

YUGOSLAVIA: A DESCRIPTION OF ITS INFORMATION
MEDIA, STRUCTURES, AND AUDIENCES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

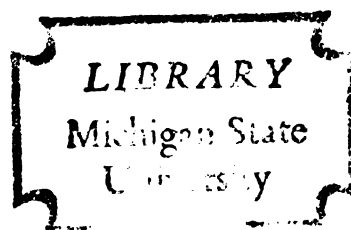
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

KAREN ROSE LAYTON

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ABSTRACT

YUGOSLAVIA, A DESCRIPTION OF ITS INFORMATION MEDIA, STRUCTURE, AND AUDIENCES

By

Karen Rose Layton

This paper is a personal account of experiences which enables me to grasp the meaning of such political concepts as "self-management," "socialism in theory and practice," "Marxism," "Nationalism," "self censorship." My three month trip to Yugoslavia during the summer of 1973, was an attempt to gather enough research material regarding the function and role of the information media in order to write a comprehensive description based on those facts. I feel that it is important to explain in the outset the initial methodology and psychology used by the researcher in order to develop an understanding of the kind of material used for this project.

I was specifically interested in arranging meetings with television directors, research departments, sociological institutes, newspaper correspondents, both American and Yugoslavian, editors, and the news departments of both radio and television. I also interviewed a number of television viewers to analyze their response to programming.

After arriving in Belgrade, the capital, I first got in touch with the American Embassy who then referred me immediately to the Federal Information Secretariat. It

was through this staff that I got my first contact with a newspaper editor. From there, interviews followed a chain-reaction as each person suggested new people to meet, even going so far as to arrange the appointments for me.

I was essentially looking for the answers to several basic questions. One, is the information media, including television, radio, and the press, controlled directly or indirectly by a political party? Second, what is the growth rate and development pattern of television? How is it structured and what kinds of programs are produced? Finally, which direction is the media leaning; towards greater political coverage including current national events, and news stories, or is it avoiding controversial issues and emphasizing more entertainment, cultural and educational programs? What prompted these questions was a series of recent national events, the most important being Tito's letter to the peoples of Yugoslavia in September of 1972.

With this emphasis in mind, I became interested in covering three republics out of the six that comprise the total territory of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. The capital cities in each respectively were Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. The most concentrated information came from the capital of the country, Belgrade, where the political editor of Nin, Sergije Lukač¹ spent many hours orienting me towards the Community Party philosophy in relation to the media. I soon discovered on my part that any hint of party control or censorship was

immediately shunned and attributed to the "naivety of American education." The favorite tactic used by someone in a political or vulnerable position was to place the interviewer into a defensive approach which often resulted in the topic being changed, or the acceptance of half answered questions. Realizing this in the beginning helped me later on in making no allusions or pre-suppositions during an interview but rather to react to each comment specifically and above all to listen more than speak. I soon recognized a characteristic in these people, and it was reflected in their approach to the media; that is, the desire to be verbal whenever possible. Television in particular remains a spontaneous oral medium in the sense that when people are given a chance to speak out, they do so without scripts or notes. Writers by and large are poor in quality, correspondence or answers to letters between institutions and the public are practically non-existent. They take pride in their ability to verbalize any opinion at any time, but when it comes time to write down the specifics of proposals, or outlines of regulations, they fall short of primary school ability. Even they admit this deficiency. Redundancy, ideological concepts loosely defined, and unnecessarily long sentences make up their writing style; a bore to read and confusing to understand. After wading through translations and countless pages of repetition I found that the best way to understand their politics, the past and present history and, most important,

the significance of the media, was to listen and watch, and let the written data only support rather than dictate my conclusion.

In order to understand the direction of the media one must at least have a basic background on certain ideologies that in fact dictate the whole political, economic, and social life within Yugoslavia. I am referring to the concept of self-management, a system that is unique to the Western world and only half-attempted in the East. It includes the theory of Marxism, an idea that rejects Stalinist practices and provides firm ground for the growth of socialism. We must also take a serious look at the original press laws and put them into context that places them in a paradox, or in other words, in a position which presents some inconsistencies with today's laws. Journalists are somewhat confused by the new line in relation to the old, and yet their loyalty to the government creates a dilemma that few are happy with. Based upon press releases concerning the League of Communists' firm suggestions upon the solid direction and approach of the media, I want to include controversies that clearly point out the complicated Party line as recently advocated by Tito. It is by looking at this data that conclusions describing the current position of the media can be attempted and a prediction of the future can be made.

¹Sergije Lukać, political editor of NIN, daily newspaper, Belgrade.

Accepted by the faculty of the Department of
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Director of Thesis

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By

Karen Rose Layton

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To my supportive William
who gave me the boost to
complete this project;
and to Dragana and Boban
who made Yugoslavia my home.

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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL AND PRESS PHILOSOPHIES

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is above all a socialist self-managing and democratic community of working people and citizens, equal peoples and nationalities and hence a socio-political community with the same status and character as the smaller social communities of which it is composed. The emphasis, not without reason, is on all the three basic factors which are present in the federation as a community: the working people or man under conditions of associated labor and work with socially owned means of production, the citizen in his interests and activities outside associated labor, and, finally, the peoples and nationalities. It should be noted that apart from the Yugoslav peoples, which as national groups exist and exercise their sovereign rights within the frameworks of their republics, the Yugoslav community includes national minorities (Albanians, Turks, Hungarians) which, as a rule, have their separate national states outside Yugoslavia (Kosovo and Vojvodina). These nationalities exercise their rights as equal subjects together with the Yugoslav peoples.

Apart from this, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a federal state of freely united peoples and

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their socialist republics, including the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo which are a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. As such, it is based on the rule and self-management of the working class and all working people. .

The latest constitutional amendments provide for the substantial restriction and more precise definition of the present broad constitutional rights and duties of the federation, which will be confined merely to matters which are in the common interests of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. These are (a) ensuring socialist socio-economic relations; (b) ensuring the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the individual including the social security of working people; (c) ensuring a unitary market and coordinating economic and social development; (d) establishing the sovereignty and equality of the peoples' nationalities and their national freedoms; (e) safeguarding the country's defense and international position, its relations with other states and international organizations and in connection with this, protecting the independence, security and territorial integrity of the country.

The idea that the new state of Yugoslavia should be organized as a federal community based on the full equality of the nationalities living on its territory was first formulated in the Constituent Act of 1943 and reaffirmed in the Constitution of 1946. With a view to enabling each people to exercise its sovereign rights as completely as possible, yet making them responsible for the development

of the Yugoslav community as a whole based on the principles of socialist self-management, the tendency has been to give the republics the greatest possible autonomy, simultaneously eliminating all redundant efforts on the part of the federal government.¹

In accordance with this need for reinforcing this independence of the republics, the new constitutional amendments laid down that the working people and nationalities would exercise their sovereign rights within their republics and provinces, in agreement with their constitutional rights, and within the federation which defines the constitutional interests of the country.

The republics are defined as states which, like the federation, are based on the sovereignty of the peoples, on the rule and self-management of the working class, as socialist self-managing democratic communities of working people, citizens and equal peoples and nationalities.²

The rights and duties of the republics are expressed through the economic policies based upon concern for the economic development of the republic; management of investment in the republic; concern for nation-wide civil defense; development of the public health system, education, science and culture, and social welfare; determination of the structure of government in the republic; safeguarding of the constitutional rules of law, and so on. But even with these functions entrusted to the federation and its organs, the republics have certain rights and duties both with respect to proposing and defining policies, acts and

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measures and with regard to their implementation.

The system of self-management, which provides the governing structure for the republics, evolves around one basic concept. The state loses its monopoly hold on managing the results of labor and capital formation, on regulating socialistic policy. The reason for this is to minimize duplication between the state and federal government. In other words, the League of Communists (hereafter referred to as LCY), would not wish to grant equal authority to the source of decision-making, with the state plus the federal government.³

At the base of society, in the production relationship itself, self-management links together two kinds of activity that had previously been divorced from the workers: economic production and policy-making. The socialization of policy-making has also become one of the qualities which characterizes direct socialist democracy. This trend is now in progress and establishing itself on a growing scale in the resistance of technocratic elitism, bureaucratic conservatism, monopoly-minded interest groups of every possible kind and the remnants of earlier class relationship.

The essence of democracy in Yugoslav self-management with the working class and direct socialist democracy, means commitment to furthering the interests of associated labor by establishing a direct link between labor, the products and surplus labor it creates, integrating it with socially-owned resources, and through bringing about a merger

between self-management and political power. The pursuit of these goals is designed to assure the working class a dominant role in managing all the resources expanding production and in deciding on the conditions of its development. With the constitutional changes--those adopted in 1971 and those that are planned for adoption soon--the realization of such a position for associated labor in the system of production is becoming a matter of practical application. It is on these questions that battle is joined between the forces of self-management on the one hand, and the forces of technocratic monopoly, on the other.

Under conditions of socialist self-management, the ideological political influence and the role of the LCY is strengthened to the extent that the role of the working class and working man increases in the system of expanding production, in economic, political and social life. To put it otherwise, the LCY has a decisive impact on social movement to the extent that its ideas and policies, through organized activity, propel and guide all the socialist forces of society, becoming part of the convictions and the everyday life of the working class and other working people, and are thereby transformed into conscious action for self-management and a material force.

Organizations of the LCY do not take upon themselves the affairs, rights and responsibilities that belong to the working people, their organizations of associated labor, and their self-management organizations. In the organizations

and forums of the League, the communists do not make the kind of decisions and measures which self-managers are authorized to make. The organizations and leadership of the LCY do not impose their attitudes on others.⁴ This is a critical point especially with regard to the press. For example, it was explained to me by Professor Srdjan Sokolović, a former journalist for Tanjug,⁵ that if a department of editors decide upon a certain policy, it must be agreed upon by at least three-quarters of the staff involved at the administrative level. This does not mean that if a journalist wanted to print a controversial editorial he would have to call a meeting of the staff in order to decide upon whether to print it. Only in major policy formations is the practice of self-management used. Now, the problem arises when one begins to study the political status of the decision-makers. It is not a written policy but rather an understood one that in order to rise to a high level in a profession, especially if an individual's career is influential, he must be a member of the Communist Party. Therefore, one can usually assume that such a board of editors is mostly comprised of Party members. This is where the answer to the initial question begins, because one would find it difficult to divorce a political opinion from a personal one, at least in public, and this is where one might recognize a controlling influence between the press and the Party. Nevertheless, some political figures feel that there is not enough adherence to this system,

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especially in regard to the media. President Tito, in a public address to the nation on September 29, 1972,⁶ blasted certain opportunists for "using" the Party for their own personal gains. He further voiced dissatisfaction with the media for its liberal practices.

At a broader consultation and at its meeting held on June 26, this year, the Presidium of the LCY agreed and decided on the political ideas and measures which should be applied in the sphere of public information media. Very little has been done so far to put those conclusions and measures into effect. It therefore emerges as an urgent task that meetings be held of all communists in the press, radio and television and of all responsible political and social bodies to discuss and undertake energetic measures to put an end to destructive writing, to remove from leading positions all those who do not accept the political course of the LCY, to make impossible writings which are contrary to the policy of the LCY and factional activity through the press.

