are being set up. An exercise of blackmail about Thrace. NATO and the Turks conspire" (AP. 16/10 p.1 title). "So, did you say that you just did a maneuver on paper? Or on toilet paper? Ah, O.K. they said it happened within the frame(...) of preventive strategy! As we say, preventive medicine on a corpse" (EL. 16/10 p. 64). "We were watching over the Bulgarians, Yankees and Dutchmen and Germans and French sprung up. And we'd better walk out from this filthy alliance of idiots (...) We have to do something NOW. Because these scums are not kidding!" (A.T. 17/10 p.14); "Blunt 'war games' by NATO. Multipurpose suspicious scenarios" (R. 17/10 p.1). "Games of Ottoman imagination. The 'plan' on a para-NATO computer was commissioned by Ankara" (EL. 17/10 p.1 title); "The suspicious and impudent NATO scenario is attributed to a political and to a military planning" (AP. 17/10 p.7); "Suspicious scenarios for Thrace were hammered out behind the scenes by NATO circles for the benefit of Turkey" (Mega 17/10).

Furthermore, "NATO undermines Greece's national independence" (R. 17/10 p.7). "War prelude made in the USA. (...) There is no smoke without fire. (...) It is obvious that the American side envisages a stable and powerful Turkey, able to play all these roles that various strategic brains have granted it from time to time" (EC.T. 19/10 p.5). According to the international relations and military affairs expert Mr. Th. Drougos, "the war games, because of the fact that they come from Langley, Virginia, from the CIA, and then pass through to NATO where

greece

simulations are made, want Thrace as the Eastern Slavonia of the South; that is just like the problem of Serbia-Croatia, the problem of Greece-Turkey should also exist. In addition they create Thrace now like a situation for a cushion-state, that is autonomy of the area and the union of all Muslim populations in Greece-Bulgaria-Turkey." (On the talk-show "The Time of Truth" ANTENNA 18/10).

Information connecting "NATO's scenario" to a university lecture as well as publications referring to political expediencies and party rivalries gave the issue a different dimension: "Scenarios about the autonomy of Western Thrace were discussed in a closed seminar in Napoli, Italy, with the presence of NATO's South wing commander, Admiral Clayton Smith. Their instigator was the American professor Michael Roskin." (ANTENNA 18/10), "The scenario was(...) a seminar! (...) Stupidity (the most lenient characterization) reaches its zenith" (P. 19/10 p.8-9); "Universal fire for the national blunder" (ETH. 19/10 p.4). "They handed the American scenario with a petty political reasoning. First they hushed up, then(...) they 'leaked out'" (E.T. 19/10 p.6); "After he played with Thrace, he leaked(...) the national secret to 'To Vima'. 'Evert the pusher'" (ETH, 16/10 p.1 title); "The scenario was bad, the actors were worse and the director was the worst" (A. 22/10 p.2)

"Finally, it is evident that the only ones who got the best of the unsubstantiated scenario debate on Thrace, which pestered the country during the previous days, are the professional scare-mongers of all kinds, the supporters of ethnic cleansing in the area, the ones who fire up barbarism" (EL. 21/10 p.27). "Never before, to the best of our knowledge, was the question of Thrace raised, let alone(...) the question of its partition!!! (...) Now EVERYONE talks about(...) 'the question of Thrace'!.." (P. 19/10 p.9).

The approval of the agreement on the Customs Union of Turkey with the European Union was covered by all Greek media since the beginning of December. So, when the European Popular Party, the Socialists and the Union for Europe suggested that the Customs Union take effect from 1/1/1996, it was argued that the "Europeans dropped(...)Ankara" [the Greek word for Ankara, 'ΑΑΞΙ', also means 'anchor'] (A.T. 7/12 p.12); "our European partners are masters in (...) Frankish hypocrisy" (AP. 8/12 p.8) as "the partners of a (...)foolish 'maiden' lay the red carpet for Tansu Ciller [and] (...) shamelessly sneer at Greece" (A.T. 8/12 p.6) because "they vote for Turkey with flying colors" (EL. 13/12 p.1).

At the same time, "the Yappy-Hanoum Turkish Prime Minister of Turkey" (AP. 11/12 p.8), "Knocks around Europe" (EL. 6/12 p.15) "and facilitates the European hypocrisy gag its conscience in the cause of economic expectations or after subornation on an individual basis" (Ec.T. 21/12 p.3). The viewpoint that "the disgraceful mobilization of Washington, Bonn, London, Paris" (K. 8/12 p.1), and "the tactics the EU has inaugurated for contacts with Ankara should be unequivocally condemned" (Ec.T. 7/12 p.3), is vindicated by the petition of 129 academics against the Customs Union, who, *inter alia*, note that "the reward of the sinful regime of the disguised military-bureaucrats of Ankara is an insult to the intelligence of every free thinker" (EL. 13/12 p.21).

The approval of the Customs Union of Turkey - EU by the European Parliament on 13/12 was characterized as "an exercise in international political hypocrisy" (ET 13/12), a "Turkish invasion in Europe" (E.T. 14/12 p.1), "provocative and inadmissible decision of the European Parliament" (R. 14/12 p.3), "national defeat in Europe [since] Turkey's whim was satisfied" (AP. 14/12 p.1), "the triumph of Euro-hypocrisy" (A. 17/12 p.10), "'Baksheesh' [tip] to Turkey

from the European Parliament" (EL. 14/12 p.16-17). "The European Parliament lost a significant part of its credibility" (N. 14/12 p.3), "backed up an illiberal and authoritarian regime (...) and is directly provoking the democratic sentiments of the peoples of Europe" (EL. 14/12 p.8). "The bloodstained Attilas enters dynamically the area of the European Union (...) under the unanimous 'oskeldiniz' ['welcome' in Turkish] of the Christian Democrats, Socialists and Radicals" (A.T. 16/12 p.10).

Moreover, the President of Political Spring (POL.AN.), Mr. A. Samaras, talked about "defeat of Europe, the European idea, the European civilization and the European principles for the protection of democracy and freedom" (A.T. 14/12 p.8), while the KKE underlined the "provocation of first magnitude which fully rewards the reactionary regime of Ankara" (A. 14/12 p.6). Characteristic are statements by Ms K. Daskalaki, POL.AN MEP: "It is all about an undisguised if not vulgar hypocrisy" (ET1 13/12); by Mr. V. Efraimidis, KKE MEP: "Big American capital, European capital, militaristic circles, the commercial and economic objectives in Turkey and from Turkey in general (...) wanted this 'yes' to be able to back up today's militaristic autocratic regime of Turkey" (ET1 13/12); by Mr. P. Avgerinos, PASOK MEP: "This indescribable pharisaism at the European Parliament is what makes it look naked and ask for a fig leaf and that was the resolution [in which Turkey is accused of violation of human rights]. So, do you see what a shame today for the European Parliament, what a shame!" (Sky 13/12).

Afterwards, the invitation of Ms. T. Ciller in Madrid from the European Council President Mr. F. Gonzales as well as her meeting with the EU 'troika' on the side of the summit were regarded as "the most overt and provocative expression of friendship towards Turkey [from] the(...)gentlemen of honor for Ciller!" (A.T. 15/12 p.8). Besides, "extremely

provocative, Turkish PM Tansu Ciller, claimed that should Cyprus' integration into the EU be permitted, Turkey would annex the occupied region of the island" (K. 17/12 p.1). ND MP Mr. V. Polydoros argues that given the "most insolent statement [and] because we are the grandchildren of Kolokotronis, Androutsos, Karaiskakis, Botsaris, Kanaris (I am the grandchild of "captain Tsiranis"), Mrs. Ciller do learn that (...) we got the message and we reply with two synonyms: 'Ai sichtir' ['f(...) you' in Turkish] and 'Molon lave' ['come and grab these from us if you dare' in ancient Greek] (AP. 18/12 p.8). Also, ND President M. Evert "called upon the government (...) to ask from the Heads of States and the PMs of the EU in Madrid to condemn the Turkish PM's statement" (ANT1 16/12) "otherwise the Greek delegation should walk out in protest" (ET1 16/12).

"Turkey does not give up its Ottoman tradition: it has always dreamt of the conquest of Europe. Either by war or culturally. Because as its propagandists shamelessly and provocatively declare, only it is capable of ridding Europe of its Greek-Christian heritage!" (A.T. 24/12 p.10).

Some dissident voices were heard though: "I wonder what in essence is the purpose of our negative attitude towards the matter of the Customs Union of Turkey and the EU" (V. 17/12 p.13). "The Customs Union can turn to Greece's advantage. Because Greece does not want a Turkey without any democratic institutions, without any freedoms and civil rights, without a democratic government" (P. 14/12 p.15). "Greece has nothing to lose but, on the contrary, a lot to benefit from a Turkey that will approach Europe and the democratic ideals. So, instead of being hostage of the collective paranoia of unprecedented anti-Turkism as -unfortunately- it was this time again, the time has come for a courageous change" (A. 19/12 p.8).

greece

The World Report of the State Department for 1995 on human rights, caused "the intense displeasure of political and journalistic circles as well as of the public opinion in Northern Greece" (AP. 8/3 p.6). In the "despicable report of the State Department on the(...) oppressed minorities in Greece" (E.T. 8/3 p.4) "on human rights which are allegedly oppressed in Greece" (N. 19/3 p.6). "Anti-Greek hysteria against our country via the report on human rights" (AP. 10/3 p.10) because "the State Department sees minorities-ghosts" (AP. 7/3 p.7), "They maintain the matter of a 'Macedonian' minority in Greece" (ETH. 7/3 p.10). "A concurrence of lies" (AP. 10/3 p.10), "Greece, say the agents of Washington, 'denies the existence of Slav-Macedonians in the country' (...) they saw 'Turks' (...) they saw(...) Arvanites and Vlachs (!)" (E.T. 8/3 p.4). "The extensive reference (...) that Greece did not allow the founding of 'a Macedonian' (!) cultural center in Florina and that she is persecuting (!) the representatives of the pseudo-Macedonians, creates a sensation!" (AP. 7/3 p.7). Besides, according to PASOK MP Mr. St. Papathelemis, the report is "offensive, inadmissible and all too clear fictitious, as far as Greece is concerned. (...) The gentlemen who prepared the report must understand that there are neither a Turkish nor 'a Macedonian' minority and decide to honor the international conventions the USA have signed" (AP. 8/3 p.6). "Someday, we'll have to take a stand against ignorance, misinformation or treachery which are likely to lead us (...) to visible or even indeterminate ordeals in Macedonia or Thrace" argued ND MP Mr. Pylarinos, and he suggested "the creation of a committee of great weight (...) that will investigate the pile of the vociferous violations of human rights in the USA" (N. 16/3 p.5). Therefore, "the two million Greeks of Macedonia, are sending the report of the State Department back to Washington declaring it to be 'outrageous'" (AP. 10/3 p.10).

The notification of the US Secretary of

Transport Mr. Frederic Pena according to which "some problems on the safety rules of the Hellenikon airport are noted, which concern mainly the checking of the luggage" (ETH. 23/3 p.7), was characterized by the considerable majority of the Greek media as "Torpedo from the USA to tourism. They turn a blind eye to provocation and help Turkey" (ETH. 23/3 p.1 title), "sabotage (...) which is indirectly designed to strengthen the Turkish tourist move" (ETH. 23/3 p.6). "Air terrorism and US blackmail" (R. 23/3 p.1), "a brutal interference in our domestic affairs" (E.T. 28/3 p.5), "inadmissible American demands" (E.T. 28/3 p.15), "American malignity at our expense", "malicious and stupid 'travel instruction'", "American dirt", "a scallywag extortion" (A.T. 29/3 p.3).

The "anti-Greek travel advisory" (E.T. 26/3 p.8) was characterized as "the second brutal blackmail (...) after 1985 when we had that renowned travel instruction (...) and a hostile act" (Minister of Transportation, Mr. H. Kastanidis, SKY 23/3), "an act of political terrorism and brutal extortion" (the Coalition's spokesperson P. Lafazanis, SKY 24/3). In addition, "the reaction of the work-people for the Civil Aviation, who talk about an organized anti-Greek plan, was immediate" (MEGA 23/3): "there is a joint attack against the Greek interests and the Greek tourism" (President of the Civil Aviation Pilot (OSIPA)'s Union, Mr. N. Stamoulis, MEGA 24/3). "It is about a hostile act of the Americans against our country" (OSIPA's President P. Alevizopoulos, ET1 24/3).

Moreover, "The USA is an air hostess of Turkey" (N. 23/3 p.1 title), "the USA convert themselves once more into an 'agent' of the Turkish interests" (AP. 23/3 p.2). "Revelation-shock: American businessmen wish to sell security systems! Pirates-traveling salesmen made in the USA behind the torpedo in Hellenikon" (ETH. 27/3 p.18-19), "Light on the backstage of the USA 'travel instructions'. Hellenikon,

target of multinationals" (A.T. 31/3 p.8), "Here is the secret plan of the USA who wish to control the airspace! 'The skies are (...) ours!'" (A.T. 29/3 p.9), "Towards the provocation of the Americans about the alleged lack of safety of the Hellenikon airport, we are entitled to cry out to the Yankees, GO HOME. They were not all of a sudden grieved by the security of our airport, but wished to sell us their systems" (A.T. 29/3 p.11). "These Frankish hens must be ashamed of their attempt to ruin Greece with such an economically perfidious war. Unsafe airports [in Greece]? Out of the question!" (A.T. 29/3 p.18). "All right, the Americans played a shabby trick on us with the Hellenikon airport. But what about the European Fellows? Where is the famous community solidarity? Why didn't they come out to help us with this vile taking place against our tourism?" (A.T. 27/3 p.3).

There were few exceptions. "Not only don't we do something (...) to improve the main air gate of the country (...) but we also commence the dearest -and so convenient- witch-hunting. They strike us again, they undermine us, they declare war against Greek tourism" (N. 28/3 p.6). "How are we all so sure that our airport is safe? I am aware of the tenet that 'Americans are always wrong' but (I whisper) IF the security services of Hellenikon were on the same level with the others -the most deficient? (Last in IATA's valuation). Should we, by any chance, instead of immediately denouncing Turkish-American conspiracies, do something for the airport?" (EL. 31/3 p.16).

The discussion on the Turkish minority of Thrace in the Helsinki Commission of the US House and Senate on Security and Cooperation in Europe which was held on 25/4, was characterized by a considerable majority of the Greek media monitored as "Bombshell on Thrace. The Americans relayed(...) a dirty trick on us again" (AP. 20/4 p.1 title), "American bombshell on Thrace. The USA(...) gave in to the pressures of the Turks. (...) unprecedented

intervention of the American Congress" (AP. 20/4 p.5), a discussion that constitutes "the theoretical precursor of Greece's mutilation! (...) ignominy and treason are organized at the expense of Greece" (comments of N.D. MP V. Polydoros, AP. 20/4 r.8), "a new filthy plan of the USA for Thrace. They try to boss her around! (...) Clockwork bomb in the sovereignty of the Greek state and the stability of all the Balkans" (A.T. 20/4 p.7), "a flat intervention of the Americans within the country's domestic affairs (...), exasperating provocation of the imperialists" (R. 20/4 p.6). In addition, "even a Thrace issue at the Congress! Unprecedented and flatly unfriendly is the decision of the US House and Senate Commission deal with Western Thrace" (ETH. 20/4 p.7); "The scenarios for destabilization flare up. A discussion at the Congress for Western Thrace!" (E.T. 20/4 p.9); "The USA: The Congress is sitting for our sovereignty! Hawks with(...) feze over Thrace" (A.T. 25/4 p.6); "Tactics a la(...) Imia in Thrace as well! (...) Ankara attempts to set foot via (...)Washington. A perfidious approach at the State Department with the minority as a pretext" (AP. 21/4 p.14); "annoyance about the issue on Thrace. On a non-existing issue the discussion at the Congress of the USA" (ETH. 22/4 p.12). "Why doesn't the Congress of the USA deal with the rights of the Greek populations in Imvros and Tenedos? Oh, don't be so wicked now(...)" (P. 30/4 p.4), "they are blind to pop down to Constantinople to see what extinction of people and respect for their human rights means(...)" (ETH. 22/4 p.2). "The pseudo-trial of Thrace is neither accidental, nor coincidental. It is a grave and dangerous provocation which is placed among the plans of those who consider Thrace as Achilles' heel of the triangle Aegean-Macedonia-Thrace" (statement of Political Spring's leader A. Samaras, ANT1 21/4). According to the Minister of National Defense G. Arsenis, "Naturally we cannot hide, and personally I cannot hide, my annoyance and my dislike for this American initiative" (ET1 21/4).

greece

"But, I don't get it! What is the American Congress? The (...)UN or the International Court of The Hague? And how well-based is the information that the USA 'are preparing' a 'package-deal', something like a 'new Lausanne' and with carefully planned moves (like the one of the Congress(...)) they are setting up the scenery in(...) a perfect cooperation with Ankara?" (K. 20/4 p.3). "Weren't they afraid that the corridors of the Congress would get stained with the blood reeking from Ankara's spokesperson? They forget the fate of the minorities in Turkey: of the Americans and of the Greeks who were slaughtered at that time. Like the Kurds now. With bombs made in the USA" (N. 27/4 p.39). "Obviously, the fathers of the American confederacy (...) after they had restored the world order, decided to investigate to what extent the Pomaks, the Roma and the Muslims of Western Thrace are equal Greek citizens!.. The provocation is cynical, brutal and coarse" (A.T. 23/4 p.4) given that "the violation of human rights begins and ends in the American Congress" (ETH. 24/4 p.2). Therefore, "NO to the American intervention. OUT WITH THE AMERICANS FROM WESTERN THRACE, FROM THE AEGEAN, FROM THE BALKANS" (R. 25/4 p.3). "Greece gives - and does not take - lessons in matters of the pursuit of the democratic and human rights" (E.T. 24/4 p.2).

And now the counterpoints. "We consumed another 'national treachery' (...) carried away by the convenient trap, we did not care to inform and to get informed of what this Commission was about, what its competence was, whether it has ever debated on matters favorable to Greece, and finally what the conclusions for the minority were" (K. 30/4 p.1). "(...) But, why should a country which argues that it guarantees equality before the law for all citizens, fear debates?" (EL. 23/4 p.30).

As a consequence of the article of Mr. V. Vasilikos, in which, referring to the

agreement for cooperation between Turkey and Israel, he wrote "my mind unintentionally goes back to the ones who crucified their fellow-countryman" (N. 16/4), the Jewish Organization Simon Wiesenthal requested UNESCO "not to accept him as an Ambassador." (N 11/5) The media instantaneously took Vasilikos' side, saying "He, who is a genuine anti-Zionsit declines Anti-Semitism. The discharge of the Israeli community from this reactionary ideology forms a precondition for its emancipation from the obsession (or obsessions) of the past and its harmonious reintegration, not only in the Middle East, but also in the contemporary era." (ETH. 11/5 p.27); "the international terrorism that Israel exercises against those who (it itself acquires the right to) characterize(s) as anti-Semites, aspires to be analogous to the terrorism it exercises, as a state, against the Arabs with various pretexts on the one hand but on the other -just like the Nazis did against their victims, half a century ago. Enough (...) what do they want? Us not to judge? Not to think? Or maybe not to exist?" (N. 13/5 p.14); "This intentional effort to characterize as an anti-Semite whomever is not a Zionist is very dangerous -and in the case of my insignificance it is just cheap. However, in the case of 'Kana's mistake' it means innocent dead children! For them did 'God, who is one and only one for all of us' exist or is possible that they were 'children of an inferior God?'" (N. 16/5 p.10)

NGOs, Independent Journalists and Intellectuals

Attacks on Greek Helsinki Monitor's stands and personally on its members, particularly in April, were present in many newspapers. "Panayote Dimitras [GHM' Spokesperson], while participating in a European committee on human rights, spoke in favor of the operation of Albanian schools in Greece with the argument that a lot of Albanian

immigrants dwell in our country and their children are entitled to education in their mother tongue. Such an act however, not only opposes our national interests, but also, if carried out, it constitutes a direct acknowledgment by the Greek state of the existence of an Albanian minority in our country. Such an act forms a straight undermining of our national interests and, what is more, when the official Albanian government denies to grant full rights in the field of education to the people in Northern Epirus" (AP. 7/4 p.2, leading editorial). "Secret school(...) Albanian! Strange is the activity (...) of the cultural association Philallilia under the roof of which the school operates. (...) We found on the notice board documentation that informs of seminars and talks in relation to the Republic of Macedonia whereas in a leaflet of Philallilia we read that the association's training programs were occasionally helped by the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Greece and the Church of Adventists of Keramikos!!" (A.T. 25/4 p.41). "Some native 'flowers' [pejorative ironic term in Greek] which hang around in various fora, like some Pan. Dimitras, were very welcome. On the basis of what the state radio of FYROM broadcast on the meeting of the Helsinki committees in Sarande in Albania, Dimitras probably overdid it in his talk, presenting our country as the biggest minority oppressor in the Balkans. (...) Let's not go nuts. There are much worse things around us. And proposals to exercise international pressure, in collaboration with the organization Rainbow on Greece in order to solve the problems of the minorities and the difficulties that the Macedonians in our country meet with, are more dangerous than constructive" (A. 13/4 p.27); "In a well-governed state, people like Nikos Dimou [a well-known writer and member of the Advisory Council of GHM] would have been arrested long ago." (EL. T. 25/4 p.5).

On the occasion of the publication of the article "Thrace and Constantinople" (EL.

20/4 p.18) where it was mentioned that "the minority of Thrace from the Lausanne Treaty has imposingly increased in number and none has left up to the present day", GHM and Minority Rights Group - Greece with a letter of their Spokesperson, noted that "There is nothing more untrue. (...) Unfortunately the members of the minority in Thrace today (...) are less than 90,000: this would be confirmed if someone estimated the population of the minority on the basis of the official results of the census in 1991 as well as the ethnological synthesis of Thrace's municipalities and communities. (...) It is about, a milder of course, silent ethnic cleansing." The newspaper replied with an aggressive article, which at certain moments reaches open hate speech "Didn't Dimitras [GHM's Spokesperson] hear anything about the barbarities of 1955? Or is he by any chance straining at a gnat and gulping down the camel? (...) Only devious people and hypocrites would waive the comparisons" (EL. 27/4 p.18).

Religious Minorities

Whenever the Greek media cover churches and religious groups, other than the Orthodox Church, their attitude is openly hostile. The references to the activities of the Greek Center of Applied Philosophy (KEFE) which represents the Church of Scientology in Greece led a significant number of Greek media to characterize KEFE as "a dangerous heresy" (ANTENNA 18/10), "school of murderers in downtown Athens" (AP. 22/10 p.1), "an organization of hallucinations (...) which enlists mainly young recruits whom it exploits" (ETH. 18/10 p.10), "an organization which forces its members to cut themselves loose from their families and keeps them under total control" (A.T. 19/10 p.16), "new Satans" (ETH. 18/10 p.6). In addition, Scientology is described as "an international gang with money, sex and suicides" (ETH. 18/10

greece

p.10), "a terrorist-destructive organization which incites the(...) extermination of every opponent" (AP. 22/10 p.6). "The Administrative Court of Hamburg, in a recent verdict, regards the heresy of the 'Scientology Church' as a dangerous heresy for youth, society and democracy" (ETH. 21/10 p.13), it is a "heresy and a particularly dangerous one for the Orthodox reality" (ANT 1 18/10), whereas the people who belong to the organization are "corrupted, bad and dangerous" (AP. 22/10 p.6-7).

The accusations against KEFE by former members, relatives of those who belong to the organization and representatives of the Orthodox church have the place of honor in media stories, while with regard to the internal methods and practices which are allegedly adopted by KEFE, we read about "details of initiations reminiscent of the Middle Ages" (Mega 20/10); "The parents of the youth who became members of the parareligious 'Church of Scientology' are in despair. Three of them clamor in all directions: 'Help! They lead our children to suicide!'" (ETH. 19/10 p.12). According to Father Alevizopoulos -in charge of the Holy Synod's office for the anti-heretic struggle (ETH. 21/10 p.13)- "Scientology is widely known to various researchers for its reverse ethics and its fascist methods with which it attempts to terrorize and neutralize everyone who will dare criticize it objectively." "The members of KEFE have to endure trips in the past with the use of pharmaceutical products and also interrogations in dark rooms and in specially prepared places of a well-known hotel in Athens" (Mega 20/10). "In order for one to become clear, that is to clean himself of 'engrams' (inscriptions), he has to answer to the same questions for hours. He is obliged to jog, have sauna, swallow salty water(...) oil, metals and the medicine 'Sustaniacin', which is on sale in capsules of 500 mg. However, KEFE administers to its members amounts which reach up to 5,000 mg per day." (AP. 22/10 p.7).

"The possibility that the members of the

parareligious organization 'Church of Scientology' even spy out at the expense of Greece is investigated by the Prosecutor [who] possesses a 'hot' document according to which the organization rewards one of its members (...) because she 'managed' (...) to bring a secret report of the Greek CIA to KEFE" (ETH. 20/10 p.16). Furthermore, after the "invasion in(...) the lodge of hallucinations" (ETH. 21/10 p.1 title), the "onslaught on(...) the well of souls" (ETH. 21/10 p.12) it ensued that "the members of KEFE pay an ecclesiastical(...) tax, which they call 'tithe' to the mother-organization of Scientology, in the USA. In this way, valuable Greek hard currency is exported illegally, while the organization, which appears as a charitable society, evades taxes as well. The latest investigation conducted by the Prosecutor at KEFE (...) revealed that these [heretical] groups [KEFE and other similar organizations] constitute special cartels to coordinate their struggle and 'silence' anyone who is critical of them" (K. 31/10 p.6). "Father Alevizopoulos asserted that the parareligious organizations, groups and heresies, in order to achieve their aims, use 'methods of secret services and totalitarian regimes, like those of German nazism'" (EL. 31/10 p.51).

"Hundreds of dangerous parareligious organizations 'recruit' youths. Destroy families. Organize 'armies'. Threaten lives. Insult Greece, moral principles, the Church. Apply insane methods. Evade taxes. Operate without license etc., etc. However, the Public Prosecutor orders raids on three particularly dangerous organizations (...) which are terrorists of conscience. Raids against the worst which is KEFE, against the 'castle' of the indescribable homeopath Sp. Diamantidis and (...) on Krisna's den. (...) The miscellaneous organizations cooperate and probably form a cartel, aiming at damaging the Church. (...) Are we unprotected at the mercy of some 'terrorists' who suddenly emerge mighty

and pulling the strings? Who will apologize should a Greek Socko Ashahara cast poisonous gas in Omonia?..” (AP. 29/10 p.6-7). According to Father Alevizopoulos “this threat will continue to exist and as time goes by it will increase, unless all responsible agencies as well as the media unite in this holy army to deliver our country from that danger” (A.T. 31/10 p.9).

Towards all aforementioned comments, “The representatives of the center of Scientology in Greece, in a letter to the media refer to ‘slandorous, false references’ and ‘absolutely personal documents of our members originating from a classified investigation which was suddenly leaked for the press” (E.T. 20/10 p.18). “KEFE is an organization which helps people. It has helped thousands of people, anonymous as well as well-known ones.” “Scientology has nothing - absolutely nothing to do with masonry. It is a philosophy open to all with well-known aims and transparent function.”

Consequently, it is plausible to ask, as unfortunately very few journalists did: “Don’t we have freedom and religious tolerance? Since some people wish to do different things from the average, it is their right. Let them enjoy their lives.” (A.T. 23/10 p.55). “Since [Scientology] functions at the level of human consciousness, everyone has the right to be himself and believe what he believes. In any case, the right to stupidity is a human right” (statements of Mr. Raphailidis on ANTENNA 21/10). “It is probable that our unorthodox conduct is activated once more towards the matters of consciousness due to the intervention of the unprincipled who believe that their own consciousness is of excellent quality” (ETH. 27/10 p.7).

