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MEDIA WAR AND HATRED

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PREPARATION OF CONFLICTS

HISTORY OF THE MEDIA WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA

This paper represents a piece of research into the question of the social (mis)uses of media. It delivers new insights and open up new questions, because it takes in consideration in the same time the creator and the user of media messages, and especially transmitters and interpreters of media messages.

Although usually the political analysis of media emphasized the importance of "news" and information programs, we want to show how important is general media message, even transmitted through spots, music TV, drama or even art and cultural programming.

Both television viewing, radio listening and even newspaper reading have to be seen more and more as a social, even a collective activity. The milieu - context, influences what we view or read, and especially, what sense we make of it. "People don't passively absorb subliminal 'inputs' from the screen. They discursively 'make sense' of or produce 'readings' of what they see."¹⁾

Reading newspapers today in families, listening radio or watching TV is almost always accompanied by comments, discussions, debate - sometimes even very strong. Today conversation is impregnated by "media", television talk, of what have been seen, etc. "Have you seen that politician saying..." is the most common beginning of conversation even during brief encounters among

¹⁾ Stuart Hall - Introduction for: David Morley, *Family television (Cultural power and Domestic Leisure)*, Comedia, London, 1986.

friends and acquaintances. The actual modes of relating to television of newspapers are extremely complex, especially in "construction" of the truth, making-believe, making opinions... It's not just acceptance of what have been heard or read, it's selection of facts, reconstruction of logic of the facts. The medium thus became integrated into the political processes of the country. Usually varied way of social uses of television become in this present political atmosphere extremely reduced - on political construction of reality.

The main question of this paper is so how media messages , programs in broadest sense, are interpreted by theirs audience, how the relations of television viewing, newspaper reading and radio listening are mutually interdependent and what are theirs effects caused by political ideology of the viewer...

So patterns of viewing the same media material differs, depending on the factors which frame "viewing behavior".

To make an important study of the use of the media today, it is absolutely necessary to take all media into consideration, but also the facts caused by non-media conditions (today it is "embargo" and its consequences, etc.)

The rigid ideology has suffocated for a long time the variety of political expressions, especially forms of media political information programs, political research, public opinion research, etc. In the same time, the sterility of the programs of the public media sector. contributed to the rising need for creation of independent media sector. So, at the end of the 80' in Belgrade started to work: ITV Studio B, YUTEL, Radio B-92, magazine *Vreme* etc. But, their strength was not sufficient to prevent ethnic media war, which they had resented from the beginning and denounced.

Media war which started long before the real war:

- ♦ prepared and articulated public opinion
- ♦ launched the false information
- ♦ gave the explications and descriptions full of hate²⁾

²⁾ For example, nationalist prejudice were often printed and reprinted: Serbs are Byzantins, Gypsies, barbarians, although christians - but not religious people, Balkanic, cruel, rude... Slovans are pragmatic, non-heroic, non-metaphysical people, Austrian servants and stableboys, clericalist... Croats are "little" people, full of complexes, cowards...

Of course, the system of media manipulation through propaganda wars is more complex. Using the each day analysis of the TV News done by independent group of journalists and published regularly in "Borba", we can make certain conclusion about method of creating a media truth and adequate impact on population. Selection of informations, reinterpretation of information (first commentary - than in the conclusion they give the information, but in that moment the audience is prepared to accept the information in the way the media redactors wanted, etc.), using black and white technics (evil enemy and everything connected with him and good "our" guys, even when they are cruel, because they have to be like that) etc. The media manipulation is developed not only to persuade one ethnical group about genocide character of the other, but in the interior political battle too. So, all the representatives of the Socialist party in Serbia are presented as a specialists, reliable persons, but oppositional leaders as impulsive, incompetent and nonreliable. The vocabulary used in media comments, but also in their choice of presenting of what was said in the Parliament, reflects intention to present Parliament as an unstable institution, in whom different opinions are not only so dangerous for themselves, but for the auditorium in general. (It was amazing how word *gigolo* made its entry in our political jargon. First used by Šešelj as a suggestion for woman member of Parliament how to solve her problem of insecurity in front of his violent speeches and reactions, today it is repeated by members of ruling party (Laban) and many others in different contexts, but always to humiliate the opposition, the other thinking.

