

East-West Media
Cooperation: The European
Agenda

from the Conference of the
European Institute for the
Media, October 1994

Do not quote without the permission of the author.
©1994 Columbia Institute for Tele-Information

Columbia Institute for Tele-Information
Graduate School of Business
Columbia University
809 Uris Hall
New York, NY 10027
(212)854-4222

EAST-WEST MEDIA COOPERATION: THE EUROPEAN AGENDA

Trencianske Teplice (Slovakia)

6 - 9 October 1994

In 1993 and 1994 the Düsseldorf-based European Institute for the Media has conducted media-monitoring missions during national elections in Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on behalf of the Commission of the European Union, and in Hungary on behalf of the CSCE. On the basis of these experiences, the Institute convened a conference on *East-West Media Cooperation: the European Agenda* in October in Slovakia with the aim of assessing the state of East-West cooperation in the media field, of identifying the needs of the Central and Eastern European media *vis-a-vis* the provision of this assistance, and of working out the most efficient methods and mechanisms for such cooperation. In addition to the conference discussions outlined below, a special presentation was made on the state of the Slovakian media by a number of media professionals from that country. Funding for the conference was provided by the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam.

There was consensus amongst participants - who represented amongst others the Council of Europe, UNESCO, CSCE, the European Journalism Centre, the European Broadcasting Union, the Soros Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the British East-West Centre, the Freedom Forum and a number of Eastern and Central European media organisations - that the time had come for a reassessment of the assistance offered to Eastern European media by the West.

The participants agreed that:

- *The scope for Western assistance to the establishment of democratic media in the region - through training, consultation and direct financing - remains considerable;*
- *the current provision of assistance often failed to address the real needs of the media, and there is frequent duplication of activities;*

- *the US organisations have a deeper involvement and a higher profile in the region, despite the fact that the Eastern Europeans are keen to cooperate with their Western European colleagues;*
- *the European institutions, and particularly the European Union, have not made media a sufficiently high priority in their assistance activities in Eastern Europe.*

The participants recommended that a CEEICIS Media Assistance Clearing House should be established to coordinate and facilitate improved east-west media cooperation. The Clearing House should work under the auspices of the European Union's assistance programmes in Eastern Europe.

The Clearing House would collect information on, and evaluate, the following:

- *media developments in Central and Eastern Europe;*
- *the existing programmes of assistance in the region;*
- *the needs for assistance of the Eastern European media, as stated by the Easterners themselves.*

The organiser of the conference, the European Institute for the Media, and the European Journalism Centre were called upon to develop proposals along these lines for presentation to the legislative and executive bodies of the European Union.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

Ms. Marina Jurichkova, State Secretary of the Slovak Ministry of Culture, gave a welcoming address in which she touched upon the lack of democratic experience and traditions in Slovakia and the need for a new legal system protecting the media from government manipulation.

Professor Bernd-Peter Lange presented an analysis of the European Institute for the Media's media-monitoring work during recent elections in Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Hungary and Belarus (see attached paper). Since at the time of national elections, all pressures on the media are manifested in condensed form, the monitoring missions consistently encountered evidence of government manipulation and control of the media as well as of the media infrastructure. It was clear that the political elites in the regions attached great importance to the media sector. Since these elites are better placed to apply pressure to the state media, in some of the CEE countries the nearest equivalent to public service media are commercial stations. On the other hand, the non-governmental media in the region are often far from independent since the capital supporting them exerts its own pressure.

Given these pressures and the frequent deficit in journalists' knowledge of elementary professional norms, the provision of western assistance was both necessary and useful. Yet this type of assistance was either not accorded sufficient importance by the European institutions, or needed to be re-designed. Currently, it is mainly concentrated in a few big cities, and too much of it is channelled through a limited number of organisations; there is moreover a frequent duplication of activities. The projects, among other things, should also be more effective in creating a pro-European constituency in a given country.

Professor Lange also addressed the question of targeting the assistance, and of whether it should involve the restructuring of old organisations or the creation of new ones: he cited the success of the Institute's collaboration with new and flexible organisations during the monitoring missions. Western assistance, specifically in the field of training, has to be geared to the specific situation in the region and involve Western experts who have a good knowledge of the region. The Institute was keen to improve communication between the CEE countries and the West, and between the various CEE countries themselves, and to facilitate contact between regions within bigger

countries. To this end, the Institute had established a trade media magazine within Ukraine, and had plans to do the same in Russia.

I. CURRENT WESTERN ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES

Mr. Mathias Ebert gave an overview of current Western assistance activities (see attached paper). He mentioned that although there have been some activities on the part of major European organisations, still a lot of effort and financial support is needed, not only in the post-Soviet space but also in Central European states. The problems which the CEE countries are now facing are very specific, and there should therefore be a better exchange of information between media professionals with the aim of finding new solutions and establishing new structures. This required a combined effort on the Western side.

Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitchus summarized the cooperation initiatives of the international community in the media field since 1989 - mentioning, among others, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the EBU, the EIM, the IFJ, and the WPFC - and stated that the challenges remained the same: training, professional exchanges, democratic media laws, monitoring press freedom, and economic development were still key areas. There were also other issues which require more attention, such as media management, running media as business, and media ethics (see attached paper).

Ms. Elizabeth Winship spoke about the CSCE involvement in the media field and expressed hope that the Review Conference in Budapest in December 1994 would result in new plans for the next two years. She did, however, refer to a number of difficulties impeding NGO participation in the conference. For the future the human dimension issues, including media rights protection and legislative expertise within the Rule of Law Programmes, would be of significance.

Speaking of the Council of Europe activities in the media field Mr. Jeroen Schokkenbroek stressed the efforts which had to be made in the field of legislation to adapt the countries which are to become members of the

Council of Europe to European standards. He endorsed the idea of intra-regional cooperation so that the process of change could be compared and the newly-acquired expertise of local professionals could be used.

Mr. Henrik Antonson gave a brief outline of the activities of the European Broadcasting Union in the field of training and assistance to the state radio and television stations: in the legislative field, giving new members access to Euronews, and in the field of training, within which the accent is laid on helping the recipients to change the internal training system and the individual programmes for each system in the area.

Mr. Tom Fenton gave a short overview of the history and main areas of the Freedom Forum's activities stating that its main goals are bridging the scholastic and professional media worlds and promoting public understanding of the media work. Their programmes in the CEE countries cover identifying and sponsoring many journalists' visits to the US as well as establishing media resource libraries in the region which provide access to textbooks, international publications, CD-ROM libraries, and so on. Another aspect of their work is training and professional development, which is preferable to capital investment because it better promotes the freedom of press. For this type of activity, Western experts should have understanding and sensitivity to their audience. The third activity is building networks and allowing people to exchange information among themselves, i.e. organising regional meetings and publishing a newsletter. One of the problems they encounter is achieving cooperation with working professionals, which seems to be a common problem for organisations involved in this area, although there is still interest on the eastern side in technology, media outlet profitability, organisation and management. The falling interest of Eastern European journalists, as Dr. Alexei Pankin noted, may be due to a wrong approach on the part of the Western partners.

In his presentation of the European Journalism Centre's programmes for the Central and Eastern European countries, Mr. Jan Bierhoff paid particular attention to the creation of the Task Force for media and development, which involved the efforts of several European organisations - among them the IFJ, the FIEJ and the EBU - to coordinate their actions in the CEE countries and the former Soviet Union (see attached paper). From January 1995, their projects will mainly cover the following areas: the legal framework required for the proper functioning of public service broadcasting; support for the Baltic media in structuring their advertising system;

journalistic ethics, mainly in relation to election coverage and general reporting.

II. EVALUATION OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE

The Targets for Assistance

Picking up on the point raised by Professor Lange, the participants discussed the question of the constituency towards whom assistance should be addressed - state-supported media organisations or new independent media. Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitshus stated that the Western donors should not neglect any organisation, but rather look for professionals among the younger generation. He also noted the lack of professional standards, especially in the crucial area of news programming. Dr. Ian Elliot agreed that it was possible to identify and work with young professionals within the established media organisations. Mr. Tarmu Tammerk spoke of the identity crisis in the independent media and stressed the necessity of the correct targeting of assistance, whether it be aimed at state organisations or new private groups. Mr. Tom Fenton and Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitshus added that since all media are subsidised the relevant question would be the degree of influence exerted on editorial decisions. In this respect, public service broadcasting seems to be the best model for Europe since it benefits from non-discriminatory funding and provides access to different political and social groups and gives them the possibility to influence the broadcasts.

Answering Mr. Stuart Auerbach's concern that the EBU's policies were helping state enterprises instead of promoting democratic institutions, Mr. Henrik Antonson stated that the goal of the EBU is to help the old state radio and television organisations change to a public service system. Ms. Marketa Stranska stressed the necessity of the dual system of broadcasting, but reminded those present that the definition of the obligations of the public service were inadequate. Sir Frank Roberts referred to the role of new capital in the media field and suggested that at an early stage of independent media development such support might be necessary. Mr. Bernard Blin suggested that there should be focus on the future developments in the Eastern and Central European media, so that future progress did not have to perpetuate the institutions of former times. Ms. Svetlana Lazarova stressed the political sensitivity of the financial support granted to the new media outlets by the newly emerging tycoons.

Focusing on the Political Structures

Mr. Stuart Auerbach suggested that there should be parallel assistance programmes which deal with the culture of democracy in the newly independent countries, which should be focused on political figures and government spokespersons. Mr. Jan Bierhoff added that seminars for the newly elected members of regulatory bodies could be set up, and most organisations represented by the participants of the conference were in a position to address the Western European politicians who set the agenda for all forms of economic aid. Dr. Ian Elliot referred to the experience of the British East-West Centre which brings over groups of politicians from the region and organises meetings with British politicians in Westminster as well as visits to various party organisations. Not only does this arrangement introduce Eastern European politicians to the idea of the open media, but it also gives British politicians an idea of the situation in those countries. Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitchus supported the idea of educating the politicians, and suggested that publications addressing the politicians should be produced and informal meetings of politicians organised by the Soros or Freedom Forum foundations should be organised.

Priorities for Future Assistance

Mr. Tarmu Tammerk spoke of the necessity of a resource centre for journalists so that they could have free access to information and the possibility of self-study. Mr. Bernard Blin spelled out the need for special research to feed training programmes with new relevant material. This material would embrace fields including technology, legislation (including copyright, transborder issues, delineation of law and ethics), and economics. Ms. Svetlana Lazarova confirmed the lack of funds in the region for the development of new technologies.