In this light, “during its long history, our country faced many times foreign interests and states which would have liked (...) to wipe her out of the map! At one time this happened with weapons (...) Today it hap-

pens from within, with the capture that parareligious organizations aim at” (AP. 5/11 p.24-25). “Foreign-bred heresies, naturally. American multinationals, Protestant lodges, Papal Trojan Horses, Anglican conventicles and Asian faiths - with dark centers of administration and financing” (A.T 5/11 p.10). “So, we observe a really ‘strange alliance’ of heterogeneous and historically hostile towards each other religious and parareligious worlds, with the Greek society, its institutions and mainly its conjunctive tissue which is the Orthodox Church, as their common target” (K. 5/11 p.8). “In others words, they attempt to make the Greek turn against his own history, which is however accommodated to and interpreted on the basis of their suspect aims” (K. 19/11 p.9).

Since, “Country - Religion are in question” (K. 19/11 p.9) and “the conservative Greek society is nauseated by the threat” (V. 19/11 p.16), “a resolute dynamic presence based on the Orthodox thought is required” (K. 26/11 p.12). “Let’s all understand it once and for all. (...) We have for time immemorial been surrounded by tough warlike peoples and we have maintained our freedom with blood. So, all those (...) who blame the ones who believe in the cohesion elements of Greekness, like religion, family and, of course, the whole, the country, let them deliver us from the ‘hostile surrounding space’ and then they will see whether or not the Greek feels like (...) enjoying in a carefree way his freedom at last” (K. 26/11 p.12); “the perils emanating [from the problem of the heresies, parareligions as well as all kinds of ‘spiritualistic’ organizations] are national, since all these ‘religions’ and organizations aim at the fading of the national consciousness of their victims. This is why the matter is mainly a concern of the State and not of the Church” (A.T 4/11 p.18, in a release of the Holy Synod of the Greek Church).

However, there were few dissident voices:

greece

"The limits of what is permissible are transgressed as soon as the exploitation of the intimate relations between State and Church begins, in order for the primacy to be consolidated artificially. The intervention of EYP [the Greek Secret Service], the Security Police, the Public Prosecutor's office in questions of faith and conscience of the citizens, on the basis of information or orders given by Church elements, is unacceptable". According to the constitutional law expert Mr. A. Loverdos "Heresy or religion are -must be- indifferent magnitudes for the Greek State and especially as far as the delicate issue of the enjoyment of some fundamental rights is concerned" (EL. 4/11 p.26). Nevertheless, "what is the importance of the arguments, when the whole debate is dedicated to questions of the type: are Greeks of another religion patriots or national underbidders?" (A. 4/11 p.20).

The fires which broke out at the church of Virgin Mary of Skripous in Orhomenos as well as at the church of Agios Nikolaos in Glyfada, on 25 and 26 December respectively, led the Greek media adopt the view that *"Satanists burn the churches!.."* (AP. 28/12 p.15), *"(...)wild night! Satanists decided to celebrate Lucifer by burning the church of Virgin Mary on Christmas Day"* (A.T. 27/12 p.24-41). Moreover, the Church of Greece representatives, *"see Satanists everywhere"* (EL. 28/12 p.1) as according to a member of the Youth of the Church of Greece *"these people have proselytized persons whom they treat as pawns"* (E.T. 28/12 p.17), whereas *"the Church fears an effusion of Satanism. The Satanists prepare human sacrifices!"* (ETH. 29/12 p.14) and so there are *"fears of a new circle of Satanists' action"* (K. 28/12 p.6) because *"the cases of arsons of churches (...) are Satanist actions. Anything else is out of the question. Because for them, God is a scandal"* (ANT1 27/12).

Given the fact that *"Satanists and*

parareligious organizations are behind the barrage of arsons in churches and the sanctities of our race" (ETH. 28/12 p.14), *"for the captains of the fire ship of Satan (...) the target is Orthodoxy"* (A.T. 28/12 p.24-41). According to father Nektarios *"it is surely a deed not only of Satanists but also of other Atheists and other Jehovah's Witnesses, who respect neither the icons nor the churches"* (SKY 27/12). As ND MP Mr. V. Polydoras points out *"the war has overtly been declared by the enemies (...) of the faith, the history, the nation (...) Beotia has even been acclaimed the 'capital' of Jehovah's Witnesses, !, one is for sure: that they are not kidding. It is time we (the Greek Orthodox) stopped kidding. And we become serious, defending our sanctities!"* (AP. 28/12 p.8). *"The flames that are burning the sacred trusts of our People to ashes (...) are merely sparks out of the anti-Hellenic fire which approaches us (...) They should be included in the many misappropriations of elements of our national identity -in the East, the North and the West. They should be added along with the actions of the Vatican and the multinational from Brooklyn [meaning the Jehovah's Witnesses] in our country(...)"* (A.T. 29/12 p.4).

A few days later, in January 1996, in the small print of only two newspapers, we found out that the police had already established that the Orhomenos church was burned down out of negligence, while no progress was made in the causes of the second fire.

In such a climate, when the church of Michael and Gabriel in the Field of Mars (Athens) was the target of arsonists in the early hours of January 9, there was no doubt that *"Satanists burnt the historic church at night"* (Mega 9/1), *"Satanists or sacrilegious people burnt a third church as well within 15 days"* (AP. 10/1 p.14), *"Saint Michael and Gabriel in the flames of Satanists!"* since *"a little time ago Satanists had entered*

the interior and written anti-Christian signals on the wall, while last winter they had set fire again with gas-bottles" (A.T. 10/1 p.22), "Satanists, who have quite recently become the nightmare of the deeply religious Greek people, continued their criminal work yesterday by committing one more historic holly church to the flames" (E.T. 10/1 p.28-29).

Besides, *"following the recent arsons of Holly Churches by unknown Satanists" (A.T. 20/1 p.20), "the continuous vandalism sounds the alarm. The Satanists knock about" (ETH. 12/1 p.19), "the Satanists threaten priests. After the arson of three churches from sacrilegious people or Satanists, 'Satan's apostles' grew insolent and commenced a psychological warfare against the Church (...) by threatening the priests that they will burn their churches" (AP. 25/1 p.17). Therefore, as "the public is intensely puzzled (...) after the continuous arsons of churches", the "return to the Middle Ages" appears to be certain. (ETH. 12/1 p.19). Particularly if we bear in mind that "the firemen did not find any symbols of Satanists in the remains of the fire [of the church of Michael and Gabriel] and consequently the arson was attributed to common -impious- criminals" (A.T. 10/1 p.22).*

The ease with which the responsibility for incidents such as arsons in churches, black magic rituals, graffiti against Orthodoxy etc. is attributed to Satanists is noteworthy, despite the repeated refutations. During May, two such incidents -acts of vandalism in the cemetery of Heraclion in Lagadas in Salonica as well as a pentacle on the wall of a nursery in Salonica- were dealt with in the same way. We read: *"An invasion of Satanists in a cemetery" (E.T. 6/5 p.11), "Sacrilegious people broke 172 crosses. Satanists 'behind' the sacrilege" (AP. 6/5 p.51), "Vandalisms on 250 graves. The inhabitants attributed the fact to Satanist and para-Christian organizations" (A.T. 6/5 p.46), "Metropolis of Satanism Salonica.*

They have their eyes on the children. Nothing is sacred to them" (AP. 7/5 p.16).

When it became obvious that Satanists did not commit those acts, the related information was published by some newspapers but took up less space in the columns than their alleged implication in the aforementioned incidents did. So: *"the vandal of the cemetery has psychological problems" (A.T. 9/5 p.18), "the Satanists of Toumba are three minors" (ETH. 9/5 p.18), "Juvenile burglars behind the black magic in a nursery in Salonica" (E.T. 9/5 p.27), "It did not take much for one to realize that the various 'Satanists' who broke into (...) the nursery of Salonica municipality in Toumba, played a joke, moreover it is a gaudy one. (...) Unfortunately [some] newspapers, showing absolutely no scruples, reached the point when they even wrote about the 'panic and agitation everywhere in Salonica because of the Satanists' and other such things" (ETH. 8/5 p.9).*

Roma

The news that a private detective *"tracked down little Ben [a six-year-old English boy who went missing in Kos in 1991] in the hands of Gypsies" (ANT1 12/12),* caused a flutter in the Greek media: *"I found young Ben in a house (...) of Gypsies!" (ETH. 13/12 p. 3); "the policemen proceed with their investigations in the Gypsy camps in the area. The Gypsies themselves (...) have turned the area into an 'impregnable fortress'" (ETH. 14/12 p.18) as "the whole issue (...) has also set the Roma and the society of Veroia agog" (AP. 14/12 p.42).*

The TV channel that so irresponsibly presented the story first, was asking the next day *"is a kidnapping inflicted on Gypsies once more, though they may not be responsible for it?" (ANT1 13/12). It is certain that "the vainglory for the 'exclusive*

greece

news' and the witch-hunting for the alleged 'success' is unmasked once more. Anyhow, if you have a blue-eyed and blond-haired son around six, do not show him around much, because apart from ingenious detectives there are ingenious journalists as well. Be careful, the days are sly(...)" (A. 15/12 p.16).

The police raid of a Roma camping in Aspropyrgos "for the arrest of the six rapists' gang who terrorize the north-east suburbs and murdered an ice-seller in Halkida two days ago [18/21]" (MEGA 20/2) was castigated by the majority of the media, as well as by the public at large. "Unprecedented violence in a police round-up in Aspropyrgos 'ghetto'. Onslaught battalions on tents!" (A. 21/2 p.1 title). "Rambo against Gypsies. Excesses after the fair" (E.T. 21/2 p.26). "A show of bullying at the Gypsies' tin houses. Shame EL.AS! [Greek police]" (ETH. 21/2 p.1 title).

"The rounds-up of the occupation years revived" (R. 21/2 p.1)

Nevertheless, we also read that "Gangs of gypsies rape, steal, kill. Murderers in Athens" (A.T. 21/2 p.1), "Terror everywhere. Effusion of crime. The gangs (...) of Gypsies shoot to kill" (AP. 21/2 p.1 title). "The revenge of Gypsiness. The unrestrained gangs knock about and remain at large" (A.T. 22/2 p. title), "they spread about terror and panic. The inhabitants of Aspropyrgos with the finger on the trigger accuse the Gypsies of robberies, rapes, attacks" (AP. 22/2 p.17). "EL.AS should not back off. (...) It is obliged to clean up this place from the scums of society who murder and rape (...) There is no more latitude (...) Cleaning up and extermination of all these rascals in whichever convenient way" (AP. 23/2 p.12). "Let the hypocritical cries about 'social racism' stop" (A.T. 23/2 p.4). "The cries about racism (...) are at least

<p>Table of media initials: I Avgi (Av.); Adesmeftos Typos (A.T); Apogevmatini (Ap.); Ethnos (Eth); Eleftheros Typos (E.T.); Eleftherotypia (El.); I Kathimerini (K.); Rizospastis (R.); Ta Nea (N.); To Pontiki (P.); To Vima (V.); Economicos Tachydromos (Ec.T.); Stohos (St.); Mega; Antenna; ET-1; Sky.</p>

the imia/kardak story

out of tune” (AP. 22/2 p.2). “If they had raped and slaughtered your daughter, would you have had the same sensitivity?” (A.T. 22/2 p.3). “The police forces around the world usually function like that, universally that is how it is done, they do not distribute bars of chocolate. And you would not want them to distribute bars of chocolate if they killed your man, if you were robbed, if they committed some kind of offense at your expense” (Statements by PASOK MP Mr. St. Papatthemelis, A. 22/2, p.16).

Special section: the imia/kardak story

The apotheosis of hate speech: the near-success of (greek and turkish) media in launching war

panayote elias dimitras

As has been argued in this book and elsewhere, most Balkan media, with their systematic negative stereotyping and hate speech directed towards internal minorities or peoples across the border, have prepared a fertile ground from which serious conflicts and wars can spring or, in some cases, have indeed erupted. However, while the media have sometimes contributed to if not triggered violent incidents (as in the case mentioned elsewhere in this study of the mob attack against the head office of the “Rainbow” Macedonian minority party in Northern Greece) such conflicts and especially (the post-Yugoslav) wars were usually the result of actions of the political and military leaderships of the parties involved. During the 1995-1996 monitoring period of the project presented in this volume, though, two (supposedly allied) countries - Greece and Turkey - came very close to fighting a warm war, over a tiny barren uninhabited islet (called *Imia* in Greek and *Kardak* in Turkish). The conflict was in fact triggered and then aggravated by the media of these two countries.

This borderline rocky islet appears to belong to Greece as implied in the existing international treaties. The fact though that Greek sovereignty is not explicitly mentioned in a document bearing the signature of the two countries has led Turkey to challenge the status quo. An opportunity was given when a Turkish merchant ship ran aground on the shores of that islet in late December 1995. The two countries disagreed over who had the authority to rescue that ship, which eventually was detached by a Greek tugboat. As it frequently happens in such cases, the two foreign ministries exchanged notes with their contradicting claims and the matter seemed to have been laid to rest by early January 1996, with not one mention made in the media of either country (see the chronology below). This silence indicated that both foreign ministries considered the matter minor and unworthy of public attention.

Then, a month after the Turkish vessel ran ashore, the Greek media revealed the story and rivaled one another in exaggerating the importance of the incident and attacking Turkey’s claims on the island. There is enough evidence available that this belated ‘revelation’ was a consequence of the change of government in Athens. Reputed moderate and modernist Costas Simitis, in a stunning upset, won a majority in the socialist PASOK’s parliamentary group to succeed ailing Andreas Papandreu as Prime Minister. Bitter loser Gerasimos Arsenis, the then Minister of Defense, as well as the nationalist-leaning rightist opposition New Democracy (ND) had converging reasons to challenge the new PM on his ‘soft’ by Greek standards position, and on his conciliatory approach to Turkey (and international relations in general). The fact that the matter was first revealed by nationalist pro-ND media and that was done immediately after a PASOK Mayor known for his leanings towards Arsenis rushed to plant the Greek flag on

the imia/kardak story

the islet were crucial concurring evidence.

All this was not enough, though, to bring the two countries to the verge of war. The Turkish side had to 'replicate' for matters to get heated enough; and it did. Turkish journalists followed by TV cameras emulated the Greek Mayor and went to the islet to

remove the Greek flag and replace it with the Turkish one. Their 'proud' channel showed that 'scoop' round the clock, to be followed by other Turkish media. To which the Greek media replied by showing tens of times their Turkish colleagues' mission with war mongering comments. It thus took a few days of media activity for the two governments to find themselves in a position which they could hardly back away from as the two publics were expecting their respective governments to 'save their nation's pride' by keeping their flag on the islet (which reportedly had never until then seen neither flags and warships, nor even living creatures except for a Greek shepherd and his goats). Only intense international, mainly American, 'arm-twisting' forced the two sides to find a compromise solution, which was nothing more than the return to the *status quo ante* 31 January.

During these days, and in the immediate aftermath, most media in the two countries engaged in extreme hate speech and war mongering. From the media monitoring reports presented below (the Greek section of the IHF project and an excerpt from the Turkish part of a similar project) it appears in fact that Greek media were much more aggressive against Turkey and the Turks than were Turkish media against Greece and the Greeks. We will summarize here the main traits of this hate speech (for complete references, see the detailed reports further below).

1. Greek media used numerous times the words "*provocation*" and its derivatives

to describe any Turkish activity they disapproved of. Characteristic are the following excerpts from just one, the mostly watched, nightly newscast, at the height of the crisis: "*new provocation*", "*provocative action of Ankara*", "*provocation from the landing of Turkish commandos*", "*unprecedented Turkish provocation [as] the Turks, laughing and exchanging provocative jokes, removed the Greek flag*", "*provocative mission*" "*unprecedented provocation*", "*unprecedented event*", "*unprecedented provocation*", "*Turkish daring provocation*" "*new inconceivably provocative action*", "*daring provocation.*" All this in the first fifteen minute portion against the background of a repetitive showing of footage in which the Turkish journalists remove the Greek flag and replace it with the Turkish one. In the following month, the media reported as 'provocations' either events that were at other times considered normal or minor hostile activity, like long before prearranged Turkish military maneuvers; moves of Turkish troops in Cyprus; incidents of Turkish patrol boats with Greek fishermen; etc. Likewise 'provocative' were reported to be Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller's statements which were moreover deliberately misquoted to present her making claims over 3,000 Greek islands or islands in the (far away from Turkey) Ionian Sea.

2. Sometimes, Turkish actions were reported using direct war vocabulary. Turks "*want an island of ours*"; the Turkish journalists' activity on the islet was called "*landing*," "*invasion*," "*agents' assault.*" When at the height of the crisis a Greek helicopter crashed near the islet, most Greek media insisted, and had kept insisting ever since, that it was shot or at least jammed by Turks. The repeated disclaimers of Greek military authorities were usually

the imia/kardak story

challenged for their veracity. A few weeks later, Greek media alleged that NATO's secretary general Javier Solana had implied that there was a possibility of a new such incident, which drew an angry denial by the Organization's spokesperson, in which he spoke of war mongering. However, while the speculation made the headlines, the denial was 'buried' down.

3. Complementary to the above warring image of Turkey, was the image in many Greek media of their neighbor having "humiliated" Greece. Symbols were also used to strengthen that impression: "Turkish crescent on an islet of ours"; "Imia - the new Manzikert for Europe" [reference to the Byzantine army's first ever defeat by the Turks, in Manzikert, in 1071].
4. Both Greek and Turkish media made appeals for aggressive if not heroic acts. "Let's stand up at Thermopylae" [where a small ancient Greek army stood up for a crucially long time before its 'heroic' defeat by a large Persian contingent]; "Ciller for Imia? We for Constantinople () which is beyond any doubt Greek"; "let's answer with new Thermopylae, Marathons and Salamines" [in the latter two places, ancient Greeks defeated the Persians]. Similar appeals were made in Turkey: "Soysal: There Must Be War"; "but the whole of Greece will get a slap in the face if it goes there [to Kardak]"; "Turkey can overwhelm Greece in 72 hours."
5. The conflict inspired the media in both countries to make use of prejudices and pejorative terms for their neighbors. These terms were abundant in Greece, where the Turks were called "Tourkalades" [pejorative for Turks], "crooked Tourkalades," "Memetia" [pejorative for Muslims], "boudalahaivan" [Turkish for 'lump-jackass'], "scallywags," "scoundrels," "blusterers," "thugs of the region," "omnivorous," "poltroons of the Turkish militarism," "hordes of barbarians of the East," "scums, famished and wretched, opium smokers and cowards, a mob, the most hateful people in the world" [all that in the same text], "slayers of people," "Asian slayers," "butchers of our region," "headhunters of the people of the East," "animals," "Antichrist;" and were greeted with an "Ai sihtir" ['Fuck you' in Turkish]. On the other hand, 'purely' negative prejudices were not found in the Turkish press. But Greek were called "palikaria" [Greek for 'brave young men,' used disparagingly in Turkish about the Greeks].
6. Turkey was seen in Greek media as an "eastern hyena," "Saka Zoulou," nurturing an "Asian and Islamic barbarism." Conversely, in Turkey, Greece was called "paranoiac," "fanatic neighbor" with a "passion turned into hysteria."
7. Greek media saw a Western, mainly American, bias in favor of Turkey: "With American backing the (...) game in Imia. Made in the USA;" "the Allies [are] Pro-Turkish (...) Pilates;" "the Europeans' attitude [is] anti-Greek and a lot of times pro-Turkish;" "filthy American plan with Turkish executioners;" "the Americans fell in love with Ciller but they want to screw us; go to hell, you perverts!" "the national humiliation in Imia is THEIR DEED which they will bitterly regret" In Turkey, the West was on the contrary seen as pro-Greek: "Crises have always been to the benefit of the spoilt child of the West."

Finally, it was comforting that there was, certainly limited and *post factum*, reaction to the media's dangerous attitude in both countries. In Greece, **Avghi**, perhaps the only newspaper that 'kept its cool' during the crisis, stated: "fanaticism and stereotypes, racial or nationalistic, are

the imia/kardak story

reproduced by television and the other mass media, creating a 'climate' against (...) an external enemy." As a result, said other newspapers, "public opinion believes in the existence of the Turkish threat while national hatred becomes conscience." So, "Greek television reached the edge of absolute lunacy."

In Turkey too, the media came under fire from within. **Yeni Yzyil**, which had assumed a more 'objective' and 'ironic' style during the crisis, quoted conclusions drawn by **Le Monde** and a statement by the Association of European Journalists (AEJ) about the "pointlessness" or the

"deep meaning" of the crisis. "The two states are not European yet. The real crisis is in the media." Later it added: "Some media representatives, who see international issues as an advertising campaign, formed a holy alliance across the Aegean and showed their resolve to turn a simple disagreement into a war. But when the editors, for once unanimous, were about to decide who should start the war, the United States stepped in and the crisis ended." As a commentator in another paper succinctly pointed out: "The media seem to have replaced the mobs in the streets"

Naturally, the media do not function in a

the imia/kardak story

void: the two societies are prone to be drawn into such dangerous paths. To quote from the Turkish rapporteur, Ferhat Kentel: "the stronger Greece's 'fear of Turkey,' the keener Turkey's 'desire to punish,' which is a sign of lack of self-confidence and lack of confidence in the other country, and so on." It is for that reason that this 'incident' was quickly forgotten and there were no sustained, efficient and constructive efforts to help change such media attitudes which can help bring the two countries so close to a serious conflict.

The Greek-Turkish "Imia/Kardak" Crisis in Dates

vasiliki neofotistos

26/12/95

A Turkish merchant ship ran aground in the waters of the rocky islet of Imia, east of Kalymnos and south-east of the islet of Kalolimnos. Telephone talks about the ship's detachment followed. The Turkish captain asked for a Turkish tugboat, but after the intervention of the Greek side, a Greek tugboat left the port of Piraeus.

29/12/95

A verbal note of Ankara in which it argued that the rocky islet of Imia (Kardak in Turkish) is a part of the Turkish territory.

9/1/96

Athens's answer to Ankara, in which it mentioned that according to the Italian-Turkish Agreement in 1932 and the Treaty of Paris in 1947, Imia does not belong to Turkey.

24/1/96

The ANT1 television station aired the notes exchanged between Athens and Ankara on the occasion of the Imia incident.

25/1/96

The Mayor, along with other inhabitants of Kalymnos hoisted the Greek flag on the rocky islet.

27/1/96

A crew of the Turkish newspaper *Hurriyet* landed on Imia by helicopter and after removing the Greek flag raised the Turkish one instead.

28/1/96

A patrol boat of the Greek Navy, after a consultation with the Minister of National Defense, changed the flag.

29/1/96

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave a verbal note to the Greek Ambassador in Ankara according to which the agreements that Turkey signed with Italy for the demarcation of the Dodecanese in 1932 are not valid because they took place in the peculiar circumstances before the Second World War.

30-31/1/96

Greek and Turkish forces stood against each other in the area. A group of Turks landed on a rocky islet opposite Imia. A Greek helicopter crashed into the sea. After a US and UN mediation, the forces of the two countries withdrew from the region of Imia.

4/2/96

Turkey's caretaker PM, Ms. T. Ciller, at a meeting with journalists stated *inter alia*: "There are almost 1,000 islands, islets and rocky islets like Kardak or bigger than the latter. We will bring their status to the international legal field and the fact that they are Turkish territory" (EL. 5/2 p.4).

5/2/96

Ms. Ciller, in a statement for the *Hurriyet* newspaper, declared: "Turkey is about to raise the question on the islets' status quo; 3,000 files on 3,000 islands are being prepared" (EL. 6/2 p.7).

6/2/96

During a television program, Ms. Ciller mentioned that "the extension of Greek territorial waters anywhere will be a cause

the imia/kardak story

for war, if such a thing happens with a *de facto* action, without Turkey knowing this” (EL. 7/2 p.18).

10/2/96

Turkish naval maneuvers, which had already been planned before the tension in the region, began in the Aegean.

15/2/96

A Greek fast-sailing boat which lay at anchor in the region of Imia, went away after a note of protest of the Turkish

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A Turkish coast guard ship chased two fishing boats that were fishing in international waters in the region of Alexandroupolis.

16/2/96

The helicopter that crashed in the night of 30-31/1 was pulled up. According to the statement by the General Staff of the Navy “After the first examination, drillings at the back right bottom exterior part [of the cockpit] were discovered. The cockpit is transported to the Navy Command in

the imia/kardak story

Salamina for further investigation in special laboratories. The examination is still on." (EL. 17/2 p.5). On 17/2, a special team of experts of the Ministry of Public Order, after examination, "excludes the possibility that the helicopter has been hit by hostile fire. The version about vertigo [-loss of orientation-] acquires the value of scientific truth" (EL. 18/2 p.6).

22/2/96

Turkey calls her Ambassador in Athens to Ankara for consultations.

The Greek Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict

vasiliki neofotistos

The "mystery-session" (EL. 24/1 p.1 title) of the Prime Minister Mr. Simitis with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pangalos and the Minister of Public Order Mr. Gitonas "fired scenarios (...) of terrorism and Turkish provocation in the Aegean" (EL.T. 25/1 p.6); "fears of Turkish provocation in Thrace" (EL.T. 24/1 p.10); "fears in Athens and Thrace of provocation by Ankara" (AP. 24/1 p.10). According to the television station ANTENNA, "the new Turkish provocation" consists in "the claim on the rocky islet of Imia" (ANT1 24/1). It all started on 29/12 when Ankara, on the occasion of the grounding of a Turkish goods ship in Imia, in a verbal note to Athens "argues that the rocky islet of Imia (Kardak in Turkish) constitutes part of the Turkish territory" (N. 30/1 p.11). On 19/1, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its reply to Ankara, mentions that "on the basis of the Italian-Turkish Agreement of 1932, the rocky islet of Imia [did not] belong to Turkey." (ETH. 25/1 p.10).

The "provocation by Turkey" (MEGA 25/1), "new provocation from Ankara" entail that "the inhabitants of our islands near the border have been exasperated by the Turkish provocative character and they are

ready for everything" (ANT1 25/1), since "The Turks want an island of ours" (AP. 25/1 p.1 title). "The Turks grew insolent. Now they lay claim to a Greek island" (AP. 25/1 p.11).

Therefore, since according to the Turkish political analyst Mr. A. Birand, "Turkey is preparing a note for Greece" (ANT1 25/1), "they grow insolent. The Turks ask for more islands" (A.T. 26/1 p.1); "virtuous indignation [because] the eastern hyena of our region (...) Saka Zoulou [who] resides in Ankara (...) lusts for loot!" (A.T. 26/1 p.4). "They tried to convert themselves from (...) budalades [Turkish for 'lumps'] into (...) conquerors" (AP. 26/1 p.9), the "hordes of barbarians of the East [who] in a little while will ask for Ro and will snatch Voutsaras as well" (A.T. 26/1 p.18). "Message received. The answer is one, the only one, the well-known one, the ancient 'Molon Lave' ['Come and Take Them']. And one more thing. IMIA (...) is one of the innumerable forms that Aegeas, Ikaros, Ulysses, the Mermaid, the sister of Alexander the Great, Papanikolis, Kanaris, Bouboulina, Miaoulis, second lieutenant Diakos [the first dead Dodecanese in Albania in 1940], our dead and our living take. HANDS OFF" (comments of New Democracy MP V. Polydoros, AP. 26/1 p.8).