All this will make it easier for communists and other workers in the press, radio and television to launch a resolute struggle in accordance with our basic stands for the realization of our policy in socio-political life.⁷

The purge began immediately and many of the top decision-making positions were taken over by men of good political standing, but who were at times without qualified backgrounds in producing or writing. This brought about a "professionalism" dilemma with the quality of the media going down, while Party obedience remained in better shape.

The ideology behind these movements remains quite interesting. Three months after Tito's letter, in December, the LCY Presidium had a consultative meeting on ideological-political problems confronting the information media. Todo Kurtović, member of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium,

said that the gathering had expressed united views and aspirations for concrete action. Of particular importance had been the discussion on how to continue building and improving the links between society and the press. Participants at the meeting also stressed the value of the work of councils in newspaper publishing houses. This was called a significant aid to society in resolving many of the problems arising in the information field, particularly with the entertainment press. In this connection, Kurtović emphasized that full participation of communists in the public information media was necessary for resolving problems. The heightened responsibility of communist journalists was advocated.⁸

Experience tells us that we cannot ignore examples which tell us that part of the press has become a captive of dogmatic-technocratic groups and nationalist and anarcho-liberalist monopolies . . . we have not completely overcome either one or the other of these phenomena. The way out is not in direct and everyday involvement by the party leaderships. The way out is found in the struggle for comprehensive solutions to insure social influence and in the fuller activity by communists as organized and conscious socialist forces in each editorial office and in society as a whole. This path is to be found . . . in the fuller activation of the organs of social self-management, of the editorial offices, and of the other organized institutions in this sphere. This is a way of guaranteeing that the journalist is able to work creatively and independently, and genuinely to be a social worker and, as such, to inform objectively and to comment in an objective and involved manner.

It is normal for all communists in the leaderships who are more closely linked with ideological-political activity to be directly involved and actively participate in the work of the councils and other organs of a similar kind which are formed, or which will be formed in the sphere of information. This is an integral part

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of their function, responsibility, and work; and at the same time it is the way to prevent the bureaucratization of the press.⁹

This points out the dilemma of "professionalism." Kurtović continues:

The words of working people have not had enough space on the screen or over the radio. This can be achieved only by a more complete democratization of the press, and this means it must rely on the broadest strata, and not merely on restrictive groups. At the same time this is a way to increase circulation, and to broaden the radio and television audiences . . . one should take the full politicization of the programs into account and struggle against all attempts at de-ideologization.

All information media should give more information about what is happening in Yugoslavia, proceeding from the interests of the readers, viewers and listeners, from the interests of the struggle for mutual acquaintance, and for the brotherhood of our peoples.

The councils should point out the tasks needed to solve the problems in a given situation. In this respect they should guide the activity of the editorial offices, and say what should be criticized and what should be gained by criticism.

We must also organize ourselves in such a way that we prevent various monastically moralist and puritan attitudes from stifling everything that represents useful amusement. But clearly, on the other hand we must stamp out all that is immoral, and which, under the guise of amusement, attempts to infiltrate that which is negative from our past. On this basis, and in such conditions, the League of Communists will be able to play its guiding role, not only as an external, but also as an internal force in the press.¹⁰

In the same meeting others concluded with similar suggestions.

Miroljub Lazarević, director of Politika,¹¹ believed that:

. . . the present activity of party organizations in the information media should be adopted as a permanent practice in future work. That is, political-ideological analyses of our newspapers within the publishing houses as well as analyses of external factors should be made not only when weaknesses in society have become clearly

manifest, but ideological clarification, explanations and elimination of weaknesses should be a permanent feature of work and based on experience.¹²

The final conclusion confirmed the direction the League would like to see the press follow in the future.

The League of Communists must show constant concern for the choice and moral and political qualities of journalists, for their Marxist and professional education and betterment, and for seeing who seeks the right to speak through public media and in the name of what.

Whoever wishes to be a journalist must fight for the principles of self-managing socialism, the interests of the working class, and the implementation of the LCY's views. Nobody has a right to tolerate the undermining of independence, of the self-management system, of the quality of nations and nationalities, and of our country's nonaligned policies.

However, it has been noted that the old practice has not yet been overcome in certain media. There are still unprincipled compromises, wavering attempts to remain "neutral," and instances of waiting "for the storm to pass." The League of Communists cannot tolerate this.¹³

Of course from an objective point of view these opinions are not surprising. The clearest way a government is going to progress is by defining its goals encouraging its constituency to follow the outlines of policy. This has been a major problem in the past decade with Tito's socialism, that is, an indefinite set of terms, laws and guidelines for decision-makers to follow, especially with regard to the press. As a result, the key phrase which is repeated over and over is, "It's not what you say that matters, it's how you say it." This is certainly a matter of interpretation and provides little assurance for the writer who is uncertain about the particular mood of his critics.

Let's look back fourteen years to when the essence of Titoist press theory was summarized by Tito in an address to the International Press Institute in Zurich in 1959.¹⁴

The press can do a lot of harm if journalists do not write in conformity with the country's interests and the interests of socialist construction . . . During our country's revolutionary period of transition, the press cannot be considered as an independent and autonomous factor in society, since all the actions of society as a whole must converge toward one aim: the construction of Socialism.

This quotation displays the classic Leninist vision regarding the social function of the press.

In the course of subsequent years, the Yugoslav Party leader and Head of State again repeatedly attacked the lack of socialist consciousness of many journalists and authors, their "ideological errors," "insufficient watchfulness" regarding penetrating decadent western influences" etc.¹⁵

According to these conceptions, the principal function of the press was to serve as a tool for realizing the agitation and propaganda aims of the Communist Party, which considered it to be its duty to direct the process of socialist transformation of the social structure. This same theme dominates the speeches, meetings and amendments throughout recent public addresses. One of the most repeated concerns of government policy makers is the influence of Western elitism as a system to follow or emulate. As far back as 1959, Tito mentions "penetrating, decadent, western influences." Raymond Anderson, writing in the New York Times, in January, 1973, repeats the same paranoia:

The Yugoslav press, long the most free, inquiring and outspoken in any Communist country, is under fire for having taken "the Western press as a model." The country's universities, especially their departments of philosophy, are under intense pressure to acknowledge Communist party guidance and to rid themselves of "anarcho-liberal" professors. In steady succession, periodicals and books have been banned by court action on vague charges that their contents "might provoke alarm among citizens.

A harshness of language unheard for years has emerged in speeches by officials who warn that "enemies of self-management Socialism" are lurking on all sides. The "enemies" constitute a seemingly incompatible horde described as anarcho-liberals, pseudo-liberals, technocratic managers, Stalinists, petit bourgeois democrats, bureaucratic centralists, cominformists, ethnic chauvinists in the various republics and emigrè intriguers abroad.¹⁶

CHAPTER II

PRESS LAWS

Provisions within the Press Law clearly indicate what guidelines the press should follow. These laws, defined and created by the Yugoslav Journalist Association, and verified by the League of Communists, guarantees freedom of the press, that is, freedom of opinion.

In contrast to the opinions of American journalists who claim that press freedom has become very limited, several sections of the Press Law outline how this freedom should be interpreted:

Article 40, Par. 1 and 2 of the 1963 Constitution: Freedom of the press and other media of information . . . shall be guaranteed. The citizens shall have the right to express and publish their opinion through the media of information, to publish newspapers and other publications and to disseminate information by other media of information.¹⁷

Article 34, Par. 2 of the 1963 Constitution: In order to achieve self-government, the citizen shall have: . . . 5) the right to be informed about the work of the representative bodies and their organs, the organs of social self-government and organizations carrying on affairs of public concern. . .¹⁸

Article 87, Par. 1 of the 1963 Constitution: The work of the state organs, organs of social self-government and organizations carrying on affairs of public concern shall be public, and the public shall be informed about their work.¹⁹

In order to legally justify the Party's stance and

attitude towards the future direction of the press, there are certain 'safety clauses' which allow the Party a great deal of flexibility in its interpretation.²⁰ Article 40 of the 1963 Constitution, already quoted above, while guaranteeing freedom of the press, of information and opinion in its first and second paragraphs, states in the third paragraph:

These freedoms and rights shall not be used by anyone to overthrow the foundations of the socialist democratic order determined by the Constitution, to endanger the peace, international cooperation on terms of equality, or the independence of the country, to disseminate national, racial, or religious hatred or intolerance, or to incite to crime, which in any manner offends public decency. Article 52 of the 1960 Press Law prohibits the distribution of printed matter whereby: criminal offences are committed against people, state, or armed forces of Yugoslavia; false, distorted or alarming news or assertions are spread, alarming the public or disturbing public order; whereby information regarding the country's defence is published which constitutes an official or economic secret of special importance to the social community; aggression or other acts opposed to the aims of the United Nations are advocated; the maintenance and developments of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and other countries are directly disturbed; injury is caused to the honour and reputation of the Yugoslav peoples, their top representative organs and the President of the Republic, or to foreign peoples, and the chiefs and diplomatic representatives of foreign states etc. These and similar provisions in the Constitution and the press legislation are supplemented by numerous other legal regulations such as Articles 118, 175 and 292a of the Criminal Code, according to which it is a criminal offence, to make propaganda against the governmental and social order.

The government has its reasons for reinforcing stricter guidelines upon the press, yet the press often feels itself to be the victim of circumstance rather than an institution openly defying the political law. In

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self-defense, the most outspoken Belgrade daily newspaper, Vecernje novosti, stressed that the role of the press was to build "a free, socialist, self-managing society."²¹

Mirko Stamenković, editor-in-chief of the paper, said that the press had been:²²

. . . battered by many waves, the most aggressive of which were conservative, neocentralist, and even neo-Stalinist . . . Some believed that the time is ripe to enslave the press for their own political purposes. Others believed that the best solution would be to make the press completely neutral and politically disengaged.

Stamenković's feelings were in reaction to a bill that had been proposed a few months earlier by the federal government. The new draft law was intended to replace the press law which expired on December 31, 1971. In essence, the draft would broaden the right of public prosecutors to interfere with the media. Under the expired press law, the first copy of every printed publication had to be sent to the Office of the Public Prosecutor, who could, a posteriori, prohibit its distribution, and even ban a paper pending final decision by the court in the area in which the offending text in question was distributed. If adopted, this new legislation would have strengthened the control over the press and information media, although it would not have introduced the pre-censorship practiced in other communist countries. Other than Stamenković's reaction, feelings on the part of Yugoslav press and radio commentators was unexpectedly sharp. The first to react was Radio Belgrade, which warned deputies of the National

Assembly* against premature action and expressed the hope that they would be able "to separate that which is politically necessary from any type of administrative manipulation."²³ Fortunately, the Assembly listened and rejected the proposal.

The historical catalyst for this gradual redefining of the press happened during 1971 when Croatia began to print "nationalistic" slogans and articles encouraging the separation from the rest of the republics, to become an autonomous nation of its own. Naturally this created waves throughout the country and as Tito stepped in to suppress the movement, a complete analysis began to take place with regard to future policies which would better insure the total unity of Yugoslavia. Recognizing what an influential force the media would have during any future uprisings, a re-evaluation of the privileges of the press seemed only natural. Following Tito's letter, a specific account for some of the failures of the media were spelled out in a session of the main committee of the Union of Journalists of Serbia.²⁴

Inadequate social influence upon the press--Program of action of Serbian journalists will be worked out in conformity with the letter and other political documents. Criticisms concerning the Belgrade press because of the approach to socio-political and other events

*The National Assembly includes The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia, Ideological Commission of the Serbian Party CC and the Serbian Journalists' Union.

outside Serbia are based upon definite articles and reports which should not have been published in our information media. This practice existed in certain information media which, according to their circulation, are the most influential and this resulted in biased and inaccurate information while creating the impression of a heterogeneous development of our society along the principal lines.