Another problem addressed by the speakers was the necessity and viability of an overhaul of journalistic education in the region. Mr. Ian Elliot, Mr. Jan Bierhof, Mr. Kirill Tanaev and Mr. Dmitri Filimonov agreed that the transformation of old schools of journalism which had been shaped in totalitarian times is too slow, requires a lot of finance, and produces results which are, at best, mixed, and can be counterproductive. There was a good

case for starting the educational infrastructure again from scratch.

Mr. Oloph Hansson shared his views on the direction that development of the mass media in the CIS has taken and pointed out certain priorities in the programmes of assistance. These are investment in new printing facilities which would not be tied to the state, hands-on training in the West for the new generation of journalists, and the adoption of journalistic codes of ethics.

Mr. Ove Joanson expressed his opinion that in the five-year period since 1989, the political and social climate in the area pertaining to freedom of information in the post-Communist countries is still one of authoritarianism inclined to try and control the media. The remedy for this situation lies in influencing and forming public opinion, which in the case of the Institute, means assuming a more public role and ensuring wide circulation of the findings of the monitoring missions as well as providing regional journalists with material to write on the topic. Dr. Ian Elliot concurred with him expressing the wish for what he named as the 'multiplying effect', i.e. using the media to disseminate knowledge and experience. He referred to the BBC Marshall Plan of the Mind as a relevant example and suggested encouraging the *BBC*, *Deutsche Welle*, *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe* to engage in this type of activity.

Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitshus spoke of the necessity of a lobby of media interests, aimed at Brussels in the West and at the Parliaments/Parliamentary committees on the media in the CEE countries, in parallel with a process of raising public awareness of media cooperation. Ms. Svetlana Lazarova spoke of the necessity for all participants of similar events to raise public awareness through creating the media lobby which would operate in the regional media outlets on a regular basis. Ms. Elizabeth Winship suggested that the prospective lobby should address the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly which is currently in search of its own identity, as well as the CSCE desks at foreign ministries. Ms. Jarmila Grujbarova spoke of the possibility of introducing media education projects in secondary schools to raise public awareness. She also noted a flow of court appeals as a possible consequence of the dual system, and stressed the need for the exchange of experience between Western and Eastern European court officials. Taking up the point Mr. Jeroen Schokkenbroek referred to the necessity

of creating a sound legal framework for the protection of journalists and of training judges in media law in order to enforce applicable standards in the region.

Ms. Jarmila Grujbarova said that from the Eastern viewpoint the emphasis in assistance should be on the legislative area: many assistance programmes have failed precisely because of legal inadequacies. She also supported the idea of creating the media lobby and asked international organisations to apply pressure on CEE politicians. Ms. Emilia Boldisova also spoke of the necessity of cooperation with regard to the legal situation in the post-Communist countries, in particular the rules regulating financial flows into the private media. In order for cooperation to be effective it should be based on sound understanding of the regional situation. Ms. Natalia Slavikova expressed the opinion that even with good laws on the media, there still remains a question of journalistic ethics, especially in relation to sponsorship and dependence of the private mass media on advertising. She also touched upon the problem of the insufficient educational qualifications required by private broadcasters of their employees, for whom practical experience was the main pre-requisite, and the inadequacy of the *curricula* of the journalism schools, in the light of which the work of the EJC was especially welcome.

In relation to Mr. Tarmu Tammerk's question about the usefulness of the monitoring exercises, Mr. Dmitri Filimonov expressed a positive view on their ability to influence the law-makers and found the material gathered during the missions to be of importance both for journalists and politicians. His major concern was the establishment of a joint project with the EIM on the ways in which the mass media can survive in the CIS under the new conditions. He felt that the economic situation not only in Belarus, but also in the whole of the CIS, gives more chance for the independent media to survive. The states do not have money to support the media, and therefore the immediate task of mass media centres, such as his own, is to teach journalists to earn money and work under new conditions. Mr. Vasyl Yatsura stated that the EIM mission in Ukraine had been more effective than other missions of a similar nature primarily because of the accompanying seminar on political journalism.

Deficiencies in the Provision of Assistance, and the Mechanisms to Improve Cooperation

Eastern European participants stressed that there was a need and a desire for assistance, but offered criticism of existing initiatives. In particular, Mr. Vasyl Yatsura said that journalists in Ukraine do not have any illusions about Western assistance any more. Major problems include the inadequate understanding of the situation by western experts (the EIM being one of the few exceptions) and the frequent inefficiency of the recipients of assistance. He noted that the purchase of equipment which is part of the Soros Foundation's grants is a welcome form of support because it enables the media outlets to act for themselves; on the other hand, there should be better control of these projects' implementation.

Mr. Kirill Tanaev summarised the situation in the Russian media as rather stagnant, and compared American and European approaches to cooperation (see attached paper). The American organisations seem to act actively within Russia and to rely primarily on private non-governmental foundations, aiming at immediate and practical results. He suggested that there should be a better coordination of the European efforts in the field, with a central coordinating body set up and representative structures of leading European organisations established in the CIS capitals; on the European Union side, there should be more support for professional cooperative associations in the CIS countries and media research should be more energetically encouraged. As an example of effective cooperation he mentioned the mutual projects launched by the EIM and POSTFACTUM news agency in Moscow.

Professor Jozef Darmo suggested that the CEE countries should analyse their perception and presentation of each other. He mentioned the major gaps in communication culture between East and West, and referred to the lack of understanding of the CEE situation on the part of the Western media outlets, which are professional but whose ignorance perpetuates wrong impressions. The first principle of Western involvement should be knowledge of the CEE countries, and recognition of the disparities between cultures and level of development in the region. Mr. Stuart Auerbach, quoting the experience of the Soros Foundations, stated that the main lines of assistance should be dependent on a "bottom-up" approach to the initiation and implementation of projects, and should concentrate on specialised instruction courses and should focus more closely on the provinces. Mr. Jan Bierhoff

suggested that a number of organisations with a good track record of organising forms of support could make their lists of activities available, which would help in identifying participants for seminars aimed at evaluation of the effects of assistance.

Mr. Dmitri Filimonov noted that there was frequent duplication of certain Western programmes, which indicates the need for cooperation. Mr. Jan Bierhoff stated that priorities in the work of the Task Force are set following meetings of the media representatives of Central and Eastern European countries, while there is an on-going process of consultation with the people in the region. Yet the drastic pace and scope of change in the region presents problems, and there is an urgent need for cooperation and better information on the CEE media scene. This calls for setting up a clearing house for vital information on Eastern European media support, which could take the tangible form of a newsletter. Dr. Iain Elliot suggested that a newsletter could be best circulated by e-mail given its rapid installation across the region. Mr. Jeroen Schokkenbroek echoed the importance of a database listing all activities and needs in the field.

Professor Bernd-Peter Lange outlined the work which the Institute has already carried out in collecting statistical data on media in the region on behalf of the European Audiovisual Observatory, and suggested that this activity could be expanded to include the types of information being discussed. Mr. Henrikas Yushkiavitchus detailed the possible linkage between UNESCO, the Institute and other organisations in compiling a database which could be incorporated into the world communication report. Mr. Bernard Blin again stressed the necessity of the coordination of efforts in this field, and underlined the role that the European Institute for the Media could play in collecting data and information on the available Western resources and in evaluating the results of what is being done, both concerning legislative and training activities.

Summarising the discussions, Professor Bernd-Peter Lange noted that although the primary function of the Institute during monitoring missions is to serve as a centre for documentation, some basic values defy the doctrine of non-intervention. The results of monitoring should be publicised in the local language and involvement must extend beyond the campaign. The role of the media as the fourth estate in society should be simultaneously defined on several levels, including a legal framework for the independent media; responsibility

in media management and self-regulation of journalists; and public awareness. Concerning future developments, in particular, the areas of media concentration - including the benefits and risks of foreign investment -, new technologies and a regulatory framework guaranteeing pluralism of opinion should be addressed. He pointed to the pressing need for better coordination of activities in media cooperation, which should rely on already existent structures. He paid particular attention to the idea of public broadcasting and the measures which need to be taken to preserve it as a recognised forum for debate. He also pointed to the common problems of the media in the East and in the West, i.e. the future of a dual system of broadcasting and its capacities as an element of integration.

In this regard, he affirmed the usefulness of a forum of debate, such as this conference, which could present priorities to the European institutions. The Institute was prepared to host such an annual conference, whose results should then be widely circulated among media professionals, politicians, and regulators. He also stated that the EIM should serve as the proposed clearing house with a broad aim of establishing and assessing the priorities of cooperation, keeping track of existing, planned and requested activities, serving as a central point for undertaking research and disseminating information from East to West and from West to East, with part of this information being on the Western assistance programmes. Among the possible channels for information exchange he spoke of broadcasting systems, e-mail and newsletters, such as the existing magazine produced by the Institute, *The Bulletin*.

Finally, Professor Lange expressed his gratitude to the participants of the conference and, in particular, to the organisers and hosts.