While some point out "the excessive noise about the rocky islet of Imia" (A. 26/1 p.2), "the hazardous proportion which most Greek media lent to the event" (A. 27/1 p.20), on the other hand stories continue not only that "Ankara keeps its provocative stance" (MEGA 26/1) but also about "new effusion of the Turkish provocativeness" (ANT1 26/1): "a Turkish frigate outside (...) Sounio" (AP. 27/1 p.5).

In addition, when on 27/1, Turkish journalists removed the Greek flag from Imia -which in the meantime had been put there by the Mayor of Kalymnos- and replaced it with the Turkish flag, the action was characterized as: "New provocation",

the imia/kardak story

“provocative action of Ankara”, “provocation from the landing of Turkish commandos”, “unprecedented Turkish provocation [as] the Turks, laughing and exchanging provocative jokes, removed the Greek flag”, “provocative mission” “unprecedented provocation”, unprecedented event”, “unprecedented provocation”, “Turkish daring provocation” “new inconceivably provocative action”, “daring provocation” [all the preceding are selections just from one newscast] (MEGA 28/1). “Havale [Turkish used in Greek for ‘ridiculous’] landing!” (A.T. 29/1 p.1 title), “Invasion of Turks” (AP. 29/1 p.1 title), “Agents’ assault on rocky islet! Turkish provocation aiming at the islands of the Aegean” (ETH. 29/1 p.1 title), “Brutal provocation. The Turks humiliated us” (EL.T. 29/1 p.8-9), “Bairak [Turkish for ‘flag’]-provocation” (N. 29/1 p.3).

However, *“a patrol boat of the Navy, (...) after consultation with the Minister of National Defense Mr. G. Arsenis, changes the flag [and] a reinforcement of the Greek forces in the area [is noted]” (N. 30/1 p.11). “Imia is protected by warships” (EL. 30/1 p.16). At the same time, in the verbal note that the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave to the Greek Ambassador in Ankara, it is argued that “the agreements which Turkey signed with Italy for the demarcation of the borders in 1932 are not in effect, because they ‘came about under the peculiar circumstances before the Second World War’” (N. 30/1 p.11). So, “the Turks grow insolent” (A.T. 30/1 p.1). “They ask for new borders in the Aegean! The Turks start a slanging match” (EL. 30/1 p.1 title). “The Tourkalades [pejorative for ‘Turks’] scallywags (...) the scoundrels” (A.T. 30/1 p.18) “want to extort a dialogue about the Aegean” (K. 30/1 p.1). And the media give the following advice: “Turkey, behave yourself!” (ETH. 30/1 p.1), “we will respond without hesitation” (ETH. 30/1 p.4-5).*

Meanwhile, *“war drums [and] war fever in the Aegean” (ANT1 30/1) because “the*

Turkish naval and air powers escalate their provocation above the rocky islet of Imia by making a war of nerves” (MEGA 30/1). According to an inhabitant of Kalymnos “we do not mind war. We will eat them alive” (SKY 30/1). “Our answer will have to be sent through the channels of diplomacy by telling them (...) very diplomatically ‘Ai sihtir [Turkish for ‘fuck you’] Memetia’ [pejorative for ‘Muslims’]” (A.T. 31/1 p.1). In the night of January 30 to 31, “Greece and Turkey reached (...) the verge of a war conflict [after] a mini-landing of Turkish commandos on a rocky islet opposite Imia” (ETH. 31/1 p.1). In the same area, a Greek helicopter crashed and as a result the three members of the crew were killed. So, during the “Night of national shame” (EL.T. 31/1 p.1 title) we pass from “Hours of war” (AP. 31/1 p.1 title) and the “warlike blackmail for half the Aegean” (N. 31/1 p.1 title) on to “Foggy end. The Turkish crescent on an islet of ours!” (EL. 31/1 p.1). All these comments had the underlying idea that “A war, even a mini-war like the one made at the rocky islet of Imia, requires a winner and a loser in order to come to an end. The winner of this confrontation is Turkey. (...) The loser of this confrontation is Greece” (SKY 31/1). “Imia, the new Manzikert for Europe!” (EC.T. 8/2 p.19). “WHAT? Things got rough? So, what? Like hell we will baulk!” (ETH. 31/1 p.9). “Let’s (...) damn them and stand up at Thermopylae” (A.T. 31/1 p.4), otherwise “we will soon see the Turkish bairak -and not just that- on some ‘rocks’ much closer (...) in Exarhia! [an area in the center of Athens]” (EL.T. 31/1 p.4). The scare-mongering reached the point when direct hateful remarks against the Turkish people were made “The Turks (...) are scums. They are famished and wretched. Opium-smokers and cowards. They are a mob. The most hateful people in the world” (A.T. 13/2 p.18), “slayers of people” (EL.T. 8/2 p.19), “blusterers” (according to PASOK MP Vasilis Kedikoglou, ANT1 6/2), “thugs of the region” (according to PASOK MP Drosoyannis), “omnivorous” (A.T. 9/2

the imia/kardak story

p.10). The “crooked Tourkalades” (A.T. 31/1 p.18), “boudala-haivan [Turkish for ‘lump-jackass’] Tourkalades” (A.T. 31/1 p.11), “poltroons of the Turkish militarism” (K. 31/1 p.3), “the ‘boudalades’ of Ankara (...) let them finally make the ‘fatal mistake’” (EL.T. 31/1 p.3).

Moreover, “The crashing of the helicopter - a thriller. Military officers did not exclude a hostile action” (EL.T. 1/2 p.28-29), “the helicopter was probably hit” (AP. 1/2 p.1). “Document. Shooting down or jamming” (AP. 1/2 p.15) even though “the Navy explicitly denied a story mentioning that the helicopter which crashed yesterday [31/1] in the sea area of the rocky islet of Imia received electronic jamming” (ET1 1/2). Despite this, “full confirmation of ‘A’. Tele-jamming resulted in the fatal crashing” (AP. 2/2 p.15).

In spite of the fact that “it would be good (...) to avoid scare-mongering” (K. 31/1 p.7), the language of the media started becoming even less civilized, reaching the discourse of street hooligans “The animals, (...) the Antichrist. (...) And then you’ll see how a landing of Greek frogmen on Tatabla [district of Istanbul] is done!” (A.T. 1/2 p.18); “Why not? Ciller for Imia? We for Constantinople. Which is beyond any doubt Greek! Do you have any objection?” (A.T. 13/2 p.18); “If the Tourkalades want, they should come and take them. We are ready even for war, how do they humiliate us?” (AP. 1/2 p.9).

At the same time, “Washington turns a blind eye to the Turkish provocation” (EL. 30/1 p.16), “With American backing the (...) game in Imia. Made in the USA” (A.T. 31/1 p.1 title). But even “The Allies [are] Pro-Turkish (...) Pilates” (AP. 31/1 p.7), “the Europeans’ attitude [is] anti-Greek and a lot of times pro-Turkish” (AP. 6/2 p.12), “They should realize that Turkey landed on the European Union!” (EC.T. 22/2 p.33). “The USA as Pilate” (N. 31/1 p.1), “the USA and the European Union behind the Turkish

provocative attitude. There go [in Greek ‘NATO!’ as in NATO] the enemies of peace in the Aegean” (R. 31/1 p.1 title). “The USA overtly questions our sovereignty in the Aegean” (A.T. 1/2 p.1 title). “Secret Agreement. Plan of the Americans for the whole Aegean” (A.T. 1/2 p.1 title), “filthy American plan with Turkish executioners. We are heading for war!” (A.T. 2/2 p.1 title), “the Americans fell in love with Ciller but they want to screw us. Go to hell, you perverts!” (AP. 5/2 p.8), “the national humiliation in Imia is THEIR DEED which they will bitterly regret” (EL.T. 5/2 p.3).

Afterwards, while we are informed that “the meeting of Greek and Turkish organizations on the rocky islet of Imia (...) was put off” (N. 2/2 p.12), we also read that “They are preparing a new surprise for us” (A.T. 2/2 p.7): “Ankara attempts the taking of Imia without guns! It sends Turkish (...) ecologists to the rocky islet” (AP. 2/2 p.1). “So much insolence baffles you(...)” (ETH. 2/2 p.24). “Upon my soul here is a good chance to go with the broomsticks and give them the ecological beating that they deserve” (ETH. 2/2 p.6).

In that spirit, the “mobility of the occupation troops in Cyprus” (A. 2/2 p.1), during the development of the Greek-Turkish crisis in Imia, was interpreted as “new provocation of the Turks this time in Cyprus”, “new provocation”, “new provocation of the Turks through the media”, “provocative action”, “one more new provocation through the media”, “the Turks are trying to create a climate in a provocative way” “premeditated provocation” (ANT1 2/2).

“Ciller threatens us with war, Ciller wants 1,000 islands!” (A.T. 5/1 p.1 title), a “new ‘hot’ provocation in the Aegean. Turkish machine guns against fishermen” (EL.T. 5/2 p.1 title), “new provocative incident of the Turks” (ANT1 5/2). However, we learn that “the information about the particular incident is not characterized as alarming

the imia/kardak story

because in the particular bay where the fishing was done by Greek fishermen, fishing has been prohibited for many years, both by the Greeks and by the Turks” (SKY 5/2).

“On a war footing! Ciller now wants 3,000 islands!!!” (A.T. 6/2 p.7). “The Turks keep files on 3,000 islands of ours!” (EL.T. 6/2 p.1), “Ciller escalates the tension in the Aegean” (ETH. 6/2 p.11), “Tansu Ciller went too far and (...) insists on appearing provocative” (ANT1 5/2), “Tansu Ciller provocatively questions the sovereignty of all rocky islets” (MEGA 5/2). “The (...) lame goat was fit to burst with frustration, willingly or unwillingly, to mix with the others of the rocky islet. Otur bakalum [Turkish for ‘let’s see’] my lady” (EL.T. 6/2 p.14); “We will answer (...) Tsouller [slight change of Ciller’s name to remind the reader of ‘tsoula’, meaning ‘hussy’ in Greek] with two Greek proverbs. [Follow two proverbs which talk about unimportant and unqualified people who are now showing off]” (A.T. 5/2 p.3). “Normally she should be wearing a veil and be locked up in the room, like a good Muslim, but Kemal came along -damn his father- and abolished the veil and taught them to wash their feet” (A.T. 6/2 p.18). “(...) Karaiska-kis for coach. (...) It is not a bad idea” (A.T. 5/2 p.24). “We must be armed to the teeth. (...) The Turks understand no other language” (EL. 7/2 p.9), because “it is better to be the mother of the killer than that of the dead!” (EL. 7/2 p.10). Towards “the impudent smears of the Asian slayer” (K. 7/2 p.2), “the butchers of our region” (N. 2/2 p.4), “to the Asian and Islamic barbarism of Turkey, we must on our own again, answer with new Thermopylae, Marathons and Salamines!” (A.T. 5/2 p.4).

And while “provocative statements about the Aegean”, “orgy of propaganda from Turkish [TV] channels”, “war of nerves”, “propaganda war of nerves” (ANT1 6/2), “climate of dangerous tension”, “verbal

provocation” (MEGA 6/2) go on, at the same time “Ankara grew completely insolent since the caretaker PM Ciller went so far as to threaten Greece provided the latter extended her territorial waters to 12 miles even in the Ionian Sea” (MEGA 7/2). “New provocative and crazy statement by Ciller. Even in the Ionian Sea the 12 miles are a cause of war!” (EL. 7/2 p.18); “Even the (...) Adriatic is now claimed by Tansu Ciller” (AP. 8/2 p.11). It should be mentioned that no such statement was ever made by the Prime Minister of Turkey, who had simply said that her country is opposed to the extension of the Greek territorial waters to 12 miles in the Aegean, and generally ‘elsewhere.’ “With the ‘nuts’ that the (...) mad-Turkish lady has, she may well order a landing on (...) Dafni! [an area near Athens]” (A.T. 10/2 p.10). “For the headhunters of the people of the East, applied the bellicose song of our Turkfighting grandfathers (...): ‘Did you see a Turk? He deserves a ball [‘bullet’]. Did you see another one? He deserves one too.’” Or the proverbial: ‘Make the Turk the godfather of your child and hold your stick’” (N. 8/2 p.24). “We will settle with them once and for all. And maybe once and for all, we will finish with them!..” (EL.T. 7/2 p.3). “Our people is proudly standing up. Ready to ‘guard Thermopylae’” (R. 13/2 p.36).

Furthermore, “Ankara is preparing a new hot incident in the Aegean” “NATO and Washington fear a new hot incident within the next few days. NATO’s secretary Javier Solana (...) divulged that all night yesterday [8/2] the telephones with Athens and Ankara were set on fire”, “fears of a new serious Greek-Turkish incident in the Aegean”, “fears of a new incident” (ANT1 9/2); “cold war tactics by the Turks” (MEGA 9/2); “fear of a hot incident” (MEGA 11/2); “‘hot’ incident with Turkey feared by NATO” (A.T. 10/2 p.1); “Climate of war fever in the Aegean created by the USA and NATO. Concern for a new incident” (N. 10/2 p.7). However “NATO’s spokesperson

the imia/kardak story

categorically denied" (ET1 10/2) this information. It is certain that "some people insist on scare-mongering by reporting non-existent information" (EL. 10/2 p.8).

And while all this is happening, "Fever in the Aegean again. Big exercise of the Turks" (AP. 10/2 p.1). "The Turks provoke with exercises of the Fleet" (AP. 10/2 p.5), "new tension is expected (...) as the Turks take out their fleet for exercises with real fire" (ANT1 10/2), "Agony and readiness in the Aegean" (ANT1 11/2), "the Turks go on with the war of nerves" (MEGA 12/2), "Fear of hot incident. Fever in the Aegean" (EL.T. 12/2 p.7). After all this the public is asked: "Do you know how the Turks named the exercise they have been doing in the Aegean since yesterday [12/2]? 'Constrictor'! I am not kidding! That's how they call it! And then, am I to blame for saying that the Turkish woman Tsouler is tamam [Turkish for 'just right'] made for the Ottoman bed? Since, when you see her, you think of orgies with constrictors. (Well, (...) Don't you?)" (ETH. 13/2 p.9). Let it be noted that the maneuvers had been scheduled quite some time ago, and were routinely reported to the Greek government.

In addition "double provocation by Turkey at our country's expense" (ANT1 16/2), "new provocation from the Turks. They gave chase to two fishing-vessels of Alexandroupolis in international waters" (AP. 16/2 p.11), "Double Turkish provocation. Protest about the Greek presence in Imia. Violation of territorial waters" (N. 16/2 p.8). In consequence, "series of 'war provocation' in Thrace and in the Aegean till the summer by the Turks!" (P. 2/2 p.1 title) as "Turkish propaganda in the Balkans is rampant. Fifth phalanx with Ankara's dollars. The primary targets are Thrace and Southern Bulgaria" (AP. 7/2 p.13). "The Turks want to make a second Bosnia out of West Thrace" (ETH, 24/2 p.10).

Just then "The issue of the helicopter

crashing has evolved again into a thriller" (MEGA 17/2) because "we cannot exclude the possibility that the helicopter was shot by Turkish fire" (ET1 16/2) and "it is surmised that the helicopter was hit by the Turks" (MEGA 16/2). "Traces from bullets were found. They shot down the helicopter. Turks murdered the three intrepid men in cold blood" (AP. 17/2 p.1 title), "the Turks shot down our helicopter in Imia and murdered the three intrepid men in cold blood" (AP. 17/2 p.10), "The 'vertigo' was Turkish bullets! The helicopter is riddled" (EL.T. 17/2 p.1 title). And despite our informing that "the first indications speak about holes from (...) screws" (ETH. 17/2 p.1) and that "the experts' report mentions that the holes in the fatal helicopter's cockpit are not from bullets" (ANT1 16/2), "we now know that the Greek officers passed away because of a technical breakdown" (ET1 17/2), some media insist on misinforming their audience: "helicopter 'riddled' by the Turks" (A.T. 18/2 p.18), "Cause of war - the shooting down of the helicopter" (AP. 18/2 p.1 title). "The Turks escalate the tension", "Ankara escalates the tension this time on a diplomatic level by recalling its ambassador from Athens", "Turkey raised the tones" (ANT1 22/2). "Ankara strengthens its blackmailing" (MEGA 22/2), "The Turks push things too far" (EL.T. 23/2 p.1 title), "Fuel on the fire from the Turks" (A.T. 23/2 p.5). Nevertheless, according to PASOK MP J. Kapsis "The whole Greek journalistic world has made an error out of ignorance. The recalling of an ambassador (...) presupposes that the Greek ambassador leaves Ankara (...) There was no recalling but a calling" (SKY 23/2).

Still, there were some diverging voices. "The continuation of the 'war in the Aegean,' (...) with the help of the professional warmongers, emotionally charges the atmosphere" (EL. 5/2 p.9). "Fanaticism and stereotypes, racial or nationalistic, are reproduced by television and the other mass media, creating a

the imia/kardak story

'climate' against (...) an external enemy" (A. 4/2 p.10). As a result, "public opinion believes in the existence of the Turkish threat while national hatred becomes conscience" (K. 11/2 p.8). "A metaphysical, dogmatic point of view has been launched. It leads the state, the journalists and our intelligentsia to see monolithically everything that is Turkish (...) The aggressive line and nationalism should be turned down and isolated" (A. 3/2 p.16). "Ultimate hope for all of us is to prove that apart from (...) wearing ourselves out with which foreigners are 'philhellenes' [pro-Greek] and which 'antihellenes' [anti-Greek], above all we ourselves know how to (...) be

Greeks!" (K. 11/2 p.2).

After monitoring the way in which Greek media presented the Greek-Turkish crisis in the Aegean, we have the following comments to make:

1. The repetition to repletion of the scenes with Greek and Turkish ships in the Aegean; of the removal of the Greek and the raising of the Turkish flag on the rocky islet; as well as of the related broadcast of Turkish television; in combination with dramatic tones in the delivery of the news, had as a result "the Greek television to reach the edge

Sympathy and Aversion Towards Various Countries (Greek-wide survey by MRB, June 1995)		
Country	% Sympathy	% Aversion
Serbia	62.7	17.4
European Union	55.6	17.5
France	43.4	21.2
Russia	38.5	27.9
USA	33.8	35.4
Bulgaria	28.5	32.1
Germany	38.6	42.9
England	25.4	40.8
Albania	5.2	77.3
FYROM	4.4	85.1
Turkey	2.1	88.1

Table of media initials: **I Avgi** (Av.); **Adesmeftos Typos** (A.T); **Apogevmatini** (Ap.); **Ethnos** (Eth); **Eleftheros Typos** (E.T.); **Eleftherotypia** (El.); **I Kathimerini** (K.); **Rizospastis** (R.); **Ta Nea** (N.); **To Pontiki** (P.); **To Vima** (V.); **Economicos Tachydromos** (Ec.T.); **Stohos** (St.); **Mega**; **Antenna**; **ET-1**; **Sky**.

the imia/kardak story

of absolute lunacy" (N. 5/2 p.25).

2. Whichever Turkish action, considered unacceptable by the Greek side, was characterized with no hesitation as "provocation" and was continuously and emphatically repeated as such.
3. The latent racism against Turkey -88.1% of the public opinion expressed aversion towards Turkey, in June 1995 (K. 11/2 p.8 -see table below-), found expression in the abundant hate speech against the Turkish people as well as against Turkey as a whole.

The turkish media on the imia/kardak conflict

*ferhat kentel*⁶

Arguably, the number one Greek issue in the Turkish press was the crisis over the "cliffs" of Kardak (known as Imia in Greece), whose location between Greek islands and the Turkish coast provoked disputes and highlighted the issue of the two countries' territorial waters. The crisis flared up in January and continued in February. Its consequences, however, still fanned the fire in the Turkish press in March. At any rate, this crisis illustrates the media's role in the escalation of prejudice, as well as the "point" of this project on Balkan neighbors.

Several conclusions can be drawn (along several lines of analysis) from the crisis which nearly sparked a war between Greece and Turkey. First, the discussion of the possibility of a war: "Was war really imminent or was this a means of diverting attention from the internal crises?" [in the context of changes of government - Simitis in Greece and the formation of the Ciller-Yilmaz coalition government in Turkey

after tough negotiations]. The second conclusion, which is linked to the first, became more obvious after the end of the crisis: "Is the Turkish people more self-assured now that it proved it is the more heroic?" Finally, the third conclusion is clearly about the role of the media during the crisis: "Were the media independent sources of information or agents of an increasingly authoritarian state policy, seeking to rally society around a closed nationalist ideology?"

Let us follow these lines, which look interdependent. At first glance the most prominent feature is the difficulty to find "purely" negative prejudices. The previous reports showed that Greece was held up as a mirror of the "average" Turkish press; this time it was not used directly in its negative role to boost Turkey's self-confidence. The show of strength helped the "average Turk," brought to life by the press, project an image of someone "strong" who can "win." This made it pointless to talk about "the other side" because talking about oneself was more than enough.

Though the general picture was dominated by the segment of the press which took a "going-to-war" attitude without much "humiliation" vis-a-vis Greece and the Greeks, some newspapers and journalists tried to go against the "bellicose" tide. The "going-to-war" attitude is illustrated by the following articles.

By far the most shocking news in this category was about journalists planting the Turkish flag on one of the Kardak cliffs. A photo of the proud journalists was front-paged in *Hürriyet* (2/2). "*Our friends photographed the Greek flag on Turkish territory. This was their duty as journalists. Then they planted the flag of the owners of*

⁶ Reprinted with the author's kind permission from **Balkan Neighbors** (4/96)

the imia/kardak story

this territory in place of the foreign flag. Which was their civic duty. We believe that people do not lose their civic feelings upon becoming journalists just as they do not lose their human feelings. We are human beings, citizens and journalists at the same time. Moreover, we are the best in all three categories." The editor of the paper championed the cause. "Yes, we brought the Kardak issue to the attention of the Turkish people. The Greek flag is no longer flying on Kardak. We apologize if we did something wrong."

Statements by politicians from all camps fueled the crisis. "Soysal: *There Must Be War.*" During debates in Parliament, Kamran Inan of ANAP called the Greek troops "paupers in skirts" and nder Sav of CHP said: "Not only nine palikaria [Greek for 'brave young men,' used disparagingly in Turkish about the Greeks], but the whole of Greece will get a slap in the face if it goes there [to Kardak]" (31/1).

The "slap in the face" is coupled with the image of "the spoilt child." "Crises have always been to the benefit of the spoilt child of the West. Athens is secretly plotting a new crisis, hoping to benefit from it." (Sabah, 30/1). In a sense, the "slap in the face" came. "Mehmetcik [the heroic Turkish soldier] landed in Kardak" (Sabah, 31/1). This was done to punish "The liars [who] were caught out! (...) While the Greek Defense Ministry was energetically denying that troops had landed on the Kardak cliffs, the private Greek channels Mega and Antena aired television pictures of troops landing on the island" (Sabah, 30/1).

Compared to the gamut of "national emotions," "heroism", "dignity" and "reasons to go to war", directly negative statements were rare and can be illustrated by Taha Akyol (Milliyet, 30/1). "Paranoiac Athens! Athens should give up its paranoiac obsessions and learn to act in a civilized manner." Sedat Sertoglu proffered the

same advice in an article headlined. "Turkey Can Overwhelm Greece in 72 Hours" (Sabah, 2/2).

See also Tufan T $\frac{1}{2}$ renc (H $\frac{1}{2}$ rriyet, 31/1). "[The future readers of the history of the Kardak crisis] will differentiate Turkey, forced to live with a fanatic neighbor, from Greece. (...) They will see how the Greek passion for appropriation of the whole sea between two states has turned into hysteria. This particular state of mind of the Greeks underlies the absurdity of the Kardak crisis."

Excited, the Turkish media turned their attention to the Greek media. "The Greek press, which never misses an opportunity to cause a storm in a teacup, mobilized public opinion with the cries: 'The Turks are coming' and 'Turkey claims Greek land'." (Sabah, 31/1).

Later on the idea of paranoia became the core of a fictional story by Serdar Turgut, known for his odd, often ironic articles (H $\frac{1}{2}$ rriyet, 16/2). "Life in Greece [following an account of a day in the life of an "ordinary" Greek citizen with references to the Turkish threat] 23:47. The woman is furious with her husband and, of course, refuses to make love. He blames his sexual frustration on the Turks. His friends will easily understand his warped logic when he tells them what has happened. While all this is going on, no one in Turkey will so much as mention Greece. Some of us will even be having a drink at a Greek tavern."

A statement by a retired admiral (an ex-navy commander) was quoted by G $\frac{1}{2}$ neri Civaoglu: "Greece will not dare go to war with us." He made a "bold" remark about that country. "Beware (...) While Ankara is in the grip of a cabinet crisis, Greece is playing the tough palikaria... Playing the conqueror of a cliff, the Greek government is like a mouse roaring like a lion in a bid to win recognition from the public; but it is playing with fire" (Sabah, 31/1).

the imia/kardak story

The Turkish side acted out of a sense of hurt “dignity” after the Greeks won the first round by planting their flag on the cliffs. When “dignity” is at stake - the only criterion for self-assertion - war and threats are justified. G½ngKr Mengi (Sabah, 30/1) claimed in criticizing Turkish journalists that “when it comes to national dignity, gains and losses do not matter. (...) The Greeks must not interpret Turkey’s silence as a sign that it has swallowed the humiliation. (...) If they do not want to hear a profound silence as after apocalypse and death, they should seek refuge in the law!” Or Sedat Seroglu (Sabah, 31/1): “One must not play tricks on a great country [a reference to Turkey] (...) One must not bluff a great country (...) No one can even dare do so (...)”

On the other hand, some headlines referred to “danger.” “The wind of war. The flag-planting contest on the Kardak cliff near Bodrum has escalated into a dangerous crisis after the landing of Greek troops” (Sabah, 30/1). Or Mehmet Ali Birand (Sabah, 31/1): “Politicians in both countries are glad to be in the foreground. ‘Speeches about the motherland and the nation are the latest fad. Sabres are being rattled.’ God save us all (...)”

Some articles focused on the two sides of the image of the “Greek” in Turkey. Murat Birsal (Yeni Y½zyil, 1/2): “This is the right time to let the image of the ‘aggressive Turk’ recede and hone the image of the ‘aggressive Greek’ instead. We should market this around the world to show the Greek’s true image. (...) As to tourism (...) There will be a few Kardak cafes on the Aegean coast [on the Turkish side], Greek-style steamed fish will be served as the main course under the strains of sirtaki [Greek dance], there will be plate-breaking and kasap havasi dancing [butcher’s dance]. Don’t you worry (...)”

While Ankara was satisfied with the outcome of the crisis - “We won a victory” -

which was supposed to boost the self-confidence of the people and Ciller, who was negotiating for a coalition government, the same newspaper (Yeni Y½zyil, 1/2) carried a headline “Gecmis Olsun,” a phrase used to express relief after avoiding a danger.

As the danger of war receded, the results of the tragicomic crisis became increasingly evident. The media came under fire from many journalists. Yeni Y½zyil, which had assumed a more “objective” and “ironic” style during the crisis, quoted conclusions drawn by *Le Monde* and a statement by the Association of European Journalists (AEJ) about the “pointlessness” or the “deep meaning” of the crisis. “The two states are not European yet. The real crisis is in the media.” (4/2).

Mensur Akg½n of Yeni Y½zyil (1/2) was ironic: “Some media representatives, who see international issues as an advertising campaign, formed a holy alliance across the Aegean and showed their resolve to turn a simple disagreement into a war. But when the editors, for once unanimous, were about to decide who should start the war, the United States stepped in and the crisis ended.”