This was stated, among other things, in the report submitted by the President, Jovanka Brkic. During the discussion of the report it was also said that:²⁵

. . . the most serious shortcomings . . . of the political information press, radio and television in spite of principled commitments, is the inadequate orientation towards the self-management base of society with greater inclination towards the activity of forums and state administration. Recent discussions in numerous editorial boards, especially in Belgrade, have proved that journalists are willing to bear part of the responsibility, to admit their mistakes without hiding behind mistakes of individual forums. A certain number of journalists, linked with republican or Belgrade forums, relayed in their papers or in broadcasts the stands of individual personalities or forums without an adequate critical attitude or normal engagement of journalists. Thus recurred the previous mistake of manipulation, or rather of the "coalescing" of information media with individual personalities or forums, a thing that the organization of journalists had already seriously denounced.

Failures can be emphasized and over-emphasized but solid and constructive directions must be taken eventually. The press took the first step to define their direction and in January of 1973 the first meeting of the active communist journalists was held, attended by Mitja Ribicic, a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The most prevalent feeling that came out was the opinion that "self-criticism was the best method for greater political activity by journalists and thus of

course, for improved work."²⁶ The Slovene Journalists Association has almost 600 professional journalist members, among whom half are communists. This proportion may perhaps be surprising for somebody outside the ranks of journalists, but it is not for journalists themselves. According to the majority opinion, no matter what the party affiliation, the "journalist in a self-managing society is not a mere reporter of various views but a socio-political worker who actively participates in building socialist and humane relations in our self-managing society."²⁷

Reporters can take on an optimistic outlook upon their role after party leaders in their meetings nod their heads and claim that "we are onto a fresh start." Perhaps the feeling is genuine. However after reading what is called a "specific" approach, one remains as confused as ever regarding the real direction now as opposed to 1971. For example, in a Tanjug report a specific request had been printed as a guideline. "The suppressing of the spreading of the mass circulation entertainment publications of a 'petit bourgeois' nature is necessary . . . as well as the expansion of information on the everyday activity of direct producers."²⁸ It was also requested that newsmen

abide more consistently by the code of professional ethics, but at the same time, that they be professionally protected. . . . With this are some changes in the code of professional ethics, which would require a more resolute engagement on Marxist and professional training of journalists, as well as the creating of more favorable conditions for their work in editorial boards.²⁹

As stated in the beginning, when it comes to writing, there

comes a definite need to define terminology, to let the people know exactly where one stands. The Yugoslav press appears to have gone from the more traditional role of "educating" the public to "politicizing" it.

The public information media are an extremely important factor of modern life and communications between people, a factor for formulating a general spiritual, cultural and political conscience. Within our socialist self-managing democracy these media should be an instrument of the working people for their mutual acquaintanceship will all aspects of our life and for their direct influence on the formation of this life. Therefore, there should be no room in these media for either bureaucratic-statist and technocratic manipulating of the people or for a policy proceeding from ideological and class positions that are alien to self-managing socialism, from various kinds of monopolies, private interests and so on.³⁰

This again is a logical direction for the government to take if it wants to reach its socialistic aims, but it must lay the specific groundwork to get there. In an attempt to outline their direction, the League of Pressmen stated the reforms that needed to take place.

The direct development of our self-managing socialistic society imposes need that the commenced reform of journalism be continued. With strengthening of social influence with essentially more independence and responsibility through means of public information, will remove the tendencies of monopoly . . . in the area of editorial boards.

The journalists have to inform the public about everything that is happening in society, everything that has the social-political meaning, to secure the exact, complete true objective and information in time.

The duties of editorial staffs: the program should consist of the measures for real bettering of the conditions of work and life of journalists in organizing more efficient health insurance, in introducing different increases of the additional option insurance, with

regulation of status of journalists with many years of service, with consistent putting into force five day working week, and development of funds of solidarity attached by journalist organizations.³¹

Yet along with reform, there are always new codes for those who do not follow or misinterpret the orders. In November of 1972 the members of the federal government discussed a new law that was passed regarding the policies of the publication of all newspapers in Yugoslavia. In effect the law states that in all cases where the author of an article offends the people of Yugoslavia or the State or the Armed Forces, he will be punished. At the same time if Army secrets are discovered and printed, or if there is a patronization to foreign states by a reporter he will be held punishable. This law would also be applied if in the case of an article published in the State of Yugoslavia, it offends diplomatic representatives in foreign countries. The Attorney General and the Court will decide if the writer of the articles is guilty and whether the article should be banned. Later on the Court will try the persons who committed the offense. According to this new law, all different kinds of periodicals, bulletins, books, catalogues, leaflets, photographs, maps, poems, with text or without it, short films, television broadcasts, long films, records and slides should be included. If any of these publications were to be banned, this sentence is valid for the whole territory of Yugoslavia. The punishment would be as follows: the writer could be sentenced to one year of imprisonment and/or

payment of a fine of 2,000 dinars; the publisher could also be ordered by the Attorney General to pay up to 5,000 dinars, the chief or manager of the publishing company would be fined up to 500 dinars, and the whole enterprise responsible for the publishing would be fined up to 5,000 dinars.³²

These penalties by no means compare to the penalties that a reporter might face in Russia. As a matter of fact, the fine is not even considered steep, 5,000 dinars is approximately \$330. What is not mentioned is a "black list" that puts one in the lime-light for party members to watch. Promotions or favors later on could be placed in jeopardy. One of the worst sentences would be to be expelled from the Party, meaning a permanent exile from all political life as well as loss of a job.

Of course, many times the reasons for one's guilt are often as nebulous as the laws themselves. Several examples prove my point.

Belgrade, Feb. 2, 1973 Reuter

Yugoslav film director, Dusan Makaveyev, internationally known for _____*: the mysteries of organism, today became the newest apparent target of a campaign to tighten ideological discipline in the arts. The Belgrade prosecutor announced that a legal complaint had been brought asking that Mr. Makaveyev had insulted a war veterans' organization; it gave no other details. At the same time, the film company which produced _____, following a meeting of all

*Absence of title of film was required by law not to be printed.

employees, disavowed the film as ideologically harmful and unacceptable for public showing. It said it supported a court ban on the film and did not want at any cost to be identified with it. Mr. Makaveyev's film, a free-wheeling political satire, has been shown in Britain and other countries but never seen in Yugoslavia.³³

Belgrade, July 25, 1972, Reuter

The latest issue of the Zagreb philosophical magazine "Praxis" has been banned by the Croatian public prosecutor's office for containing false and alarming assertions, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported tonight. The prosecutor's office claimed the magazine falsely represented social relations toward Marxism, with the aim of presenting to the Yugoslav and foreign public that there was no Marxist approach in solving social relations in Yugoslavia and that every progressive ideology based on Marxism was being stifled.

An article in "Praxis" said the recent trial in Belgrade of university professor Mihailo Djurić was evidence of such relations. Professor Djurić was accused of having publicly made pro-Serbian nationalistic remarks and a week ago was jailed for two years on charges of having been responsible for hostile propaganda.

Mr. Josip Vrhovec, Secretary of the Croatian Party Executive Committee, attacked the magazine as containing harmful texts.³⁴

Belgrade, October 6, 1972, Reuter

The Belgrade district court has again upheld a ban on an issue of a Serbian philosophical journal alleged to have contained articles which might cause public anxiety. The journal, "Filosofija 2," was first banned nearly a month ago, but the Serbian supreme court ordered another hearing on the matter because the first ruling by the Belgrade district court failed to give the titles of the articles in the document. All the copies of the expelled paper had been sold before the ban was imposed.³⁵

Yet it seems that no matter how frequent the arrest or how serious the fine, Yugoslav reporters generally agree that they are still enjoying what they call freedom of the press. No editor or council will veto an editorial before it is published. Aside from grammar or sentence structure,

the main context of an opinion will not be altered before printing. No film will be banned before it is publicly seen. Writers and reporters take comfort with this system, a system advocates "self-censorship" as opposed to the complete suppression of an article by a censor. It is the responsibility of the author to decide how his piece may be interpreted or misinterpreted and he can either accept or reject the guidance of his colleagues. Very often a comparison is made with the hard core line of press rules in Russia; and this helps paint a clear picture of the flexibility within the Yugoslav system. The comparison is a valid one and after interviewing the former Washington Post correspondent to Moscow,³⁶ it appeared that indeed there was a difference. Robert Kaiser, correspondent for the International Herald Tribune, spells out the vivid contrast in an article sent from Moscow in July of 1973.

This dispatch could not be printed in a Soviet newspaper because the official censor forbids publication of "information about the organs of Soviet censorship which discloses the character, organization and method of their work." The censor forbids reports on prison, on low morale in the army, on the activity of the secret police, on the amount of crime in Soviet society, on accusations made by foreign states or statesmen against the Soviet Union.

It is against the rules to report on "the number of fires and their victims," or "the number of illiterate people," or "the correlation between the cost price of services for foreign tourists in the U.S.S.R. and the selling price for tourist trips to the U.S.S.R." The list goes from issues of state--no reporting is allowed on the movements or stopovers of members of the ruling Politburo--to issues of entertainment and sport. For instance there can be no stories about the rates of pay for sportsmen, about the money prizes for sportsmen for good results in sport.

Soviet journalists accept censorship of this kind without evident discomfort. They regard themselves as propagandists--a word that has no negative connotation in modern Russia--whose job is to support and sometimes to improve, the status quo. Bad news makes bad propaganda, so it seldom appears in the papers here. Airplane crashes aren't reported, unless foreigners are among the victims. Floods, earthquakes and other natural disasters also pass unnoted in the media here. Stories on "the number of drug addicts" in cities or regions, or in the country are forbidden. So are reports on "illness in the population from cholera and plague."

The rules reflect official caution. They ban any story about "new" methods and means for treating and early diagnosing of malignant tumors in humans without permission of the Ministry of Health. A Soviet journalist once told an American colleague that a story about a possible new cancer cure in Pravda could cause tumult in the populace, because Soviet readers are not used to the stream of optimistic--if unfounded--forecasts of Western doctors and scientists.³⁷

Knowing these stiff requirements in Russia, one can appreciate the fight for press freedom which continues today in Yugoslavia. Ideologies may be somewhat confusing, emotional outbreaks from Party leaders expressing disappointment with the quality of the information media may frequent their meetings, but

the majority of Yugoslav Communists have indeed rejected, as Serbian party leader Latinka Perovic recently stated, the concept that the press is merely a "transmitter of party policy." If this assessment proves to be true, if the new press legislation respects and confirms the freedom of the information media in Yugoslavia, benefit will accrue to both individuals and society as a whole, since no society, socialist or nonsocialist, can be successfully established unless the possibility of free exchange of ideas and opinions exists.³⁸

A conclusion could be made with this optimistic note, claiming that the current transition of the press is leading towards a more stable and democratic form of information distribution. But there are two points of view concerning

Yugoslavia's future motives. Attention must be given to Raymond Anderson's discouraging analysis of the present path that Tito has chosen.