In fact, its by analysis of the *media vocabulary* that we can start our research concerning the history of the media war which was not the media war for freedom, more liberties etc. (what was pretended), but war among ethnics, war for nationalist hegemony on the "own, historical, national, ethnic territory".

From 1981. rebellion of Albanian population on Kosovo, Serbian newspapers start writing about exodus of Serbs from Kosovo in last 50 years. That have contributed to development of Serbian nationalism. The start was "innocent". Crimes and tortures committed by Albanians (common people, but also by province authorities,

in majority Albanian) had been described one by one, always going further deep in history (not only to the crime done during last 20 years or in the Second world war, but also, during the Turkish period, before Balkan wars etc.) Vocabulary what was used in description of these crimes which had forced a numerous Serbian population of Kosovo to move and to settle in interior of Serbia, differs a lot from usual vocabulary in feilltons, non-fiction or history books who dealt with same issues - but with other participants. German crimes during the II world war had been described without that "emotion" which covers "Kosovo" reports. Rapes, burning, destroying of cemeteries were the preferred subject of Serbian press in that time. Little by little, the notion Albanian had been changed and today only few Belgrade intellectuals and present time dissidents are still using. The authorities and the press are using the term Schiptar, which is the old serbian term for Albanians (very similar to their own pronunciation of their national identity). But, in the same time, this term still keeps its pejorative meaning, why represent offense for Albanian population of Kosovo.

Slovenian youth politicians, journalists around *Mladina*, organized in different forms public support to Albanian secessionist movement, claiming they have right to their own state - republic, and that stories presented in Serbian press reflects only part of the Kosovo truth. Neglecting enormous number of Serbian refugees from Kosovo in Serbia, extremely high Kosovo Albanian natality (three times bigger than in Albania itself, where standard of living is much lower), they accepted the gloves launched by Serbian one-sided, non-professional media and it is just a simple way to present how Slovenia - Serbia media war had started.

Already in the summer of 1989, Zagreb weekly *Danas* wrote about Slovenia-Serbia verbal civil war, emphasizing that Croatia does not participate in it in any way - It was a period of "Croatian silence".

Nova revija n. 57 /slovenian National program, written by most famous slovenian intellectuals like Spomenka Hribar, Tone Hribar, Dimitrij Rupel, Urbančič... was not only the essay to renew the slovenian national feeling, but the first common declaration of slovenian intellectuals claiming national rights as the more

important human rights. The "response" was MEMORANDUM of Serbian Academy of sciences, photocopied and distributed secretly throughout Yugoslavia, in whom the Serbian national question was put up in comparison to other national programs in Yugoslavia, but most important was the fact that serbian position was analyzed emphasizing the negative impact of Yugoslavian society on Serbian political, economical and cultural life.

Serbian and Slovenian national programs confronted severely in 1989., after open support of the Slovenian intellectuals and politicians to the oppositionary movement of Albanians of Kosovo, and especially after the meeting in Cankarjev dom - organized to support the strike of Albanians miners in Trepča. (It was one of the first happenings using Jewish "icon"- David star to present the status of Albanians, which was extremely rejected by the Yugoslav Jewish community itself. Afterwards, the manipulation with symbolical representation of the Jew identity as a symbol of a victim, was misused many times by all of the participants in the conflict, what we shall describe later in the text).

Same evening - huge demonstrations in Belgrade provoked by the TV transmission of the program from Cankarjev dom, manipulated and organized by the authorities in Serbia, like all of the other meetings during the antibureaucratic revolution.

Next days: the propaganda to refuse to sell and to buy Slovenian products had been organized by official media.

29. of November 1989.- official proclamations of the "economic blockade" of Slovenia from Serbia. On the day of 1.st of December, all the Slovenian products in Belgrade had been sold out - although in the middle of the 5 days vacancies, people rushed in the shops to make stock of the deficitary or high quality articles imported always from Slovenia.

In that time all official media were manipulated by the goverments in the respective republics. To realize the truth someone should read at least two or three newspapers from different republics.