G½lay GKkt½rk wrote in the same ironic vein: “The lessons of Kardak. (...) Lesson 2: Should a world war start one day, it will not be after the assassination of a prince. Now there are much more provocative figures than princes: the press bosses will be responsible for the war.” (Yeni Y½zyil, 1/2).

Cengiz Candar (Sabah, 1/2): “The comedy of Kardak or the tragedy of Imia. (...) Two ‘teenage countries,’ named Turkey and Greece, were pitted against one another over a piece of rock as large as a rich Turk’s or Greek’s living-room, inhabited only by octopuses and squids. Then Washington intervened - (...) over the telephone - (...), and it was back to square one. The 72-hour buffoonery is over for the time being.”

the imia/kardak story

"What a pity for stability in the Aegean region and Simitis. (...) Erbakan, Yilmaz should learn a lesson from the brinkmanship policies of Simitis, Pangalos, Ecevit. No one should envy Saddam." (Mehmet Barlas, Sabah, 1/2). Barlas targeted the media: "Beware! (...) The 'flags-on-the-cliffs crisis,' precipitated by the media and fueled by Turkey and Greece, ended when Clinton said 'That's enough.' Those 'striving for higher approval ratings,' who brought the two countries to the brink of war, should unite and plant the Turkish and the Greek flags on the White House without delay. (...) In the past the mob would plunge the states into catastrophe by taking to the streets and demanding territories and conquests. (...) Now the media seem to have replaced the mobs in the streets." (Sabah, 1/2). Barlas was even more outspoken in another article (Sabah, 31/1): "These days a top-rated TV network with the largest news-viewing audience cannot make five million dollars from commercials, however hard it tries. But if its news provokes war, arms sales will soar by billions of dollars."

Let us end this criticism of the media with Ahmet Altan's elaborate writing (Yeni Yüzyıl, 1/2). *"In the hullabaloo contest with Greek politicians and the goats of the 'megalo idea,' the deficiency in our leaders who are behind all this was made up, thank God, by our heroic media. They are more submarine commandos than journalists:*

they dive, make parachute jumps, land as amphibians and rip the Greek flag off a broken post to replace it with the Turkish flag. (...) Those brave journalists are always alert. Those who lose dignity in the boss's office and look for national dignity in the Aegean will provoke this war sooner or later."

To sum up: Though most journalists sought a more objective point of view and "common sense" and sharply criticized their colleagues, the Greek's image projected in the Turkish press was of a man "hostile to the Turks and afraid of them." Judging from the following, the opposite is "unusual": *"An unusual Greek. While 24 out of 25 Greek MEPs voted against [Turkey's admission to] the Customs Union, one abstained"* (Milliyet, 15/12 1995).

It seems that on the two sides of the Aegean two feelings reinforce each other. The stronger Greece's "fear of Turkey," the keener Turkey's "desire to punish," which is a sign of lack of self-confidence and lack of confidence in the other country, and so on. Despite the growing fear, however, there were remarks like those by Temucin Tüzcü (Milliyet, 4/1): *"Greece is asking itself certain questions [after the end of the Papandreou era]. (...) These doubts, which I witnessed for the first time, re-echo in every stratum of society and in every sphere. I think that the Customs Union made Greek*

businessmen forget their fear of Turkey."

Finally, the dualism between political "reality," which is guided by the sense of "national dignity" and has the strongest impact, and "human" relationships was formulated by Metin Toker (Milliyet, 10/11 1995), who commented on Bulent Ecevit, the "hero" of Cyprus: "(...) some believe Ecevit is better as a poet than as a politician. In his famous poem about Turkish-Greek fraternity Ecevit says: 'When you feel homesick, you will realize / that you and the Greek are brothers. / While he is listening to a Greek song, look at the exiled child from Istanbul.'"

Albanians

The situation in Kosovo is characterized by the constant collisions between the majority of Albanians living there and the Serbian authorities. On the one hand the Serbian media "recycle" the image of the "separatist" Albanians again and again, while the Albanian ones produce their own hate speech against the Serbs. "In the same way students of Albanian nationality from the Faculty of Philosophy in times of demonstrations of the Albanian separatists, secessionists and nationalists have directly attempted to turn the faculties into bastions of the ideologically dogma called the 'Kosovo Republic'" (J, 2/8); "To this, as it has been announced, were opposed only Albanian secessionists. The latter, in their own political blindness, fail to see that this is a question of humanitarian action and of delivering a part of the Serbian people." (J, 19-20/8).

The threat of secession is re-enforced when one reads that "the lives of the Serbian citizens have for a long time been under the shadow of those who think that they have more right to live in this area. In this way every idea to build an object like this, an object in which in exemplary way and with dignity will be given the long-deserved homage to the dead, has been

treated as nationalistic and political provocation, as offense against the feelings of the national minority." (J, 1/8); "Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija are continuously under the pressure of the Shiptar [pejorative for Albanian] separatists" (TVP, 29/9). On the other hand "that is part of the Greater Albanian policy and of the Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija(...)" (J, 26/9) and "As it's known, money from drugs will be used to supply arms to the secessionist movement and to buy Serbian land(...)" (J, 29/8). Moreover, "Turkey and Albania aim to manipulate the 'Shiptars' and the Muslim secessionists in the FRY. By the end of last year they had organized a meeting in which participated over 30 'Shiptar' secessionists from Kosovo and Metohija, from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as well as Muslim from the Rasian region." (J, 1/1); "Two caimans with Hungarian registration come to this church every week. The food and other goods are distributed mainly to the Shiptars, whom this church has successfully converted into Catholics. We recall that it was here that the young Shiptars were cured during the time of the so called 'poisoning'" (R.P, 17/8).

There is abundant information on different offenses of the "aggressive Arnauts [insulting for Albanian]" (J, 16-17/9). "Around the tower where the units were locked, up to 1,500 'Arnauts' from Orahovac and some soldiers were gathered. But only the 'Arnauts' were fighting"; "Five Chetniks were killed. After that the 'Arnauts' burned the tower"; "'Arnaut' actions against the Serbian population have been conducted with the aim to expel the Serbs and to seize their mobile and real estate using maltreatment, intimidation and killing." (J, 14-15/10).

Another constant topic is the ingratitude of "The Shiptar nationalists and separatists [who] have been working systematically for years to expel the Serbs and Montenegrins from the municipality of Djakova." (J,

KOSOVO

22/12); "this armed attack is only one in the series of attacks of the 'Shiptar' separatists against the Serbian state" (RP, 25/10), while "in Shiptarian hard times only these people, whom we must accept in our numerous meetings, have showed their support to us and they have organized volunteer groups" (R.P, 24/8). The following conclusion is drawn: "Serbs are supported by history, while 'Shiptars' - by ethnogenesis. Serbs are driven by the desire to ensure the safety of their children, as regards heritage and education, while 'Shiptars' aim at having numerous offspring and at providing mutual brotherhood help." (J, 2-3/12). That is why "The Albanian separatists have to wake up very soon from the dream of the 'Kosovo Republic', otherwise they will only start an unavoidable conflict, hatred and ghettoization."; "the civil relations in Kosovo and Metohija are in disorder, due to the continuous destructive activity of the Albanian separatists." (J, 5/1).

Historical evidence is brought in support: "up to now the interpretation of the phenomenon of counterrevolution in Kosovo and Metohija, as well as the genocide experienced in previous historical periods very often demanded justifications and pretexts for the Albanian separatist aspiration. In the time of the Turkish Empire before the Balkan wars it was said that the Albanian rascals were the blind executors of Turkish authority. As for their anti-state and anti-Serbian attitude between the two world wars, justification can be found in the alleged oppression by the Serbian bourgeoisie. Genocide behavior of the Albanian separatists towards Serbs (...) The part of this book speaks about the demographic bomb - the high birth rate of the Albanian in Kosmet" (J, 20/12).

The issue of the "demographic bomb" is seen as one of the hidden weapons of the "'Shiptar' separatist movement"; "Rugova's separatist top leaders"; "the media in the

'Shiptar' language" (J, 6-7/4), because "As it is known, the highest birth rate in Europe is in Kosovo and Metohija, which is due to the secessionist policy of the self-proclaimed Albanian leaders." (RP, 11/12) The latter are also to blame for their "baleful influence on the children who are not able to continue their regular education, due to the unreasonable boycott on the part of the Albanian minority." (RP, 26/12). However, there are articles which show that the problem is not limited to Kosovo only - "the tension between Macedonians and Shiptars is increasing. The reason for this is the persistent desire of the 'Shiptars' to establish a 'certain Albanian University'" (R.P, 18/10)

Serbs

The Albanian language media are not less hostile towards the Serbs in general, as well as against "the fascistic parties in Serbia and the Serbian regime in Belgrade" (B, 16/8). "In 1913 when Kosovo was under the Slavo-terroristic occupation of Serbia (...) when bullet and foe of enemy Shkja [insulting for Serb]" (B, 19/8); "but Tito, with his nazi-communist and racist Slav collaborators, found inspiration in the Panslavic bad-fame theory" (B, 7/10). All this is called "UNCONTROLLED SLAV SATANISM" [title of a sketch] (B, 30/3) and the usage of pejorative words gains impetus "Rexhep opened the door to the Serbian commander and shot the 'Shkja' with five bullets from a gun, which he had under his overcoat" (B, 10/10). "Slavian-Chetnik"; "Slavian-Communist-Chetnik"; "National-Communist regime" (B, 29/12).

The International Community

The attitude towards the international community on the part of Serbian language media is determined mainly by official Belgrade. Since the latter has a number of "basic truths," concerning the Serbian

kosovo

people, the media build on those. *"The resolution of the Security Council on the occasion of the Croatian aggression in the Serbian Republic of Krajina carries the deep imprints of American-German influence"* (J, 12-13/8); *"the USA and Germany are financing 'Ustash' [pejorative for Croatian] militants"; "German officers and soldiers*

participated together with American instructors and consultants ((...))" (R.P, 8/8). International relations are presented in regard to the Serbs' position that *"For centuries the Vatican has been plotting against the Orthodox Serbs, under the pretext that it fights against schismatics, criminals, etc."; "so the Pope and Broz have*

<p><u>Table of media initials:</u> Jedinstvo (J.); Bujku (B.); Zeri (Z.); TV Prishtina (TVP); Radio Prishtina (RP).</p>
--

macedonia

struggled against the same enemy - against the Serbian people, against the Serbian state and culture" (J, 2-3/9); "the Vatican, the American administration and the Fourth Reich have trampled down all civilized norms of behavior against the Serbian Orthodox nation(...)" (R.P, 13/8). Thus Serbs are presented as the victims of "the barbaric bombarding of civil and military targets in Republika Srpska, [which] clearly indicates that the aim of the USA and its allies is not simple revenge but the total annihilation of the Serbian people" (J, 2-3/9). At the same time "the western media, completely in accord with the policies of some countries, have appropriated the role of international police, which yield kicks to the disobedient." (J, 11/12)

Albanians

The largest minority in Macedonia is treated with suspicion and sometimes even hostility. *"For the citizens of Tetovo, this Law [the Law for the Local Self-government] is simply a step forward for those who dream of Ilirida."; "every mother's dream is her child to graduate from the university, without any pain and like a hero" (M.T, 1/8); "Albanians push Macedonia into war." (N.M, 10/9); "Take a look at Bosnia to see how all the great brotherhoods and unions end and that is how Macedonia is going to end. I claim this seeing the Shqiptar [Albanian] parties in the government which, after a finger was given to them, took the whole hand and are now reaching for the head." (D, 20/10, a reader's letter which fiercely attacks Crvenkovski accusing him of fighting for 'Tito's tsardom', while Vanco (Ivan) Mihajlov was fighting for united Macedonia.).*

The public opinion is also influenced by articles which present the Albanians as the more affluent and privileged part of the population. *"Taking Off the Masks in the Last Moment."; "Albanian candidates applying to enter faculties are required 20%*

less knowledge than the other candidates"; "in the western part of Macedonia, Albanians are owners of the larger part of the most fruitful soil and the private office space." (N.M, 27/8); "The impression is that many people in Tetovo lead a rich and nice life although false letters, in which politics belies life, are still sent from there." (N.M, 5/11); "Albanians sell, Macedonians buy. The trade and private business are in the hands of the Albanians, while the Macedonians are either workers at bankrupt companies or just customers." (NM, December).

Keeping all this in mind, it is not surprising to see openly racist statements like: *"Is it possible to shape our young generations into persons without any future, so that they will not care at all whether there are elections to be carried through; who people vote for; what the new winners in the elections would be; who will bring any hope that things will start getting better? Or everybody will search for a better life abroad, leaving their living places empty till some new comer Albanian from Kosovo or Albania settles there?(...) A friend of mine told me: 'Brother, this country has become one of retired persons and Shquiptars.'" (M.S., 27/12).*

However, it is notable that after *"Over 200 Macedonians and Serbs, inhabitants of Ognjanci, asked the Ministry of Education to annul its decision for settling the three classes in the Albanian language in the school in their village."; "We would like all the children to attend the classes in Macedonian"; "Today in our place, tomorrow in Yours"; "Be with us" (V, 25/9), many papers severely criticized these "Fires of Hatred"; "Chauvinist Dance of Village Leaders" (N.M, 23&27/9). An even more positive trend was set in the following article: "Two evenings ago, the Albanian two-headed eagle has landed on the lapels of the dress suits of a number of highly distinguished officials from the country and the diplomatic corps in*

macedonia

Macedonia. *The most deserving for the express landing of the eagle is the Ambassador of the Republic of Albania to the Republic of Macedonia, Saban Murati, who arranged a reception for the yesterday's Day of the Albanian national flag which is also the national holiday in this neighboring country(...)*" (V, 29/11)

Turks and Macedonian Muslims

There is a tendency to juxtapose the Turks of Macedonia to the Macedonian Muslims, the latter being the ones treated with sympathy and affection. *"Political parties of the minorities [Albanians and Turks] want a tax in blood from us, the Macedonians-Muslims."* (D, 22/9); *"We, the Macedonians-Muslims, would not like Your son and Your daughter(...) to be teachers in the Macedonian classes, to besmirch our clean little Macedonians through their education and classes"* (D, 20/10); *"For a Tiny Gaour [Turkish pejorative for 'Christian'] Word - Tiny Turkish Stick"* (N.M, 30/9).

Serbs

The Serbian refugees which came to

Macedonia were not met by a warm 'welcome.' On the contrary, we read that *"these days Macedonia is full of 'heroes' from the Bosnian-Croatian battlegrounds, and we learned with certainty that their number has increased with newcomers from Serbia(...)* Here is a chance for our tourist workers to 'save' the season. Yet, to be honest, the effects would not be known since this is a new category of holiday makers - tourists - evaders - refugees." (V, 9/8)

Bulgaria

Bulgaria is constantly present in the Macedonian media, especially in the talk shows on Radio Skopje. There was an implicit negative attitude in a N.M. article which referred to the mountain of Pirin, which is in the Republic of Bulgaria, as *"a unique Macedonian mountain"*; *"Through the Macedonian Land."* (N.M, 5/8).

Greece

The problems in the relations with Greece, especially in regards to the 'thorny' name issue, are the basis for characterizations like the following: *"big Greeks"* [with a

<p>Table of media initials: Nova Makedonja (N.M.); Vecer (V.); Puls (P.); Delo (D.); Makedonsko Sonce (M.S.); Fokus (F.); Demokratija (Dem.); Liberal (Lib.); Glas (Gl.); Flaka e Vellazerimit (F.V.); Birlik (B.); Macedonian Television (MTV); A-1; Radio Skopje (R.S.);</p>
--

montenegro

pejorative meaning]; *“liars”*; *“dishonest merchants”*; *“Why should this ox [Greece] think that I am stupid, so as to say that the wiser one yields?”*; *“Greece is going to recognize our name on Cuckoo’s summer [i.e. ‘never’ with a pejorative meaning]”* (R.S, September).

After all this, the fact that even exaggerations like the following find their place in the media is not that surprising. *“We [the Macedonians] belong to the most intelligent nation in the world We made the world literate.”*; *“We are numerous. There are 500,000 Macedonians in Albania, two million in Bulgaria, a million in Greece(...) not to count the Diaspora.”* (Radio NOMA, Nov.)

Croats

The majority of the Montenegrin press shows a tendency to stand strongly behind the interests of the *“Serbian brothers,”* which in turn requires the necessary hostility towards the traditional Serbian enemies. The latter are mainly the Croats, the Muslims, the Albanians, even those Montenegrins who favor an independent Montenegro and are opposed to the Serbian war efforts, as well as the international community at large.

The Croats are presented as evil people, who are supported by the Great Powers to destroy the Serbs. *“the war for biological survival of the Serbs in their century-old hearths.”*; *“Ustashes’ [pejorative for Croats but also sometimes for independence-oriented Montenegrins] terror in the valley of the Neretva has not ceased from 1941 to the present day. Ustasha multiparty system of 1991.”* (P, 10/11); *“Croatian gangs in Mostar”* (M.R., Jan.). The international community is warned to be extra careful, because *“one can understand the world’s euphoria about the signing of the peace agreement on the Srem-Baranja region because it was done on the eleventh hour, but experience makes us cautious because*

the Zagreb authorities are masters of a tricky game, a proof of which were the conflicts in the Bosnian-Croatian Federation.” (M.T., 13/11)

Muslims

The Muslims are not left without being insulted either. *“Honor is the last and the greatest strong point for every Serb. He lives and works for his honor and also dies for it (), while the Muslims who, apart from everything else have such a slave attitude towards God, do not die for their honor or emphasize it(...)”* (I, Jan.). They are *“Mujahedins [pejorative for Muslims] in Sarajevo”, “Muslim terrorists”* (M.R, Jan.), while *“the Muslim-Croatian Federation is more a product of American imagination than a real fact in post-Dayton Bosnia.”* (T, 19/5)

Albanians

Whenever the Kosovo problem comes to the fore, the Albanians are to blame for everything. *“The Shiptars [pejorative for Albanian] in the FRY not only were unable to live in peace with the Serbs and the Macedonians but they even dislike the 5% Catholic minority of their nationality. It is a proof that the movement that has existed in Kosovo for decades, which is a part of a historical movement in the whole former Yugoslavia, is formally nationalist and essentially religious and Islamic.”* (I.R, statement by Mirosljub Jevtic, Ph.D.)

The International Community

The usual picture which is drawn is that of an extremely hostile world, which is led by *“the saxophone player [the US President]”* (P, 5/8) and which aims at the total destruction of the brave Serbian people: *“a highly sophisticated technology of brutal devastation brings forth most tragic*

montenegro

consequences to the people, to the civilians, whose past has been created and whose future is anticipated by others.” (P, 14/9); “Regarding the orchestrated campaign for the investigation of war crimes in Srebrenica(…)” (M.T, 3/11).

Europe is to blame because “Europe is already under the American military influence. America rearranges the new world order by making the situation convenient for the American military industry etc.” (T, 5/12); “Do these wretched people know that even the Austro-Hungarian empire didn’t succeed in creating the non-existent Bosnian nation and language and that the legs of the black and yellow monarchy were broken at the Miljacka and other Serbian rivers exactly for this reason!” (V.N, 13/5) Conspiracy theories are implicated on a number of different cases. “UN experts on education,

science and culture didn’t come to Yugoslavia to help it after the years of sanctions, but to help the lagging opposition press”; “[this is done in order to] destabilize the legally elected government.”; “the EU has estimated a long time ago how much each one of our independent media costs.”; “little money is given in exchange for strict obedience to the foreign bosses”; “the work of such media is not worth more than that” (V.N, 24).

To all this the reported reaction on the part of the Serbs is more than heroic. “Besides the Jews, the Serbs are the only nation in Europe tortured by its good neighbors” (I, issue 13); “the Serbian Orthodox resistance to the American Peace is a battle for Orthodoxy” (S, February); “the International Community doesn’t try to help the secession only of Montenegro but

<p>Table of media initials: Pobjeda (P.); Istok (I.); Tanjug (T.); Svetigora (S.); Istok Review (I.R.); Vecernje Novosti (V.N.); Montenegrin Television (M. T.); Montenegrin Radio (M. R.).</p>
--

romania

also of Kosovo - the cradle of Serbian nationality. Then will come Vojvodina's turn and in the end the Serbs would be very similar to the Kurds."; "The Vatican's conspiracy against the Serbs"; "all Catholics in Montenegro are Serbs"; "it would not be surprising if the Montenegrin Autocephalous Church asks from the Vatican its recognition as a Uniate church in the years to come." (I.R, April, statements by Novica Vujosevic, Ph.D.). However, sometimes there are voices which show that the relations between the Serbians and the Montenegrins are not that perfect after all. "Directors of 'Slovenization'"; "Since one euphoria has begun to subside, another one seems to start. The latter's simplified version looks like this: 'It seems that you Montenegrins want to secede as Slovenians did!'" (P, October)

Hungary

Hungary's image as presented by the Romanian media is predominantly negative. "Is Hungary Europe's cheeky gypsy?" (R.M, 1/9); "Hungarians make a show of themselves with their old obsessions" (V.R, 6/4); "Hungarism - a bag of venom on Europe's body" (EZ, 23/8); "Hungarian extremism made another victim" (V.R, 12/4). This attitude comes as a consequence to the real (or imaginary) role which Hungary plays as regards its minority in Romania: "the government in Budapest employs in Transylvania a kind of chauvinism which proves to be now, in UDMR's [Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania] policies, the same incurable disease" (V.R, September). The Hungarian authorities continue, according to well-established trends, their skillful and extremely aggressive propaganda with half-truths and gross lies, promoting the idea that Hungary is the Garden of Eden for national minorities living on its territory. At the same time, they continue on the one hand to liquidate minorities by total assimilation and on the other - to

manipulate minority ethnic groups by means of decoys whom they pay royally." (T.1, 23-30/11). "The Hungarian State - Instigator of UDMR's Anti-Romanian Actions" (T.1, 14/12). "Laszlo Kovacs's declarations are so much more ill-timed as Budapest would benefit even more from the fast conclusion of the Romanian-Hungarian Treaty than Bucharest. (...) Laszlo Kovacs's interviews reveal a certain weariness of the Hungarian diplomacy. (...) As time goes by, Budapest's incessant complaints about the violation of minority rights in Romania start to lose their credibility. (...) It would be an aberration that no official of the European Community could assume without becoming everybody's laughing stock to place on the same footing the rights of Chechens in Russia and of Hungarians in Romania." (A, 6/2). "Under these circumstances, a 'new initiative' for the 'historical reconciliation' appeared in the (free) market, brought by the well-known historical reconciliatory Laszlo Tokes, who did it as subtly and cleverly as an elephant in a china shop. Practically speaking, he offered the conclusion of a 'reconciliation and partnership contract between the majority and the Hungarian minority in Romania.'"; "It is obviously a positive thing that Mr. Tokes was 'in the mood' for reconciliation, especially as opinions were shared as far as was concerned: some said he was inciting to dissension, others, on the contrary, that he was obstinately inciting to inter-ethnic hatred. (...) I do understand poor Tokes and his comrades and fellows - although such a conflict does not exist, it must be created, because what would they do otherwise? How could they play the 'defenders' of a minority that no one offends and no one threatens? What would the lifeguards in 'Baywatch' do had there not been for the menacing ocean - who would they save? As for the idea of the 'Contract between the two parties', Mr. Tokes is at his best, as the contract should be signed by Romania and UDMR, that is, by the Romanian and the UDMR state that you might not have heard

of, but which must exist nonetheless as an independent sovereign state, member of the United Nations (at least in Mr. Tokes's over-excited mind). Just note how delicately he tries to avoid offending the Romanians by speaking openly about the establishment of a second state on Romanian territory and beats around the bush with the two signatures on behalf of the two states. (...)" (T.I, 1/8). On top of that "Hungarians stick their noses where they should not, and they should not do so in Romania!" (R.M, April).

The conclusion that "Jesus was crucified by the Jews in 6 hours; Romania was crucified by the Hungarians in 6 years" (R.M, April) sounds credible when one reads about the "Hungarian paranoia and extremism" - "Hungarian espionage at the Romanian Railway Company" (R.M, April). Still, while some papers claim that "forced ethnic assimilation in purely racist bases"; "Horrible crime? (...) But who knows whether this forced assimilation is not best suited to a state's policy? To Hungary, decidedly! Never, though, to Romania!" "The ashes of the Empire darken the rational thinking" (VR, 14/8), others support the position that "Romania and Hungary should help each other to join NATO" (A, 12/4), because "The delay in concluding the Romanian-Hungarian treaty is absurd. A good neighborly relation, moreover, a partnership at the Western border would be in the best interest of Romania. As for the provision referring to the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania, this issue is a false problem. The provision of the treaty cannot go beyond the requests we must fulfill at all costs in order to ensure a peaceful life with the Hungarian minority in Romania." (22, 10-16/4)

Hungarians

The usual way of presenting the Hungarian minority in Romania is through its political party. The latter is "a hybrid born and

grown by the false European democracy, a 'suicidal' political sect headed by a mad 'reverend' Ioan Barbu Balan - The late Hungarian Feudalism" (R.M, 29/9). "UDMR is the only party that the Romanian state subsidizes to fight against the Romanian state. Such an absurd situation cannot be encountered anywhere else in the world!" (C.R, 18/10). "It is common knowledge that UDMR is the only extremist ultra-nationalist party whose policy concentrates on calumniating Romania and the Romanians" (C.R, 23/10). "See the masquerade Debrecen, where the UDMR buffoons, the only participants, encouraged each other, and after a glass of Tokay wine, produced only stupidities."; "The UDMR terrorists lynched peasant Mihaila Cofariu with 1201 blows" (RM, 25/8).

The party leaders are constantly accused because of their political behavior. "UDMR representatives' protests against the Romanian Law on Education must be taken as they are: more boycott actions, artificial unjustified activities that are prejudicial first and foremost to the Hungarian minority and lead to unjustified separatism, following purely political interests" (V.R, 12/10). "UDMR insisted again on 'poisoning' the debate by misreading the provisions of the Law on education, by decontextualizing and minimizing the Law with their typical radicalism and stubbornness (...) The UDMR representatives received the strong support of APADOR - the Romanian Helsinki Committee representatives, Ms. Renate Weber and Mr. Gabriel Andreescu (...) Seen in this context, the attitude mentioned above could only smear, once again, Romania's image in the world, for interests that 'we overlook'" (D, 6/9). "Accepting this anomaly called UDMR would mean to accept a cancer to the Romanian democracy" (V.R, 13/4).

The most prominent accusation, however, is that "Ever since its setting up, five years ago, UDMR was placed on an exclusively

romania

political and nationalist position; they knew how to exploit the 'patriotic' ethical feelings of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania. This feeling has been carefully nurtured, by trumpeting the dangers menacing the Hungarian minority in Romania, due to the nationalist and chauvinist policy of the country after December 1989. (...) People - constituents, to be more precise - have had enough of the moonshine and fiddlesticks that UDMR representatives have uttered all these years and are sick and tired of listening to them any longer" (T.I., 19-26/10). "Six years of Romanian-Hungarian feud, diabolically roused and cultivated by the devout UDMR politician, with the Bible under his arm and lies on his lips"; "this character is misleadingly perverse"; "the devil's disciple proposes can you believe it? - HUNGARIAN AUTONOMY IN TRANSYLVANIA!" (V.R, 2/11). "For six years now, UDMR plays everything on one card: total segregation from the rest of the country's population, imposing their own laws, against everybody else!"; "this chauvinist irredentist ethic organization is present in the Romanian Parliament in order to get from the inside 'rights' that no other minority in Europe claims (let alone obtain)"; "an incredible attempt to ethnic isolation, unprecedented since Hitler and Horthy"; "bishop Laszlo Tokes, the main instigator against the Romanian state, standard of Hungarian chauvinism" (V.R, 12/12). "UDMR's whole noise-producing team (and primarily the ever active Hungarian lobby from Europe) try to obtain by force unacceptable super-rights. Cleverly disguised under a fake democratic language, the arguments of the UDMR leadership (as opposed to the rest of the ethnic Hungarians living in Romania) aim to set up a SEGREGATIONIST SEPARATISM, the establishment of an ethnic enclave outside the legal authority of the Romanian state! It does not take a prophet to understand what is hidden behind the international flurry and wailing started by the UDMR leadership." (V.R, 18/1). "the UDMR means to attain autonomy based on

ethnic criteria, by using the policy of the fait accompli" (TVR1, 29/1).