After two decades in which liberal ideology had held sway, the League of Communists is sternly reasserting authority over all aspects of the society and demanding doctrinal conformity. Influences from the West, including even television dramas like "Peyton Place," are under a dark cloud. Scholars and officials suddenly find it a stigma to have studied in the United States.

At the same time, Yugoslav relations with the Soviet Union are flourishing, more so than at any time since the hostility of 1948 when Stalin ousted Yugoslavia from the international Communist movement and subjected the country to economic boycott, polemical abuse and threats of invasion.

"Some people are saying that Yugoslavia is going back under the wing of the Soviet Union, returning to the Soviet camp," claimed Tito during a visit to Slovenia Dec. 12. "Yugoslavia is not going anywhere. Yugoslavia is staying where it is."

That seems to be the Yugoslav intention--to stay on a course toward Socialism under its own management but directed by a strong and disciplined party. No more flirting with liberalism.³⁹

There are indications that Anderson may be correct, that tightening up on the press is the first step in the right direction. However, at the age of 81, Tito is faced with the problem of succession, of preparing the country to continue the course as originated and outlined by him. The press reflects the sign of the times, times which are full of anticipation for the long-range policies which will determine the country's future role in Eastern Europe.

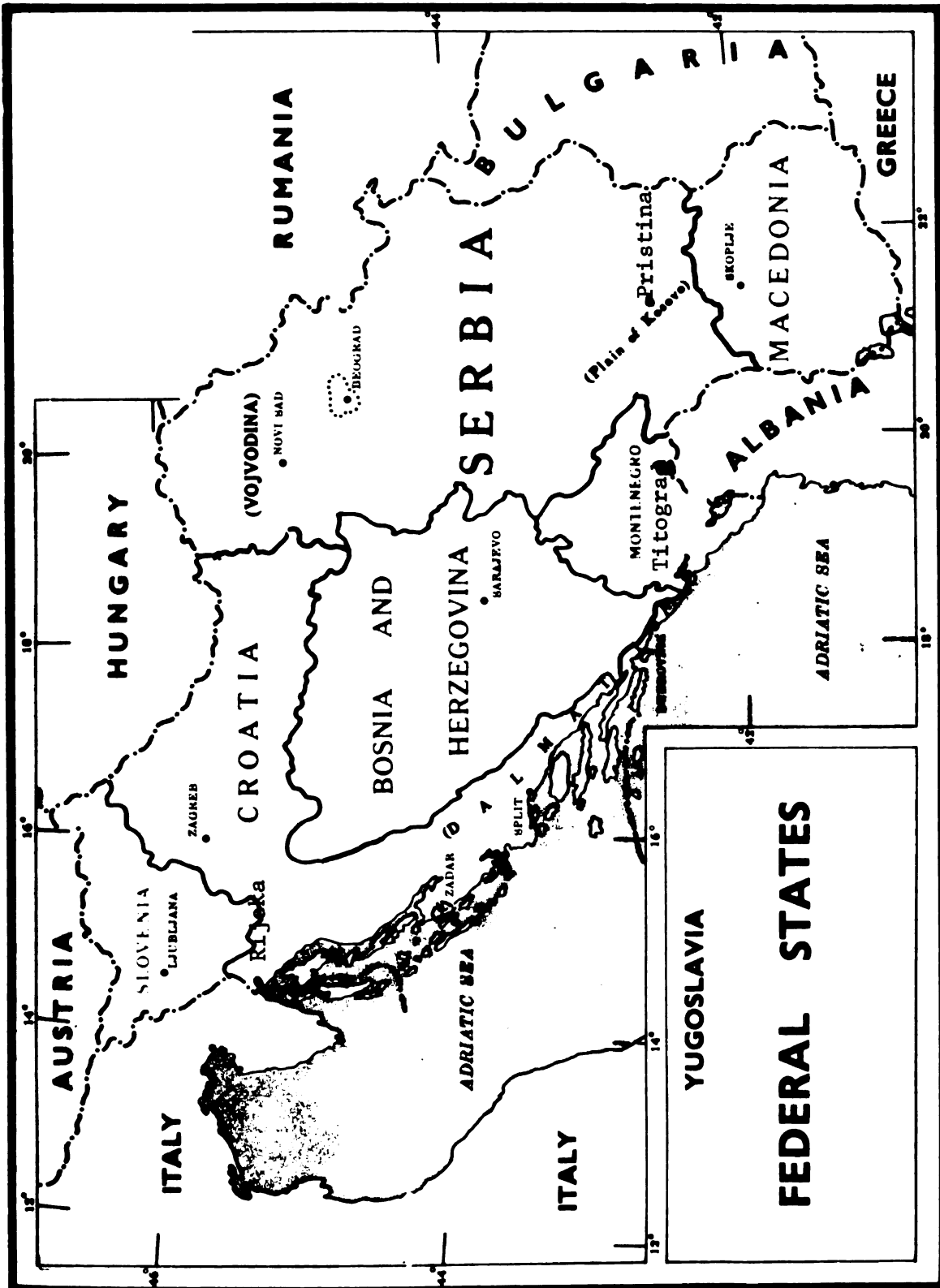


Figure 1. Operating Television Stations.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION

While Tito has redefined and redirected the role of the media as an informative vehicle to educate the public, he has also encouraged the growth and development of television centers throughout the country. As a matter of fact the industry has grown so fast that lack of monetary support is currently stifling the production of quality programs. In order to trace the growth pattern, research departments within the television stations were interviewed. In each republic there was particular emphasis placed upon the fact that television is still considered to be in an infantile stage, in other words, time to experiment and learn from experience has been limited to only seventeen years. But staff members are proud of their brief television history beginning in May, 1956.

As has been more or less the case in the rest of the world, Yugoslav television grew up within the structure of radio, which was the initiator, secured the first funds, and provided the first staff. Television appeared in Yugoslavia later than in the technically more advanced European countries, the explanation is to be sought primarily in the more limited capabilities of Yugoslav specialized

industry which would undertake the manufacture and marketing of a large number of television sets at reasonable prices. At the very outset, the question of building up a network of TV stations necessarily was linked with the possibilities of reception of their programs. Since it was recognized that television would have to undergo constant improvement and perfection, it was decided to wait for the final solution of all those numerous technical problems that accompanied the introduction of television in the world. Finally, it was decided to wait for domestic industry to be able to mass-produce television sets, since any large importation of sets from abroad delayed the availability of television to large audiences. Only after the necessary preparations had been made was the decision made to tackle an organized introduction of television, so that the country would not lag behind the rest of Europe. At this time it was asked whether television would slow down or hinder the rapid growth of radio, since radio had not only provided the first technical and program personnel for television, but had also set aside considerable funds from its own budget. The community showed great interest in bringing in television, and gave encouragement and assistance both with finances from republican funds and with finances from the federation.⁴⁰

If television was introduced into wide practice in Yugoslavia somewhat later, this does not mean that technical and programming progress in the rest of the world was not followed with great attention. Technical staff at schools

of higher education and at radio stations kept abreast of the latest happenings and studied the problems themselves. All of this paid off when television was finally introduced, because Yugoslav technicians, with just a little help from foreign engineers, themselves set up the transmitters and supervised the televising of the first programs.

The first practical demonstrations of television in Yugoslavia before a rather wide circle of viewers were made in the autumn of 1939.⁴¹ A group of experts from the Dutch firm Philips appeared at fairs in Belgrade and Zagreb with TV equipment. Well known Yugoslav artists took part and it all added to an aura of amazement as viewers watched modern technology upstage the live entertainment.

In Ljubljana, a television workshop was founded in 1949 as part of the Institute for Electronic Communication. Six co-workers at the Institute, who had taken on the study of television technology, used several small rooms at the top of the city's skyscraper, where they set up apparatus which they had made themselves: a camera with 625 lines, a synchroniser, control for the synchroniser, etc. These were the first post-war practical steps taken towards the introduction of television in our country.⁴²

The following years saw the construction of the first Yugoslav television receiver, the quality of which was improved upon every year at the Electronic Institute. In February, 1955 a meeting was held by the Nikola Tesla factory employees to discuss setting aside factory money for the purpose of establishing a television center. It was agreed upon and fifty million dinars were allotted for the construction. On the strength of this decision a group

of engineers was formed which included representatives of the Electrical Engineering Faculty, the Nikola Tesla Institute, the Nikola Tesla Factory and the Association of Radio Amateurs of Yugoslavia. Immediately after this, representatives of Nikola Tesla visited Budapest and Vienna to investigate the chances of carrying out their plan.

These initiatives evoked lively interest on the part of the Yugoslav radio network, which organized several of the first meetings. At one such meeting, held in Zagreb in December, 1954 Mr. Vodan, an engineer from the Ljubljana Institute, presented some estimates that he had prepared. On September 13, 1955 at Radio Belgrade the technical department formed a group of experts to prepare a proposal for preliminary studies on introducing television in Belgrade, and throughout the Republic of Serbia. In November of the same year, a television camera was made in Radio Belgrade and was demonstrated at an exhibition of the press and radio. At the beginning of 1956 Radio Belgrade set up the Technical Council for Television. The Educational Committee of the Federal Executive Council formed the Commission for Matters Concerning the Introduction of Television in Yugoslavia. This Commission held many meetings, the most important of which were held on March 16 and 17, 1956. Thus, governmental bodies joined Radio Belgrade, Radio Zagreb, Radio Ljubljana, the Yugoslav Radio Network, and the electronic industry in taking action to bring television into the country, and in this respect the year 1955/56 may be considered a turning

point. At this time 92 television stations were already operating in 21 European countries, and 47 were under construction.

When a number of experiments showed that in some sections of the country, primarily those near the borders, foreign programs (Italian and Austrian) could be received without the intervention of the domestic transmitters, steps were taken in the first months of 1956 to take advantage of this in the initial phase of construction of the Yugoslav television network. The initiative was taken by a group of engineers at Radio Zagreb. The first, very modest transmitter of 500 watts was set up on Mt. Sljeme, so that, when all the necessary preparations had been completed, the director of Radio Zagreb, Ivan Sibl, was able to announce on the thirtieth anniversary of Radio Zagreb, May 15, 1956, that starting with that evening viewers in Zagreb would be able to watch TV programs from abroad. Television sets situated in public places about the city gave viewers an opportunity to watch excerpts from the Austrian TV program first (Graz) and then the Italian program. At the same time, work was speeded up on preparations of the Yugoslav experimental program. In accordance with an agreement, in mid-July 1956, a group of French experts from the firm Thomson-Houston arrived in Zagreb with two Ortikon TV cameras, telecine equipment, control receivers and other necessary equipment, all of which Radio Zagreb leased for one year. The technicians from France and from Zagreb set

everything up in a very short time. The first Yugoslav telecast was made on August 3, 1956 from TRG Republike in Zagreb, and a month later, on September 3, 1956 150 members of the staff and a small number of invited guests witnessed the first Yugoslav TV program broadcast from the studio of Radio Zagreb. The program comprised the TV Journal, a documentary film about the first TV broadcasts, and an entertainment section. Zagreb television's next move was to telecast a program at the Zagreb International Fairgrounds. On November 7, the opening of the Fair, at which the President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito took part, was televised. Finally, on November 29, 1956, on Republic Day, Zagreb television began regular broadcasts of its experimental program.⁴³

The efforts of Radio Zagreb, now Radio-Television Zagreb, thus marked the end of the first, pioneering stage, which was at the same time the most difficult one. These preparations and beginning also meant the practical training of the first staff, and the experience of the Zagreb group was of great value in the organization of the first staffs for the studios in Belgrade and Ljubljana, where preparations were rapidly being finished for an experimental program after less than two years. Although individual small groups from all three of these centers toured foreign countries with short stays in Italy, the USSR, Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, the USA, etc., most of the training was done within Yugoslavia. This was an important point that was

emphasized over and over again. Television staff members attribute much of their original success to the foreign advice which facilitated in accomplishing their goal.