1990' in Yugoslavia exists two different electronic mail for distribution of news from Yugoslavia. First one disseminate the news from croatian press (*Vjesnik, Danas*, from HINA...), the other one, called Vesti "News", disseminate informations from *Politika, Borba, Vreme* and from Radio Belgrade...

The most important medias became little by little heavily controlled in Serbia, after arrival of S.Milošević on power (1987), although, he didn't stop the rising of new independent media such as *Vreme*, B-92 or Independent TV Studio B on the Information Market. But, Belgrade TV and *Politika* become heavy nationalist propaganda instrument. Radio Belgrade had resisted since March 1991, when big demonstration for liberation of TV had happened in Belgrade. But, although the result of 10 days long demonstration was the resignation of the 4 TV leaders, the final effect was even worst control of TV and it brought new leaders of Radio Belgrade, who little by little had completely changed the contents of the program, and even the "program schema", so today Radio Belgrade is also in the same line as TV, Novi Sad daily *Dnevnik*, etc.

The repression towards the media in Vojvodina started immediately after the "antibureaucratic" revolution, and it was completed in 1990, after "unification" of the Serbia. The new leaders of Novi Sad media have been found in other parts of the country - from *Politika*, for example. The repression soon have spread out towards the national minority media: Forum, Magyar szo, etc.

So it is very peculiar that in Belgrade, although exist quite strong control of the media, there are in the same time the best independent media in the country (ex-Yugoslavia space).

It was amazing how *Borba*, ex-most communist, state owned newspaper, became most objective, independent newspaper, but still, because coming from Belgrade, its kiosks has been burned in the first nationalist attacks in Croatia, long before war had started. (50 kiosks destroyed in spring of 1991). *Borba* has been identified with politics of Ante Marković, and still today always accused as antiserb-newspaper.

NIN, one of the most famous weeklies, rapidly had lost his audience (from 130 000 to 13 000), but, after the confrontation of the whole of the redaction against the principal redactor, it has been liberated, but never regaining its audience, especially because that same audience in the meantime transferred to *Vreme*, and stayed loyal to it.³⁾

New freedom of the press brought to the public scenes a lot of weekly magazines like *Srpska reč*, *Velika Srbija* (Šešelj četnik magazin), *Balkan express*.. This new magazines and old magazines like *Duga*, *Interview*, *8*, etc. who had changed its editorial policy to become more and more popular... contributed largely to development of hatred, mistrust among population, suspicions... To be read they should be more and more provocative... so, the nationalist issues come in the focus of interest.

The history, religion, national questions had become the most common issues in the media. Masons, religious orders, the chosen people, all this is reinterpreted in the concordance with new trends and tendencies of the state. The yesterday enemy - The cionist state of Israel, became the most popular country in Serbia, and Jewish people the most beloved people. It suits so much to the state propaganda to identify Serbs and Jews as victims, as peoples with same fate. (In the same time the Franciscan order is suspected, and even the State minister for religious questions Dragan Dragojlović, in the article published in *politika* in 1991, claimed that Franciscan order became and still is one of the "dirtiest" orders in the Catholic church. The suspicion towards Franciscans is due to their influence in Bosnia and on Kosovo, complete devotion to Croatian cause which made them the most banished religious order in communist Yugoslavia.). (I was really surprised to see that it is not only Serbian speciality - manipulation with love towards Jews can be of the same importance as the open antisemitism declared so often by Hungarian, Croat, Russian, Slova-

³⁾ The loyalty towards independent media is of enormous importance. That could be seen during experimental action of Radio B-92, but also during processus of privatization of *Borba*. Its readers had bought the majority of the actions, although in great financial crisis, etc.

que politicians (The most famous Tadjman statement: Luckily, my wife is neither Serbian neither Jew).⁴⁾

"Like most of the Central and East European nations 'rejoining' Europe, Bulgaria is at the same time anxious to stress its own unique identity and contribution. The article of Nicolai Tontchev gives a glimpse into the complexes (superiority and inferiority) that persist."

Tontchev had started his article about today's press writings how Bulgarians are the most intelligent nation in the world. The Bulgarians admits that the Jews rank ahead, "but because they are in a class of their own, that still leaves us technically first. My thesis, however, is that the fate of the Bulgarian nation is almost identical to that of the sons of Jacob".