PARTICIPANT LIST

EAST-WEST MEDIA COOPERATION:
THE EUROPEAN AGENDA

Mr Henrik Antonson
Head, Pan-European Development, EBU
DANMARKS RADIO
TV-Centre
2860 Soeborg
DENMARK
Tel: +45-35 20 30 40
Fax: +45-35-20 33 00

Mr. Stuart Auerbach
Media Consultant
Soros Foundation
Staromestske nam.22
110 01 Prague
Tel. +42 2-2422 74 56
Fax. +42 2-2422 74 51

Mr Gabor Benesik
General Secretary,
Association of Hungarian Journalists
HUNGARY
Tel. +36 1-142 3361
fax. +36 1-122 1881

Mr Jan Bierhoff
Managing Director
European Journalism Center
Boschstraat 60
NL 6211 AX
Maastricht
THE NETHERLANDS
Tel. +31 43-254030
Fax. +31 43-212626

M Bernard Blin
Professeur en Communication Internationale
c/o ESJ, ILERI
10, rue de l'Ermitage
78000 VERSAILLES
FRANCE
Tel. +33 1 39550234
Fax. +33 1 39660082

Ms. Emilia Boldisova
Chairman
The Council for TV and Radio Broadcasting
Zupne nam 12
Bratislava
SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Mr. Maros Cernak
General Manager
Media Invest
Slovak Republic

Ms Yelena Chernyavskaya
EIM Representative in Kiev
Maidan Nezalezhnosty, 2
Room 723-a
252012 Kiev
UKRAINE
Tel/fax. +70 44-229-59-88

Dr. Jozef Darmo
Director
Institute for Journalistic Studies
Pionierska 4
81246 Bratislava
SLOVAK REPUBLIC
Tel: +42 7 255 601
Fax: +42 7 255 630

Mr. Rudolf Dobias
The Council for TV and Radio Broadcasting
Zupne nam 12
Bratislava
SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Mr. Anatoly Douditski
Mass-Media Centre
ul F. Skoriny 15-a
220072 Minsk
BELARUS
Tel. / Fax. +70 172-394086

Ms. Monique van Dusseldorp
 Head of Public Relations
 The European Institute for the Media
 Kaistraße 13
 40221 Düsseldorf
 GERMANY
 Tel. +49 211-9010479
 Fax. +49 211-9010456

Mr Mathias Ebert
 Sender Freies Berlin
 Masurenallee 8-14
 14046 Berlin
 GERMANY
 Tel. +49 30 30311142
 Fax. +49 30-30311144

Dr Ian Elliot
 Director
 British East-West Centre
 14, Grosvenor Place
 SW1X 7HW London
 UNITED KINGDOM
 Tel. +44 71-2352116
 Fax. +44 71-2596254

Mr Tom Fenton
 International Representative
 Freedom Forum Europe
 Bahnhofstr. 16
 8001 Zürich
 SWITZERLAND
 Tel. +41 1-212-33-55
 Fax. +41 1-212-33-65

Mr Dimitry Filimonov
 President
 Mass-Media Centre
 ul. Franciska Skorina, 15a
 220072 Minsk
 BELARUS
 Tel./Fax. +70 172-394086

Mr Sven Gerentz
 Johannesgatan 28
 111 38 STOCKHOLM
 SWEDEN
 Tel. +46 8-6506129

Mr Oloph Hansson
 Batsmanskleivet 5
 12940 Hägersten
 SWEDEN
 Tel. +46 8-883664
 Fax. +46 8-646 73 66

Dr. Vladimir Holina
 Slovak Syndicate of Journalists
 Zupné nam. 7
 815 68 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC
 Tel: +42 7 335 071
 Fax: +42 7 334 534

Mr Ove Joanson
 Director General
 Swedish Broadcasting Corporation
 Sveriges Radio HB
 Oxenstiersgatan 20
 10510 Stockholm
 SWEDEN
 Tel. +46 8-7845010
 Fax. +46 8-6678336

Ms. Marina Jurickova
 State Secretary
 Ministry of Culture
 Dobrovicova 12
 81331 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC
 Tel: +42 7 362 409

Prof. Dr. Bernd-Peter Lange
 Director General
 The European Institute for the Media
 Kaistraße 13
 40221 Düsseldorf
 GERMANY
 Tel. +49 211-901040
 Fax. +49 211-9010456

Ms Svetlana Lazarova
 Balkan Media
 ul. Angel Gregor 96
 1407 Sofia
 BULGARIA
 Tel. +359 2-875975
 Fax. +359 2-871698

Mr Marius Lukosiunas
 Institute of Journalism
 Vilnius University
 Maironio 7
 232 734 Vilnius
 LITHUANIA
 Tel. +370 2-625531
 Fax. +370 2-223563

Mr. Jozef Magala
 The Council for TV and Radio Broadcasting
 Zupne nam 12
 Bratislava SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Mr. Peter Malec
 General Manager
 TF ART Production
 Pribinova 25
 P.O.Box 25
 810 11 Bratislava 111
 SLOVAKIA
 Tel. +42 7- 210-47-38
 Fax. +42 7- 210-47-41

Mr Ivo Mathé
 Director-General
 CZECH TELEVISION
 Kavcy Hory
 14070 PRAHA 4
 CZECH REPUBLIC
 Tel. +42 2 692 7275
 Fax. +42 2 692 7202

Mrs. Ivanka Mulec-Ploj
 Director,
 RTV SLOVENJA Regional Center in Maribor
 SLOVENIA
 Tel. +386-61-133 40 64
 Fax. +386-61-131 91 71

Mr Andrew Palmer
 Projects Manager
 East-West Cooperation Programme
 The European Institute for the Media
 Kaistraße 13
 40221 Düsseldorf
 Germany
 Tel. +49 211-9010-478
 Fax. +49 211-9010-456

Dr Alexei Pankin
 Director
 East-West Cooperation Programme
 The European Institute for the Media
 Kaistraße 13
 40221 Düsseldorf
 GERMANY
 Tel. +49 211-9010-472
 Fax. +49 211-9010-456

Mr Nenad Pejic
 Supervisor of Balkan Service
 Radio Free Europe
 Oettingenstrassé 67
 Am Englischen Garten
 80538 München
 GERMANY
 Tel. +49 89-2102-266-0
 Fax. +49 89-2102-3215

Sir Frank Roberts
 25 Kensington Court Gardens
 Kensington Court Place
 LONDON W8 5QF
 UNITED KINGDOM
 Tel. +44 71-9371140

Ms. Jozefina Schmidtova
 Programme Coordinator, Editor of KMIT
 The Centre for Independent Journalism
 Prague
 CZECH REPUBLIC

Mr. Jeroen Schokkenbroek
 Administrator: Media Section
 Directorate of Human Rights
 COUNCIL OF EUROPE
 67075 STRASBOURG CEDEX
 FRANCE
 Tel. +33 88-41 2279
 Fax. +33 88-41 2705

Dr. Ivan Secik
 Institute for Journalistic Studies
 Pionierska 4
 81246 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC
 Tel: +42 7 328 125
 Fax: +42 7 255 630

Ms. Natalia Slavikova
 The Council for TV and Radio Broadcasting
 Zupne nam 12
 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Prof. Ing. Ivan Stadtrucker
 General Director
 Slovak Television
 Mlynska Dolina
 84545 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC
 Tel: +42 7 723 948
 Fax: +42 7 722 341

Ms Iolanda Staniloiu
 Exectutive Director
 The Centre for Independant Journalism
 Str. Grigore Moisil nr. 5, apt. 184
 BUCHAREST
 ROMANIA
 Tel./Fax. +401-6154345

Ms Marketa Stranska
 Assistant to General Director
 TV NOVA
 Mestranska Beseda, Vladislavova 20
 Praha 1, 113 13
 CZECH REPUBLIC
 Tel. +42 2-211-00-18
 Fax. +42 2-211-00-182

Mr Tarmu Tammerk
 Editor
 Baltic Independent Weekly
 P.O. Box 45
 Tallinn EE0090
 ESTONIA
 Tel. +372-2-683074
 Fax. +372-6-311232

Mr Kirill Tanaev
 Chief Executive Officer
 POSTFACTUM News Agency
 5th Donskoi proezd 12 b
 korp.10
 117 926 Moscow
 RUSSIA
 Tel. +70 95-958-04-90
 Fax. +70 95-958-58-51

Mr Sergei Telenchi
 Programme Director
 UNIKA-TV
 Saksahansky st. 53/80
 252033 Kiev
 UKRAINE
 Tel. / Fax. +70 44-227-03-66

Ms.Ph.Dr. Katarina Vajdova
 General Director
 The Centre for Independent Journalism
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Ms Elizabeth Winship
 Media Advisor
 CSCE - ODHIR
 Krucza 36 / Wspolna 6
 00 522 Warsaw (53)
 POLAND
 Tel. +48 2-625-41-50
 Fax. +48 2-625-43-57

Mr Vasyl Yatsura
 Director
 UNIKA-TV
 Saksahansky st. 53/80
 252033 Kyiv
 UKRAINE
 Tel. / Fax. +70 44-227-03-66

Mr Henrikas Yushkiavitshus
 Sous-Directeur-Général
 COMMUNICATION, INFORMATION,
 INFORMATIQUE
 UNESCO
 1 rue Miollis
 75015 PARIS
 FRANCE
 Tel. +33 1-456-84320
 Fax. +33 1-456 64751

Mr. Andrej Zmceck
 Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung
 Marothyho 6.
 81106 Bratislava
 SLOVAK REPUBLIC
 Tel: +42 7 311 209
 Fax: +42 7 311 641

TEXTS OF THE CONFERENCE

**MEDIA MONITORING MISSIONS
IN RUSSIA, UKRAINE, MOLDOVA, HUNGARY AND BELARUS:
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS**

by Prof. Dr. Bernd-Peter Lange and Dr. Alexei Pankin

This paper is a product of the Institute's collective wisdom deriving from our recent activities in a number of countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

The Institute's involvement with media coverage monitoring for the national elections in countries of Eastern and Central Europe dates back to 1992 when the then Presidency of the European Community's Council of Ministers asked it to observe elections in Romania, and Serbia and Montenegro. These missions were sponsored by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy. Reports that were produced generated a lot of interest and discussions in the countries and established the Institute's international reputation in the field.

Thus when in the autumn of 1993 the European Union decided to make the observation of Parliamentary elections in Russia its first common foreign policy endeavour, the Institute was approached by the TACIS Democracy Programme to conduct media coverage monitoring. Since then, TACIS also funded similar missions in Moldova, Ukraine, and Belarus. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the CSCE asked the Institute to perform the same function, although on a smaller scale, in Hungary during the Parliamentary elections in May. There was a lot of controversy in this country over the control of the media, often described as the "media war" and this mission too was of high political significance. Two days ago a similar project started in Macedonia, again on behalf of the European Union.

The monitors who were selected for the missions were of a variety of nationalities and professions. Generally, they had either great experience within the media field or were experts in the country which was being monitored. It needs to be stressed that the quality of these experts has been an integral part of the success of our missions.

Some words need to be said about how the Institute approached its most recent missions. While the main focus of the operations was, of course, on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the coverage of elections by print and electronic media, the Institute attempted to take a broader look at the situation of the media in the monitored countries. In these we proceeded from the following starting points:

- National elections are important periods of public life, and it is the time when the role of the media in society, as well as the characteristics of the media manifest themselves with the greatest clarity. In other words, for good or bad, all pressures on the media and all elements in their operation manifest themselves in a condensed form.
- The scale of the missions, when after a lot of analytical and research preparatory work the monitors would normally spend three weeks in the country, allowed to make an in-depth analysis of their situation and to develop an insider's understanding of the problems. It was particularly important and

valuable that most missions were designed in such a way that much attention was given to regional (provincial) media which are much less involved in international exchanges.