In Belgrade a group of technical and programming personnel was set apart from the regular radio staff and it began preparations for the introduction of television in 1957. In the autumn of the same year the Nikola Tesla radio industry gave several experimental broadcasts which were seen at many public places in the city. The official opening of the TV studio in Belgrade was on August 23, 1958, when the independent telecasts of its experimental program began. The third Yugoslav TV studio was opened less than two months later, in Ljubljana on October 11, 1958. Careful preparations and the experience gained within the country and abroad had at last paid off, although there were still obstacles to be overcome in the further development of Yugoslav television. On November 25, 1968, the first direct telecast from outside Zagreb was successfully made of the official opening of the Zagreb-Ljubljana highway and the festivities at Novo Mesto "marking the completion of the youth brigades' work on building the Brotherhood and Unity Highway."⁴⁴

Newly built studios in Sarajevo and in Skopje have also taken their place in the program of the Yugoslav network. Television Sarajevo took part in the joint program on July 26, 1961 with an outstanding program on Kozara. It began broadcasting its own programs in 1969. Television

Skopje appeared in the joint program for the first time on May 13, 1961 and began to broadcast its own programs on June 5, 1964. Finally, Television Titograd took part in the joint program for the first time on November 20, 1965 and it began to broadcast its own program with the Daily News on November 20, 1971. Within the last few years individual studios started broadcasting their own programs, but they also used programs from each other.

According to plan the present construction of television network in Yugoslavia will be completed when the capital towns of the autonomous regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo have their own television studios. The natural process of such development requires the setting up of producing centers in other larger towns, also inside the individual republics, which will serve as the basis for realizing a richer and more diversified program thus enabling the expression of the cultural and historical tradition of the respective regions. The two television studios mentioned, for which the required television means have been provided or are being earmarked, are very near to realization.

Novi Sad is one such region where plans are being made. The first independent broadcasts are expected in 1974, but the construction of television studios as well as the purchase of the equipment required for independent work should be completed by 1977. At first the program schedule will amount of 8.5 hours or 510 minutes weekly, and will

be broadcast in five languages (Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovakian, and Ruthenian).

Pristina is another independent studio which is expected to be working by 1973, for a duration of six hours weekly. In this region, the number of TV viewers is very small, and therefore the future program will be of general direction and its purpose, at first, will be to attract as large a number of viewers as possible. The program will be broadcast in Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish. The construction of a new TV Center was started at the end of 1972.

It was pointed out by the chief editor of TV Dubrovnik, Mr. Sundrica,⁴⁵ that "independent stations" are beginning to develop, that is, stations which would include one hour of independent programs and then transmit out of Zagreb. The basic themes would be the coverage of local public affairs in news form, or emphasis on a cultural event within the area. Specifically the areas currently being considered are in the Dalmatian region, that being Split, Rijeka, and Osijek. Construction has not yet begun but the fact that such an expansion is being considered is significant in tracing the growth of the industry.

In the course of the development of the Yugoslav television network 48 TV transmitters and 260 TV repeaters have been constructed with a total power of 4,706 kilowatts. The total length of TV links which have been constructed amounts to 12,759 kilometers. On January 1, 1973 there

were 2,359,357 TV receivers in Yugoslavia, i.e., one TV set for every eight inhabitants, and 3,627,106 registered radio sets.⁴⁶ Here is the breakdown of registered TV's over the past four years.⁴⁷

Table 1. Breakdown of Registered Television Sets.

Republic	1969	1970	1971	1972
Serbia	644,121	750,183	859,186	965,378
Croatia	412,745	483,975	554,349	626,726
Slovenia	200,618	228,719	255,082	288,059
Bosnia-Hercegovina	154,564	180,431	215,711	275,850
Macedonia	108,326	125,373	136,820	160,250
Montenegro	22,288	29,781	36,090	43,094
Yugoslav Total	1,298,479	1,798,462	2,057,238	2,359,357

In comparison with 1971, the largest increase (in absolute figures) of TV sets occurred in the republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro, with 28.3 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively. In Yugoslavia as a whole the increase of TV sets from 1971 to 1972 (14.6 per cent) was the largest absolute increase (302,119 TV sets) since the advent of television in 1956. According to official Yugoslav figures there were in Yugoslavia in 1972 352,477 unregistered TV sets, the so-called "black listeners," which raises the

total of TV sets to 1,787,133. The number of unregistered TV sets is derived from deducting the number of registered TV sets from the TV sets thus far produced in Yugoslavia or imported from abroad.

According to the 1972 data, a record production of TV sets was realized in Yugoslavia in 1969, with 333,579 sets being put on the market.⁴⁸ In 1970 production amounted to 320,471 sets, and in 1971, to 317,421 sets. This means that in these three years domestic production gradually declined. In the first three months of 1972, 180,909 TV sets were produced in Yugoslavia. On the basis of an international UNESCO survey published in 1971 in Paris the average number of TV subscribers per 1,000 inhabitants in 1969 was: in Rumania 64; Yugoslavia 76; Bulgaria 98; the Soviet Union 128; Italy 170; France 201; Czechoslovakia 208; East Germany 249; West Germany 260; Great Britain 284.⁴⁹

In Yugoslavia only a part of the TV programming produced is broadcast over the entire TV network, while the rest is broadcast exclusively for the territory of a specific republic. The TV studios that are associated with Yugoslav Radio and Television reach an agreement on joint scheduling so that programs from the other TV studios can be carried more easily on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Along with programs in Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages, there are also programs in Hungarian and Albanian, as well as in the languages of other national minority groups.

This clearly points out the complexity and diversity of the whole Yugoslav television industry; to have a composition of foreign languages and cultures incorporated within the media which conforms to the basic political philosophy of one country, is unique. Contrary to the American, Spanish, French or Russian systems where the majority of programs are at least broadcast in a common language, Yugoslavia makes a constant effort to cater to the cultural needs of all its republics. This at times can be an expensive undertaking. For example, along the northern Serbian border, programs are intercepted by the Hungarian audiences. Naturally when a TV subscriber pays a monthly tax he is going to demand a certain portion of programming devoted to his own interests. On the other hand, advertisers who pay a handsome fee to promote their product, naturally want to submit their commercials during a program which has the greatest number of viewers. If the studios carry a high number of Hungarian programs and if there is a low number of viewers, advertisers will be reluctant to choose those times, and thereby limit their commercials. The reason why this creates a problem is because audience ratings do not necessarily dictate the programming pattern. In other words, the research department will tabulate the amount of Hungarian-speaking viewers who own television sets. That number will determine the amount of time which should be devoted to supporting Hungarian-produced programs.

The changes in cultural habits present somewhat of

a different problem on the Slovenian border. Because Austria and Italy, two fairly prosperous countries, also receive Yugoslavian programs, they feel it profitable to promote their commodities in the form of advertising. The rate of advertising costs is considerably lower in Yugoslavia as compared to either Italy or Austria, therefore a high percentage of Slovenian programming is sponsored by the Italian-Austrian market. Needless to say, the advertiser in Yugoslavia resents this kind of competition from other countries, but nevertheless fights to remain in business.

With more and more stations competing for a greater number of viewers as well as commercial sponsors in a very tight money market, one might conclude that the industry is growing faster than it economically should. Staff members are overworked and certainly underpaid; a minimum of equipment does not enhance the quality of programs. The industry supports itself by basically three sources of income: one, from the initial tax on a TV set when purchased; two, from a monthly subscription fee from the owner; and three, from the advertiser. With perhaps one network, two independent stations and possibly one regional station within one area, the income from the subscribers is well spread out. While television professionals are proud of the rapid growth of the industry, they are involved in a perplexing question of how to support new stations, how to establish priorities in programming, and how to distribute the staff among the networks and individual stations.

This leads to the question of why there is a constant push to promote and create more stations. On the surface it seems more beneficial to limit the numbers to major networks, making these the medium for promoting the national language, national politics and ideology, developing a more national patriotism rather than an independent, republic one. In other words, by centralizing the media, perhaps the government could better unify the country via centralized themes. But this is not the objective of Tito, the Communist Party, or programmers and journalists. Rather, by creating pride first of all in one's own nationality, can a citizen identify with any kind of a patriotic feeling towards his country. If the leaders create a reason and incentive to believe in the socialist goals, then the people will respond to a federal cause. Television is described as a medium through which people can relate to people, rather than an industry relating to subjects. Mr. Sundrica⁵⁰ strongly felt that by creating more studios emphasizing local public affairs, letting viewers identify with their own problems first before national ones, then one gets the cooperation of the masses, this in turn creates the unity necessary for any government to carry on. Then, of course, there is the constant effort to educate audiences about the attributes of every culture which comprises Yugoslavia. For example viewers in Belgrade can watch folk dances in Slovenia, the Albanians can watch the Bosnian opera in Hercegovina, Croatia can learn about Montenegrin

culture. Through becoming familiar with and by appreciating the make-up of a highly diverse country via a common medium, an effective education and possibly unification of peoples can be achieved.

CHAPTER IV

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF TELEVISION CENTERS

The basic organizational structure of television stations varies from republic to republic depending upon the individual needs of each center. But in comparison to the internal structure of American broadcasting companies, there is little difference. The following working units constitute the basic composition of television Zagreb:⁵¹

- I. Television Program
- II. Television Production
- III. Technical Service
- IV. Joint Services

The Director of Television is responsible for program policy, work organization and business conducted by the television station.

- I. The Television Program consists of the following types:

- A. Information, talks and current affairs
 - 1. Daily programs
 - 2. Editorial boards
 - a. Home policy
 - b. Economy

- c. Foreign policy and international news exchange
 - d. Culture
 - e. Sport
- B. Documentary program includes documentaries, supplements and reports.
- C. Drama program consists of:
 - 1. Plays
 - 2. Light entertainment
 - 3. Music
 - 4. Children's program
 - 5. Films
 - 6. Drama group
- D. School Television has two sections:
 - 1. Editorial Board
 - 2. Educational and Pedagogic Service
- E. The Commercial Publicity Program includes all commercials and advertisements.
- F. The Program Exchange Service deals with the sale and exchange of TV programs, procuring TV programs, preparations for co-productions of TV programs; it studies the production of TV programs in the world, organizes festivals, as well as TV programs' fairs, publishes catalogues and similar advertising publications.
- G. The Program Service includes:
 - 1. Program coordination

2. Program presentation

3. Public information within programs

The TV program as a whole is run by the chief of the television program. He is directly in charge of the heads of units in which the television program is composed.