All this makes some media conclude that "Hungarian extremists are plotting to create a new Bosnia in Transylvania" (R.M, 24/11). "The decision on the 'Status of personal autonomy' provides that 'The National Hungarian Community in Romania is a political subject under the laws of the Romanian state.' Meaning, to make it clearer, that 'Romania ends where the Hungarian National Community begins.' And it pretends to have equal rights with the longer valid; 'state near the community' is more like it! Or maybe the other way round!" (T.I, 8-15/2). "To accept the ethnic-territorial autonomy promoted by UDMR documents would mean to put an end to peace and stability in Romania" (D, 8/3). When a UDMR leader addressed the issue of mixed marriages, the papers responded in a rather ironic way. "I am sure, however, that if he would, the coupling of a Hungarian with a Romanian woman would be blamed on a plot, schemed by the Romanian majority to efface the Hungarians who live and work within Romanian boundaries. It might be possible for him, as representative of an organization who turned telling on people at European gates into a kind of banner, to complain to international instances, asking them to reprove sexual relations between Hungarian men and Romanian women. (...) The West should think harder before proclaiming that all Hungarians are true blue Europeans, and I do not refer to Adam Katona's declarations, but to the fact that such a big do as the UDMR meeting was could debate for six hours whether the thesis relating to mixed marriages could be supported by the party of Hungarians living in Romania. (...) We meant to stress once more what aberrant peaks any kind of fundamentalism, including Hungarian fundamentalism, may reach." (E.Z, 15/1). "The racist anti-Romanian ideas that Katona Adam, one of the UDMR leaders, and even bishop Tokes endorse should come as no surprise. The

revanchist offensive in countries neighboring Hungary, coupled with the simultaneous incitement of the Hungarian minority to claim all kinds of strange types of 'autonomies' proves to be part of a well devised scheme." (V.R, 22/1).

Other UDMR leaders are also condemned, because *"Wherever they go, the representatives of UDMR pretend they are desperate, complain about the lack of rights, that they are subject to 'ethnic cleansing', while they provoke people to disobey the Romanian legislation in areas where they are in a majority. There are many such examples that can be seen every day." (T.I, 12-19/4). Moreover, "The insolence of Hungarian leaders goes beyond the sickest imagination (...) UDMR leaders should ask for copyright as fast as possible for their innovation: absurd politics!" (T.I, 29/3-5/4). "This character, with no common sense, calls all Romanians criminals whenever he can, because they descend from the Dacians and the Romans. But who is this Bela Marko, after all? An arrogant renegade whose ancestors' name was Marcu [a Romanian name], whose forefathers cruelly and cowardly killed over 40,000 Romanians in the period 1848-1849 and who slaughtered and killed other hundreds of thousands of Romanians, Jews, Slovaks and, in some cases, even honest Hungarians with democratic and humanitarian views."; "Bela Marko is now chief editor of the 'LATO' magazine, President of the Hungarian chauvinist extremist party UDMR and member of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Romanian Parliament" (T.I, 15-22/2). "Never has the owner of a Romanian passport succeeded in abusing his mother country so industriously and hatefully, presenting it in darkest colors. Moreover, this obnoxious character who poses as a hero(?) of the Revolution has penetrated the highest levels of Western governments to spread his venom. (...) To put it differently, the anti-Romanian campaign higher quality level by Don Pedro of*

Toledo!" (V.R, 16/3).

In short, most of the political decisions of the Hungarian party are looked at with suspicion. *"UDMR organized deliberately, with its well known dishonesty and tenacity, broadcasts in Hungarian at the Romanian national television in order to humiliate the Romanian people on the very holy day of Easter (...) The aggressive, biased trend of the broadcast in Hungarian makes it unsuitable at a time when the audience is so high and particularly on such a day." (C.R, 4/4). "Why Did UDMR Neo-Nazis Shout 'We Want Iliescu to Come' on March 20, 1990 in Tirgu Mures?" (R.M, 29/12). "Functioning according to the conspiratorial principles of the Mafia and Freemasonry, Hungarian companies deplete Romania of information and huge amounts of money." (E.Z, March); "they dare intimidate and blackmail. They did the same during the press conference, placing the bomb on the sorest spot: resuming of negotiations in the Romanian-Hungarian treaty. (...) They aim to attack the Romanian national unitary state. There is just one political party that rejects the first article of the Constitution - UDMR. (...) the moles from GDS do not dig at random; they undermine the foundation of the rule of law" (V.R, 16/3). It seems that the party has economic objectives as well as political ones. *"It may seem surprising, but the transfer of assets, intelligently orchestrated by UDMR, will modify the ethnic configuration of the area, the Hungarians becoming major owners even in areas where they are a minority in numbers!" (V.R, 9/4). That is why "In 1996, when PRM wins the elections, the criminal organization UDMR will have to pack up either for Budapest or for the prison" (R.M, 1/9).**

Apart from the Hungarian party, the ordinary representatives of the minority also get a piece of the negativism of the Romanian media. *"In Oradea, Hungarians Become Christians(...) through Satan" (R.M, 1/12); "the demolition and devastation of the churches and the priests'*

romania

homes, the expulsion or assassination of the schools, the Hungarization of the names of people and localities, the replacement of the Romanian language by the Hungarian one are actions promoted obstinately by the Hungarian nationalists." (VR, 21/8). Still, it is refreshing to read articles like the following which show the absurdity of the hostility between the neighboring peoples. "The historical resentment of Romanians against Hungarians - dating, in fact, only about 200 years back - and which has now become obsolete is irresponsibly stirred up now. When the Hungarian minority becomes the scapegoat of the political discourse of the Power - and not just the Power - primarily of the media (...). This is an electoral year and there are few competitors who offer anything else but hatred and revenge against the Hungarians instead of providing solutions for the real problems." (D, 19-25/4)

Roma

This group of Romanian citizens is subjected to constant hate speech, which is based on a number of stereotypical notions. The idea that all Roma steal is circulated again and again. "Criminality among Gypsies". The author is quoted as saying: "the Roma break all records in the field of criminality" (A1, 30/11); "the Roma, who steal, rob and attack Romanians' "measures have to be taken without invocation, on the part of the authorities, of pretexts of powerlessness" (TVR1, 18/9, a statement by a PUNR senator during a Senate session); "People have a right to know their rights, but also their duties. It seems that the Roma ethnic group still has much to learn in this respect." (V.R, 3/2); "On their way to a wedding, wealthy Gypsies stole even candies" (V.R, 5/3).

Apart from that, the Roma are presented as having an especially violent nature. "Thousands of Gypsies Arrived from Costesti Belly-Danced and Fought with Clubs and Knives" (D.T, 1/9). "Thirsty Gypsies Fought

Like Mad Dogs in a Street in Nasaud" (A, 1/9). The hygienic habits of the Gypsies are also mocked at. "Such events are usual in Romanian hospitals and the doctors have become accustomed with the behavior of our fellow nationals. The Gypsies sleep in the corridors of the hospitals where one of theirs is hospitalized. While commonsensical people comply with the hygiene rules to be observed in any hospital, the Gypsies penetrate even in the operating areas, led rather by instinct" (R.L, 24/1).

And last, but not least, the notion of the "lazy Gypsy" is given a new dimension. "The Guppies in Buzau do not want jobs, but social assistance money" (V.R, 16/2). "The Gypsies block the street with Mercedes cars in order to get their social assistance money" (A, 12/1). Whenever there is an occasion, the papers ridicule the Roma's claim not to be called "Gypsies." "Rrom(anians) expelled from the Czech Republic" (RL, 18/8). "Gher(r)man r(r)acoleaza rromi" [the author employs only words which contain the letter 'r', which is doubled on purpose, not due to the rules of correct Romanian spelling, but because the Roma insist that their name is spelled as 'Rroma'.] (RL, 26/8). "Gypsy imagination knows no limits with regard to the names they give to their children. After the migration tide to Germany, they used to give their children names such as Berlin, Dortmund, Vienna and others, inspired by the towns they had invaded" (E.Z, 10/1).

Despite these "funny" sides of the treatment of this minority, it is important to point out that "The members of the Roma ethnic group are turned into scapegoats." (Tele7, 5/3) of public opinion, which tolerates even racist qualifications like "Four little niggers [Roma]" (V.R, 10/2); "Drunks, Gypsies, brats and old people all over Bucharest" (R.L, 13/4). "(...) You will find out that the Gypsies want to attack the state institutions." [after the break, the story was presented like this]

“Explosive situation in the village of Sintesti. This locality is on the verge of the breaking of a new conflict between the Gypsies and the local authorities. As they had promised, the Gypsies are determined to assault the mayor’s office and to change the mayor. Accused for stealing electricity by empirical methods, the Gypsies decided to stop waiting for ever for the officials’ approval and to put things right themselves. They want to demote by force the current mayor, who did not contribute in any way to the clarification of the situation.” (A1, 9/4).

There are again occasional voices against those who are trying to build negative stereotypes. *“PDSR Senator Radu Timofte did not know what he was talking about when he said that the 5,000 thieves from Germany were Gypsy. It is a pity that he speaks without having any concrete evidence. It is probably easier for him to use a stereotype than to think with his own mind. This is not the first time that the Roma are pointed out as guilty for everything that goes wrong in this country.” (R.L, 27/11). Romanians in general are to blame, because “When society is corrupt, why should they behave otherwise? This is wrong, of course, but this way of judging comes from a long line of hasty or disproportionate judgments relating to the Roma just because they are(...) Roma. It is a fact that this sole quality is not enough for contempt, according to an old saying ‘you eat like a Gypsy, behave like a Gypsy, dress like a Gypsy’ therefore - ‘as guilty as a Gypsy’, isn’t that so?” (D., 19-25/4). Still, the biggest share of the blame belongs to the authorities because “the Gypsy cause swings from the picturesque to criminality and between uncertainty and humiliation in the day-to-day life. (...) I believe that the image of the ‘picturesque criminal’ is manipulated: he is unshaven, dark, defying; he wears big golden rings, owns a Mercedes but is illiterate. And while the evil is diversified, the new criminals, and those who profit from them, have white starched collars, white complexions, elegant manners, but, because the image of the*

gypsy has been excessively presented in the media, they pass as correct, fair, do not stand out from the rest. Human rights are always discussed, but Gypsy rights are regarded more or less as the rights of trees: they are entitled to grow, but it is their business how they manage to do so.” (D, 19-25/4) and “although the authorities state the full equality in rights, the notion of ‘Gypsy’ remains a social problem. The Gypsies are the first suspects for any crime, although oftentimes they have nothing to do with it. (...) Society regards them with suspicion and does not allow them to integrate, blaming them at want. To survive and preserve their lifestyle from outside interference. Even if they are still going to be blamed for everything that goes wrong.” (C.R, 5/12). The legitimate conclusion is that “As they are not known well enough, or are known mostly by the behavior that places them in a negative light, Gypsies seem unable to obey to the law. If only people knew how severe Gypsy justice (stator) is, how strict its laws and how they are accepted without bargaining, the image of the unruly Gypsy would change.” (C.R, 20/4)

The International Community

Many Romanian journalists lament over the situation of their country, because *“Never has Romania had such an awkward status of colony without the right to express its opinion, never has the Romanian diplomacy passed through such a humble period, never have our intelligence services been so powerless and paralyzed by foreign agents, never has the Romanian been so scoffed at by all these foreigners who rob us and plot to tear our country to pieces” (C.R, 16/9). “Some said we were a primitive colony in the midst of Europe, illiterate savages, with no faith and no God. Hosts of those who are trying to get the attention of the crowd (...) Their masters’ way of thinking is simple and very hostile to us. Should they be left to play the giddygoat in our own country, in the name of a*

romania

democracy leading us to total submission?" (V.R, 19/10). At the same time "The Romanians have had enough of lying politicians, eating humble pie in front of foreign inspectors" (C.R, 23/9). That is why "Corneliu Vadim Tudor might be a solution to save the Romanian People from the humiliation it has been going through since the December 1989 coup d'etat. (...) In four or five year's time, Vad could save the Romanian people from corruption, poverty humiliation, the Hungarian threat, the Jewish vulture good for nothings, unemployment, and the unwelcome European inspectors." (E. Z., 4/10).

On the basis of all this the media feel justified to be hurt due to the fact that *"We know that each violent outburst of the Romanians was based on anti-social actions perpetrated by the Gypsies and not on ethnic hatred. High dignitaries from civilized Europe wander all over Romania. Between two glasses of fine champagne, they draft unfavorable reports, such as those in which tensions that arise in places where Romanians and Gypsies live together are qualified as racial hatred. It is a pity that our distinguished guests do not try to understand objectively what the real problems are. At the same time, we must not forget the role of the state authorities in settling conflicts, primarily by promptly enforcing the national legislation. Because Romania's image comes from inside, after all." (R.L, 24/1).*

Some well-known Western politicians and international organizations are accused openly. (...) 3. *PUNR expresses its conviction that Mr. Alfred Moses's anti-democratic approach does not go along with the US Government foreign policy or with the feelings of the American nation."*; *"The suggestions and comments on the 'Marshall Ion Antonescu' monument to be raised in Cluj represent an inconceivable interference in the capitalization of our national history and disregard for the exclusive right of the Romanian people to*

honor its heroes. (...)"; "We cannot fail noticing the striking resemblance between Mr. Alfred Moses's recent indication and the behavior of Soviet political commissaries in Romania, who used to dictate all the actions of the Romanian state under the communist regime." (A, 26/2). "The historians can also offer documents to persuade the US that it is against historical truth to incriminate Romania in the Nazi-Fascist Holocaust Museum; against historical truth is also to declare marshal Antonescu a war criminal." (RL, 19/8). "NATO and the UN turn into Mafia gangs" (E.Z, 12/9). The synthesis of this hostility could be found in the following paragraph where the "language of the street" and the insult are the basic means of expression. "But what does the German do? He pops a bear can, and belches happily, because in his country, besides the cities devastated by idiotic young people conceived in the public toilets of the planet, besides burnt houses and assassinated Turks, nothing which breaks democracy's rules happens."; "And what does the French say, while opening a bottle of Beaujolais (...) ignoring, in his turn, the attacks and violent strikes in his own country? Voila, mon cher, what country is this Romania of the Roma, as don't they put ROM on their license plates?, such diabolical characters, such criminals, such savages, all belong to Siberia, messieurs and madames!" (VR, August)

Anti-Semitism

Romanian media show strong anti-Semitic sentiments which are not seen in any other Balkan country. *"Prey: Romania! Hunter: the World Jewish Government! Weapon: White House Blackmail!" (R.M, 15/9). "Israel, You Will Perish By Your Own Hand"; "What is essential here is the hidden drama of Judaism which cannot be solved, in our opinion, by means of the obsolete scapegoat subterfuge" (R.L, 11/11). "Jews Abuse Romanian History Again" (R.M, 8/12). "Jews Must Not Interfere with Other*

Countries' Policies" (R.M, 29/12). Some of the articles support the thesis of the "international Jewish conspiracy" and of other openly racist notions. "The Gypsy chief Dan Voiculescu, followed like a servant by the Jew Florin Bratescu" (R.M, 5/4); "Those who have set to lay hands - by means of administrative positions - on these resources are Gypsies and Jews. Gypsies and Jews (including those recently arrived in Romania) stand out amongst the other ethnic groups that populate our country and that have become integrated alongside Romanians in the Romanian society. [It seems] they have schemed to subdue the Romanians by making use of various plans and means; but with the same goal: to enslave Romanians economically speaking, to annihilate their freedom in their own country" (R.M, 19/4). "The Jewish Mafia is desperate to keep Ion Iliescu's team in power at any costs (...) because no one but this team can guarantee the retrocession of hundreds of thousands of alleged properties claimed by Jews" (R.M, 19/4).

The summary of all the hatred which is "reserved" for all Jews may explain the virulent attacks against George Soros [a Hungarian-born American billionaire and philanthropist of Jewish origin] and his Open Society Foundation. "Soros Foundation - Horrible Sink of Orgies and Criminality" (R.M, November). "The famous Soros Foundation has, undoubtedly, a place of choice in the manipulation of the Romanian public opinion and in casting bones between our parties (...) 'NATIONAL DIVERSION'; "the purely diversions goal of their schemes" (C.R, 9/10). "Soros Foundation - Stinking Gutter of Sex Orgies and Criminality" (R.M, 17/11). "If Soros is willing to put his money into this [opinion poll], that's his own business. It is not so clear why

governmental institutions and state intelligence services allow such attempts at manipulating the public opinion by means of disguised financing from abroad."; "You will see, you're in hot water as far as we are concerned" (V.R, 3/2)

Religious Minorities

The traditional dominant role of the Orthodox Church is propounded by the media. That is why the latter are suspicious of all other religions, especially those coming from the east. "On the other hand, this Oriental wave is - consciously or not - an aggression against the Christian civilization. (...) The (actually false) mission of the Orient to undermine Christianity tallies with our own weakness, with our ever stronger tendency to promote a syncretic movement such as New Age, to pave the way for a cohabitant between science and religion, etc. (...) One could say, therefore, that - besides the miners' coming to Bucharest, earthquakes, the dangers represented by SRI [the Romanian Intelligence Service] and PRM [the Greater Romania Party], another major danger is the presence of these fake Oriental missionaries and of the literature accompanying them." (R.L, 2/11)

Sexual Minorities

In spite of its international commitments, Romania is still a country where adult consensual same-sex relations are criminalized. The large majority of the population, as well as the representatives of the state are not in favor of decriminalizing homosexuality. As a rule the media try to present the homosexuals and their habits in the worst possible light. TVR2 had its "Credo" religious program deal once with

<p>Table of media initials: Vocea Romanei (V.R.); Dimineata (DT); Adevarul (A.); Romania Libera (RL); Evenimentul Zilei (EZ); Cronica Romana (CR); Romania Mare (RM); Totusi Iubirea (TI); Dilema (D.); 22; TVR1; TVR2; Tele 7; A1.</p>

serbia

homosexuality. Both the producer of the program and his guests agreed without hesitation that God made man and woman in order that they share marriage and have children. Therefore, any person who misuses his/her body, just for pleasure, is a sinner. Homosexuality was also called a crime, and there was much lamentation explaining that erotic pleasure, pornography and homosexuality are all due to the fact that the modern man had turned his face from God. The three participants mocked at Romania's international commitments and said that they prefer the people to remain healthy and outside Europe, than to integrate by paying the price of legalizing homosexuality. (TVR2, 10/10). The attitude of the print media is not less intolerant. *"Damn homosexuals, it's their fault we don't have a Penal Code! Despite the will of Gabriel Andreescu, that fine writer, President of Sexual Minorities in Romania awarded with the Prize for Minorities by the Hungarian Prime Minister, Gyula Horn. Such an honor for our country, for its marvelous image in the world!"* (V.R, 20/12)

Albanians

The negative attitude of the Serb media is often provoked by the conflicts between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. *"Disagreements and open conflicts are ever more frequent among Kosovo Shiptar secessionists because Warren Christopher, the American Secretary of State allegedly promised Ibrahim Rugova (...) that in case of an armed rebellion (...) America would support the terrorists. Shiptar extremists interpret Christopher's promise as a signal for the dismissal of Rugova from the office as he refuses to take up arms"* (P.E, 3/8); *"it is curious that the 'peace-making' Shiptar line is represented by none other than Adem Demaqi. It is common knowledge that he spent 30 years in prison (3 sentences) for trying to violently overthrow the system, advocating the formation of illegal armed groups, terrorism and other*

until the ultimate end of 'the Kosovo Republic'. After his release (...) he is the gray eminence of a group of former political convicts, all sharing his extremist views. However, his attachment to threats for bloodshed shows that, no matter how often it pulls on the hide of a fox, a wolf is always a wolf." (V.N, 27/9).

The Kosovo leaders are called *"(...) Leaders of the separatist movement of Kosovo [who] increasingly claim that their political designs have almost come to fruition and that it is only a question of time when their dream will turn into reality. Pro-separatist dailies often publish the statements of former communist leaders who are obviously pulling the strings somewhere in the background (...) waiting to see whether they would get a Kosovo Republic or regain the Kosovo Autonomy from 1974 (...) Azem Vlasi has been Tito's Youth Association leader and then leader of the Communists of Pristina and Kosmet. He is currently working as an attorney, defending separatists, terrorists, drug and arms dealers"* (D, 24/3). Then they are warned *"(...) that our message to them is that 'the Kosovo Republic' and 'Greater Albania' can come true only if someone destroys ten-million Serbia in the heart of the Balkans and in the heart of Europe."* (D, 5/11).

The Albanian population is often referred to by insulting words. *"SHIPTARS GET ANGRY"; "Shiptar parties think that they are losing big cities and getting only tiny villages"* (P, 14/5). *"RACIST ASPIRATIONS OF ANTI-SERB CIRCLES"; "Could anyone in the world believe the nonsense that the Serbs took monasteries away from the Shiptars"* (B, 30/8).

The Republic of Albania is also present in the coverage of the Serb media. *"Frantic campaign of Shiptar media against the accommodation of Serb refugees. Serb farms, houses and about 200,000 hectares of usurped land represented as Shiptar although the facts say the contrary"* (B,

25/8). "Whenever Albanian diplomacy's 'wheels start to screech' and when the winning of support and realization of Albanian foreign political demands is not successful enough, the press in Tirana includes on its 'agenda' the subject of Kosmet. After a longish lull (...) the local media (...) accorded major publicity to the message of the self-appointed 'president' of the non-existent 'Republic of Kosovo' and leader of the 'alternative' Ibrahim Rugova sent to the UN Secretary General (...) on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the international organization." (B, 4-5/11). "First the Albanian authorities, then the government of neighboring Hungary, and finally the not-to-be ruler of 'Great Muslim Bosnia' Alija Izetbegovic, protested because refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina, victimized by the Croatian aggression, were accommodated in Serbia (...) Albania, naturally objects to refugees in Kosovo and Metohija (...) the Hungarian government - to those for whom shelter is found in Vojvodina, and Izetbegovic - to the arrival of some of them in the Raska Region, that is Sanjak(...) In other words, from the Albanian point of view, a reverse process, which has been at work for decades already, should be in order in Kosovo and Metohija: to increase (...) the number of Albanians by their massive settlement from Albania, demographic explosion and pressure against Serbs and Montenegrins, and to create thereby an ethnically pure space, that is conditions propitious for the emergence of Greater Albania. Similar reasons, (...) govern the Hungarian authorities and the Islamic fundamentalist Izetbegovic." (D, 26/8)

Other parties, outside either of the two sides involved in the Kosovo problem, are present as well. "Pristina - Through the Evangelistic church English spies monitor the situation in Kosovo and Metohija; the most persistent among them is Stephen Bell. Allegedly the Baptist missionary of the European Christian Mission and a student of Shiptarology in Pristina (who was filed as an

English agent as early as 1985), Bell has included about a hundred Shiptars in his espionage network" (P.E, 22/1). This comes to show that "Although everybody understands that Kosmet is an integral and inseparable part of Serbia, an internal question of the Republic and the FRY, a province whose degree of autonomy within Serbia can be discussed without including, however, any independence, autonomy, and especially secession, Shiptar secessionist be-foggers will not stop 'stirring the mare's nest'. They do it in a manner which makes it clear even to political ingenues that their only purpose is to remain in 'saddle' as long as possible and thus, again only for themselves, snatch as much as possible financially" (V.N, 22/1).

Croats

The media in Serbia present Croats as brutal and ruthless people, who try to destroy everything pertaining to Serbs. "BURGHERS [pejorative for people living in Zagreb] THIRSTING BLOOD" (V.N, 3/8). "The exact number of captured Serbs is not known, but it is estimated that in Croatian prisons languish, if they have not been liquidated, more than seven and a half thousand Serbs. Serbs who stayed behind are hunted 'touristically' in Krajina forests according to 'see-kill' principle" (V.N, 18/9). "Early medieval Serb tombs - 'gromile' - found on several sites in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina"; "Now all this evidence is left at the mercy of the Croatian army destroying the vestiges of age-old existence in that area." (V.N, 25/8). In comparisons between the two countries the media state that "Serbia is a democratic and civilized country, not a fascist one like Croatia, where no one except the Croats has any rights" (D, 14/8) and where "By all appearances, the Croats in the FRY do not miss a hair from the head, and they had no need to flee, except the few who left of their own will, finding their economic

serbia

interest in the exchange of their home for abandoned Serb houses. Oftentimes by fraud and overnight, even our local lawyers, holders of dual nationalities (...) also fared quite well (...) There are cases when citizens of Croat origin asked for the status of workers on leave, went to live temporarily in Croatia where their children study, helped by scholarships acquired in Yugoslavia, and even fulfilled their 'patriotic duty' in the Croatian armed forces" (D, 26/1). "The de-nationalization in Croatia bears all the signs of a vicious circle, in which the grim past is the first arbiter of the present! The ruling party (...) imposes solutions which are shameless, to say the least. For, the chief purpose of the Croatian de-nationalization shows a deep imprint of plunder on racial grounds" (V.N, 23/1). "(...) That is why these elections ought to be interpreted as the first stage of the transition period, the last stage of the Croat neo-fascism" (V.N, 1/11).

On top of all that it seems that the international community is willing to support the Croatian interests, which, according to the Serbian media, are not "healthy" and just. "(...) However, if the misdeeds of the present Croatian army are not thwarted and prevented by someone (...) statisticians and other crime calculators will easily prove with the 'calm of the thousand-year-old Catholic and European culture' that the Serbs never even (...) existed there. Names of towns have been changed already so that even a Satan (a real devil, incidentally, nominated for a saint by the Vatican) Alojzije Stepinac, now has a town bearing his name although it is a purely Serb place - Dvor on the date has already been set, Stepinac-grad will be 99% Croat." (B, 9-10/9). "The Drina is the Croat dream, and the Vienna-Islamic goal. This is the historical lesson. The current reality is as follows: fundamentalists and Catholics, Muslims and Croats, are jointed in one federation in Washington. Nevertheless, it remains to be guessed if Alija's struggle is, in fact, the opening of the last Turkish

testament ever or the greatest joy? Along with this all, one should not disregard the fact that the Leader's assumption is taking place west of - the white angel." (P.E, 22-23/1). "The London conference on the ways of creation of a climate of confidence among the recent belligerents is already under way and the Croats still can't complete the destruction of Mrkonjic Grad (...) Foreign ministers are determining what to repair first and all this while the Croats are shoveling pates [a type of land mines] into the territories they are supposed to return to us." (P, 10/12)

Muslims

The Muslims are presented as "jihadians [pejorative for Muslim] - forced to flee head over heels" (P.E, 20/8) who "burn Serb villages and fire at people who have remained behind, and Croats set up 'concentration centers'" (P.E, 9/8). "In line with the implementation of this monstrous plan, Muslim terrorists in Priboj and Nova Varos were instructed by their superiors in the former B-H to kill a ten-year-old boy of Muslim origin. The boy's father has numerous relatives and is a loyal citizen of Serbia (...) This had to be done at the height of NATO air force operations. The same strategy envisages to set a mosque on fire (...) Along with this, Muslim terrorists in Sanjak have prepared yet another gory scenario (...) planning the murder of several UN observers and then represent the crimes as Serb revenge." (P.E, 21/9).