- As an organisation involved since 1989 in maintaining links with media organisations and professionals in Eastern and Central Europe, and active in research and training in the field, we used the opportunity to look into the efficiency of Western approaches to cooperation with the East including, first of all and above all, our own previous experience.

- And, finally, since our own mission in Ukraine included a training seminar on professionalism and political journalism we decided to use some non-traditional training techniques.

So the findings and conclusions that will follow relate to this broader set of problems rather than to the specificity of campaign coverage in different countries.

I.

1. First thing that needs to be mentioned, is that the authorities in all of the mentioned countries and beyond have little or no respect for the independence of the media. In this, there is little distinction between, for instance, previous government in Hungary, which is presumably further advanced on the road to democracy, the Russian President with his reputation of a democrat and reformer, past Ukrainian nationalist administration with deep roots in the Communist propaganda apparatus, or the past Belorussian Government openly adhering to the Communist ideology. They all are prepared to use very rough methods to take full control of mass media. They also prefer to keep under their control and use for political purposes the infrastructural facilities like printing houses, distribution system, transmitters, subsidies, etc.

The power structures are of course assisted in this endeavour by the wider context within which the media operate. The critical economic situation in many of the monitored countries, the lack of a developed legal and judicial system, the inherited traditions of passivity amongst journalists, and the absence of independent regulatory institutions all favour the ability of the state to pressurise the media.

2. The sheer amount of effort going in the control of the media is an unmistakable indicator that they are regarded as an extremely important actor in a society and thus a top priority. Ironically, to the best of my knowledge, none of the governments of Eastern and Central European countries who are entitled to set priorities in cooperation with the European Union within the framework of TACIS or PHARE Programmes, have named the development of the media among them. In my view, this certainly casts doubt on either the competence of the Governments, or on their sincerity. This also poses a serious dilemma for the European Union: to what extent should their assistance programmes, at least in promotion of democracy, be channelled through the governments.

3. Thirdly, the knowledge and even introduction of internationally accepted norms of regulating the media, namely during elections, does not necessarily indicate the willingness

to adhere to them. The fact that respective regulations in Russia were very elaborate and copied from European examples, primarily German and French, in no way prevented the manipulation of the media, in the same way as it was done in Ukraine where media coverage regulations were virtually non-existent.

4. Everywhere the efforts to control the media in the interest of the ruling political grouping has backfired: there is hardly any need to give examples. The only notable exception is Moldova where the government won overwhelmingly. On the other hand there, the elections were basically about a very clear issue of the country's independence, and, also, the ruling party there was hardly overexposed.

5. One paradoxical thing that stands most clearly out from results of the missions in Hungary and to some extent in Russia and Ukraine, is that in the situation of the ruling party monopoly over state television and radio, some commercial stations serve as the nearest equivalent to the public service broadcasting and produce the most professional, balanced and impartial coverage of politics. In Ukraine there is a peculiar model of this public service function: while none of the regional commercial stations would fit into a category of genuinely independent media, their umbrella organisation, UNIKA-TV, by distributing political and news programmes between the regions performs an invaluable service to the public by keeping the regions in touch with each other and ensuring the diversity of opinion in a regionally polarised country.

In countries like Belarus or Moldova, where no serious commercial, or non-state, television exists, the society is stripped of the privilege of having a public service.

One conclusion from this is that in the specific context of some countries of Eastern and Central Europe, and at least for the time being, new approaches are needed to the definition of public service broadcasting. This also applies to international assistance to broadcasting organisations.

Likewise, the press controlled by foreign capital or with its substantial share sometimes performs an analogous function as opposed to that depending on support or subsidies from national governments.

6. The next conclusion applies primarily to the CIS countries. The non-governmental media sector there is not necessarily an independent media sector. The capital which keeps them afloat and attracts the best people by high incomes, exerts a direct pressure on these media. This pressure may vary from fairly subtle to rather ruthless and is omnipresent. Whichever pluralism is present in the media is not a pluralism of independent media outlets but rather of competing political and economic groupings using media as their weapon. This situation should also be born in mind and addressed when programmes of cooperation or assistance from the West are designed.

7. Media in countries of Eastern and Central Europe, especially in the poorer and more unstable nations of the former Soviet Union live under tremendous economic and political pressure. It is almost a miracle that newspapers get published and programmes are produced. Despite all their obvious limitations and dependencies, the journalists there deserve respect and admiration for this and any effort in cooperation or assistance to them should be

underlaid by understanding that they probably possess a richer and more varied experience than many of their colleagues in the West.

8. Having said that, it is important to stress that the journalists are not necessarily "good guys" as opposed to "bad guys" from the governments. We have discovered a virtual absence of understanding of elementary professional norms, like conflict of interest or inadmissibility of commercialisation of editorial space, or not mixing news and opinion, or being an observer of events rather than participant, in Ukraine and awareness of them in Russia. Nevertheless, the actual behaviour of media in both countries, that is violation of the norms, were quite identical. And this is only partly attributable to dire economic conditions or severity of political struggles. Similarly, in becoming the recipients of Western assistance, media people or those supposed to represent them, as much as their governments, do not necessarily act in the spirit of good will.

9. In observing how international cooperation and assistance is shaped, we have noticed that it is over concentrated in few big cities and too much of it is directed to or channelled through a limited number of organisations. There is little knowledge of the opportunities in the regions where, in fact, assistance is most needed. One has to add that in bigger countries, like Russia or Ukraine, regional media are playing, and have to play, an increasingly important role in the encouragement and discouragement of fragmentary tendencies.

II.

These findings lead us to conclusions. We hold it self-evident that the democratic changes in societies and in the media are above all the responsibility of societies themselves. We also take it for granted, that the successful accomplishment of these changes is in the best interest of the Western democracies and thus assisting in these changes from the West is a worthy and potentially rewarding application of efforts.

We assume that at this conference a lot will be said about WHAT is being done and WHAT needs to be done. So, in this presentation we would attempt to strike a key note by concentrating on HOW things should be done.

The major issues there in our view are the following:

1. The Western self-interest in these activities should be very clearly defined. This applies particularly to governmental or intergovernmental organisations that are disbursing of taxpayers money. Currently, the situation is such that the Western side states its interest in promotion of democracy and then designs projects that are supposedly for the good of recipient countries. We also hear frequent references to non-interference in the internal affairs of the recipient countries.

We feel that the priorities in cooperation, including selection of projects, should not only be based on what is supposedly good for the recipient country but also on the basis of what advances better the common European interests in this or that country. That is, projects should be designed in such a way that they create a pro-Western, or pro-European constituency in the country, should be aimed at important target groups and there should not be any hesitation in attaching strings.

2. The problem directly stemming from the previous thesis is the problem of local partnership. Should cooperation and assistance be channelled through the governments or established organisations, should it concentrate on supporting the new media or should it be just going into a country and doing there what you feel is in your self-interest?

Essentially, the West now faces the same dilemma as reformers in the former Soviet Union did: whether to spend time and energy on reforming, or struggling with the old institutions, or to let them die peacefully of natural causes and create something new parallel to the old ones?

There can hardly be a uniform answer. For instance, the Hungarian Association of Journalists, although an "old" one, has an excellent reputation for its real care for the needs of journalists. On the other hand, citing the Institute's own experience, in Russia we did try to work through a number of established organisations through whom a lot of international contacts are going and found these quite inefficient. Then an independent news agency POSTFACTUM was discovered with whom excellent relationship was established. In all of our following work in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus we only worked through new and flexible organisations, and so far never regretted it.

Moving into the countries, "investing" into new people and creating from zero modern organisations is the method of work of the Soros Foundation. We did notice that this Foundation commands the greatest and most sincere respect in the countries where we worked, and its perceived independence plays a great part in generating this respect.

Of course, we do realise the problem that such approach poses for some international representative organisations active in the region who by their statutes are obliged to work with their national members. But in any case they should at least be aware of the hidden agendas of their partners and to make sure that their cooperation is not used for keeping afloat the organisations which otherwise provoke only scepticism among the domestic audiences.

In general, there seems to be a need for an insider's guide to the Eastern and Central European media landscape. Contact across governments is not enough to identify the right people to work with - people towards whom assistance should be targeted, and from whom a return on this assistance can be expected.

4. Yet another conclusion is that assistance in any form should never be a charity. Not that the people in Eastern and Central European mass media are so proud and will not accept it like this. They will, but it would not do any good.

In our dealings with local partners, once the contract was signed, it had to be fulfilled to the letter. No traditional excuses like chaos, bureaucracy, poor communication system, or armed patrols on the roads, as was the case in Transdnistria in Moldova etc. which outsiders usually buy quite easily, were accepted.

The other side of the coin, is that our local partners were often genuinely astonished that the Western experts were prepared to work 12 hours a day, at the expense of visiting wine cellars in Moldova or the Crimea, or barbecues in the woods of Belarus. That certainly contradicted

East-West European Broadcasting Co-operation - Five Years after the Big Change

by Mathias Ebert

Introduction

The fall of the Communist system in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 found state broadcasting companies making their way from party and state control to the status of free and pluralistic media. Media legislation of a democratic nature did not exist. The technological development of broadcasting in most of the Central and Eastern European countries lagged behind considerably compared to the Western countries. On the other hand, there was a fairly significant number of well-trained specialists with a high level of education who could now breathe more freely. In general, the Eastern European broadcasting organizations of that time should no longer only be seen as uniform and backward, as sometimes happens. Distinctive writing and broadcasting ideas characterized their programming, especially in the artistic programming field. If necessary, however, unappealing programmes could easily be suppressed by enthusiastic censors.

By their membership of the "International Broadcasting and Television Organization" (OIRT) most of the broadcasting organizations of Central and Eastern Europe came into daily contact with each other and with the (Western) European Broadcasting Union (EBU) by its system of television news and programme exchanges. But this was not true of broadcasting organizations in Albania and in the former non-Russian Soviet Republics. The OIRT and EBU had been split by the "Cold War" at the end of the Forties. With the start of the European detente, a cautious process of rapprochement began in the middle of the Sixties. With the collapse of Communism the last ground for the division of the two broadcasting unions vanished. Both unions welcomed with enthusiasm the new possibilities for unimpeded broadcasting co-operation throughout Europe. With the help of partners in the West, and in accordance with the Western European experience, broadcasting organizations in Central and Eastern Europe started radically to change the broadcasting landscape. This process has, however, been very different in each of the countries, depending on their individual economic and political conditions. The first tasks were to anchor the freedom of expression and information in new legislation, and then to reshape the old state broadcasting companies in modern public ones and to organise the licensing of commercial broadcasters.