II. TV Production combines:

- A. Direction
- B. Organization
- C. Planning
- D. Recording and cutting
- E. Scene services

The Television Production is run by the Assistant to the Director of Television for Organization and Production.

III. Technical Service has the following organizational patterns:

- A. Studios and outside broadcasting units
- B. TV power stations
- C. Film and photo laboratories
- D. Equipment maintenance and control

In running the technical service, the Director of Television coordinates all projects with the assistant to the Director of Television for Engineering.

IV. Joint

- A. Finance Department
 - 1. Economy and planning
 - 2. Bookkeeping
 - 3. Commercial affairs

The Director of Television relies upon the assistant to the Director of Television for Finance to control all the working units in this department.

B. General Services

1. Office administration
2. Recorded program library
3. Statistics
4. Documentation

In running the General Services and organizing the work in this unit, the Director relies on the assistant to the Director for General Services.

Television Belgrade, without going into detail, consists of familiar departments:⁵²

- Financial and Administrative Service
- General Maintenance Service
- Program Planning and Coordination
- Commercial Publicity Program
- Scene Servicing
- Outside Engineering
- Studio Engineering
- Engineering Maintenance
- Television and Film Lighting Service
- Film and Photography
- Information, Talks and Current Affairs
- Letters, Science and Arts

Television Ljubljana differs slightly, operating its technical services from its general.⁵³

- 1) Television Program
 - a. TV Program Coordination and General Affairs
 - b. Editorial Boards of Information, Talks, and Current Affairs, Educational and Commercial Publicity Programs
 - c. Letters, Science and Arts
 - d. Editorial Board for Foreign Language Services
 - e. TV Program Presentation
- 2) Engineering
 - a. Planning, Control and Technical Documentation
 - b. Studio Engineering, Sound Broadcasting
 - c. Studio Engineering, Television
 - d. VHF, Radio and Television
 - e. Photo Film Service
 - f. Laboratory
- 3) Economic and Administrative Service
 - a. Finance
 - b. Purchase and Sale
 - c. Staff Administration and Welfare
 - d. Supply Services
 - e. Construction Bureau
 - f. Cassettes Production

The balance of TV centers throughout the country remains structurally the same.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY OF THE STAFF OF BROADCASTING INSTITUTIONS

The growth of the television profession may be measured in terms of the number of staff members which have increased considerably in the last two years. In 1970 there were 933 new workers employed in broadcasting institutions, while in 1971 the number of permanent staff increased by 1005. Though the increase in the number of staff was growing in all eight main broadcasting institutions, it was most striking in Radio-Television Belgrade and Radio-Television Skopje. It should be pointed out that the increase refers mainly to the staff having to do with the production of programs and within this group the most marked increase was recorded among journalists, engineering, and other staff having to do with programs. This explains also the increase of the Radio-Television Belgrade staff, as the Second Television Program was introduced in this period.

As for the local broadcasting institutions the total number of permanent staff increased by 107 workers in 1970, and the next year this figure was even higher amounting to an increase of 147 workers which may be attributed to the founding of new broadcasting stations throughout the country.

Table 2(a). Survey of the Staff of Main Broadcasting Institutions by Vocation
(As of December 31, 1970).⁵⁴

Broadcast Inst. as foreseen in art. 7 of the Basic Law on Broad- cast Inst. Radio and TV Only TV	Total	Total (1-5)	1. Artistic	Music	2. Journal- istic	3. Announcer and Copy- reader	4. Engineer- ing	5. Other Prod. Assist.	Adminis- trative	Other Staff
Belgrade RTV	2,701.	1,719	359	194	345	88	460	467	583	399
TV	1,134	888	165	15	126	16	193	368	153	113
Zagreb RTV	2,150	1,440	385	191	333	37	643	42	195	515
TV	647	550	143	---	115	8	265	19	46	51
Ljubljana RTV	1,513	796	145	97	268	37	330	16	512	205
TV	686	324	34	---	85	2	187	16	257	104
Sarajevo RTV	904	613	78	55	136	24	255	120	185	106
TV	258	236	16	---	46	6	114	54	19	3
Skopje RTV	1,227	709	133	70	215	30	219	112	220	298
TV	420	339	50	5	70	10	98	102	51	30
Titograd RTV	221	128	21	21	25	11	28	43	66	27
TV	38	33	---	---	---	---	16	17	2	3
Novi Sad Radio	474	340	103	80	131	31	75	---	63	71
Pristina Radio	223	150	50	45	52	15	25	10	32	41
Total	9,413	5,895	1,274	753	1,505	273	2,035	810	1,856	1,662
TV	3,183	2,350	417	20	442	42	873	576	529	304
Local Broadcast Institutions	979	786	54	---	367	185	160	20	138	55
Grand Total	10,392	6,681	1,328	753	1,872	458	2,195	830	1,994	1,717

Table 2(b). Survey of the Staff of Main Broadcasting Institutions by Vocation
(As of December 31, 1971).

Broadcast Inst. as foreseen in art. 7 of the Basic Law on Broadcast Inst. and TV only	Total	Total (1-5)	1. Artistic	Musical	2. Journal- istic	3. Announc- ing and Copy- reader	4. Engin- eering	5. Other Prod. Assist.	Adminis- trative	Other Staff
Belgrade	RTV 3,073 TV 1,171	2,286 892	323 130	77 14	481 143	57 15	442 192	983 412	475 176	312 103
Zagreb	RTV 2,270 TV 732	1,443 592	341 98	197 ---	347 127	39 8	689 349	27 10	202 64	625 76
Ljubljana	RTV 1,640 TV 734	855 363	155 36	102 ---	286 88	44 2	353 221	17 16	571 262	214 109
Sarajevo	RTV 1,036 TV 345	669 279	114 25	79 ---	159 62	26 11	239 115	131 66	239 49	128 17
Skopje	RTV 1,421 TV 500	847 414	190 100	99 9	263 90	46 14	253 119	95 91	228 58	346 28
Titograd	RTV 242 TV 70	137 63	23 ---	23 ---	28 8	39 ---	32 23	45 32	65 2	40 5
Novi Sad	RTV 506 TV 14	360 9	109 ---	85 ---	138 2	33 ---	80 7	---	68 5	78 ---
Pristina	Radio 230	166	45	45	36	12	22	31	30	34
Total	RTV 10,418 TV 3,566	6,763 2,612	1,300 389	707 23	1,758 520	266 50	2,110 1,026	1,329 627	1,878 616	1,777 338
Local Broadcast Institutions	Radio 1,126	903	61	---	423	191	191	37	155	68
Grand Total	RTV 11,544	7,686	1,361	707	2,181	457	2,301	1,366	2,033	1,845

Several observations and comparisons can be made between Tables 2(a) and 2(b). In 1970 staff members within the category of engineers in both radio and television totaled 2,195. Following that was the number of administrators employed at 1,994. Finally, the journalists numbered third with 1,872. In 1971, engineers still ranked on top but there was a significant increase among journalists in relation to administrators by a lead of 148 staff members. This rise in the number of journalists should prove that the trend points to expanding information and news services. What confirms this trend is the indication of a decrease among TV artists from 417 in 1970, down to 389 in 1971. Music professionals face the same decline in both radio and television; from a total of 753 in 1970 to 707 in 1971. There is an effort to encourage more writers, producers and engineers into the practical rather than culturally talented professionals. Many viewers regard Belgrade as a pace setter in television with creative programming and quality productions, because it has the greatest number of staff, facilities and access to political events. If so, perhaps it is setting the pace for staff professions; there was a significant decline in administrative personnel, from 583 down to 475. Whether these people have been shifted towards production or whether they have been dropped from the staff remains uncertain. All other stations have picked up administrative help.

Table 2(c). Survey of the Staff of Broadcasting Institutions by Professional Qualification (As of December 31, 1970).

Broadcast inst. as foreseen in art. 7 of the Basic Law on Broadcast. Inst.	Total no. of person-nel	Graduates	High school	Secondary school	Element. school	Highly qualified workers	Qualified workers	Semi-qualified workers	Non-qualified workers
Belgrade	2,701	610	92	1,098	319	144	236	28	174
Zagreb	2,270	530	75	738	296	53	288	23	127
Ljubljana	1,640	215	97	693	262	31	210	7	97
Sarajevo	1,036	243	48	357	98	39	136	5	45
Skopje	1,421	210	77	476	398	90	112	---	13
Titograd	242	38	13	97	50	8	13	2	13
Novi Sad	506	65	48	176	75	31	42	---	56
Pristina	230	27	23	88	17	8	25	3	29
Total	9,443	1,754	413	3,683	1,505	404	1,062	68	554
%	100%	19.76	4.70	37.29	15.94	4.28	11.25	0.72	5.87

Table 2(d). Survey of the Staff of Broadcasting Institutions by Professional Qualification (As of December 31, 1971).

Broadcast inst. as foreseen in art. 7 of the Basic Law on Broadcast. Inst.	Total no. of personnel	Graduates	High School	Secondary School	Element. School	Highly Qualified Workers	Qualified Workers	Semi- qualified Workers	Non- qualified Workers
Belgrade	3,073	720	98	1,259	390	169	252	27	149
Zagreb	2,150	449	63	861	347	62	328	35	155
Ljubljana	1,543	214	81	641	262	29	236	8	102
Sarajevo	904	195	40	346	167	43	163	5	---
Skopje	1,227	165	59	390	388	116	135	---	17
Titograd	221	33	10	92	50	10	15	4	15
Novi Sad	474	61	45	164	80	35	44	---	59
Pristina	223	27	23	91	30	15	14	2	31
Total	10,418	2,048	489	3,885	1,723	479	1,187	79	528
%	100%	18.57	4.37	39.00	16.54	4.59	11.39	0.76	5.07

Table 2(d). Survey of the Staff of Broadcasting Institutions by Professional Qualification (As of December 31, 1971).

Broadcast Inst. as foreseen in art. 7 of the Basic Law on Broadcast. Inst.	Total no. of personnel	Graduates	High School	Secondary School	Element. School	Highly Qualified Workers	Qualified Workers	Semi- qualified Workers	Non- qualified Workers
Belgrade	3,073	720	98	1,259	390	169	252	27	149
Zagreb	2,150	449	63	861	347	62	328	35	155
Ljubljana	1,543	214	81	641	262	29	236	8	102
Sarajevo	904	195	40	346	167	43	163	5	---
Skopje	1,227	165	59	390	388	116	135	---	17
Titograd	221	33	10	92	50	10	15	4	15
Novi Sad	474	61	45	164	80	35	44	---	59
Pristina	223	27	23	91	30	15	14	2	31
Total	10,418	2,048	489	3,885	1,723	479	1,187	79	528
%	100%	18.57	4.37	39.00	16.54	4.59	11.39	0.76	5.07

In Tables 2(c) and (d), the staff of the main broadcasting institutions by professional qualification, mark a steady tendency towards the increase in the number of university trained personnel and highly skilled workers, while the number of staff with insufficient qualifications has comparatively diminished. However, the total number of personnel has decreased from 1970 to 1971, except for Belgrade. This is indicative of a tight economy, higher selectivity, and the re-organization of staff departments, resulting in vacant positions. While there is an increase of highly qualified workers, there is also an increase of non-qualified workers. It is possible that the latter category is composed of interns and volunteers learning the profession with little to no pay. Studios all over the country are interested in including students and committees in order to maximize the input of creative talents.