In Croatia, articles in "Večernji list" about The knights of the black cross (Teutons) glorified their activities, because their political support to independent Croatian state was of certain importance.

The stories about exploitation and inequality of Croatia in Yugoslav federation have been largely reproduced by media. Historical facts, interpreted always as provoked by Serbs (or, when it was so evidently done by Croats, it was written only "Belgrade"). The notion of Belgrade became the most repeated symbol of all evils in Slovenian and Croatian press.

But, the main problem of the croatian press was language. Official separation of serbo-croat language, instructions how to use terminology to describe Yugoslav army, Serbian authorities, have been more than obeyed... New vocabulary have been created (although even the high officials had a great problems in pronunciation of the old fashioned, forgotten words - like lord-maire of Dubrovnik, trying to say the old word for art - umjetovanstvo). Purification of the language was the task of primary importance for all the journalist, but they are still making mistakes of using serbian words...

Heavy control of the Press in Croatia and its participation in the realization of the *patriotic task* long before

⁴⁾ Today in Hungary there is also a big discussions concerning George Soros foundation - Should Hungarian culture accept the Jew money (and through it - the international Jew decisions, directives, etc.), which is lead by extreme right wing leaders.

the war, have destroyed the professionalism, never really gained in previous system. Journalistic ethic is unknown thing throughout the Yugoslavia. Of course, that professional approach in war time was completely destroyed, and to find extremely fascist comments became quite common fact.

Yugoslavian Watergate - affaire about buying the arms for Croatia by retired officers of the Yugoslav army - January 1991.

TV Sarajevo gave 28 January 1991. statement:

When TV Sarajevo had transmitted the Film about exportation of the arms to Croatia, some spectators of Croatian origin had accused TV Sarajevo being "Chetnicks television". yesterday, when we had emitted emission - reaction on that film prepared by Croatian Television - spectators of Serbian origin had accused us being "oustacihs TV". Both sides are claiming they will renounce paying the tax for TV. Our TV has been for month a target for attacks of different groups of people, especially SDS and HDZ members. We ask our spectators to accept the fact that we are preparing our programs for the citizens, and not for the Muslims, Serbs and Croats".

Yutel had started broadcasting from Belgrade, aiming to contribute to objective information for whole Yugoslavia - but all of the republic authorities have been opposed to that media they couldn't control, and couldn't blame for other ethni nationalism. Yutel got the latest possible term for broadcasting, about 2 hours in the morning in Belgrade, after end of the program of Croatian TV in Zagreb. In Bosnia they could broadcast normally, but on second channel, and that was one of the reason why the people from Yutel had chosen Sarajevo in the moment they had to move from Belgrade, accused to be the "mercenaries" of Ante Marković, the most known "serbian enemy". Yutel did a great job, but without sufficient help and any kind of support after dissolution of federal government, in Bosnian war they disappeared from media scene in the worst possible way.

WAR TIME PROPAGANDA

The basic aim of the war time propaganda was to persuade the people that the war is the only solution - the unique way to solve the problems of the Serbs in Croatia

/ on one side, or to obtain independence - the centuries long dream/ on other side.

The daily newspaper promoted the special kind of journalism

- ♦ *politics* - comments & reports about governments decision were never put in questions, never commented any governmental decision (to raise doubts about government, or about a leader is a national trahison in a war time).
- ♦ *reportage from the front lines* had been given in a form of stories: atrocities always happen to civilians of "our" ethnical group and are committed by the soldiers of the enemy ethnical group; only large numbers of the enemy soldiers have been shoot to death, and only they suffer from terrible wounds
- ♦ *cultural topics* - only from national cultural history, or inspired by national cultural history (it was very difficult to print a critic for a book whose issue is about "nature", theory of art etc. - have nothing to do with historical injustice towards "our" people, or can't prove that "our" art and artist are best in the world (or at least the artist of the friendly country).⁵⁾
- ♦ *economic topics* - We will succeed in spite of everything,⁶⁾ in spite of blockade, in spite of all inside traitres, all Albanians, Muslims...(in Serbia) We will succeed in spite of all the damage the chetniks done to us, in spite of all the serbs (potential 5 th colon) living still with us... We shall got financial support of our friends we have everywhere in the world... (Croatia) No real economic analysis of the situa-