E B U

The aim of public broadcasters in Western Europe and their umbrella organization, the EBU, is to attain reliable, like-minded, professional partners in Central and Eastern Europe. Thanks to efficiency-driven policies of synergy and the lack of financial strength in most of the Western public broadcasting companies, a great number of Western activities is realized within the EBU framework. The television news exchange system operates quite well with

Central European TV stations. The process is far more difficult, however, with the TV stations in the former Soviet Union, which were regarded as small provincial operations during the long Soviet era. These stations have very serious economic and technical problems to solve, which is why the EBU supported them with computerised systems for their news departments, which were otherwise not available to them. Through the adaptation of international sports contracts to EBU standards, audiences in Central and Eastern Europe were able to watch the Olympic Games and other major sports events on television. The acquisition and sale of television programmes is limited by the weak economic situation in many Eastern European countries. Bad quality is also an incentive for not buying in the East. Co-productions between television in Western and Eastern Europe happens more infrequently than before the changes.

Powerful broadcasting stations in the larger Western European countries (BBC, ARD-Deutsche Welle, ZDF-3Sat, TV 5 and RAI) try to find the largest possible audience in the East with the help of satellites and national partners. A certain amount of programmes, mainly newscasts and magazines, are given free of charge to Eastern partners. Technical assistance (mainly in the form of worn-out equipment) is quite rare, and is mostly prompted by emergencies (e.g. in Bosnia, Croatia, Albania, Lithuania) or undertaken in order to strengthen weak independent media. The possibilities for training in Western organizations are scarce. Additional staff and sufficient funds are not available.

In order to create a pan-European public broadcasting system it was necessary to install Eutelsat ground stations. In the former era, television exchange had been realized by the Moscow-dominated Intersputnik system. Eutelsat stations were put into operation in Bulgaria, Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Stations in other countries are under construction (e.g. in Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova). This undertaking was mainly financed with the help of credits from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in London and of EBU guarantees.

Some Central and Eastern European television stations opted for a special regional news exchange within Eurovision in order to focus more on problems of the democratization process in the region which are not so central to the normal Eurovision news exchange. Up till now, however, this has not been put into practice.

The EBU started its "Pan-European Development Programme" in 1990/91 for further training of professionals in order to attain full compatibility with the former OIRT members (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova). Since the middle of 1994, the EBU members from former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia) - they had not been OIRT members - have been entitled to equal participation in the scheme because they face similar problems. Albania (not an EBU member) and Serbia-Montenegro (EBU membership suspended) are not included in the programme. The EBU organizes a whole range of seminars and workshops, as well as "flying consultancies" on a short-term basis where they are considered necessary. The main topics in this training programme (for radio and television) include: programming and scheduling, programme efficiency, general human and financial resource management, television production, local and regional radio, audience measurement, copyright questions, media legislation (the EBU worked out a special draft containing the essentials of public broadcasting systems), archives, training of journalists,

election coverage, and sponsorship and advertising. The EBU has been allocating 200.000 sfr. per year for this scheme. Additional money has been contributed by the Council of Europe. The programme was originally scheduled to last until the end of 1992 (the date for unification of the EBU and the OIRT), but has been prolonged by three years until 1995. As regards the period after that, discussions are now being conducted on how to replace the programme with the contribution of the more advanced Central European stations. This might already be possible in Poland and in the Czech Republic.

A huge problem, however, will arise in 1997 when all new EBU members have to pay full membership fees in order to share the burden of costs.

Council of Europe

At almost the same time as the EBU, the Council of Europe began its extensive involvement in the promotion of independent and pluralistic media in Central and Eastern Europe, after ties with many countries in the region had been strengthened. *Via* the organisation of study visits, the Council enabled many media lawyers and policy makers in those countries to make use of Western European experience for the establishment of independent and democratic media in their countries. Regarding it to be the basis for the basic human rights of freedom of expression and information, the Council has been especially active in the drafting and reform of media legislation. Media development assistance has been an important part of the two human rights support programmes "Demosthenes" - for the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia, and for the four non-member states of Albania, Croatia, Latvia and Macedonia - and "Demosthenes bis" - for Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The Council's experts have been participating in the drafting of many media laws on broadcasting, press, regulatory bodies and frequency allocation, and assistance with legislation on copyright and video piracy legislation has also been given. In addition, the Council has been supporting training programmes for media professionals in conjunction with international professional organizations like the EBU, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the International Federation of Newspaper Editors (FIEJ). The Council has also assisted the translation of basic media texts and the activities of third parties in the media field.

A part of the Council's activities is devoted to the production, distribution and marketing of European audiovisual products with the help of the EURIMAGES system (established 1988) of which Poland and Hungary are participating members.

The Council of Europe is also engaged in aid measures for independent media in the former Yugoslavia.

In December 1994 the 4th European Ministerial Conference on Mass Media Policy will take place in Prague (for the first time in the former Eastern Bloc) on the topic "The media in a democratic society", with the two sub-themes of "The future of public service broadcasting" and "Journalistic freedoms and human rights".

UNESCO

UNESCO created a special fund in 1990 for the assistance of training and study visits of Central and Eastern European professionals in Western Europe and Northern America. UNESCO supported the establishment of a Central and Eastern Media Centre in Warsaw, which is now facing serious difficulties. In 1990 UNESCO organized, in association with the International Radio and Television University (URTI) in Paris, a colloquium which created a permanent "East-West Consultation Committee" to promote a system of professional placements for journalists from URTI members in Eastern and Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, and Russia) in Western broadcasting organizations. Besides this UNESCO has carried out studies on media legislation and also supports the International Communication Documentation Network (COMNET) and its regional centre in Krakow (CECOM).

There is sometimes a certain reserve among Western donor agencies about UNESCO projects in Eastern and Central Europe because UNESCO's activities should be geared more to Third World countries, but UNESCO has enjoyed very high regard for its activities in Central and Eastern Europe for a long time already.

European Union

According to its own representatives, the European Union still does not have as coherent a policy towards Central and Eastern Europe as, for instance, towards the Mediterranean countries. Until recently, media (or communication) policy was not one of its priorities. The EC largely used to concentrate on information about itself, its activities and its projects (e.g. PHARE) in the Eastern European countries. Only when a certain disillusionment in the East about this restricted scope of activity became apparent, and when economic cooperation with Eastern Europe expanded did the European Union start to allocate increasing resources from the TACIS (the election media-monitoring activities of the European Institute for the Media) and PHARE (which plans to support projects of the regional European television organization CIRCOM) programmes to media projects in the East.

The international professional associations IFJ and FIEJ are planning a long-term professional assistance programme for Central and Eastern Europe funded by the EU, especially in the field of further training.

In 1993 the European Journalism Training Centre in Maastricht opened its doors also for applicants from Eastern European countries.

Bilateral Activities

Besides these multilateral activities, many European countries, especially the bigger ones and the closer ones to the East, and their respective institutions, conduct a number bilateral activities in order to assist democratic transformation in the broadcasting field in Central and Eastern Europe. These activities embrace:

- information and further training programmes
- delivery of broadcasting programmes and re-broadcasting of programme segments in the East free of charge
- technical assistance on a minor scale
- production assistance for foreign teams in Western European countries.

Germany

Due to the federal structures in Germany many organizations and associations are engaged in the so-called "Medienhilfe Ost". This is not always helpful, but many activities are being carried out. I want particularly to mention the Media Consulting Project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in Prague for the four Visegrad countries, which tries to coordinate the needs of these countries in relation to Germany. It is interesting that in 1990 requests for consultancy in media legislation and politics were predominant. Since that requests for further professional training (in management and programming) have taken the lead. Due to the continued huge needs for more consultancy in the East, the Foundation is planning further to shift the focus of their activities to that area in the future.

It is also worth mentioning that the Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, the biggest of the new ARD members in the former East Germany, after a period of time where it was more concerned with its own problems, has started to revive natural links to its Eastern neighbours, including the first co-production projects (e.g. with Polish Television).

Austria

Although only a small country, Austria's ORF has been very active in its cooperation with its Central and Eastern European neighbours (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and Croatia) since 1990. A common programming stock has been organized to which the ORF has been contributing more than 150 programmes free of charge, and a Central European further qualification academy, which holds seminars and workshops on journalism and management as well as language courses, has been established.

France

France, too, has been consolidating her engagement in Central and Eastern Europe. To mention is the great interest in French TV programmes broadcast by TV 5 in Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland and delivered by CFI free of charge to partners in Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland and Russia. Besides this, the National Audiovisual Institute (INA) organizes training courses and is sending increasing numbers of experts to Hungary, Poland and Slovenia despite financial problems. Radio France is also very active with its various branches.

U.K.

The BBC is promoting its new World Television Service to viewers in Eastern Europe. There is close cooperation between the BBC and British independent stations and Eastern European stations (e.g. with Czech TV). The BBC is also very active in making re-broadcasting agreements for some of its programmes, partly on the basis of barter deals in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Further training in the U.K. is still highly esteemed in Eastern countries.

Since 1992 the BBC has been pursuing a project entitled the "Marshall Plan for the Mind" (MPM), which develops special programmes supporting democratic reforms, in the field of the economy in particular, with the help of colleagues in Russia and the Ukraine.

Nordic countries

The Nordic Council is supporting special training measures for journalists within the framework of its assistance programme for the Baltic countries (e.g. partly with the assistance of the Baltic Media Centre in Bornholm). There is a traditionally close and significant cooperation in many fields between Finnish and Estonian TV.

Italy

Despite big financial problems RAI is maintaining close contacts with broadcasting stations in the Alpine-Adriatic area (Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Yugoslavia and Albania). There is a plan to develop a TV magazine similar to one which reports on Mediterranean countries.

Commercial Broadcasting

The big commercial broadcasters are very active to sell their programmes, despite the heavy American competition, to stations in Eastern and Central Europe (e.g. it is currently the main activity for the Kirch-Group). Minor Western companies are doing barter deals, especially with stations in the former USSR, exchanging programmes for advertising time.