CHAPTER VI

PROJECTIONS AND TIMETABLES OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

In creating its own program, Yugoslav TV has passed through several stages. The first of these began immediately after the establishment of regular broadcasts at the end of 1958 and lasted until 1961. During this period there were few domestic programs and foreign programs made up the bulk of broadcasts. This was the pioneering era of Yugoslav television, when its young and still inexperienced staff acquired the basic knowledge of working techniques in a completely new field.

The second phase, from 1961 to the end of 1964, was marked by the rapid development of purely Yugoslav programs. Although still lacking complete technical facilities and other means, TV stations in Yugoslavia considerably increased the number of hours of their own broadcasts in this period, thereby reducing programs from abroad to more normal proportions. During this period the TV audience was still limited, and it regarded TV as a fascinating novelty but also as a medium which had a long way to go.

The year 1965 may be regarded as the beginning of the third phase when TV had entered into cultural programming. It succeeded in this, thanks to its various achievements,

especially its coverage of important social and political events within the country. The demand for broadcasts grew so much that the joint program became too limited to include all the productions for individual television stations. In this year for the first time the leading stations began their own broadcasts intended for viewers in the individual republics. This was also a year of great changes in the country's economic, social and cultural life, and the new principles of greater independence for economic organizations likewise affected television's activities. In accordance with these measures, television acquired the right to fix its own subscription rates, but it also assumed the responsibility of adapting itself to the new system of economics which was in force for the entire country. All the television stations had to carefully scrutinize their finances and find ways of economizing their internal reserves more rationally. They also took a number of other measures necessitated by the new conditions of economic independence, which meant the stations accepted full responsibility for financing their programs.

Development of television stations during the past few years was marked by their stabilization within the process of the economic and social reform. Today they do business on a more normal and sounder basis than in the past. As all income derived from TV subscriptions now belongs to them, the TV stations are better equipped to take care of their increased programming and other needs,

while at the same time they can set aside funds for extending the TV network, for building new studios and modernizing the existing facilities. The bilateral link between Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade established in 1968, together with the existing two links, enabled a rapid and more efficient exchange of programs between TV stations. Due, however, to the further development of regional programs, the steadily growing exchange of broadcasts and material between the stations and particularly the increased number of unilateral transmissions both for domestic needs and requests of foreign TV organizations, the main line capacities soon became inadequate for meeting ever-growing demands in this field.

Meanwhile, the work on making the plan for the construction of new TV links has been finished, both for completion and modernization of the existing links for the requirements of the first TV program and for the construction of the grid for the second program. Capacities of new links are planned so that by 1976, each TV station will be able to broadcast more transmissions in the time agreed upon, including two programs from other stations as well as local broadcasts of their own. In the further development until 1985, it is foreseen that between each two studios, three simultaneous television broadcasts will be possible in both directions, not counting exchange of news, international and transit links. Another important step in strengthening television has been made in the field of

construction and equipment of its studios. Television Belgrade, which built a large new studio in the city center several years ago, has the most up-to-date equipment, which greatly facilitates the station's work. Television Sarajevo works in the adapted new studio which now broadcasts its program directly, but it has also begun work on the stage construction of its new broadcasting house on a well-chosen site in the suburbs of Sarajevo. After certain dilemmas about the construction of a broadcasting house, TV Ljubljana has decided to construct, for its needs, a television center similar to a studio in Zurich. During a personal visit to the new center one of the research analysts, Lado Pohar,⁵⁵ indicated that the construction process has been quite rapid; the problems arising are in the provision of enough technical facilities to meet the production demands. Television Zagreb has provided new premises for its editorial boards and administration and thus reduced to a certain extent the space problem. In any case, the final solution will probably be the construction of a new broadcasting house, for which designs are now being elaborated and the building site cleared. In 1969, however, a modernly equipped center for technical coordination and distribution program was put into operation.

Television Skopje is going to solve the question of its future regular TV center similar to TV Ljubljana's procedure, based on a studio design also from Zurich.

Titograd on the other hand, has no prospects at the present of obtaining better premises or constructing them, and currently works in the cramped headquarters of their radio house.

During the last few years, exchange of news through TV links (JRT) was greatly improved. This inter-studio exchange started officially on July 1, 1967, soon to become a very important feature in cooperation between TV studios, in which Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje and Sarajevo participate. This exchange has become, together with other sources of information at home and abroad, the basis for the introduction of individual TV news bulletins and other information broadcasts in individual broadcasting institutions. This news is provided every day between 4 p.m. and 4:30 p.m. and at 6:30 p.m. Another notable addition, which came to the foreground in the last two years, was participation in the regular exchange of Eurovision News (EVN). Although JRT had taken part in this exchange earlier, this participation has become regular practice since September 1, 1967. Yugoslav Radio-Television participates in all aspects of this exchange, and particularly in the first news edition between 5:00 p.m. and 5:30 p.m. (EVN 1). This exchange enables JRT to present film reports on the most important events of the day, without a delay of one or two days as was the earlier case, when stations had to depend on news sent by air from the large world agencies. A similar exchange with Intervision, another European exchange agency

which is not used too regularly, is taking place; thereby making complete use of all available means of TV newscasts for the whole population.

The producers of TV programs in Yugoslavia include six broadcasting institutions in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo, Titograd, and lately, television stations under construction at Novi Sad and Pristina. For the most part, the same program which was made available to all television subscribers in the country, in which all television stations participate, was the result of the cooperation among all the centers which were able to transmit full time. In the first years of its existence the specific length of programs used to be determined by the amount of production of individual television centers; whether or not they had a volume big enough to provide a complete program for their respective areas. During the past few years, Television Skopje and then Television Sarajevo have passed through their stage of expansion, quickly approaching the scope of production of Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana. This steadily growing development of the programs of individual television stations enabled each of them to become independent in creating its program policy and brought new elements into their inter-studio exchange of programs.

Today the volume of the production of all television centers has surpassed the broadcasting capacities of the existing network. That is why the introduction of a second television network proved to be a feasible solution to the

problem. The cooperation of television centers in the future, besides being necessary, will develop not through a joint television program, but through a voluntary system, exchanging available television programs within the country. Although such methods will largely depend on the capacities in the centers themselves, it is now certain that this is the direction in which Yugoslav television will develop. Already under the existing conditions there is a gradual transition to the system of exchanging taped programs among television centers which can broadcast them within the most suitable times. The forms of cooperation between TV stations gradually changed and adapted to new conditions. In addition, efforts have been made to coproduce with shared finances among the individual stations. It is becoming the custom for famous authors, directors and other TV artists from one studio to make guest appearances in another. All important national holidays are celebrated with special programs prepared by all television centers which sometimes work together from the program's very conception to its realization. The Television Festival at Bled in northern Slovenia, is an expressive manifestation in which all stations take part in the joint program, both organizationally and financially. Important political events are covered by mutual technical assistance, whenever required. There are other methods and plans for such cooperation, at a domestic and international level, in which joint funds would be used to give viewers varied and high-quality programs.

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Television Belgrade

The basic program of TV Belgrade reflects the current social movements of the day. The information program deals specifically with daily events both locally and abroad. This is due to the heavy use of correspondents' reports together with special reports from outside the country, being supplied by the domestic wire service Tanjug. Besides the regular daily broadcasts, the political information program concentrates on the most controversial or highlighted problems within the society. The goal of these productions is to emphasize urgent problems of a certain social moment, to initiate public discussion, to produce confrontations of opinions and attitudes, and to give necessary breadth to reactions to contemporary events. The program for culture and entertainment includes performances of classical or already affirmed works, performances by talented young people, modern subjects and forms, a whole spectrum of dramatic works ranging from tragedy to melodrama, original TV drama, transmission of theatrical performances, etc. The selection of film programs are more selective and reflect tastes from larger audiences rather than only a few individuals. These include serials, often American, such as "Disneyland," "Gunsmoke," and "Star Trek." The humorous program in the last year was opened to new authors and performers who had the opportunity to meet and face the extensive audiences, reacting to direct feedback

rather than television viewers. The musical program is varied and successful, although many times it results in using unknown pop singers or groups without a big name. Programs for children are clearly committed to meet the basic and current requirements of the viewers. In the campaign against illiteracy this station proved to be highly successful, in fact almost irreplaceable, and the public has expressed itself highly on its program "TV Primer."

During the last year large amounts of time and effort were poured into Program II, which is similar to America's PBS or Public Broadcasting Station. About 50 per cent of the program is planned to be in color out of which 25 per cent will belong to its own local production and 75 per cent to films already produced. The total duration of the program will amount in the first stage to approximately 34,000 minutes per year or an average of 11 hours per week.

Television Zagreb

TV Zagreb encompasses a wide variety of programs. The information section includes a field of data on social, political and cultural subjects in the socialist Republic of Croatia, and throughout the whole country. After taking over the technical coordination of Eurovision news for the requirements of all stations in the country (September 1, 1967), and after the introduction of its TV Journal (October 1, 1968), this station also became an important

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part of more frequent unilateral transmissions of special reports from abroad. During the past few years this station greatly developed the network of its own correspondents abroad (New York, Bonn, Rome, Prague, Moscow) who regularly send reports on events from those regions. These arrangements were successful, although made in a very short time, and the news programs have become more interesting and comprehensive than in previous years. Mrs. Neda Ostoić,⁵⁶ director of the department of research for TV Zagreb, made it clear during an interview, that news and information programs are aiming for diversity, especially in local reports. Opinions from the public show that topics dealing only on one subject, for example politics, lose their interest quickly, leaving void subjects of equal importance. The program has continued its activities in other forms of TV journalism, among which a special place is occupied by feature reporting and panel discussion on a variety of topics pertaining to the country's social, economic, cultural and sports life.

For many years now Television Zagreb has played a leading role in drama programs. A number of new dramatic works and adaptations have highlighted the reputation of already well known television authors. More effort is going into including the scripts of television playwrights. Some people also consider that the time is now ripe for "author television" in which the author and director would have a bigger say in production. The fact remains that writers

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of the older generation should be encouraged as well as younger ones, so that the drama repertoire will be more varied.

Popular music and review programs are also given special consideration in selecting the cultural program format. The well known series, "TV Magazine," has maintained its professional standard, without any significant variation in quality, and its director, Anton Marti, constantly keeps searching for new forms of television expression. Various other serial and individual broadcasts, as well as transmissions of famous festivals of serious and light music, especially in summer, add to the wide variety of programs of this kind, some of which have become important cultural events not only in Yugoslavia, but also abroad (Dubrovnik Summer Festival, Melodies of the Adriatic, etc.).

For some years now, Television Zagreb has been successfully producing educational programs. They are broadcasts on week-days from 9:35 a.m. to mid-day and are intended for children under school age, school children and some adults. This was done systematically in conformity with school programs. Information on TV school lessons were printed and sent to schools in advance. The Educational Boards of the Socialist Republic of Croatia participate ten per cent in the financing of these programs. Under present conditions, with poor technical school equipment, television is playing a role of growing importance in modernization and this is highly appreciated in the schooling system.