⁵⁾ So in Croatia the predominance of texts concerning German/Austrian culture, and in Serbia from Russian/Ukrainian culture. (A lots of Friendship societies between cultures had been created: Society of Serbian-Russian friendship, Serbian-Ukrainian friendship, even Serbian-German... in vain effort to stop the German media propaganda (not in some newspapers much worse from journalist style in ex-Yugoslav states).

⁶⁾ The analysis of the speeches of M. Milošević had shown that in the prewar time he had used most of all words the word mobilization, in all possible contexts (Kosta Čavoški). Today, in his last few public speeches he had used the most the word: in spite. In spite of all the countries in the world...

tion, prognostics, or even professional evaluation... Only hopes, strengths, to reinforce the public opinion, to give the force to the people to keep fighting, and not thinking...

- ♦ *military issues*, about armement, our industry who is capable to produce everything, even tanks (What a media event was a first drive of a Croatian armed car in Split... Desertion wasn't a desired topic in controlled medias, the desorganization, so obvious of the Yugoslav army, the real problems of the army, military plans, etc. (In Serbia although the question about Dubrovnik bombardement have been raised, official media never accepted that, even they suggested that such a thing does not exist. Still today half of the Serbian population do not know that Dubrovnik had been bombarded - the testimonies in the independent media never reached majority of the population).
- ♦ *interviews*, are always done with a pro-war oriented people, even when they claim their orientation for the peace "because I am catholic, but I know deep in my heart that war was necessary..." etc. (Croatian press)

The Serbian population does not get the pictures from the war, no precise information, Croatian gets only the part of it - the side which is useful to create a hate, and "good" future soldiers, full of hate against the enemy. So the media, controlled by the government create pictures who raise a temper,⁷⁾ bring people on the streets, and than the government, under the pressure from the streets, can't negotiate. "We can't negotiate with national pride, with heart of our country" - but it is important to mention that Kosovo and Knin are these parts of the collective memories of Serbs and Croats, although the majority of people on Kosovo today are Albanians, and in Knin - Serbs. More pragmatic Slovens immediately accepted that it is possible to discuss about Austrian protest for using the image of Slovens "mythical original land" on national bill - tolar, but nevertheless, the famous stone from Gosposvetsko polje in Carinthia is still

⁷⁾ Dans ma conversation avec M. de Ministère des affaires étrangères Suisse, cette pression de media et d'opinion publique a été largement évoqué.

there on the bill. The less pragmatic Macedonians refuse to talk about possibility of changing the name, which is in the heart of Greeks...

The pictures of the war provoked public opinion throughout Europe, and contributed to certain political decisions, hoping that would contribute to the peaceful solution. The pictures of the war in Yugoslavia provoked not only fear from war, but hate towards others. What they are doing to us? Collective sensibility is regaining its forgotten importance in Balkan societies. But, what people generally don't know is that pictures are selected deliberately, to provoke just desired feelings of population. If it will be recently mobilization, the programs about Croatian/Serbian threat are multiplying. If we should accept great number of deaths in an unsuccessful battle, first we shall see the losses on enemy side, then happiness of the "liberated" people, and finally, the real numbers of killed and wounded will never be transmitted.

On the other side there is a tendency to (mis) use the pictures of atrocities, to invent the stories etc., just to make better rating, to raise up the number of sold exemplaires of the papers etc.

But media communication can't be separated from direct personal communication. TV messages are a "shared experience which actually increases the amount of conversation".⁸⁾

It is not important to watch together, but it is important to watch the same kind of programs, to be able to participate in conversation tomorrow - it is a common ground, material of conversation, of reflection, reference points, which serves to make a context within which we can communicate

Domination of the *story telling* on this communication soil makes important the influence of "war stories"... What is real and what is false in these stories?