The announcement of national terrestrial licences in Poland and in the Czech Republic led to a real race between big European companies like Bertelsmann, CLT, Reuters, Canal Plus, and Kinnevik, and American ones like Time Warner, CEDC and TBS. Until now the American CEDC (Central European Development Corp.) and the French company Canal Plus have been the most successful. The CEDC received the best national frequency in the Czech Republic and with Nova TV is already the leader in this market. Besides this, it has won a regional TV licence (IA Brandenburg) in the Berlin-Brandenburg area in the Eastern part of Germany, which is up till now not as successful as expected, and a chain of regional frequencies in Poland which includes Warsaw. They hope to become profitable by establishing a large network of regional TV stations in Central and, perhaps later, Eastern Europe. Canal Plus received a chain of regional frequencies for pay-TV in Poland which also includes Warsaw. The Polish national frequency went to PolSat, a Polish satellite TV station with a Polish owner who is regarded with suspicion by some people because of his wealth. The Polish situation is therefore a little contradictory: there is PolSat with its licence frozen by a Polish

court, but nevertheless entitled to continue broadcasting by the National Broadcasting Council, and there is the Polonia 1 chain of 13 illegal pirate broadcasters owned by the notorious Italian Nicola Grauso (operating since 1992), some of which were closed down in the end of August, and others of which continue to broadcast.

In the three Baltic states there are already quite a number of commercial broadcasters, benefiting from the assistance of American Baltics or Scandinavians like Kinnevik (Sweden) and MTV (Finland).

In the field of radio, French companies are very active in the Czech Republic, Russia and Romania.

Production projects like the "Central Express" - which tries to compile a magazine from different Eastern countries - face serious difficulties.

There are also plans for a pan-European commercial news exchange as a counterweight to EBU's Eurovision, to be called ENEX, organised by the Luxembourg company CLT, and Transnews, supported by American interests.

Western companies like the French IP (Havas) and the Italian Publitalia (Fininvest) have been selling advertising time on public and commercial TV and radio stations in different Central and Eastern European countries for quite a time.

Research companies like GfK, Mediametrie, Gallup and Nielsen are active in many Eastern countries, investigating present and future markets.

Conclusion

The economic and political situation of many of the Central and Eastern European countries has significantly improved since 1989, with many positive steps towards democracy, the market economy and the protection of human rights, but the situation has not yet finally stabilized. Even in countries like Poland and the Czech Republic which have attained quite a high level of development, there are attempts by leading politicians to exert very direct influence on the media, and especially on television. These problems become more pressing the further eastwards one goes.

Five years after the changes, high expectations on the Eastern side - which has sometimes been bitterly disappointed - and frustrations in the West show how difficult, costly and lengthy the whole transition process is.

In a climate of tension, the programmes of the EBU ((professional training) and the Council of Europe (media legislation assistance) have despite all shortcomings contributed a great deal to the development achieved in the last few years. Of course sometimes progress is slow, especially east of the Bug river. The programmes should therefore be continued, and perhaps directed more satisfactorily to special national and sub-regional needs.

The European Union should expand and extend its media engagements in Central and Eastern

Europe. This would also help the Union to achieve its aim of a pan-European audiovisual industry to compete with its American and Asian rivals.

The multi- and bilateral training programmes should be continued, and should be harmonised to meet the real needs. The successful experience of Central European countries like Poland and Czech Republic should be exploited more extensively (*via* training facilities etc.).

Along the lines of the Eutelsat operation, favourable credits should be given to Eastern European broadcasting organizations in order to enable them to modernize their stations quickly in anticipation of the multimedia and digital revolutions.

More scholarships and study visits, especially for young broadcasters, should be organised in order to improve the quality of programming.

The Central and Eastern European countries should be more regularly invited to participate in European assistance programmes in the audiovisual area.

The careful monitoring of the complicated democratic processes in the Central and Eastern countries should be continued in order to contribute further to the process of democratic change and stabilization occurring in the region.

EAST-WEST COLLABORATION IN THE FIELD OF MEDIA: ITS SUCCESSES AND SHORTCOMINGS

by Henrikas Yushkiavitshus

Co-operation in the international community is the main theme of our discussion today, particularly in Europe, between the industrialised countries of the West and the newly emerging democracies of Eastern and Central Europe. Like any co-operation, collaborative work on restoring, and where needed, creating media operations is not easy. Everyone has their own ideas particularly donors. But who should know better than those who are most involved, namely the media practitioners of Eastern and Central Europe.

Not all endeavours have been successful, nor have we been able to respond to all needs. There have definitely been shortcomings, mainly due to inadequate financing, which is in turn due to the reluctance of many in the donor community. Others believe that media work is not a priority, or that it is still a sensitive area to be involved in.

Since 1989, international professional organisations, training institutes, media practitioners, teachers, researchers and students in the East as well as in the West, have mounted major efforts to create and reinforce independent, pluralist and professionally operated media in the region.

Among the first manifestations of the new co-operation in Europe were the two East-West meetings which UNESCO organised early in 1990, at the initiative of several non-governmental organisations. The first was for print journalists and the second for broadcasters. The challenges identified in the East-West meetings are still much the same: training, professional exchanges; democratic media laws; monitoring press freedom; and economic development.

Training is perhaps the domain where the more successful initiatives have been taken.

Soon after 1989, a number of new training centres were opened in Central Europe, in Moscow in the Russian Federation, and elsewhere.

One such, perhaps the first of its kind, is the Central and Eastern European Media Centre in Warsaw. It is an initiative courageously taken by the Polish journalists who participated in the above-mentioned East-West meeting. It is what we term "endogenous", created by Polish journalists themselves. But as such it has had to face the problems which are typical of a transition period, among them lack of funds and, in particular, lack of interest by the donor agencies.

In the Russian Federation, the Russian-American Press and Information Centre has mounted an impressive programme in Moscow and other cities. Now USAID is planning new assistance to non-governmental media in Russia, with the goal of encouraging "partnerships" between US and Russian media organisations. Figures in the order of 8 million to 20 million dollars have been mentioned; the final amount will depend on Congressional appropriations.

Many other centres have also been supported by the International Media Fund, Freedom Forum and other US-based foundation that are visible and active in the region.

The European journalism schools have developed a network of collaboration within the European Journalism Training Association (EJTA), with member schools and universities both from the East and from the West. Within EJTA, the so called Gutenberg network (composed of schools in Aarhus, Dublin, London, Madrid, Munich, Paris and Utrecht) has collaborated for the last three years with the Charles University in Prague on restructuring journalism training. Other EJTA schools have taken similar initiatives in Romania (with Lille), St Petersburg (with Aarhus). Bilateral exchanges have been organised between the Nordic Schools and the schools in the Baltic region.

Professional organisations, such as the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), European Institute for the Media (EIM), International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) International Freedom Committee (WPFC) as well as the Council of Europe, UNESCO and other who regularly organise seminars and workshops on topical issues.

While these are good examples of true exchanges, aimed at lasting results, there are some issues that are given less attention: media management, running media as business, and media ethics. These as well as orienting civil society to democratic processes remain challenges for the future.

UNESCO has collaborated with the Journalism Departments of Moscow University, Sofia University and the American University of Blagoevgrad in the framework of the UNESCO chairs programme. The aim of the programme is to encourage academic exchanges, joint research and studies. Another UNESCO Chair has now been created at the College of Foreign Trade of Budapest. This Chair is particularly orientated towards the communication skills of other than media professionals.

One fundamental prerequisite for any democratic society is that the right of freedom of opinion and expression should apply to everyone, not only citizens as individuals, but also to all actors of society. The problem is that in the new democracies, the people and groups, be they public or private corporations, political parties, social institutions, administrations, environmental organisations or minority groups, do not always know how to put this newly acquired right into practice. This is a challenge which has been accorded less attention.

For this reason, UNESCO is working with Bulgarian, Hungarian and Russian experts to compile a case study book on public relations in Central and Eastern Europe. I should like to emphasise that, when speaking about public relations, we do not speak about propaganda, advertising or text-advertising, but of confidence building. We are speaking about the communications skills, which are essential for any actor in a democratic society, to be able to pass a message to the citizens, for them to know about different options and to act upon their knowledge.

One of the big projects which UNESCO is starting in Kyrgyzstan, Central Asia is related to the communication skills of civil society and the importance of a transparent dialogue between decision-makers, media and citizens. The project is being carried out by UNESCO's Regional Communication Adviser in Central Asia, (who will soon open the first UNESCO

Office in the region), together with the UNDP and UNFPA.

I take this opportunity to mention a few activities, launched as a follow up action to the Seminar on Promoting Independent and Pluralist Asian Media, held in Almaty, Kazakstan, in 1992, namely:

- two media resources centres, in Kzrgyzstan and Tajikistan, are being set up in the regions:
- support has been given to independent radio stations, Radio Maximum in Kazakstan and Radios Almaz and Pyramida in Kyrgyzstan;
- several exchanges have been organised between media practioners and academics from Central Asia and other countries in Asia and Europe;
- expert input to the creation and inaugural meeting of the Association of Independent Radio and TV broadcasters in Central Asia has been provided;
- a meeting of independent newspaper editors is foreseen, as well as a workshop of academics from Central Asia, involved in media/communication research.

One important project is the creation of a network of women journalists in the region, which is now starting its activities.

The fact is, however, that very little attention is being paid to this region: as regards media assistance, the Europeans consider it is a part of Asia, and the Asians see it as a part of Europe.

I assume that everyone has participated in one or several seminars in the past months, organised by its own organisation or by others on topical media issues in the region.

Some observations are typical:

- firstly, there are those seminars dealing with the media in Eastern Europe, with the majority of participants coming from the West. This is apparently a reflection of the less-developed non-governmental structure in Eastern Europe, which emerges only with time, but in worst cases, these seminars are battle fields of West Europeans and North Americans on what the media in the East should do and how they should behave. This is sad....
- secondly, there are those seminars which run with two agendas. There is an official printed agenda with contributions from international experts on issues of importance to independent, pluralist and professionally operated media, seen from the point of view of media practioners who have had sixty years headstart. The other agenda is the local one, dealing with the issues of "real life".

I see the reasons for the two-agenda meetings as two-fold.

The positive aspect of the two-agenda meeting is that now the Eastern Europeans know what they want and need, and dare to say it.

The negative side is that, regrettably, Central and Eastern Europe is full of stories of Western, so called "experts" whose professional, educational and psychological skills are lacking. Fortunately, these cases are few, but unfortunately they help to create attitudes which may affect even the best seminars.

On the other hand, the West invested so much during the Cold War to conquer the hearts and minds of peoples under the yoke of communism, and things are now developing so slowly to make their dreams come true. The extreme reaction in the East is sometimes that it is not worth listening any more. I do not think that this is good either. If your neighbour has already invested the wheel, why reinvent it, particularly as resources are few and needs many.