The other issue related to them is the "Farce with the so called Bosnjak nationality, an import for Sarajevo, just a choice of some individuals, who are ready to turn even into Bushmen in order to achieve their personal interests" (V.N, 16/3). The same paper draws the following conclusion: "Since they do not feel comfortable in the Muslim skin, and in view of their previous lives as Serbs, Turks,

Croats and finally Yugoslavs, some Raska Muslims would like to change once again their packaging label (...) now they would like to become Bosnjaks" (V.N, 14/3).

The international community is accused again of plotting against the Serbs. "Hosts of all sorts of 'rapporteurs' perambulate Sanjak these days. With the help of the local 'protector of human rights' Sefko Alomerovic [the Chair of Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sanjak] they spread blatant lies about Serbs and the status of the Muslims in Sanjak" (P.E, 24/2).

Slovenes

Slovenia gets its share of hate speech due to the fact that "(T)here is no end to the cheering in the Slovenian media after the Croatian offensive in the former B-H and the capture of Grahovo and Glamoc. Celebrating blatant lies about Serbs and the status of the Muslims in Sanjak" (P.E, 24/2).

Apart from that, the Slovenes are seen as ungrateful people, who want to gain as much as possible from what is left from the possessions of ex-Yugoslavia. "Until a few days ago everything was different in Ljubljana. Since the time when the seams of history valid until 1991 burst up, Slovenia has wholeheartedly joined in the hawkish chorus of the West (...) Powerful Western hawks did the aforementioned because of their visions of the new world distribution of states, and Slovenia - in order to show it was more western than the West itself, former sub-Alpine Yugoslavs placed their bets on the diplomatic and political strictness (...)" ; "(...) it is common knowledge that money is an important angle of the Slovenian world-view." (D, 2/12) "On the basis of the continuity of that first Yugoslavia, created on December 1st, 1918, the second one - that of 1945 - was also created. Like the first one, it was again

joined by the Slovenes and the Croats, pursuing their own interests only and wishing to leave it as quickly as possible and return to their former masters. And when others made a house for them, they exerted themselves to demolish it from the foundations thinking they would get a newer and better house, whereas history has shown that, as a rule, they always ended up with a worse one." (D, 1/12)

There is an openly mocking attitude: "OUTCAST, everyone has their outcasts, only the Slovenes and the Croats don't. There the cast-offs fear recycling. Or is it the firmness of character which others lack? Hardened in the Institute of St. Hierolimus? And yet, an outcast has nothing to do with cast-offs because some of them would be immediately recycled in Paris." (B, 30/9-1/10). However, this attitude is not "reserved" for Slovenes only. It applies to all people which used to comprise the no longer existent Federation. "A specific itinerant circus of the representatives of the secessionist republics of Slovenia, Croatia B-H and Macedonia, after Ljubljana arrived in Zagreb. It announces a visit to Skopje (presumably Sarajevo, too, later on?), all with the intention to allegedly protect the property of the former Yugoslavia (...)" ; "(Un)expectedly, dezela [Slovene: country] was particularly insistent; it was the first to start undermining Yugoslavia, and now literally does its utmost to grab the largest share of the dowry. The Slovenian leader Milan Kucan used to a large extent even his first official visit to 'brotherly' Macedonia (...) to find out how the Slovenians and Macedonians could snatch the largest slice of the cake in the succession (...)" ; "In point of fact, one can expect a great deal more from the 'itinerant circus' of representatives for succession from the secessionist republics. Devious, as when they were destroying Yugoslavia, now they are afraid again of dirty play among themselves" (V.N, 31/1). "Now the erstwhile secessionists offer a hand to the recently hateful in Belgrade. They do it, true, rather

serbia

timidly, because in their environments, due to political reconciliation and offer of the hand to their recent enemy, they are subject to many attacks. In Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina (it is them we are talking about) the opposition is still against any cooperation with Belgrade. Their hair still stands on end at the sight of sajkaca [Serbian peasant cap], and they get goose-bumps at the mention of Serbs" (D, 16/1)

Hungarians

Oftentimes the Vojvodina Hungarians are accused of plotting against official Belgrade. *"It is ever more evident that the Vojvodina Hungarian leaders are reinforcing their undefined borders in the northern part of the Yugoslav territory, establishing intensive links with their co-nationals from neighboring countries, if not within official boundaries, then in every other respect."* (D, 21/12). *"Had there been slogans written around their table, we might have read: 'The question of Vojvodina - the question of money' or 'Vojvodina wheat for Vojvodina mills.' With a little more ingenuousness, now we would also remember the wall gazette, maybe without the sickle and the hammer, but with a clear message: 'We want to establish civil autonomous Vojvodina which threatens no one, helps everyone, excludes nobody, accepts everybody.'" (D, January).*

Historical data are presented in a way which builds up hatred towards the *"OCCUPIERS'S BLOODY TRAIL"; "CRIMES OF HORTI'S [the Hungarian Regent] EXECUTIONERS"; "SAJKASKA STREET SLAUGHTER"; "POGROM IN NOVISAD"; "Having barely entered Yugoslavia, Horti's hordes embarked upon mass killings and forcible deportation in order to 'cleanse' the so called Southern Territories from the Serbs, Jews, Romany and other unsuitable inhabitants and create an ethnically pure occupied territory" (D, 21/11).* Still, even

the present day situation is described as worrying, because *"The 'oldest' Hungarian secondary school in this part of the world was to lend support and ground for the idea about the establishment of purely Hungarian schools which should be better than the bilingual ones only because no language but Hungarian would be heard in them (...)"*; *"(...) Street names, historic dates, executions in times of war, migrations of people, bilinguals. Other ethnic communities in these lands are undesirable, redundant."* (D, 11/9)

Montenegrins

Montenegrins in general are not presented in a negative light. However, there are certain groups, which provoke the wrath of the Serbian media. *"The champions of autonomous Montenegro, the well-known 'hundred per cent Montenegrins' rallied round the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, now obviously, don't even know what they believe in (...)* [follows a list of the 'treasonous' acts committed by members or followers of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro. The article ends with a statement that all their activities are a] *"separatist wild shot."* (D, 27/12)

The International Community

A very pronounced feature of all mainstream (especially of the pro-regime) media is their obsession with the danger coming from the international community, which is plotting against the Serbs and everything which the Serbs deem valuable. *"Thus, in the wake of Krajina's amputation from the Serb state-making body, the USA offers a prescription for the Balkan balance and a deal on Bosnia (...)* Hasn't the programmed destruction of Krajina established a forced 'symmetry' on the Serb and Croat balance pans, which has to be 'finely tuned' in Bosnia, without causing damage to the Muslims"; *"(...) someone*

from the 'flowery part of the world' has - directly or indirectly - used a butcher's knife to make a surgical cut in the Balkans. The movement of more than 200,000 Krajina Serbs and butchering of their roots in their ancestral soil are what arouses the greatest horror so far. Europe has not witnessed such large-scale ethnic expulsion ever since World War II. Even greater horror is provoked by the thought that its enforced migration might well have been coolly typed on the political computer of some baron in the West with the idea to construct his peace" (D, 23/8). "(...) The borders traced by Titoist authorities are often at odds with tradition or elementary rules of ethnic balance. The problem is that so-called Europe plus the USA feverishly hastened to recognize them (...) This has become a matter of laws because it is us who, from the heights of 'White Houses', establish international law, even though we have deep contempt for the local inhabitants" (N.B, 14/9) This makes "Quite a number of citizens of all countries of the new world order believe that the Serbs are an ugly, mean breed: barbarians, occupiers, criminals, rapists"; "(...) it is only later that one realizes that all the killed combatants are filed 'under slain', and 'under slaughtered' all the slain civilians. And they were slaughtered indeed. Because, in those territories the slaughter of humans was, and is, the 'trade mark' of the ustashi [pejorative for Croats]. Both old and new, young." (D, 20/8).

On the basis of these accusations, the Serbian media hold that the attitude of the West is extremely unfair. "When it was all over, everybody closed their mouth, swallowing what was left after it all: more than 250,000 Serb refugees (...) They also shed crocodile tears (...) many, even, blissfully belched, sated and contented after a large bite of Serb meat. As, for instance, mistress Albright (...) even the notorious 'justice-lover' Tadeusz Mazowiecki could hardly come up with such a hypocritical mouthful as that" (D,

16/8). "HIRED GUN - the NATO pact hired by the UN (read: America) (...) Otherwise, some use another name for this type of killer - the world policeman. It is a misconception that hired guns are usually Americans. Their hands are clean: they get the UN, local conscientious citizens, universalistic intelligentsia, fundamentalists, and when this is not enough, they take planes, and rockets. Nothing is done manually, they only push the button."; "NATO, for those who did not know what the acronym stands for, now, after all that happened, it positively means the following: Nazi, American, Terrorist, Organization"; "(NEW) WORLD ORDER, from Alexander the Great to the Popes, from Hitler to Stalin, we've had enough of new orders. Therefore, it is not a new but the old one, wrapped in new packaging (...) The order of the Fourth Reich packaged in whiskey, Cola, 'Kent' and Sacher-torte. Those who like it are welcome to it, and those who don't - buzz off! To a camp with him straight-away, from which, instead of crematorium smoke, rises the smoke of powerful bombs filled with all sorts of radionuclides. The difference between the camps of the Third and the Fourth Reich is only in the speed of dying. The world can be likened to a tired old man who can barely wait to turn two thousand to go to his grave (...) The world, let us not forget, began without man; the new order offers it a chance to end without man!" (B, 23-24/9). "All concern for the 'democratic right to truth' has been appropriated by CNN and Reuters whose celestial contacts were carefully preserved by NATO air forces. These two centers of the world power have markedly opted for the anti-Serb side and are acting directly as the agitprop of the allied forces (UN, NATO, USA), reporting only what directly serves the interests of the armed adversaries of General millrace's army" (B, 16-17/9). "It remains to be seen, however, whether and how will the West defeat its own fascism emerging in B-H" (B, 14/9).

serbia

Moreover, the international community is blamed for helping the Croats exterminate the Serbs. "When (...) the American Ambassador Peter Galbraith appeared on an ustashi tank (...) After the abortive cooperation with Muslims and attempts to obtain an army for its political conquests from Alija Izetbegovic, by way of its Asian satellite, Turkey, the USA turned to the Croats. The go-between in the creation of an American-Croatian military alliance was Germany which provided 3,000 military experts for the 'Storm' operation (...) In this manner the USA has joined the war against the Serbs (...) but also against the 'blue helmets' and the rest of Europe."; "(...) For fifty years America has been building among the domestic public an image of a super-power and the world's first cowboy. This entitles it, at home at least, to act simultaneously as a judge and executioner and to establish peace in the world" (D, 13/8). "Croatia's Western allies not only gave it the 'pink light' for the aggression against the Republic Serb Krajina, but also participated directly in the armed conflicts (...) NATO's powerful military technology provided the logistic support, the soldiers under the chess-board flag were trained and led by American military instructors, and it is also possible that Knin was shelled by international rapid reaction forces" (P.E, 8/8). "The genocide offensive of the Croatian army against the people of the Republic Serb Krajina continues as forcefully as ever, under the auspices of international patrons and with all the available state-of-the-art military technology purchased with the help of its powerful Western protectors, the United States of America and Germany in the first place" (P.E, 6/8). "THE EXPELLED, we find fault with the others again. Especially those who so ingeniously gave that name to their own straight-away. As for us, the word presumably reminds us of the word 'cynic' and we like the word 'refugee' better. But, although we may jostle about that, nobody has offered to don their hide as yet. Only the 'peace-makers' (...) received them wholeheartedly not counting our

local Croats who simply took them in their arms, so that they were left without breath in their steely hug. There's nothing queer about that love: all through the war we have been hearing them denouncing the fascist policy, but in this country! This time, the expelled listened to the peace-makers (...) they hardly fired a bullet (...)! That is why these individuals received them with open arms (...) But they still don't know how to live up to their initial promise: 'Everything will be resolved peacefully!' Only - who will lose and who will gain?!" (B, 2-3/9). "Both Richard Goldstone and his associates slipped and said that their (...) indictment (...) was founded on the 'cooperation with Croatian authorities'. By placing their trust in their proteges - the order, it goes without saying, came from the chief Center of the World Power - the Hague judges and prosecutors erase hair-raising information received from the United Nations experts, founders of the International Tribunal for War Crimes." (V.N, 11/11)

The USA and Germany are seen as the main culprits in this anti-Serb campaign. "(...) The purpose of this 'Congress' is to convince the world that the Serbs (...) are the perpetrators of the genocide over the Bosnian Muslims. To add conviction to the judgment, the participants in the Congress are notorious Serbophobes Gutman, Grass, Boyle, Glucksman and others (...) one can also find there the well-known Nazi 'hunters' (...) Wiesenthal and Edelmann (...) the Serb responsibility will be even more convincing when it is confirmed by (...) 'Serbs', the president of the Bosnian Parliament Miro Lazovic, and the president of the 'Serb Civil Alliance of Bosnia' Mirko Pejanovic" (V.N, 4/9). "Honolulu, 31 August 1995. The USA celebrates the victory in World War II. The USA compelled (...) to enter (...) the war. It ended it by unnecessarily destroying civilians and two Japanese towns with atomic bombs. The enormous amount of dollars invested in the production of these bombs, could not be

justified in any other way." (B, 2/9). "Just as Bismark unified Germany, the US will cut Yugoslavia. "; "The current situation was made possible by the Russian vote in the Security Council" (P, 2/9). "After a 30-year long study of American democracy Dr. Djundjevic points out that it is full of decay, injustice, crime, violence and ruthless deception of voters, brainwashed by the media. Concrete examples of persecuted, arrested and killed civilians opposing the free masonic machinery." (V.N, 11/9). "The once American President Wilson got his avenue in Paris for dismembering Austria-Hungary, is Clinton trying to earn a boulevard in Sarajevo" (V.N, 7/9). "German Aid to the Muslim-Croatian Federation - ONLY FOR SATELLITES" (V.N, 15/5) The actions of the Great Powers are also condemned by "General Mladic [who writes about the past bombing of RS and] points out: In terms of its duration, it is more brutal than Hitler's bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941 since he stopped the bombing on April 7 and 8 to allow for the burial of the casualties in a Christian ritual. You did not do it. Quite the reverse: you fired at our church and cemetery while we were burying those killed and you did not allow us to bring them out and bury them." (V.N, 6/9).

And again, the Croats and the Muslims are said to perform atrocious acts without any punishment. "(...) Tudjman and Izetbegovic have been administered hormonal injections to strengthen their body, spirit and armed force. Tudjman's in such a way that he could become the Catholic rampart of Europe, and Izetbegovic's - in reward for fundamentalists' abstention from bombs planted around American trade centers (...) Yugoslavia has been fettered and encircled with invisible barbed wire, suggestive of salvation and hope in line with the recognizable slogan on Auschwitz gates. And we know what they are doing to Krajinas. A day of peace, a minute of blitzkrieg, munch-munch, bit by bit, head by head."; "(...) The war lords, the newly-

hatched crusaders. In the booty they are snatching away there will be many a poisonous mushroom - noisy, hot, fatal - for the world's global village only because the victims will not hope, believe and mildly kick indefinitely" (D, 2/9). "(...) And, of course, for all that was not suited to the needs of the cultural life in Zagreb at the time, the blame is to be borne by the Serbs (...) The Proves paper does not even hint that in 1914 and 1915 Belgrade was laid bare by the guns of those armies which the Croats supported almost without reservation: they were active participants (and war criminals) in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and they worshipped as the closest ally the Teutonic one. The road to the song 'Danke Deutchland' was already being paved. Sure, nobody waited for a blond nincompoop to learn that song but that the Croatian official policy grants it right to life and momentum. Is it fair to attribute Serbivore option only to Pravas?" (D, 21/11). "The West European countries whose aim was to 'discover the crime' at 'Ovcara' and thus accuse the Serbs of the genocide over the Croats, suddenly were no longer keen on financing the investigation of crimes against the Serbs in the territory controlled by the Croatian authorities. However, the hushing up of the genocide over the Serbs does not, evidently, hamper the Hague Tribunal to file the indictment against JNA officers charging them for 'crimes' against Croats' in Vukovar even without the physical evidence 'about the Zenga mass grave'"; "The only thing that matters is that all these officers are Serbs." (V.N, 12/11).

All these are seen as aspects of "the war of the whole world against the Orthodox Christian Serbian nation." "The special UN reporter for human rights first and foremost is the Vatican's and Germany's man of confidence a.k.a. vehement anti-Orthodox" (P.E, 20/11). "Whereas the Muslim ranks in Bosnia include bloodthirsty 'Allah's fighters' from all four corners of the world, in Croatia this role is played by many Germans who turned up as mercenaries in the Balkans.

serbia

These 'dogs of war' found in the war waged on the soil of former Yugoslavia the training-grounds for base passions. Killing as a trade has attracted many adventurers and has offered them an opportunity to sow death with impunity, wearing uniforms which protect them from any laws and scruples. Their engagement was helped by the furious anti-Serb propaganda which swept the world at the beginning of the war. Now, at least some of the accounts are ripe for 'settling'" (D, 20/11).

The picture becomes even more severe when one reads that all this is done, because of some petty interests of the powerful US which does not care about the fate of the whole Serbian people. *"The American President visited the IFOR military base in Tuzla only to be able to tell the voters in the election campaign: 'I was in Bosnia!' To demonstrate the military and political supremacy of the USA, Bill Clinton sent to the former Yugoslavia the elite officers and units of the American armed forces. Only Madonna and Sharon Stone are missing to make a Balkan Vietnam out of Bosnia." (I, 19/1-2/2). "Instead of being with their families around Christmas, the American soldiers look in the Bosnian mud for the interests which their state lost somewhere there. While Perry was persuading them that by mounting up the pontoon bridge, they had accomplished a fantastic job, at least half of them thought: what did I need all this for, why didn't I become a priest or a postman. But that other half counted the money they would take home, saw a medal swinging on the left pocket of the uniform and the news reel to record on a cassette, for the grandchildren, to see where their grandpa knocked about and earned lumbago and retirement pension"; "Why should we believe Nedeljna Dalmacija that the Russians sold the Croats two 'Migs'. And that they cost 18.7 million dollars, and that the whole deal was concluded in Moscow when the Croatian delegation was there to attend the celebration of the victory over*

fascism. We do not believe even that the Croats traveled there (for what normal person would celebrate the victory over his own ideology), let alone that the Russians screwed us so." (P, 7/1). "(...) I conclude that the future of Serb Sarajevo depends, above all, on the Washington choice between one good for Europe and one evil for the ideology of multiculturalism, called 'the melting pot'. A difficult dilemma. Karadzic's eyes see further: 'A new quality has never been born out of the symbiosis of Christianity and Islam. In all places where Islam had the upper hand Christianity wilted, and the Christians were reduced to second-rank citizens. It is obvious that the strategists of the 'new world order' want to leave us at the mercy of the Muslims, but I hope (...) that Europe will not allow it. Resistance to the Washington-made Balkan policy is growing stronger in Europe, demands to find some modus vivendi for Sarajevo that would satisfy the Serbs are growing stronger" (D, 16-19/1). "The Serbs wanted to emulate the Yanks only once, to make camps for their enemies just as the latter had made them for the Japanese in the USA. So that they wouldn't help their homeland in war. And those camps are written into the Yanks' history as a wise precaution. Afterwards the Yanks repented and that is why they criticized Serb camps so harshly." (B, 3-4/2)

The international organizations and institutions are also seen as mere weapons in the hands of the powerful in the world. *"The United Nations, a euphemism for NATO (...) One should not advocate the abolition of the privileges of the big ones, which is their right to veto. When NATO and the UN become one, veto will disappear as well. The brains of the world movement will be able to breathe freely, and at long last the Old Testamentary call of Eagleberger and of his countrymen from Paris and Germany will come to reign - an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth (see definition Christ's lesson)" (B, 11-12/11). "Brutal force, the one to be used by 'peacemaking', not to say peace-exuding, forces*

in Bosnia. Only if they are attacked, of course. Incidentally, such a force was not advised to be used by the then legal JNA in the defense of the integral territory of the Former Yugoslavia. 'Force is not humane' the humanists and universalists said whilst boy-soldiers were killed in front of their barracks and in the streets. The use of the brutal force by IFOR is something else. IFOR is the representative of the sophisticated, not of the Balkan, brutal force." (B, 30-31/12). "IFOR and UN hide-and-peek"; "Spanish battalion of IFOR continues to surround Tvrdos Monastery and disturbs and terrorizes religious people in other ways, in an effort to convince them that the occupier is here again." (V.N, 4/6). "It is becoming increasingly clear that the initial claims of Attorney Toma Fila that the Hague Tribunal was in fact an American Tribunal funded by Islamic and American money"; "The Hague Tribunal has made it clear to the Serbs that in the contemporary world there can be crime without punishment, or punishment without crime, depending on what the powerful say." (D, 26/3)

When the long-awaited peace treaty became a reality, it was not welcomed by the Serbian media. "Never and not one of the Serbs has journeyed so far to sign such an indispensable and advertised and such a fuzzy and uncertain peace. When foreign armies trampled us under their feet, an unfortunate Serb hand had to sign the defeat. Didn't General Kalafatovic sign the capitulation of the oldest Yugoslavia, and General Milan Nedic heaved upon his back - and soul - his cross, governing Serbia under the Germans. Both were fortunate enough not to meet Clinton or Kohl, those cruel peace-lovers, those arsonists who, when it suits them, are transfigured into firemen. What is this Dayton? An American military base or Clinton's advertising TV grounds for the next elections? (...) Will Clinton, then, force the three Balkan chieftains to sign peace even if their warriors get at each others' throats again as the

signing goes on? Never, not even to the cruelest Barbarian god, have so many sacrifices been offered in a filthy altar" (T, 8/11). "Dayton - a confirmation of the mega-power of the magi of the new world order. They ignite a war and then generously extinguish it. It's hard to believe - they have turned the Dayton air-base into a Payton Place. Happiness trickles down the grand commander's face (...) New free masonry works as machinery (...) All we can expect now from these mega-wizards is to start resurrecting the dead" (B, 2-3/12). The result of this situation is that "While the rest of this planet fears the domination of the Western civilization, in Bosnia the eyes are wide open because of the expansion of the Wild West. In this sense the Western media cartoonists were right, because George Julwan will become indeed the 'main sheriff' in the field, and with the help of the Chief Prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal for War Crimes Richard Goldstone, his 60 'posses' come into a pursuit they investigate in the field, 'hunt' mass graves and arrest the suspects." (D, 28/1).

Thus the Serb media stress again and again their conviction that there is an overwhelming plan not only against them, but against some other less powerful states as well. The end of the first, genuine, democratic and unprovoked elections, was celebrated at Skanderbeg Square in the heart of Tirana, where merry policemen beat to death the members of the opposition parties. But, there is a catch there. The other world, the Western world, which (of course) had the same problems, but (of course) solved them about a century and a half ago, reacted immediately: the observers said that the elections were not fair (...) and an observer from the OSCE, a certain Paul Kitsch, gave a kitsch statement: "In actual fact there was a successful attempt to tailor the elections results."; "Not everything is clear. If it is a successful attempt, and was assessed as such, then the leadership of Albania should be congratulated. Free elections, the EU

serbia

observers, opposition and beatings - all this attests to the fact that serious people are in power."; "Elections are a dramatic event in every country. During elections the relationship between the authorities and the opposition grow more acerbic (...) Even America is not an exception to that rule. The Whitewater affair is once again very much in the news. Hillary has obviously played fast and loose (...) since the Republican Party has been pressuring the court, no good can come out of it. For the Clintons. To soften the odium, the first couple has resorted to the jokes that carry favor with those Americans who pay taxes, eat hamburgers and think that Mauritius is the capital of New Zealand. They will adopt a child. One can bet that a child will be black, yellow or green (only not white) for it is a major turn on for such sympathetic Americans. Of course. We shall publish a protest note from the US Embassy because of this smear, on the very same day when the American dailies apologize in the same way about the way they run their articles on the Balkans butcher." (P, 2/6). Still, Serbs are the biggest victim of "the international plot." "(...) We have learned, for instance, what struggle for human rights and humanitarian actions means. Among other things, this is the US's aspiration to rule the world. It is also Germany's effort to be the biggest power in little Europe. It is also the Turkish aspiration to return to the Balkans, Albania's - to rule parts of Serbia, Macedonia and Greece, they are also those mono-ethnic parties out to protect those they call their own within the borders from before the Trianon, it is also Austria which shall never forget Sarajevo. There is also the Serb people blamed for everything, and even for the war in Chechnya, Mock's illness, Gensher, De Michelis' criminal activities, genocide (above all), for the expulsion and flight of 250,000 Serbs the chief culprit are the Serbs. All the others are clean as a crocodile tear over which they gained nothing, they say (...)" (D, December). This attitude is perceived even in the following funny, and yet, rather self-

righteous claim: "It was proved once again how the unprovoked sanctions were unjust. While we were excluded from the European mainstream developments, the EU had established standards for production of eurocondoms. Without comparative data from our country, the European Committee for Standards in Brussels ruled that eurocondom should be 27 cm long and 4.4cm wide. Hence the final product is practically non applicable on our market." (P, 3/3)

Religious Minorities

Regarding Catholicism: "(T)he Catholics are, therefore, ordinary Orthodox heretics, and the Catholic religion was invented to allegedly cure the diseases of the earlier [faith]."; "A few days ago Catholic believers stoned a column of Orthodox refugees. Catholic believers use guerrilla tactics: they strike when possible, and run when necessary. When it gets really thick - they're always on the side of the more powerful. That is their genetic code. A variety of this code is called - Latin cunning."; "In the 7th century A.D. yet another new faith was invented - Islam (...) Its makers affirmed that the new religion was the right religion. For 13 centuries preachers have been inscribing in the genetic code of orthodox believers that 'there is no God but Allah' and that Islam has to be propagated even 'on the tip of the sword' if need be" (B, 19-20/8). Or a vicious attack against a Catholic monastic order: "A banned sect of the monastic Order of Jesuits is very active in Montenegro and its center is on the island of Lady of Charity in Krtole, near Tivat. It is led by the monks called Jesuits. Their activities have been outlawed even in the most democratic countries of the world, but here they freely preach their Machiavelian code that the end justifies the means. They are under the direct patronage of the Roman Pope and their main principle is that public lies are not proscribed as long

serbia

as the monk justifies his actions before God (...) in private. Velibor Dzomic, Professor of Theology, told us that they were not only waging war against the Orthodox Church, on the spiritual level, but also against the state institutions, the army and the police” (D, March). Then the reader sees that “The

extermination of the Serbs in Croatia has been going on for a whole century, always under the wing of the Catholic Church and its crusader sword. Pope John Paul II (...), after almost a thousand years of Christian divisions, wanted to bury the hatchet and asked the Orthodox to forgive all the evils

<p><u>Table of media initials:</u> Politika (P.); Politika Ekspres (P.E.); Borba (B.); Nasha Borba (N.B.); Vecernje Novosti (V.N.); Vreme (V.); Telegraf (T.); Duga (D.); Dnevnik (D.); Magyar Szo (M.S.); Polimlja (Pol.).</p>
--

slovenia

inflicted on them by the Catholics (...) And yet, it is as clear as a day that the Pope himself is a hypocrite because even as the exodus of an entire people goes on, the Pope keeps silent, confident that history is whispering in his ear about the movement of the Catholic frontiers eastward!" (V.N, 13/8).