It started with stories about heroes - *Captain Dragan*⁹⁾ had become a myth.. The reality of his personality with hidden identity provoked so much the imagi-

⁸⁾ David Morley, *Family television*, Comedia, London, 1986, p.20.

⁹⁾ He also had used a David star during his TV promotion, and not knowing the secret of his real identity it contributes to develop a new story-myth, of mutual help of Serbs and Jews (few days after that Jewish cemetery in Zagreb had been damaged).

nation, the rumors, the further elaboration of the story of his life. What was said became interpreted - and reinterpreted... The story became the more and more extravagant.

In the collective memory of the people the still existent old time heroes changed the image: Arkan had used the real media professionals to create modern image of a professional heartless soldier - tiger.¹⁰⁾ That group is characterized by solidarity of its members, readiness to mutual help, courage. Solidarity is a value of a "military culture" - one man alone can't succeed, the group solidarity is necessary.

Then the rumor continues with crime stories. Existent crimes committed on battlefields in Croatia from all the war forces (military, paramilitary etc...) expressed as a horror story spread out, repeated by media, interpersonal communication, and each reinterpretation changed a bit, making its much more cruel, much worse than it was in reality. (I am not denying that most of this crimes were extremely cruel - but the fact is that the quantity of the crime was multiplied).

In the same time the "human war stories" had developed.

Three Croatian soldiers have been imprisoned somewhere in Slavonia. They had been judged to be executed immediately. But, in a second, one of Serbian soldiers recognized one Croat and insisted that he should be liberated. He explained: Every day I have seen you going out of the house near the tree, turned toward East and pray. I watched you over the sniper, but I never shoot. The image (picture) of your prayer brought the souvenir of my childhood - the purity, sanctity...

Although this story seems not to be very probable, the people like to believe in it - to believe that mercy, pity, empathy even in this war is possible.

¹⁰⁾ Recently we have seen a music spot for I Croatian brigade who use the same name, and same American military style of singing like Arkan paramilitary group. Iconography of Arkan's movie and that Croatian video was just a same - young, disciplined soldiers with high ethics, religious and patriotic feeling, fascist steps and ways of directing/editing, and with Tiger as universal symbol (never used on Balkans before) of strength, courage and rapidity (fastness).

The world represented in the war stories is black and white. On one side are cruelties, atrocities, on the other extreme sense of solidarity, goodness, kindness.

The whole culture temporarily had lost its sense of humor. The hatred from TV screen enters in the homes, polluted family talks, friendships. The staff of the Primary school "Vuk Karadžić" launched an appeal to the public: Our pupils and your children had changed their usual behavior... Aggression and hatred from TV screen they transmit to their everyday life, in their plays, friendships... We do not think that it is patriotism of the journalists to pollute each day the most important treasury of their people - children. Educating them through hate, immorality, insanity, aggression, they are making permanent impact on their souls and minds..."

Only the analysis of the newspapers titles of war articles can show us how truthful is that statement of the school professors. We can still see present hate and tendency toward precreation of opinion: The children's graveyard - everywhere; Woman's Mengelle, Freedom had arrived (For Vukovar), Town who had died from shame...

The war reporters, very often in uniforms, and even with arms in their hands, had broken all the rules of professional journalism. That is one of the reasons why on the front line no one respected journalist as a neutral person, and Yugoslav war became known as the war where most of the journalist have been killed.

To give the interview to Slovenian or Croatian media is considered as national treason, especially if you criticize Serbian government. But for Croat is even worse - they are supposed to refuse each form of communication, not only with Serbian media, but also with individual Serbian scientist, poets, they are forbidden to participate together with Serbs anywhere in the world.