In the process that will continue for years to come of developing, updating and revising new media policies, the adaptation of the legislative framework to reflect new information and communication systems in the emerging democracies will have a crucial role.

Many studies have been carried out in this field. UNESCO itself initiated two studies, one on broadcasting law in selected Western European and North American countries, the other on Press Law and Practice, which was carried out by Article 19. The decision as to whether media laws are needed or not is naturally a decision to be taken by the countries themselves, but the demand for information on how to balance the rights to press freedom and access to information against other social and individual interests, has been enormous among legislators, press freedom, advocates, media practitioners, researchers etc.

Article 19, the European Institute for the Media and other organisations have already done quality work in this field, in monitoring election and pre-election coverage by the media. I would say that in this field the European Institute for the Media is becoming a real watchdog.

Advisory services in other topics such as the privatization of the press and transition from state-run broadcasting to journalistically independent public service, have proved efficient means of cooperation. We ourselves have fielded expert missions to such countries as Croatia, Cambodia and Kazakstan.

In 1990, UNESCO created a programme of professional East-West exchanges. In the past few years we have organised more than a hundred individual short-term study visits.

The majority of exchanges have been a success, particularly in cases where support was given to the participation of professionals from Central and Eastern Europe in international professional events, seminars, conferences and festivals. We consider this activity important for true exchanges and flow of information, as very few talented media professionals from the East can afford to visit the West, where a few days' accommodation in a hotel can cost a month's salary!

Individual professional visits to media organisations are problematic. Demand is heavy, but the arrangements are time-consuming, and the risk is even heavier - lack of common language, but also unpreparedness and false expectations either by the host or the visitor or both.

In the framework of the East-West exchanges, UNESCO has collaborated successfully with such organisations as the Montreux TV and Radio Festivals, German and Canadian Commissions for UNESCO, and the International Radio and Television University (URTI). This year, we are initiating collaboration with INPUT to promote the dissemination of quality programmes from Central and Eastern Europe to other regions. An INPUT workshop to this end will be organised in Moscow in early 1995.

In some cases (such as CNN), we spent a lot of time without obtaining concrete results.

I do not have data about the assistance given by the SOROS Foundation, but I do know that this assistance is highly appreciated by intellectuals from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. However, most of my feedback is from the scientific community.

There are also other barriers which hinder the free flow of information. One is the issuance of visas to journalists visiting other countries. Several organisations, in particular the International Press Institute (IPI), have pointed out that delays by some Western countries in issuing visas have forced several reporters from the East to postpone or cancel their professional assignments in the West. UNESCO has asked Peter Galliner, former Director of the International Press Institute, to survey this matter in the light of the decisions and recommendations of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Among the major issues under discussion in the present media landscape are developments related to electronic media. In this context the future of traditional public service broadcasting is at stake.

We believe that radio and television have an important and cultural and educational dimension. Such organisations as INPUT, the World Radio and Television Council (which was created with the help of UNESCO), IPI IFJ and, naturally EBU, believe and work for the importance of promoting and renewing the concept of editorially independent, citizen-orientated, not consumer or government-orientated, public service broadcasting.

We are now on the eve of the international year of tolerance, which will be celebrated all over the world in 1995.

The end of the Cold War seemed to promise a world free of war, in which international co-operation for peaceful ends would lead humanity to a better life. Unfortunately, the end of the equilibrium based on fear of nuclear war was not enough to make that hope come true. Armed conflicts, as destructive as ever, have once again broken out of Europe.

The apparent causes of these new conflicts have to do with the national, cultural, ethnic and socio-economic differences, but behind these are marked social injustice, the absence of democratic approaches to the resolution of conflict and, finally, the absence of any culture of peace.

UNESCO has set out the following priority objectives for our activities in former Yugoslavia.

- to facilitate contacts and exchange of information between independent media in the region - among themselves and with the rest of the world;
- to provide the technical and material assistance necessary to ensure an independent press; and
- to support by diplomatic actions the establishment of the conditions necessary for freedom of the press.

Support has also been provided for the creation of a coordination centre for Independent Media in the Balkan region, situated in Ljubljana (Slovenia), to the independent daily *Oslobodenje*, as well as to independent radio and television stations in Sarajevo and Belgrade.

In the former Yugoslavia, UNESCO works in close cooperation with the United Nations, UNHCR and the Council of Europe, and coordinates with the activities of international media organisations, particularly IFJ, FIEJ, EBU, and Reporters sans Frontières.

We should not forget that the 4th UN World Conference on Women in Development will take place in Beijing in 1995. UNESCO is organising a series of regional workshops on the theme of women in the media; the issues will be brought by representatives of these workshops to a preparatory meeting in Lisbon and international symposium to be held in Toronto in order to finalise a worldwide platform of issues for the Beijing conference. One of these workshops was, by the way, organised in Sofia in early October.

However, women as producers and consumers of media constitute a domain which is not very visible in East-West cooperation. Perhaps many of the present conflicts could have been avoided through greater participation of women.

There is no doubt that economic aspects, the availability of newsprint, access to distribution systems and other related matters, are basic to freedom of the press. Such assistance should be made available as a matter of priority to support democracy.

One domain where we have had less success has been in sensitising more political decision-makers and donor agencies to the importance of free, independent and pluralist media in reinforcing and building up democracy.

In this task, we have several times approached such institutions as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the European Union, whose assistance seemed more often to go towards the salaries of Western experts than to Eastern Europe itself. Now it seems that the situation may be changing little by little.

The other side of the coin is that the media is not defined as a priority by Eastern European governments. Here the journalists and media organisations themselves in the countries concerned have to be more aggressive to get better priority for the needs of the independent media.

In the field of media assistance, a big step forward is the "Democracy Programme" launched by the European Union with the aim of supporting non-governmental organisations in reinforcing democratic practices.

Help from outside is absolutely necessary. However, help from inside is just as important. Favourable postal and telecommunication rates, customs duty and tax relief for the media... their impact may be decisive to sustain a democratic media landscape. State subsidies, if allocated through transparent, accountable and politically independent structures can work in this same direction.

Before closing, I should like to go back to the beginning and mention one essential factor, the value of which cannot be neglected: this is the importance of the vigilance of the international professional community in questions related to press freedom. A good example of this is the International Freedom of Expression network, IFEX, which is a joint venture of some 70 press freedom organisations. IFEX is an example of how new communication technologies can be placed at the disposal of free press and free speech. IFEX has correspondents in all continents of the world, who report on infringements of press freedom and the security of journalists, and the information can, in principle reach any corner of the world in next to no time. UNESCO has given financial support to the launching of the network, and it is effective.

To conclude, I would say that we have arrived at a situation where many Western non-governmental and governmental organisations have been obliged to admit that in many cases their assistance to Eastern Europe failed because the intellectual component of awareness building related to projects, was neglected. One cannot promote democracy and market economy without building an awareness which reaches all layers of society, without creating a culture of democracy. One cannot create a culture of democracy without independent, pluralist and professionally operated media. Without the culture of democracy, we have mafia instead of a market economy and anarchy instead of representative democracy. We all have to take this critical opportunity to emphasise the importance of the communication component in projects and improve the priority of media activities within the aid given to East Europe before it is too late.

**EAST-WEST COOPERATION IN THE SPHERE OF MASS COMMUNICATION
MEDIA ON THE TERRITORY OF THE CIS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS FROM
THE INSIDE OF THE EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN APPROACHES.**

by Kirill Tanaev

My analysis of the European and American approaches to the East-West cooperation in the sphere of mass media I would like to start with the general introduction to the present situation in press that has been formed on the territory of the states of the former Soviet Union. Naturally I'll try to emphasize on the Russian problems.

What is characteristic of the Russian media system? We face now a huge assortment of periodicals such as traditional newspapers, weeklies, a network of TV and broadcasting companies in the country. But did anything change in their nature, their essence for the last years? Yes, we see that this mechanism, this system is permanently mobile, but it still preserves the major features of the Soviet socialist mass media and propaganda. The form is new already, but the inner content survived very few changes.

This is still a part of the state industry, still not oriented on the real audience with its demands and interests. Media in Russia is still "the thing in itself" and "the thing for itself". Strictly speaking, the state policy (if there is one in Russia) in general is directed to the preservation of status quo in this respect.

We can speak about the existence of media CHANNELS in the Russian society, traditional for the modern civilization. However, exploitation/functioning of these CHANNELS is a specific Russian peculiarity.

The Russian press that has been mutated by the long years of the totalitarian regime and has unrecognizably changed during the following collapse of the previous structure just vaguely reminds today the real "Fourth Power". At the same time there are no real regulating mechanisms of the civil society's operation and the state doesn't stop its attempts to control and significantly influence on the media's activity. Only before it was done through the Party institutions and now by means of different benefits and financial privileges. The goal is evident - to create a mechanism to manipulate by the social consciousness.

Sometimes one can get an impression that those who possess power and are willing to gain it are literary hypnotized by the belief that the might of the local media is unlimited. The result is paradoxical - the Russian political establishment itself becomes the main object of manipulation through the media channels (but what it has to do with the "mass media" then?).

By the way, "the Law on the State Media" that is now at work in the State Duma, is based on the belief that power over the media, first of all TV, gives an opportunity to own and manipulate by the social consciousness.

Extremely disturbing is the situation with the level of professional training of the Russian journalists. This problem is urgent for all countries of the former Soviet Union. As a rule, the majority of journalists who operate nowadays, received their education under the old regime. Consequently, they don't have the right skills to work in the conditions of the market

economy and informational journalism. The crucial problem is the journalists' social responsibility in front of the society that gains a specific meaning in the situation of permanent military conflicts on the ethnic grounds.

This is the reality how one can view it from Moscow. So in this quite complicated and controversial historical context we are looking at the East-West cooperation in the sphere of media.

As the analysis of the News Agency Postfactum's expert group shows, (the analysed information was for the period from 1992 till 1994) quite significant efforts have been made in the East-West cooperation in the sphere of media for the last 2 years.

At the same time we can't help pointing out that the depth, complexity and volume of problems in this sphere exist in all, with no exclusion, states of the CIS and is such that these efforts look clearly insufficient. It's possible to say that they add certain nuances in the press development, but it's unlikely to talk about any serious influence on these efforts.

Speaking just about the European and American approaches to cooperation you can emphasize the main difference - the American approach is first of all characterized by the high activity of the private non-governmental foundations, while the European in general is based on the efforts through the European Communities Commissions. The considerable activity of the Americans needs to be noted.