The media also warn against the latest developments in the relations between Catholicism and Islam which are seen as potentially dangerous for the Serb cause. *"The Pope (...) lately denied the existence of Muslim fundamentalism, calling it 'integralism' instead (...) And if this fundamentalism - integralism does exist, it is only the effect of the causes which 'provoke and feed it'."*; *"The meeting in Rome is but the latest manifestation of the growing rapprochement between the partisans of Wojtylean fundamentalism single-mindedness and Islamic fundamentalists, who have already established many forms of cooperation around the world, notably in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Franciscans are strong, and whose principal partner of the Muslim authorities is Sarajevo archbishop Vinko Puljic (...)* The partnership between the Vatican and militant Islamists is meeting criticism even among the world Catholic population" (B, 2-3/9).

Foreign Residents

Slovenian media are generally concerned with the definition of the new national program. This program is usually interpreted as applicable to "pure" Slovenes only, while being exclusive of the foreigners residing in the state. The latter is particularly true of the representatives of the different nationalities which used to comprise ex-Yugoslavia, and especially of the Serbs. *"For the Serbs, Yugoslavia has always been an*

enlarged Serbia." (D, 10/12). *"Radojica Aleksic, a Serb 'newcomer' [used in a derogatory sense] with Slovene citizenship lives successfully in his own legal order. On a hired lot (...) at the edge of Protoroz, he built a family house illegally (...) with quite a pig farm. On somebody else's land at the edge of the biggest Slovenian tourist center he mocks at the citizens who have built their houses legally and imparts the stink of pigs on his neighbors' lives (...)"* (S N, 5/9). When there are signs of problems in Serbian international relations, they are met with open satisfaction by the Slovene media. *"The behavior of the United States and the international community of the developed countries towards the Serbs whenever they are has become somewhat cool. As if the West suddenly found out that there was no use to negotiate with 'swine merchants' (...)"* (V, 6/9). *"Whatever you give them [the Serbs], they will not be satisfied. This is a logic which is going to stop only when [the Serbian beast] gets it on its fingers"* (D, 9/9). Even cultural events are not spared from this negative attitude. *"The recognition or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the part of Slovenia will be followed by a show in Slovenia by the most popular singer from that state. Dragana Mirkovic - instead of a Chetnik [used pejoratively for Serbs] uniform she will wear a mini skirt. Arkan's [the alleged war criminal] wife Ceca [also a popular singer] is not coming to Slovenia yet (...) Serbian pork and sausage time at Fuzine [a district in the city of Ljubljana, Slovenia] will be postponed till the Orthodox New Year (...)* At her concerts in Serbia and all over Europe all the seats are sold. Three thousands followers of the Serbian pop and folk music are expected (...) Dragana will not wear a Chetnik uniform, but a mini skirt, and she will entertain the almost forgotten Yugoslofficers and other Serbs who have remained in Slovenia after its independence, as well as a Muslim or two (...) Only Dragana, for now [implying that war originals will also come

Table of media initials: Delo (D.); Dnevnik (Dn.); Slovenec (S.); Vecer (V.); Slovenske Novice (S.N.).

appendices

appendix 1

later]. *Some Slovenes will, of course, protest against the Orthodox festivity (...)* A Slovene businessman of Serbian origin is convinced that he could also fill Belgrade halls if he succeeds in taking there Miso Kovac [a Slovene singer of Slovene origin] (...) and the Agropop pop group. But unfortunately Alin Klimar, the singer of this group, is supposedly afraid of a Chetnik bullet." (S.N, 9/12)

All the above can be summarized in the following way: *"If the independence of the Slovene nation were a real act, a revival of the Slovene nation should have followed, namely the 'Slovenization' of Slovenia. In Slovenia human rights for the Slovenes should exist first, and only within the framework of the possibilities and interests of the Slovene nation, human rights for the non-Slovenes can be realized (...)* When discussing rights, it is always necessary to take into account that a right brings benefits to one and as a rule is harmful to another. Human rights for the non-Slovenes are as a rule harmful to the Slovenes. Almost any benefit of the immigrants is paid by the Slovene nation as a whole(...) Mr. Kregeli should publicly say whether he puts as a priority the interests of the Slovenes or the interests of the Balkan nations. Respecting both these interests is impossible in Slovene!" (S, 21/11). *"Clean this Country of Southerners [from ex-Yugoslavia]. Non-Slovenes to be tested."* (R, 29/10)

Media monitored

Albania

Print media:

Rilindja Demokratike (R. D.) - the daily of the Democratic Party; 6,000-6,500 copies);

Gazeta Shquiptare (G.S.) - an independent daily published in two languages (Albanian and Italian); 11,000;

Zeri i Popullit (Z.P.) - the daily of the Socialist Party; 17,000-20,000;

Koha Jone (K.J.) - the most important independent paper; 27,000-30,000;

Aleanca (Al.) - the weekly newspaper of the Democratic Alliance; 6,500;

Republika (R.P.) - the paper of the right-wing Republican Party, which comes out three times a week; 5,000;

Rilindja (R.) - an independent daily financed by the Kosovo Albanians; 1,500-2,000;

Albania (A.) - a pro-Democratic Party daily; 4,000-5,000;

Tribuna Demokratike (T.D.) - the paper of the section of the Democratic Party of Tirana, which comes out twice a week; 1,000-2,000;

Balli i Kombit (B.I.K.) - the weekly newspaper of the small right-wing party Balli i Kombit;

Liria (L.) - the weekly newspaper of the Association of the Former Political Prisoners linked now with the Democratic Front; 1,000;

E Djathta (E.D.) - the weekly of the Right Democratic Front;

E Djathta Kombetare (E.D.K.)

Alternativa SD (A.S.D.) - the newspaper of the Social Democratic Party; 4,500;

Populli Po (P.P.) - an independent daily; 4,500;

Dita Informacion (D.I.) - an independent newspaper, which comes out three times a week; 5,000;

Demokracia - the weekly newspaper of the Party for the Defense of Human Rights, supported by the Greek minority;

Java - an independent newspaper in the South of Albania;

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Print media:

Hrvatske Rilec (H.R.) - 'The Croatian Word'; weekly;

Glas (Gl.) - a Banjaluka-based daily;

Serbian Oslobodjenje (S.O.) - a weekly paper;

appendix 1

Oslobodjenje (O.) - a Sarajevo-based paper; 2,000-7,000 copies;

Vecernje Novine (V.N.) - a Sarajevo-based paper; 1,000-3,000;

Dani - an independent political monthly; 1,000-3,000;

Republika - an independent political monthly; 1,000-3,000;

Ljiljan - a weekly of the Bosnian Muslims, printed in Sarajevo, Travnik, Ljubljana, Frankfurt, Istanbul; 40,000;

Broadcast media:

Serb TV - Pale (STP) - covers almost the whole territory of BH; started broadcasting May, 1992; presents the official Serb policy;

Croatian TV - Studio Mostar (C. TV - S. M.)

Bosnia and Herzegovina TV - owned and governed by the Bosnian Parliament; its daily program is 12-16 hours;

TV Hayat - Sarajevo - a private and independent local TV station;

TV Hayat - Studio Free Tuzla - a private and independent local TV station;

Srpski Radio - Pale (S. R. P.) - covers almost the whole territory of BH; started broadcasting May, 1992; presents the official Serb policy;

Official B&H Radio - covers the whole country;

Studio 99 - a Sarajevo-based radio station;

Radio Zio - a Sarajevo-based radio station;

Muslim Radio Hayast - a private radio station with political and religious programs;

Vrhbosna - the radio station of the Bosnian Croats;

Bulgaria

Print media:

24 Chasa (24 C) - '24 Hours'; an independent daily, which is published by

Pressgroup 168 Chasa Ltd. (one of the major publishing corporations) and whose attitude to all kinds of events is cynical and sensational; 300,000 copies;

168 Chasa (168 C) - '168 Hours'; the weekly newspaper of *Pressgroup 168 Chasa Ltd.*; 150,000;

Dneven Trud (T) - 'Daily Work'; an independent daily, which is published by *Media Holding Inc.* and is characterized by a more pluralistic attitude tolerating different opinions; 300,000;

Noshten Trud (N.T.) - 'Nightly Work'; an independent daily, published by *Media Holding Inc.* and circulated in the afternoon. It covers mainly accidents and events which have happened in Sofia; 200,000;

Zhult Trud (Z.T.) - 'Yellow Work'; an independent weekly, published by *Media Holding Inc.*, which concentrates on sensationalism; 100,000;

Standart (S) - 'Standard'; an independent daily, published by *Standart News Ltd.* since 1992. It used to concentrate on "serious" presentation of the news, but since September 1995 it adopted the so called "24 Chasa style" of presenting the events; 200,000;

Nedelen Standart (N.S.) - 'Sunday Standard'; an independent weekly, published by *Standart News Ltd.*; 150,000;

Kontinent (K.) - 'Continent'; an independent daily, published by *Megapress Inc. Publishing House* since 1992. It is one of the few papers with permanent political and economic columns, which are usually based on information from credible sources and are written professionally; 70,000;

Novinar (N.) - 'News Bulletin'; an independent daily, published by *Novinar Ltd.* It tends to "fabricate" the events by emphasizing on particular issues, which often results in defamation of particular persons and groups; 80,000;

Demokratsia (Dem) - 'Democracy'; the official daily of the Union of Democratic Forces; 50,000;

Duma (D) - 'Word'; the official daily of the

appendix 1

Socialist Party; 150, 000;

Broadcast media:

Bulgarian National TV - Channel 1 (BNT-1) - the central news bulletin 'Po Sveta I U Nas' (8:00-8:30p.m.);

BNT-1 - the weekly political review 'Panorama' (8:00-9:00p.m.);

BNT-1 - 'Otzvuk' - a talk show; twice a week for an hour at prime time;

BNT-1 - 'Nablyudatel' - a program for political analyses; once a week for an hour at prime time;

BNT-1 - 'Edar Plan' - a journalistic inquiry on a particular issue; once a month for 90 minutes;

BNT-1 - 'Kanaletu' - an entertainment show, parody of political reality; once a week for an hour at prime time;

BN TV - Channel 2 (BNT-2) - 'Chasten Sluchai' - three times a week for 15 minutes at prime time;

Nova TV - a private TV channel, broadcasting for Sofia only; 'Novinite na Denia' - the daily news bulletin (7:30-8:00p.m.)

Nova TV - 'Sofiiskite Potainosti' - a 'hot spots' magazine; twice a week for 50 minutes;

Bulgarian National Radio Program 'Horizont' (BNR-H) - daily news bulletin (6:00-6:20p.m.)

BNR-H - 'Razgovor s Vas' - a 'hot spots' talk show; every Friday afternoon for 180 minutes;

BNR-H - 'Nedelia 150' - a political review and talk show; every Sunday morning for 150 minutes;

BNR-H - '12 Plyus Plias' - a political satire show; every Saturday at noon for 80 minutes;

Radio Express - a private radio station for Sofia only; 'Chasat na Vasheto Nedovolstvo' - a talk show; every Friday (2:00-3:20p.m.)

Croatia

Print media:

Vjesnik (Vs) - a daily newspaper;

Vecernji List (V. L.) - a daily newspaper;

Novi List (N. L.) - a daily newspaper;

Slobodna Dalmacia (S.D.) - a daily newspaper;

Glas Slavonje (G.S.) - a daily newspaper;

Hrvatsko Slovo (H.S.)

Feral Tribune (F.T.) - a newspaper coming out three times a week;

Nedljna Dalmatsia - a newspaper coming out three times a week;

Danas - a newspaper coming out three times a week;

Hrvatski Obzor (H.O.) - a newspaper coming out three times a week;

Broadcast media:

Croatian TV (CTV) - the state-owned TV station;

Greece

Print media:

I Avgi (Av.) - 'The Dawn'; pro-Coalition; average daily circulation of 2,167 copies in June 1995;);

Adesmeftos Typos (A.T) - 'Non-aligned Press'; center-right; 37,761;

Apogevmatini (Ap.) - 'Afternoon'; center-right; 60,278;

Ethnos (Eth) - 'Nation'; center-left; 50,077;

Eleftheros Typos (E.T.) - 'Free Press'; center-right; 105,809;

Eleftherotypia (El.) - 'Press Freedom'; center-left; 96,809;

I Kathimerini (K.) - 'The Daily'; center-right; 38,711;

Rizospastis (R.) - 'Radical'; the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Greece - KKE; 13,227;

Ta Nea (N.) - 'The News'; center-left;

appendix 1

111,134;

To Pontiki (P.) - 'The Mouse'; weekly satirical and center-left newspaper with a large circulation (35,956);

To Vima (V.) - the Sunday paper which is published by the same publishers of **Ta Nea** which is not published on Sundays with the largest circulation (170,607);

Economicos Tachydromos (Ec.T.) - financial and political weekly magazine with circulation around 25,000;

Stohos (St.) - weekly nationalistic paper (7,625).

Broadcast media:

Mega - a private TV channel with one of the highest ratings (the 8:25-9:00 p.m. newscast);

Antenna - a private TV channel with one of the highest ratings (the 8:25-9:00 p.m. newscast);

ET-1 - a state-owned TV channel (the 9:00 p.m.-9:45 p.m. newscast).

Sky - a privately run radio station (the 2:00-4:00 p.m. news bulletin).

Kosovo

Print media:

Jedinstvo (J.) - the only daily in Serbian, which is entirely financed and controlled by the ruling Serbian parties; 500-1,000 copies;

Bujku (B.) - the only daily in Albanian, which reflects the prevailing public opinion in Kosovo; 10,000;

Zeri (Z.) - the most influential weekly in Albanian; 7,000;

Broadcast media:

TV Prishtina (TVP) - 'TV-Dnevnik' - the main evening news bulletin broadcast in

the Serbian language (6:30-7:00p.m.)

Radio Prishtina (RP) - the main evening news bulletin (6:00-6:45p.m.)

Macedonia

Print media:

Nova Makedonja (N.M.) - daily; 20,000 copies;

Vecer (V.) - daily; 20,000;

Puls (P.) - weekly; 3,000;

Delo (D.) - a private weekly magazine, influenced by the nationalistic opposition parties; 5,000;

Makedonsko Sonce (M.S.) - 'The Sun of Macedonia'; a weekly, influenced by the nationalistic opposition parties;

Fokus (F.) - a private weekly stressing sensational coverage; 10,000;

Demokratija (Dem.) - the paper of the Social Democratic Alliance;

Liberal (Lib.) - the paper of the Liberal Party, which appears as a supplement of N.M.

Glas (Gl.) - the paper of IMRO (VMRO-DPMNE)

Flaka e Vellazerimit (F.V.) - a daily paper in Albanian; 5,000;

Birlik (B.) - a paper in Turkish, available every other day; 1,000;

Broadcast media

Macedonian Television (MTV) - the only nation-wide broadcaster with more than 40 hours of programs daily on three channels;

A-1 - the most important private TV station, limited to the Skopje area;

TVArt - a Tetovo-based private TV station, which broadcasts in Albanian, Macedonian and Turkish;

Radio Skopje (R.S.) - a nation-wide radio station;

appendix 1

The Ethnic Minorities Radio - broadcasts 15 hours a day, nine of them in Albanian;
Biljana - a radio station for listeners abroad, broadcast in Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek;

Montenegro

Print media:

Pobjeda (P.)
Istok (I.)
Tanjug (T.) - the FRY new agency;
Svetigora (S.)
Istok Review (I.R.)
Vecernje Novosti (V.N.)

Broadcast media:

Montenegrin Television (M. T.) - the state-owned TV station;

Montenegrin Radio (M. R.) - the state-owned radio station;

Romania

Print media:

Vocea Romanei (V.R.) - 'The Voice of Romania'; the daily published by the Romanian government
Dimineata (DT) - 'The Morning'; the daily which reflects the positions of the Romanian President, Ion Iliescu;
Adevarul (A.) - 'The Truth'; one of the most widely circulated dailies;
Romania Libera (RL) - 'Free Romania'; it started in 1990 as the most important independent democratic newspaper, but now it produces abundant hate speech;
Evenimentul Zilei (EZ) - 'The Day's Event'; the daily with the widest circulation;
Cronica Romana (CR) - 'The Romanian Chronicle'; a daily with small-to-medium circulation, owned and published by

important representatives of the Ceausescu regime who turned into moguls of Romanian financial and industrial circles, supporting extreme nationalist views;

Romania Mare (RM) - 'The Greater Romania'; the weekly of the Romania Mare party, which produces abundant hate speech;

Totusi Iubirea (TI) - 'Love, after All'; a weekly supporting extreme nationalist views;

Dilema (D.) - 'Dilemma'; a weekly, published by a group of independent intellectuals, but with government money;

22 - a weekly magazine, published by the Group for Social Dialogue which started in 1990 as the most progressive and democratic independent newspaper. Its circulation is small now, but it used to be very influential in intellectual circles;

Broadcast media:

Romanian National TV - Channel 1 (TVR1) - the central news bulletin (8:00-8:40p.m.), daily;

TVR1 - the main Hungarian-language program (5:00-6:30p.m.), every Monday;

TVR1 - 'Viata Spirituala' ['Spiritual Life'] - a program which is very vocal in attacking different groups like the gays, Baptists, neo-Protestants, and generally showing intolerance towards European democratic values; (11:00a.m.-noon), every Sunday;

RN TV - Channel 2 (TVR2) - 'Credo' - a program prepared by the same staff as the one of 'Spiritual Life' and sharing the same characteristics; (10:00-11:00p.m.), every Tuesday;

Tele 7 - a Bucharest-based private TV channel; the central news bulletin (9:00-9:40p.m.), daily;

Tele 7 - 'Linia Intii' ['In the Line of Fire'] - a political talk show; (7:00-8:00p.m.), Monday-Friday;

A1 - a private TV station covering 12 main cities in Romania; the main news bulletin (9:30-10:30p.m.), daily;

appendix 1

Serbia

Print media:

Politika (P.) - the oldest political daily, which advocates the regime's policy and the values of the Serb national program; It exercised a fatal influence on the serbian public opinion during the regime's campaign on the popularization and acceptance of the values of the all-Serb homogenization policy;

Politika Ekspres (P.E.) - a pro-regime sensationalist daily with an editorial approach identical to the one of *Politika*; One of the principal promoters of hate speech, which tries to sustain among it readers the high negative emotional charge, concerning the real and imaginary enemies of the Serb national goals;

Borba (B.) - the second oldest political daily which used to truthfully inform the public as well as to assert humanitarian

law values; Since December 14, 1994, when the Federal government took over the daily, it has become yet another regime paper cultivating an early fundamentalist version of polemical discourse;

Nasha Borba (N.B.) - an independent daily, which was started in early 1995 and is edited by journalists from *Borba* before the take-over;

Vecernje Novosti (V.N.) - a loyal pro-regime daily of the 'yellow-press' type; an ardent supporter of the Serbian national program as a whole, which advocates violent resolution of international disputes and conflicts;

Vreme (V.) - the first private political weekly since 1990; It is critical of the Serb national program and sets out to demonstrate that objective and reasonable journalism is possible even at times of crisis and war;

Telegraf (T.) - a weekly since October, 1994, which based on the idea that the values of the Serb national program are

appendix 2

self-evident;

Duga (D.) - a fortnightly which is 'the theoretical organ of the Serb view of the World, History, Culture and All the Rest';

Dnevnik (Dn.) - a Novi Sad-based newspaper, the only one in Serbian in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; It has advocated the war policy of the regime since the beginning of the conflict;

Magyar Szo (M.S.) - 'Hungarian Word'; the only state-financed Hungarian language paper in Novi Sad; It never joined the war-mongering campaign of the pro-regime media;

Polimlja (Pol.) - the only local paper for social and political affairs in the Municipality of Prijepolje (Sandzhak);

Slovenia

Print media:

Delo (D.) - a national daily;

Dnevnik (Dn.) - a Ljubljana-based daily; 119,000 copies;

Slovenec (S.) - the daily of the Christian Democrats; 22,000;

Vecer (V.) - a daily newspaper; 192,000;

Slovenske Novice (S.N.) - a daily newspaper, which practices the so called 'yellow journalism'; 102,000;

MAG - a weekly magazine for the regions of Ljubljana and Kranj;

Mladina - a weekly magazine for the regions of Ljubljana and Maribor;

Druzhina - a weekly magazine of the Roman Catholic Church;

7D - a weekly magazine of the Vecer;

Nedeljski Dnevnik - a weekly magazine of the Dnevnik;

Razgledi - the newspaper of the Slovene intellectuals;

The media scene in the balkans.

Summary of national reports.

mariana lenkova

Until recently, the Balkan peninsula used to be one of the places in the world which had an overwhelming concentration of

communist countries. That is why the changes in the world order which started in the late 1980s had their crucial impact on the situation here. One of the first things which the fall of communism brought forth was freedom for the media which till then used to be a passive weapon in the hands of the omnipotent communist parties. In these first years many newspapers and magazines started coming out with the claim that there were many aspects of life which need to be discussed in public. Some of these new media were allegedly a simple undercover to dubious businesses. As time passed by, many of them died out, due to lack of finance, of interest, or to interference by state authorities. The media which did survive started building their specific styles of the coverage of news and their idiosyncratic jargon. Unfortunately, most of these media are still far away from the standards of objective journalism, but at least they have started their movement forward.

Keeping in mind all the above, one should not forget that from all the countries monitored in this Project, Greece is the only one, whose recent history has been different from the history of its neighbors. It was spared from communism, so one would expect its media to be well ahead of the ones of the neighbors. Undoubtedly this is so when it comes to the availability of alternative private newspapers, magazines, radio and TV stations. In fact, this is the only country in the Balkans, which has a number of private TV channels covering the whole country. But when it comes to the hate speech which these media are capable of producing, one starts to wonder whether too much freedom and lack of censorship always lead to good results, when the media fail to see their role as responsible public informers.

Although all the rest of the countries have lived through communism, each one of them has its specificities which are based on the particular situation. That is why

appendix 2

looking at all the countries one after the other would make the picture clearer.

Albania is a less advanced country as regards the development of the media. An old joke said that the Albanian National TV used to start and end its programs with the following greeting "Hello Comrade Hoxha!" Although this is an exaggeration, it is not far from the true state of affairs either. The existence of just one TV channel controlled by the governing majority and expressing almost exclusively its views does not make things more promising. The situation is better with regard to the print media. There are many new papers, which, though sometimes overstepping the limits of proper behavior, impart diversity.

Although they were governed by dictators for decades, Bulgaria and Romania were not as isolated as Albania used to be. That is why the media there have got a stronger impetus and at present they are more numerous and some of them give the impression that they are "credible." Of course, there are all the numerous hate speech producers, which are basically the ones forming the public opinion. All this applies much more for the print media, because private broadcast ones are either with limited transmission, or simply non-existent. It seems that governments in these countries are afraid of letting loose their most powerful weapon - TV - so they postpone the introduction of national private TV networks.

A very important feature of the media in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia is that after the dissolution of Former Yugoslavia, each of the new states had changed, often mutually exclusive, national programs, which had to be promoted by the new national media. One should not forget that it is exactly in this place where hate speech was used as a "foreplay" which led to the devastating war in ex-Yugoslavia. That is why it is

particularly important to point out that here even the slightest change in the use of the name of a national group, let alone the non-recognition of this group, may have far reaching effects (e.g. the pejorative usage of "Shqiptar" for "Albanian" or "Chetnik" for "Serb.")

And last but not least, one should bear in mind that most of the "new democracies" have already managed to change their legislation in order to accommodate to the new conditions. Although sometimes practice is different from the "near-perfect" principles enshrined in the respective legislation, it is worth examining the specific texts.

Albania

In 1992 President Berisha signed the Press Law. The latter provoked many people inside and outside the country to protest. The New York-based Committee for the Defense of Journalists protested against the articles of the Law, which limit the right to information, especially as regards those related to "state secret", "activities against the public well being", "imparting of information on trial proceedings", "threatening of the social peace", "threatening of democracy", "threatening of the morality of the young people." The lack of a Constitution makes it easy for the government to abuse of the Press Law. The fines the editors have to pay if they break the Law are so high that they practically mean bankruptcy or imprisonment. The following three lines of criticism could be summarized as the main flaws of this Law:

- ρ The existence of the article on state secrets which threatens journalists with imprisonment (there have already been four cases based on this article);
- ρ High fines (USD 1,000-8,000) which, for the Albanian standards, means bankruptcy for the independent Albanian newspapers which do not get

appendix 2

- any subsidy from the state;
- ρ Lack of enough information on the Law makes specialists suspicious. They suspect that the reason for the secrecy under which the Law is being drafted is the way in which licenses for radio frequencies would be given.

In November 1993 several amendments to the Penal Code were made. They deal with hate speech and defamation and make it a crime punishable with one to five years in prison to "put the public peace at risk" by calling for hatred against members of the society or by insulting or defaming them. The insult and defamation of the constitutional organs, the President of the Republic, the state and its symbols and representatives of other states carry penalties of fines or prison terms of up to three years.

On June 1, 1995 a new Penal Code came into effect. The latter criminalizes even more forms of defamation and includes an article on libel. Art. 256 and 266 of the newly passed Penal Code restricts calls for national hatred and incitement of national, racial and religious hatred, punishing them with up to ten years of prison (or fines).

There is just one news agency for the whole of Albania. ATA (Albanian Telegraph Agency) is under the control of the Council of Ministers and in theory is supposed to offer information from all over the country, as well as to inform the international public on what the developments in Albania are. However, it is reduced to a simple conveyer of the line of the ruling party. Present law forbids the creation of other news agencies, but this does not hinder the operation of the major western news agencies. Foreign press is distributed by two distribution agencies - one of them funded by Greek businessmen, and the other - by Italian ones.

As of this writing, there is no legislation on private television and radio. Thus

broadcast media are under the strict control of the parliamentary commission on the press. As regards the print media, even though significant steps have been taken there, it is still early to say that there are independent newspapers presenting objective information.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

The effective division of the country into three different parts has its direct consequence on the media situation.

There are three laws, regulating the media - The Basic Law on Information; the Media Law; The Bosnian RTV Law. The first two laws are almost identical. They were adopted during the previous, the Socialists', regime and are still in power. Freedom of information, as well as everybody's right to found a medium are guaranteed. Art.17 of the two laws stresses the responsibility of the editor-in-chief for the dissemination of ideas based on the non-respect of human rights and of the rights of the citizen. The Basic Law also prohibits the dissemination of hatred on ethnic, racial and religious basis. This Law provides for a prison punishment of up to 60 days, or a fine of up to 1,000 Dinars. However, this article is not applied effectively. Finally, the two laws guarantee the right of response to those who consider themselves targets of defamation. The Bosnian RTV Law regulates formal questions like the nomination of the Board, of the General Manager of the RTV etc.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria does not have a special law on the media. After 1990 the adoption of such a law was a matter of intense discussions both among the professionals and the representatives of the legislative branch.

Until the first parliamentary elections the regulations on the functioning of the

appendix 2

Bulgarian National TV (BNTV) and the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) were created by a special organ called "The Round Table", where all major political parties were represented. After the 1990 elections, the Grand National Assembly adopted a special act called "Temporary Statute of the BNR and the BNTV." This act had the power of a normative act. The decision concentrated a lot of power in the hands of the specialized Parliamentary Committee on Radio and Television to determine the informational policy, as well as the staff policy of the two media. It nominates the candidates for chiefs of the BNR and the BNTV; it appoints the administrative directors and the Board of the two institutions; it gives opinions about their program schemes and their informational policy. These broad powers were the main reason for which after 1990 each change of majority in Parliament was followed by personal and structural changes in the BNR and the BNTV. With a decision from September 1995, the Constitutional Court proclaimed unconstitutional most of the texts which provide regulations for the powers of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio and Television with respect to the BNR and the BNTV. Because the abrogated texts were not substituted by others, a legislative gap with respect to the regulation of the relation state - state-owned electronic media appeared.