Radomir Životić in his article about language and style of the war reporting¹¹⁾ emphasized that most of the reports are characterized by onesidedness and hatred. Instead of dramatic composition, they contain mosaic of events without clear beginning and end. The lecsics is characterized by vulgar expressions. The war horrors are

¹¹⁾ Radomir Životić - Jezik i stil ratne reportaže, *Novinarstvo*, n.2-4/1992., pp.50-54.

explained by the words: massacre, the war hell, terror, sipers, slaughter-house, slaughter, blood, knife, ... The participants in the war are soldiers only in the media of their republic/state, for others they are: (if Croats) - ous-tachis, "zengist", "mupovci", gardist, even "zulumčars" (old turkish word), blood-thirsty... If Serbs, they are: tch-etniks, "reservist" (mobilized civilians), terrorists, Ser-bo-Army, "Tcheda"¹²⁾

To end this paper I will cite the aphorism just published in *Borba*:¹³⁾

Four horsemen of Apocalypse:

1. Academicians
2. Journalists
3. Politicians¹⁴⁾
4. Generals

The order is important - it is chronological order of joining the process of rising the xenophobia and chauvinism. The responsibility still is much bigger on two last participants in the row, but media war made good

¹²⁾ Even in "Asterix" recently translated in Croatian, and completely reinterpreted using notions of croatian war *pro patria*, this term used to identify the soldiers who are in original French versions Romans, is explained as "nick name for the Serbian soldiers in our patriotic war"... This example of the "translation" of French comic book shows in the best way the possible ways of manipulation, this time with youngest generations. All the Gallic names are croatized, and roman soldiers are speaking serbian dialects, having serbian names, etc.. This is something which happen also during synchronization of cartoons - negative roles are always pronounced with serbian/croatian accent (depending of the TV), but before the war this were quite subtle: only educated people could recognize in Ninja turtles croatian dialect in speech of negative heroes like Schroeder...

¹³⁾ Filip Mladenović - Filipike, *Borba*, 17-18.10.1992., p.XX

¹⁴⁾ The role of politicians is very often neglected - but taking in account that their statements, often chauvinist and nationalist, are repeated and reproduced by media, and serv as a stimulus for further chauvinist elaboration of that subject in media, we can conclude that their importance is even greater. The statements of Vojislav Seselj can be paradigmatic in that sense, (Serbian West borders are Virovitica, Ogulin, Karlovac, Karlobag...etc), but few days ago statement of Croatian Ministry for Education Vesna Girardi-Jurkić had also bulversed public opinion: Serbs shouldn't be teachers of Croatian literature and language... These kind of statement, even when they are rejected on first proposal, give impulses and prepare progressively public opinion for governmental decision in that sense...

soil for all future atrocities and everything really became possible.

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN THE INTERIOR SITUATION

The level of professionalism and misuse of the media in the prewar situation in Belgrade can be shown easily on the example how the media explained 9. march 1991.

The riots started about 12 hours, after severe polic attack on demonstrators. Radio Belgrade give short informations about events in Belgrade in their regular informative emissions. TV Belgrade hadn't changed program schedule: while Independent TV Studio B was showing real battle among demonstrators and police, on the TV Belgrade was emitted Disney's movie: Snowwhite. People from inside countrie, who have heard about Belgrade events in short radio informations, keep calling friends in Belgrade, who transmitted what they see from their windows, or from TV Studio B. Television Belgrade, the principal cause of demonstrations, keep silent.

In the evening news, just short reportage - Violent demonstrations, 76 people wounded. Most of them policemen. The redactors choice was to show the reportage about family of the killed policeman , instead of the real happenings.

Same evening, police enters the Studio B and B-92, took the video and audio material, saying that because they have been provoking public alarm, disturbance, they are accused that they have instigated the demonstrations and riots.

Tomorrow in *Politika*: all accusations were against demonstrators - nothing about police behavior, nothing about the start of the demonstrations...

Still today the common people in Serbia think that demonstrators were attacking police, that Drašković deliberately have "ruined" Belgrade... About tanks which enter center of Belgrade same evening - no comments, or emphasize that it was necessary to prevent hooligans to finish their destructive job. Although the majority of the arrested people were very known people, without

police record, the stereotype about violent demonstrant had been created.

How the media had created the image of the opposition leaders?

The candidates of the ruling party has been shown as successful professionals in different programs, not only in this 1 and a half hour of the promotional program.

The "sondage", research of the public opinion has shown that in 46,4% the opinion about party is made a propos the leader, and only 42 % considers the programme of the party, successful work - 25 %, family tradition 16%.

50 TV promotion of 1 30 hours has been organized on TV Belgrade, but also on the other TV stations - it makes TV auditorium very tired.

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