So, the European approaches. The domination that has been mentioned before of the centralized efforts through the Commissions leads to the fact that the work mostly is concentrated on the macrolevel (the general problems of tolerance, freedom of speech etc. are discussed). This determines the content of the participants and the coefficient of these actions. Evidently, that the political effect of the conferences and seminars that were held in the range of this activity is quite significant, but almost doesn't reflect in the professional sphere.

The activity of the European Institute for the Media is based on collecting the information on the factographic operation of the media in the CIS and holding monitorings on the press functioning during elections in Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldova.

An important forms of cooperation are educational programs (efforts of the International Federation of the Newspapers Publishers, Project of Journalism Schools in Orhus, Paris, Bologna together with the Faculty of Journalism of St. Petersburg's University).

At the same time the American Approach differs by the fact that their work, as a rule, is based on the private non-governmental foundations. The late are orientated on the concrete practical results.

Among the most active in the CIS can be named the Soros Foundation, the Freedom House, the Carnegie Foundation, the John and Katherine McArthors Fond, the Alton Jones Foundation.

The United States Agency for International Development permanently widens its activity. With the USAID support, for example, the Internews American Charitable organization started

its work in the countries of the CIS in 1993. It assists the new non-governmental TV services.

The Americans are very active in opening the affiliates of their organizations in the countries of the CIS. It increases the effectiveness of cooperation. The Soros Foundation, Internews and others have their representations here. The Bureau of the American Committee of the Journalists Protection was opened in Moscow. It cooperates actively with the Russian Foundation for Openness Protection in defending journalists' rights.

Especially important to our mind is creation of professional associations such as clubs and press centers with the American participation (e.g. two Russian-American and no Russian-European Press Centers actively operate in Moscow). To our opinion the establishment of the organizational and material basis for development of cooperation and active professional interaction leads effectively to successful results.

It's vital that the American non-governmental foundations gave considerable sums of money for the support of the mass media for the last years. It made possible to install the basis for the private business in this area. At the same time, unfortunately, needs to be pointed that part of the material assistance to the independent media was based on the political preferences. Otherwise, it was not addressed to the establishment of the new media system in Russia and other countries of the CIS with the corresponding infrastructure, staff training systems etc.

The analysis allows to make certain suggestions on the further development of the East-West cooperation in the media and improvement of its effectivity.

1. We suppose that a certain disadvantage is the fact, that the coordination of the European organizations is not sufficient. In this respect, it would be useful to establish a Coordinating Council that would unite representatives of the leading West and East European organizations working in the sphere of mass communication. This Council might collect information on cooperation between the European state and non-governmental organizations and the East European media; efforts coordination of certain programs' realization (e.g. research, education); work with the state organizations both, on the level of the European Community, and on the level of the East European countries.

2. It would be important to open in Moscow and in the biggest CIS capitals to open the representations of the leading European organizations, dealing with the media problems.

3. We suppose that the European Community is not active enough in establishment and supporting the cooperative journalists' associations in the countries of the CIS (e.g. press clubs). It could intensify the professional contacts and the professional communication. Not less important is the role of the associations in the professional personnel training.

4. I would like especially to underline the necessity to activate the research programs. Many problems in the East-West cooperation are connected with the fact that we are trying to operate with the unknown social material. Naturally, the significant resources

are spent for the achievement of insufficient and sometimes unexpected results.

5. In the end, I think it's important to underline that there is some progress. Maybe, not so quick and substantial as we would like to, but it's meaningful that in spite of all numerous complications and problems we are moving ahead on the road of cooperation. The European Institute for the Media and the Information Agency Postfactum have prominent experience in successful work on the mutual projects. Now they start a professional monthly edition for the journalists in Russia. Also in the nearest future we will establish and register the Russian-European Media Research Center with the main goal to hold researches in the area of the mass media communication, accomplishment of the educational programs, publication of special directories and textbooks. Naturally, our success will depend greatly on the opportunity to find an adequate financing of the planned projects.

Today we have practically full data base on the press in Russia for our disposal, including newspapers, monthly editions, magazines and also the information on the multi-issues newspapers in Russia, that have never been published before. There is no need to mention how vital and crucial this information is for both, professionals of the informational market, and for the researchers. However, here we again face the problem of the lack of funding for the full achievement of the project - publication of the three-volume directory of the Russian periodicals.

In general we see a great potential for the development of cooperation between Russia and Europe in the area of mass media communication. We consider that substantial results can be achieved, if we unite and coordinate our efforts.

East-West Cooperation in Central Europe: An Insider's View

Manfred Pütz

Head of East European Media Project
Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Prague

Two preliminary remarks are in order:

1. Germany's political foundations, one of which is the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, were founded in the Fifties with a mandate to promote and support the idea of democracy and the assertion of democratic ideals worldwide.

In our opinion, it is indisputable that mass media, which are able to inform the public competently and independently of political pressure or influence, are an integral aspect of a functioning democracy.

It is for this reason that for more than thirty years, and on a world-wide basis, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation has been promoting the consolidation and interaction of pluralistic mass media, be it by providing advice, by arranging consultations by German media experts, or indeed by actively promoting mutual cooperation, as was the case in the development of news exchange systems in Asia and Africa.

The activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation concerning the media in Central and Eastern Europe focus on two areas in particular:

- a) supporting the transformation of the electronic media (formerly or still owned by the state) from government-run propaganda tools into democratically functioning media.
- b) mediating in the transfer of "know-how", for instance by the organisation of training courses for journalists and media managers with German media experts.

My remarks centre on the two areas of activity mentioned above.

2. The following is a personal, and therefore necessarily subjective, description of the situation in the field based on a two-year long project in the post-Communist countries.

I. East-West cooperation in the field of the transfer of know-how.

I would like to explain my findings and conclusions in this area of cooperation by making a few propositions.

1. East-West cooperation does not only mean a learning process for the "Easterners", but also for the "Westerners". It would be counter-productive to ignore this fact.

As far as I can judge, the capacity of Westerners to understand specific facts, modes of thought, mentalities and especially sensibilities, diminishes in proportion to the extent of their geographical remove from the recipients of the transfer. To be exact, I hold the missionary

manner in which many Americans - although of course distinctions have to be made - operate the transfer of media-related know-how in post-Communist countries as neither very helpful nor, in the long term, efficient. The transfer of know-how in the form of "development aid", which leaves behind the impression that the beneficiaries have been living in a professional "no man's land", is certainly well-intentioned but hardly constructive.

2. The value attached to international cooperation (with the aim of improving know-how) inside the former Eastern bloc before the borders opened was obviously and traditionally lower than in the West. I am regularly told in seminars and workshops which I arrange for media personnel in different countries in the region - even by people with long-term professional experience - that this is their first opportunity to discuss their experiences and concepts - the basics of their profession - with colleagues from other Eastern European countries. Such international meetings, if they took place at all in the past, were evidently more ritualistic encounters which improved the image of the organisers more than a real exchange of know-how and experiences.

The consequences are still evident. The Eastern Europeans obviously still find it rather difficult to develop their own initiatives or to transform material into an effective transfer of know-how. This transfer of know-how, however, cannot be a one-way street but can only function with satisfying results when offer and demand are congruous.

At the end of such seminars, I repeatedly find that the participants wish to continue with them, by intensifying the focus of discussion or by examining other subjects at subsequent encounters with the definite promise of making concrete proposals there. These are, however, frequently only promises.

3. The continuity and stability of East-West cooperation is being impaired on the side of the East by the constant fluctuation of personnel and redefinition of competences. Frequent personnel changes in the top positions and attendant changes in priorities are perhaps inevitable at the present phase of restructuring in these societies. It would, however, be helpful for both sides if the decision-makers became somewhat more perceptive - they might then notice that the activities which their predecessors initiated, and the existing contacts and programmes of cooperation, need not necessarily be cast aside or be re-invented.

4. The fact cannot be ignored that, after the euphoric receptiveness towards all Western offers of aid and promotion during the period immediately following the opening of the borders, a certain "saturation" in the former Eastern bloc countries which directly bordered on the West (Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic) set in. Perhaps also as a consequence of being inundated by offers from the West, an increasing tendency towards self-confidence and the resolve to tackle problems independently has become evident.

This is a completely normal and comprehensible process. It would of course be regrettable if this tendency leads to an under-estimation of the positive potential of East-West cooperation.

II The East-West cooperation in the restructuring of the state-owned electronic media

There is no doubt that the time of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary euphoria - insofar as far as there was euphoria at all - is over. The reformers who - during the upheaval in cooperation with representatives of the Western media and Western politicians - were engaged to democratise the mass media have been thrust aside by other political majorities with different concepts of the role of the media.

Even in Slovakia and in the Czech Republic - countries which were the first in the post-Communist area to transform their electronic media with international aid and by legal means into institutions independent of the state with their own independent boards - increasing numbers of politicians regret that these laws were ever passed.

The conditions in Slovakia until the deposition of Mr. Meciar last spring - as well as an analysis of the relation between politics and the public mass media in the Czech Republic - show the concreteness of the danger that the independence of electronic media as well as of their independent boards only exists on paper.

A particularly frightening example of a relapse into totalitarian times with regard to the exploitation of electronic media was supplied by Hungary up until the change of government at the end of May 1994.

In accordance with basic precepts of East-West cooperation, clear signals of solidarity from the Western European public media would have been appropriate in the case of Hungary in particular. The EBU - remembering that the institutions concerned are after all its members - also neglected to offer a clear public opinion. The only highlight was that the members of the International Advisory Board of Hungarian Television, all of whom were media experts of international repute, demonstratively ceased their activities with international repercussions when the so-called Hungarian "media war" reached a climax.

Following the Parliamentary elections in Hungary, and the arrival of the new government coalition, the general political set-up for the development of electronic media in the country has entirely changed. There is every sign that the leading media politicians and the broadcasting institutions will avail themselves of the opportunity for renewed reform towards a legally secured independence.

In many other post-Communist countries - notably in the states of the former Soviet Union - the general political climate affords only small hope for the release of mass media from the control (whose rigidity varies from country to country) of the relevant governments, parties and bureaucracies.

To that extent, as far as the transformation is concerned, no cooperation worth mentioning exists at present. Abandoning cooperation, however, would be fatal. The West must make renewed efforts, for its own sake as much as for others, to induce a change in politicians' attitudes in these countries. The Hungarian example has shown that the abuse of mass media by governments or parties may carry a very high price.