The basic principles for the work of the mass media are set forth by the 1991 Bulgarian Constitution (Arts 39 through 41). Art. 39 (1) sets the principle of freedom of expression. The second Paragraph of this article defines the limits of this freedom, namely - the rights and the good name of other people; the propaganda for forceful change of the Constitutional order; the instigation of hatred; the propaganda instigating to violent acts against other people or to commitment of crime. The liability for violation of the limits of freedom of

expression is regulated in the chapter on torts in the respective civil law, as well as in the Penal Code. The latter incriminates those deeds which go beyond the limits of freedom of expression as set forth by the Constitution, such as:

- ρ Propaganda of fascist or other anti-democratic ideology (Art. 108; provides for an imprisonment sentence of three years or a fine);
- ρ Disclosure (Art. 145; provides for up to one year imprisonment or a fine);
- ρ Affront, defamation and libel (Art. 148; provides for up to two years imprisonment or a fine);
- ρ Instigation to racial and national hatred (Art. 162; provides for up to three years imprisonment or a fine);
- ρ Instigation to hatred based on religion (Art. 164; provides for up to three years imprisonment or a fine);
- ρ Instigation to commitment of crime (Art. 320; provides for up to three years imprisonment or a fine);

Art. 40 of the Constitution proclaims that the media are free from censorship, while Art. 41 guarantees the right to information.

The legal regime of the private print editions does not differ from that of the state owned ones, except for one substantial difference concerning taxation. The private print media are not obliged to acquire special licenses by a state organ. The only requirement for a private newspaper, magazine or other print edition is a registration as a commercial entity under the Law on Commerce, because the very activity of publishing according to this Law is a commercial one. This, however, does not pose an obstacle to private not-for-profit associations or foundations to publish their own editions, as long as this is not a profit-oriented business.

The statute on the private electronic media differs substantially from that of the state owned ones. In compliance with Art. 18

appendix 2

(3) of the Bulgarian Constitution, the state exercises sovereign rights over the national radio frequencies spectrum. The state organ authorized to consider applications and to grant licenses for emissions is The Committee for Posts and Communications, whose Chair is appointed by the Prime Minister. The licenses are time limited and suspension is possible in case of non-compliance with the terms of licensing. The first private radio stations started emissions in Sofia and other big cities in 1992. None of the now existing private radio stations has nation-wide emissions, although two of them have such licenses. Licenses for TV emissions were granted to 9 companies. At the moment only two of these channels have emissions, both of them covering only the territory of Sofia city. There are hundreds of cable networks which are functioning illegally and pursuant to the Copyright Law and the Penal Code, their owners are liable to both civil and criminal proceedings. Despite this nobody has been sued so far. The legal regulations now in effect do not forbid ownership, share holding or partnership in a company licensed for TV or radio emissions, by foreigner (a person with registration outside the country or somebody registered in Bulgaria but controlled from outside).

The number of free lancers among Bulgarian journalists is comparatively small. The relations between the journalists and their employers is regulated in the Labor Code. The latter gives in the hands of the state one of the most powerful mechanism for control over the journalists. It is provided by the special provision of Art. 328b which applies only to people who work in the BNR, the BNTV and the state cultural institutions. The text provides for a different regime for termination of the labor contract by the employer, who is not bound with any formal prerequisites for the termination of the contract. This case in practical terms deprives the journalists of any legal possibilities to challenge the

dismissal.

The Constitution provides for equality of all forms of ownership (Art. 19), but in reality taxation procedures are different for the state-owned and the private media. This is so, because the Bulgarian law does not distinguish between a commercial entity which is private media and the other commercial entities. Therefore, only the private media are subject to the general rules of taxation, while the state owned ones are liberated of any obligations to the budget.

Greece

Art. 14 of the Constitution guarantees the freedom of speech and of the press, forbidding "censorship and any other preventive measure." Seizure of newspapers or of any other print medium is forbidden except with court order in the cases of: an offense against Christian and any other "known religion", or against the President of the Republic; the publication of information on sensitive defense matters or which could threaten the territorial integrity of the country; and the publication of obscene material. Three condemnations after such seizures lead to temporary or permanent closing down of the newspapers. The constitution also calls for laws to define the right to reply, as well as the conditions and qualifications for the profession of journalist, and it allows for a law to mandate that the financing of the newspapers and magazines be made publicly known. Finally, it specifies that the press-related crimes be tried expediently like the crimes caught in the act (flagrant dØlit).

The Press Law dates from 1938, though it has been amended many times since. It provides for the right to reply and for criminal and civil suits for libel; the former, though, have short prescription periods which practically guarantee impunity in the slow Greek judicial system, despite the swift procedure mandated by the

appendix 2

constitution. A minimum sale price for the daily and weekly newspapers is set by the government. Since 1988, the owners must be publicly known, which means that even press related joint-stock companies (sociétés anonymes) ought to have personalized stocks for their shareholders.

The Constitution excludes broadcast media (along with the cinema and the record industry) from the legal protection offered to the print media. This exception is formulated in Art. 15, which also provides for direct state control of radio and television, whose responsibilities should include “the objective and fair broadcasting of information and news, as well as of products of literature and arts”, and “securing the programming quality required by their social mission and the cultural development of the country.” For a long time, “direct state control” was interpreted by conservative and socialist governments as tantamount to exclusive state ownership of electronic media.

The extreme pro-government bias of state owned and government controlled radio and television led to social pressure for deregulation, led by a group of intellectuals called “Channel 15” after the constitutional article. Public opinion’s favorable reaction to that pressure made some opposition mayors decide to start radio stations in 1987; in turn, that forced the socialist government to accept the principle of non-state owned local radio stations in the 1987 law and implement it with a 1988 presidential decree. Furthermore, the success of those ‘free’ radio stations prepared the ground for non-state owned television stations: in late 1988, the socialist government decided that the state company ERT should start over-the-air free retransmission of foreign satellite television programs (having previously threatened to “shoot down satellites which fly over Greek air space”); and the opposition mayors of Salonica and Piraeus started local television stations. Finally, the

conservative-communist coalition government in 1989 gave in to the intense lobbying of the newspaper publishers and radio station owners and allowed private and municipal local television, including cable, pay-TV and satellite retransmission stations. They also limited ERT’s monopoly to national broadcasting and transferred the state’s control of the electronic media to a National Radio and Television Council. However, the ensuing conservative government introduced amendments to this law which practically reaffirmed the government’s control of the state-owned media. Finally, the socialist government introduced a comprehensive new law on private media in 1995.

Today, therefore, broadcast media in Greece officially function within the framework of the laws 1730/1987 (on ERT), 1866/1989 (on the National Radio and Television Council), and 2328/1995, and the ministerial decision 22255/2/1990 of the Minister to the Prime Minister (on the National Radio and Television Council). The state’s constitutionally-mandated control over them is carried out by the National Radio and Television Council (ESR). ESR’s responsibilities are: to recommend three candidates ‘of high reputation and professional competence’ per government appointed position on the ERT board, among which the government will select one; to recommend to the government the dismissal of members of the ERT board; to advise the government on granting licenses to non-state owned radio and television stations; to issue codes of ethics for journalists, programs, and advertisements in broadcast media; to oversee the coverage of the activities of parliament and of electoral campaigns by ERT; and to sanction the violations of these codes or of other laws by the stations. The state company ERT (Greek Radio and Television) has henceforth the monopoly of only cable and pay-TV broadcasting. ERT is a public company with the form of joint stock company (sociétés anonymes): its

appendix 2

only stockholder is the Greek state.

A renewable, four-year license to operate only one local FM radio station can be granted by the government, upon the recommendation of the ESR, to a local authority, a company controlled and managed by Greeks or EU citizens, or to a Greek or EU citizen. Networking is allowed only up to five hours a day and after permission of the ESR. Transmitters cannot be used, unless they are unavoidable for the station to cover the whole region (locality is defined in terms of prefecture). The emphasis of the program should be local.

A renewable, four-year license to operate only one local, regional or national television station can be granted by the government, upon the recommendation of the ESR, to a local authority or to a company: in the latter, no individual can directly or through his/her relatives own more than 25% of the personalized shares, and foreign, non-EU capital cannot control more than 25% of the total capital. The companies must be reliable, and their members should not have been condemned for press related crimes. Local authorities and media-related experience of the shareholders are considered advantages for the granting of licenses. No shareholder can have shares in more than one stations. Programming must conform to the requirements of the 89/552/EEC directive of 3/10/1989. Presidential decrees should specify the procedure by which 1.5% of the annual gross income (minus taxes and contributions to state agencies) of the state or non-state television companies is invested in Greek feature films also to be shown in theaters; and 0.3% of the annual gross income is donated to two national organizations for the blind.

Advertisements in radio and television cannot exceed 12 minutes per hour, nor 15% of the total daily broadcasting time. Indirect advertising, as well as advertisements of pharmaceutical and

tobacco products, as well as sexual services are forbidden in all broadcast media. Anyone offended by a radio or television program has the right to reply, with the ESR acting as the final authority to decide upon these matters.

Kosovo

Before July 5, 1990 Kosovo used to be well-provided with media in both Serbian and Albanian. Radio and TV Prishtina used to broadcast along with seven local radio stations, and there were over 40 magazines and newspapers. The only Albanian language daily - *Rilindja* - was started in 1945 but was closed down on August 7, 1990. After the suspension of the Kosovo Parliament, which was carried out during a declared state of emergency, special "emergency measures" were introduced and on the basis of the latter, the Serbian authorities closed down the media in Albanian, including the Albanian language programs of Radio and TV Prishtina. This act was legitimized by the Law on Public Information (Serbian State Gazette, 19/90, 29/03/91) and it authorized the dismissal of Albanians working in the media.

Although *Rilindja* was closed down, a bypassing of the ban was made possible by using the license of a former periodical on agriculture called *Bujku*. The latter changed its profile in order to provide newspaper type of information. It is financed with the profits of its foreign edition, which is printed in Switzerland and Albania and which carries the paper's original name - *Rilindja*.

In November 1992 the Serbian Parliament adopted a new Law on Information, which established the Panorama Publishing and Distribution House replacing the *Rilindja* one. Panorama took over the premises and belongings of the older house and is now charged with the printing and distribution of all printed matters in both Serbian and

appendix 2

Albanian. The Serbian authorities are the only ones capable of appointing and dismissing members of Panorama's Administrative Council, of the management and of the general management. However, *Bujku* and some other publications have an entirely independent and censorship-free editorial policies, which are restricted by the state only in the form of discriminatory economic measures.

Radio and Television Prishtina broadcast in Albanian, but this is done under the strict and direct Serbian control since July 1990. Nowadays these broadcasts are cut down to the symbolic programs of less than an hour of Serbian edited daily news bulletins, which is a virtual translation of the official news coming from Belgrade, so they have almost no Albanian audience.

Macedonia

Art. 16 of the Constitution guarantees the freedom of public information and the establishment of institutions for public information; free access to information and freedom of reception and transmission of information; the right to reply and correction and the right to protect the sources of information. Censorship is prohibited. However, in practice legislation is still based on old federal and republican laws from the period before 1991.

According to the existing regulations, any person can be the founder of a media outlet. The Republic authorizes the use of frequencies. The government registers and gives "work permits" to the media. The Penal Code provides for imprisonment for spreading of false news and statements, as well as for court warnings, fines or imprisonment for slander, revealing if personal or family matters and other offenses committed by the media. The chief editor, the editor, and the publisher of the medium in which these offenses

appear, may be held liable for them.

Although censorship is prohibited by the Constitution, self-censorship exists. The fear of possible repression or even of losing of their jobs puts the journalists on the alert. However, there is the bigger fear that excessive criticism may endanger the overall stability of the country which makes the journalists extra cautious.

In May 1995 the Ministry for Transportation and Telecommunication passed a decision to "clean" the Macedonian airwaves. The official explanation was that the government intended to stop the "totally irresponsible occupation of frequencies and the pirating of satellite frequencies of foreign satellite TV stations." More than 80 private radio and TV stations were closed. Many observers considered this act a typical form of censorship and argued that the government aimed at closing of the media supported by the Soros Foundation.

Romania

In September 1995 some amendments to the Penal Code were introduced.

Art. 205 (Insult)

Para 1 - "Damage brought to the honor or reputation of an individual by means of words, gestures and other means, or by exposure to mockery, shall be punished by prison of one month to one year or a fine."

Para 2 - "The same punishment shall apply to cases where a flaw, illness or handicap are attributed to a person and, even if real, they should not be disclosed."

Para 3 - "If the deeds provided for in Para 1 and 2 are perpetrated by any person through the written press, through audio-visual means of communication or other means, or in public meetings, punishment shall be prison from three months to two years or a fine."

Para 4 - "Criminal procedures are triggered

□ppendix 3

by the complaint of the damaged party.”

Para 5 - “Out of court settlement excludes criminal liability.”

Art. 206 (Libel)

Para 1 - “Public statement or reproach of a certain fact related to a person, which, if proven true, would expose that person to criminal, administrative, or disciplinary punishment, or to public contempt, shall be punished by prison from three months to two years or a fine.”

Para 2 - “If the deed provided for in Para 1 is perpetrated by any person through written press, audio-visual means of communication or other means, or in public meetings, punishment shall consist of prison from six months to three years or a fine.”

Para 3 - “Criminal procedures are triggered by the complaint of the damaged party.”

Para 4 - “Out of court settlement excludes criminal liability.”

There are other articles in the Penal Code which provide for increased penalties for

journalists. The amendments to the Penal Code have been amply commented upon and criticized by the Romanian media.

As regards broadcast media, it was only three years ago that private TV and radio stations were allowed to operate in Romania. However, the latter cover very small local areas and have a limited impact. This situation is due to the way in which the only legal audiovisual body, the National Audiovisual Council (NAC) issues the broadcasting licenses, without which no station can function. Obtaining the license is like a real battle. Once this is done, the license of the respective radio or TV station regulates the area which has to be covered, the broadcasting hours and the nature of the programs. Thus a station with a license for movies and sports programs cannot broadcast political talk shows.

Contributors to this volume

Panayote Elias Dimitras holds a Ph.D. in Political Economy and Government from

appendix 4

Harvard University (1979). After fifteen years of academic and research work in political science, public opinion surveys and media studies, he has been working on human and minority rights. In 1992, he helped found Minority Rights Group - Greece and Greek Helsinki Monitor. In 1997, he was appointed visiting lecturer at the Central European University (Budapest).
e-mail: panayote@greekhelsinki.gr

Mariana Lenkova is a senior in English and American Studies at the St. Clement of Ohrid University of Sofia. She has been working on human and minority rights in the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (1994-5) and the Greek Helsinki Monitor (since 1995). She was the regional rapporteur for the IHF Hate Speech project (1995-7) and also for a similar Balkan Neighbors project (1996-7).
e-mail: murray@mail.cyberlink.bg

Nafsika Papanikolatos holds a Diplome d' Etudes Approfondies in History and Civilization from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris, 1983) and a Master's in Political Science from the University of Ottawa (1984); she is now a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the Panteios University (Athens). She has been working on human and minority rights in the Greek Committee for International Democratic Solidarity (1993-1997) and Greek Helsinki Monitor (since 1997).
e-mail: nafsika@greekhelsinki.gr

Aaron Rhodes has been Executive Director of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights since 1993. He was formerly associated with the Institute for Human Sciences (Vienna) and Boston University. He was educated at Reed College and The University of Chicago, where he received a Ph.D. in the Committee on Social Thought.

Contributors to the project "media

freedom and hate speech in the balkans 1995-6"

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights is a self-governing group of non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations that act to protect human rights throughout Europe, North America, and the Central Asian republics formed from the territories of the former Soviet Union. A primary specific goal is to monitor compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and its Follow-up Documents. A secretariat based in Vienna, commonly referred to as "the IHF", supports and provides liaison among thirty-four member "Helsinki committees", and represents them at the international political level. The IHF also has direct links with individuals and groups supporting human rights in countries where no Helsinki committees exist. In addition to gathering and analyzing information on human rights conditions in OSCE participating States, the IHF acts as a clearing house for this information, disseminating it to governments, inter-governmental organizations, the press and the public at large. The IHF is even-handed in its criticism of human rights violations with respect to the political systems of states in which these abuses occur.

Particularly since 1989, the IHF has also been active in promoting and supporting human rights in formerly totalitarian countries by organizing education projects, seminars, and international projects. Many of these have been implemented by Helsinki committees and other local human rights organizations.

Currently Helsinki committees affiliated with the Federation exist in Albania, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina,

appendix 4

Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights
Rummelhardtgasse 2/18
A-1090 Wien
Austria

Tel: +43-1-402 73 87
Fax: +43-1-408 74 44
e-mail: office@ihf-hr.org

Research Team:

Brigitte Dufour
Therese Nelson
Aaron Rhodes

Albanian Helsinki Committee

The Albanian Helsinki Committee was founded in December 1990 (then called Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms). The most important point in the program of the Forum was the demand addressed to the authorities for the release of all the political prisoners still in jail. In March 1992, *The Forum for the Defense of Human Rights* was recognized by the *International Federation for Human Rights* and admitted as full member. On that occasion, the Forum was renamed as Albanian Helsinki Committee.

The AHC is independent from political parties and free of any governmental tutelage. The monitoring of human rights and the criticism formulated by the AHC is

constructive in its character: along with public denouncements of violations, suggestions and proposals are referred to the governmental organs on how to overcome and prevent them, in compliance with internal legislation and the international instruments to which Albania is a party.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Komiteti Shqiptar I Helsinkit
The Albanian Helsinki Committee
Re. Ali Demi, Pall. 2, Shk. 2, Ap. 12
Tirana – Albania

Tel/Fax: +355-42-33 671

Research Team:

Fatos Lubonja
Arben Puto
Vladimir Prela

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina was founded in 1995. It is an independent, non-governmental, non-profit association of citizens. The goals of the Committee are to promote and protect human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In order to achieve its goals, the Committee's activities include the following:

- A systematic monitoring of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on human rights violations and on taking protection measures;
- collecting and spreading of information about international legal practice in the domain of human rights;
- making proposals for amelioration of the state of human rights in Bosnia and

appendix 4

Herzegovina including proposals for new laws and changes to the existing ones;

- offering professional help to the citizens in the field of human rights;
- educating citizens and professionals in the respect and protection of human rights;
- publishing regular and special reports and publications on human rights;
- keeping a database bank;
- contacting the media in order to promote all aspects of human rights;
- cooperating with national and international organizations in the field of promotion and protection of human rights.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Helsinki komitet za ljudska prava u Bosni i Hercegovini
Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina
M.M. Baseskije 10/IV
Sarajevo
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tel: +387-71 02 45
Fax: +387-71-66 56 53
e-mail: Helsinki_comm.BiH@zamir-sa.ztn.apc.org

Research Team:

Srdjan Dizdarevic

Human Rights Project (Bulgaria)

Human Rights Project is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, established in 1992, which is governed by a board of five members: Dimitrina Petrova, Dimitar Gheorghiev, Krassimir Kanev, Nikolai Ghughinski and Rumyan Russinov.

As a human rights NGO focused on monitoring the human rights situation of Roma in Bulgaria and legal defense of

Roma victims of human rights abuses, *Human Rights Project* has the following goals:

- to raise the human rights consciousness of the Roma people, who are the most deprived and discriminated part of the population
- to advocate for the human rights of the Roma at governmental offices, businesses, and media
- to introduce reforms in the function of the Criminal Justice System that will guarantee efficient combating of discrimination and racism
- to motivate lawyers to work for human rights ideals
- to counteract Romaphobia, hate speech in the media, racist nationalistic tendencies in Bulgarian society, and promote a more favorable social environment for this ethnic group

Human Rights Project

- conducts, independent from official authorities, investigation into allegations of human rights violations against Roma
- provides legal representation and legal services on behalf of Roma victims of human rights abuses
- publicizes information about human rights abuses against Roma
- works with volunteers from the Roma community and conducts human rights training with them
- advocates legislative and policy changes in favor of Roma
- advocates fair coverage of Roma in mainstream media

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Human Rights Project
23 Solunska Street, 6th floor
1000 Sofia
Bulgaria
Tel/Fax +359-2-80 61 45 or 981 50 66
e-mail: hrproject@mbox.cit.bg or hrproject@mail.cyberlink.bg

appendix 4

Research Team:

Dimitrina Petrova
Kamelia Angelova
Todor Georgiev

Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights

The Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights is a non-governmental, non-profit organization for human rights, which was founded in 1992. The Committee primarily concentrates its activities on the protection of individuals and minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Smiciklasova 23/II
10000 Zagreb
Croatia

Tel: +385-1-455 20 20 or 455 69 63
Fax: +385-1-455 25 24
e-mail: hho@hho.tel.hr.

Research Team:

Ivan Zvonimir Cicak
Zvonko Letica
Luka Mitrovic

Greek Helsinki Monitor

Greek Helsinki Monitor was founded in late 1992, following the encouragement of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF). A year later, in December 1993, the latter's General Assembly accredited it as its Greek National Committee with an observer status; in November 1994, the General Assembly elevated Greek Helsinki Monitor to full membership. Current Greek Helsinki Monitor members are also members of

Minority Rights Group - Greece, the Greek affiliate of Minority Rights Group International since January 1992.

In 1994, Greek Helsinki Monitor launched a project to prepare detailed reports on all national, ethnolinguistic and major religious minority communities in Greece (Macedonians and Turks; Arvanites, Pomaks, and Vlachs; Catholics, Jehovah Witnesses, Protestants, and New Religious Movements), as well as the Greek minorities in Albania and Turkey, and the Albanian immigrants in Greece. Besides the usual monitoring of human rights violations and human rights related trials, the issuing of public statements, alone or along with other NGO's, and the monitoring of Greek and Balkan media for stereotypes and hate speech, Greek Helsinki Monitor started in 1997 a Roma Office in cooperation with the European Roma Rights Center.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Greek Helsinki Monitor & Minority Rights Group - Greece
P.O. Box 51393, GR-145 10 Kifisia, Greece

Tel: +30-1-620.01.20;
Fax: +30-1-807.57.67
e-mail: office@greekhelsinki.gr
web site: <http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/>

Research Team:

Panayote Elias Dimitras
Vaso Neofotistos

Kosova Helsinki Committee

The Kosova Helsinki Committee was established in May 1990 as the Prishtina Branch of the then-existing Yugoslav Helsinki Committee. It was established in order to express the concern and commitment; the need for monitoring and disseminating of information and of

appendix 4

making the international community aware of the grave human rights situation in Kosova.

In June 1991, the Prishtina Branch was transformed into a self-standing Kosova Helsinki Committee.

The Kosova Helsinki Committee is an independent non-partisan, non-profit and humanitarian membership association of citizens organized for the purpose of defense and promotion of human rights and freedoms in Kosova, the FRY, and elsewhere in the world.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Komiteti Kosovar i Helsinkit
Kosova Helsinki Committee
Taslixhe I 36a
38000 Prishtina
Yugoslavia

Tel/Fax: +381-38-26-153
e-mail: pula.khc@eunet.yu

Research Team:

Gazmend Pula

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia

After a few months of preparation, thanks to the help of the Greek Helsinki Monitor and the Norwegian and the Swedish Helsinki Committees, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in the Republic of Macedonia was established in October 1994.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia
ul. Mito Hadzivasilev-Jasmin 18-1/6
P.O. Box 58
91000 Skopje
Macedonia

Tel: +389-91-206 244
Fax: +389-91-119 073
e-mail: helkom@soros.org.mk

Research Team:

Alexander Damovski
Meto Jovanovski

Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights

The Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights is a non-governmental organization established in October 1994.

The basic activities of the Committee are dedicated to the protection and promotion of human rights and democracy. The Committee is engaged in the protection of the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious character of Montenegrin society.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Crnogorski Helsinski Komitet za Ljudska Prava
Montenegrin Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
Kristifora Ivanovica 3
85310 Budva
F. R. YUGOSLAVIA

Tel/Fax: +381-86 53 191
+381-86 54 246.

Research Team:

Slobodan Franovic

Romanian Helsinki Committee

The Romanian Helsinki Committee was set up in January 1990 by some former opponents of the communist dictatorship and persons intending to act in the field of human rights in compliance with the CSCE Helsinki Final Act and its follow up documents.

appendix 4

The Committee is a non-governmental, political non-partisan, and non-profit association.

Its purposes are:

- to support the public education in the field of human rights so that the VII. Principle of the Helsinki Final Act which has established "the right of the individual to know and act upon his/her rights and duties" shall become a reality in Romania;
- to gather and disseminate information concerning abuses and violations of human rights;
- to urge the official state authorities to comply to their obligations under the human rights accords as well as under the Helsinki Final Act;
- to cooperate with other similar non-governmental, local or international organizations.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Romanian Helsinki Committee
Calea Victoriei 120, Sector 1
Bucharest
Romania

Tel/Fax: +40-1-312 45 28
or: 312 44 43
e-mail: apadorch@apador.sfos.ro

Research Team:

Vera Campeanu
Renate Weber

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia

The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, founded in September 1994, is an association of citizens, a non-governmental, non-profit organization which helps and contributes to the realization of the goals of the International

Helsinki Federation for Human Rights within the territory of Serbia.

The main goals and objectives of the Committee are:

- the systematic monitoring and studying of the state of human rights on the territory of the FRY;
- focusing on human rights violations and taking protection measures;
- making proposals for amelioration of the state of human rights; preparation of proposals for new laws, changes and amendments to the existing ones; insisting on the application of the duties the FRY has undertaken in relation to international documents, its Constitution and laws;
- continuing cooperation with related professional and non-governmental organizations;
- offering professional help to citizens whose rights have been violated or endangered;
- educating professionals and citizens on the respect and protection of human rights;
- publishing regular and special reports and publications concerning human rights, developments and protection.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia
Zmaj Jovina 7
11000 Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Tel/Fax: +381-11-637 542 or 639 481
e-mail: helsinki@Eunet.yu
web site: <http://helsinki.opennet.org>

Research Team:

Sonja Biserko
Georgije Maric
Igor Mesner

table of contents

Helsinki Monitor of Slovenia

Helsinki Monitor of Slovenia has been active in the field of protection of human rights in Slovenia since September 1994. It is an independent social organization, a group of citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, who deal with the promotion, assertion and protection of human rights.

Its aims are:

- to support, proclaim and implement the principles of the Final Act of the CSCE and other documents of the CSCE/OSCE process;
- to strengthen, promote and control the implementation of the Helsinki documents in Slovenia and in other member countries of the OSCE;
- to support the development of the democratic institutions, of the rule of law, of the values of universal justice, fair attitude, solidarity, human rights and basic freedoms, as well as to educate the people in these values;
- to organize research and documentary activities in the field of human rights;
- to monitor systematically the degree of implementation, respect for and protection of human rights on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia;
- to provide aid to people whose human rights have been violated.

Address, telephone, fax, e-mail:

Helsinki Monitor of Slovenia
Gornji trg 22
1000 Ljubljana
Slovenia

Tel: +386-61-225 775
Tel/Fax: +386-61-1261 889
e-mail: helsinki.monitor.slo@slol.net

Research Team:

Neva Miklavcic