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There is hope that contributions from the communities will increase in order to provide for better financial resources.

Television Zagreb does not intend to substantially expand its programs in the near future. Instead it will concentrate on improving the quality of existing programs. Measures in this direction comprise above all structural changes in the production and broadcasting of programs in order to up-date working methods and techniques (more live telecasts) and to introduce new forms of experimental ventures by writers. Another topic under discussion is whether to present an event, such as sports, in its entirety. Edited portions may enhance the viewer's attention, meanwhile allowing more time to include other programs. Foreign films, many times being cheaper than domestic productions, have for the most part remained unedited. The criteria used in selecting foreign movies has been unsystematic and without challenge. As a result, the quality has been poor, leaving the audience without selection. Program directors hope that a better approach other than a monetary one can be implemented very shortly.

Television Ljubljana

The Slovenian Television program has recorded numerous achievements and innovations which will certainly serve as a sound basis for its further development. The news broadcasts have been transmitted since April 15, 1968. Considering the facilities of the Slovenian Television,

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the beginning was hard because of the language requirements of the Slovenian audience, and the vast needs of the socio-political, cultural and national society. As social and economic progress is made within the Republic, the development is reflected in daily reports. A series of other features include public and democratic discussions and panels, incorporating views from producers, socio-political workers, and philosophers. Educational broadcasts are purely creative and original according to the individual producer of each program. It was made clear by Lado Pohar⁵⁷ that the function of self-management be made apparent through these productions. As a result, educational programs have served as a mouthpiece to institute political philosophies within the classroom.

Television Ljubljana does not intend to increase substantially the scope of its program in the near future. The basic task of the program policy will be to further improve the quality of its broadcasts, and at the same time better the working conditions of production from Sarajevo, and the broadcasting of two programs; one created for the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the other for the rest of the country. A no less important event in the development of this station was when it announced program production in all the areas which comprised the rest of Yugoslav television. In order to express more completely the socio-political and cultural integrity of this Republic, total production was doubled in 1971 in relation to 1969,

and has kept a similar status through 1973.

The increase of production first appeared in the informative portion of the program schedule. During the last year, the second information broadcast "Evening Screen" (second issue) was introduced, as well as a series of interesting documentary programs, in-depth reports, and a series regarding contemporary cultural trends in the country and abroad. The independent "TV Journal" (daily news), was started at 8 p.m. The expansion was not limited only to the informative program; others included: children and youth broadcasts, children's quiz shows, "5 plus"; a humorous serial, "Karadoz," TV dramas, and several notable series from the field of education.

These goals were attained through concentrated efforts to supply the necessary staff. Television Sarajevo has employed a considerable number of young people, most of them with university training, and they also grant scholarships for studying at the Academies in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, thus training future directors, cameramen, producers, etc., or offering facilities for post-graduate students. In addition, a certain number of advisory boards are set up, encouraging a considerable number of writers and producers not permanently employed by the television companies to take part. This allows the professional and creative participation of society to develop television programs.

In 1971, the purchase of technical equipment and

instruments of various types was continued in accordance with the new and ambitious plans of the station. The first priority however, is the construction of a new Radio-Television station in which large studios must be built to accommodate the new equipment.

Television Skopje

During earlier years it was characteristic of Television Skopje to tackle every kind of television program, even those in which it had no experience. It was also successful in speedily introducing the original Macedonian language in the program, a need dictated by existing language differences. And so Television Skopje continued developing its program as an integral part of Macedonian social and cultural life. The goals have shifted in the last couple of years; instead of quantity they are aiming for quality with a limited amount of productions.

The information program of Television Skopje has covered all current social events both domestically and internationally. In addition to the broadcasts in Macedonian, an effort is being made to develop broadcasts in Albanian and Turkish. Their first task, however, remains in producing general information broadcasts "TV Vesnik," or TV Herald at 8:00 p.m., which is now on the schedule every week day. The other new program is "Macedonia Today," which is broadcast every day.

The recent scope of the art and entertainment

program, distinguished itself by encompassing numerous dimensions in its approach. Television dramas, children's broadcasts, musical programs are translated into a variety of languages and meanings. In the field of educational programs, Skopje has directed its endeavors toward those problems which could be of interest to a broad range of viewers. Although lacking any outside financial help, it has started developing certain aspects thus trying to help resolve the most urgent requirements of the Macedonian people. A series of broadcasts have been compiled, extracting unknown or misrepresented facts from the historical and cultural past, while a certain number of other programs are devoted to health education. A very notable series is "Family in Macedonia," which from the sociological point of view shows the transformation of the family from its patriarchal form into a modern form. Another successful series should also be noted: "Testimonies and Documents," dealing with various subjects and events from the Macedonian national and cultural history. Although none of these programs is intended for any special age group, there are broadcasts which encompass the interests of the young generations such as foreign language lessons (English and French). Well known scientists, university professors, or contributors from various institutes with whom Television Skopje had contracts for definite terms, take part in compiling the educational programs.

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Television Titograd

In the past Television Titograd took part in programs which filmed contributions from the studios in Belgrade. On October 27, 1971, this station organized, for the first time, direct transmission from the stadium in Titograd, the International Football match with Yugoslavia vs. Luxemburg. Soon after, on November 20, 1971, it transmitted the first information broadcast "News of the Day," and thus a new stage in the history of this station began. The program in 1971, amounted to 3,905 minutes, which is 50 per cent more than in the previous year. The format emphasized the areas of news and special reports from its own local region. One of the most important broadcasts is a chronicle "Through Montenegro," totaling events in the Republic's socio-political life, economy, culture, education, tourism, etc. The cultural review "Encounters," totaling 30 broadcasts, was conceived as a representative broadcast dealing with science, art and education. Various themes are considered, relating to Montenegro theater, literary meetings, discussions with well known scientists, biologists, painters, architects, musical pedagogists and other scientific and public professionals. In the category of musical programs, ambitions are very modest as there are no affirmed singers in this Republic, who could compete with well known names from other capitals, both in folk and serious music. Because of these reasons, a special type of music is

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cultivated in this region, such as folk melodies and music miniatures.

This station is only just beginning to develop. However, its presence in administrative organs and in the planning committees of the overall Yugoslav network is felt and respected as that of an equal member of the JRT community. In its further development Television Titograd will elaborate a program to supplement the production of other television centers, giving special attention to the specific needs of Montenegro, particularly in education and culture.

Television Under Construction

According to plan, the recent construction of the television network in Yugoslavia will be completed when the capital towns of the autonomous regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo have their own television studios. The natural process of such development requires the setting up of producing centers in larger towns, which will serve as the basis for producing a richer and more diversified program; thus enabling the expression of the cultural and historical tradition of the respective regions. The two previously mentioned studios of Novi Sad and Pristina are near completion.

Television Novi Sad

The first independent broadcasts are expected in

1974, but the construction of television studios as well as the complete purchase of the equipment required for independent work should be completed by 1977. At first the program scope will amount to 8.5 hours or 510 minutes weekly, and will be broadcast in five languages (Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovakian, and Ruthenian). In the beginning, all programs will be broadcast through the second channel of Television Belgrade. The program will cover information, culture, art, education and commercials. Unlike stations in other parts of the country, Novi Sad will face keen competition, as most viewers in this region will be able to watch four programs, from Yugoslavia and neighboring countries. This will require constant upgrading of productions in order to keep a high viewing percentage. However, in planning future work there has been a cooperative effort on the part of each region, because of the interest in the development of Vojvodina television. This cooperative spirit is consistent with all members of JRT; it is the continuation of the policies within the socialist theory.

Television Pristina

The first independent broadcast of the television studio in Pristina was this year 1973, for a duration of six hours weekly. The program includes information broadcasts 15.3 per cent of the time, various TV reviews at 31.9 per cent, education 30.7 per cent, and drama, music, culture, arts and all other categories 22.1 per cent. Such

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a program format is only temporary, and stems from the special conditions and needs of this part of the population. The number of TV viewers is very small, and therefore the general direction is to attract as large an audience as possible. The station broadcasts in Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish. The construction of a new center began at the end of 1972, with a goal of making its first broadcast in 1974.

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CHAPTER VII

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Programs are produced in three languages: Serbo-Croat, Slovene and Macedonian. In 1968, Television Belgrade began special broadcasts in Hungarian and Albanian for the national minorities in its Republic. Television Skopje also broadcasts its information programs in Albanian and Turkish. The use of Serbo-Croat is no longer so predominant in the joint Yugoslav program as it used to be in previous years.

All foreign TV films are translated into the above three languages, as well as drama and similar programs in which the text is of primary importance. Commentaries on nearly all sports events in the country and abroad are also broadcast in all three languages, and similar measures are planned if necessary when technical conditions allow. The former impatience of viewers in the literary and cultural circles who wanted the translation process to be expedited has now subsided. The fact remains that television has done more than any other institution to acquaint viewers with all languages spoken in Yugoslavia.

The schedule does not essentially change in the summer, but adapts to the summer activities of viewers.

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As a rule, there are no repeats during this season. More entertainment programs are shown, as well as more films, festivals, foreign shows, and summer events in general. The regular schedule only drops the educational programs, some reports, discussion platforms, and programs for children. Of the special programs broadcast over the summer period the most popular are televised in Koper ("Yugoslavia Sings and Dances"), in Ljubljana (Kmečka ohcet), festivals (Split 71, Omiš 71, Skopje 71, Summer song, Slovenian songs, Dubrovnik Summer Festival), etc.

General questions of programming cooperation among stations are handled by the JRT Program Board for Television, which comprises representatives of all television stations. This board meets regularly eight or ten times a year or as the need arises, and in its work follows procedures laid down by the highest organ--the Managing Board of the Yugoslav Radiotelevision.

The Television Program Committee of JRT, which is selected by the T.V. Board, considers the basic lines of the programming policy as a whole, compiles the joint program, approves joint projects and undertakings of all stations and ensures their realization. They also provide conditions of cooperation within the television program with socio-political, cultural, sports and other organizations in the country, as well as with television organizations abroad. They decide on matters of principle concerning the participation of television centers at

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international TV festivals, determine draft schedules for income and expenditures of the JRT Community in view of the TV program, and they review all other questions of importance for the development of the television program.

The role of this JRT organ has become even more substantial than in previous years, especially on the socio-political plan and in the further development of the programming functions of the television centers. Consequently all the programming and other activities that go beyond the limits of regular cooperation, and particularly those in which the name and funds of Yugoslav Radiotelevision are involved, must be considered by the JRT Managing Board.⁵⁸

In its activity, the Yugoslav TV Program Committee largely relies on the editors-in-chief of the television centers, who have to meet every month to settle current problems of common interest, choose the programs for the coming month, decide on the new programs which are transferred from center to center, work out the program format, and attend to coordination and discipline of specific productions.

In addition, there are also working groups of the departments which meet periodically to study questions which concern the work of various departments (political, film, drama, children's, sports, educational, musical, etc.). Finally, the TV program committee secretary is available to the committee together with service for news exchange by means of TV links, and a department for

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supplying all types of foreign films to television centers.

The television centers have set up special services for program exchanges with other countries. The scope of their work should particularly include program exchanges with foreign television organizations, co-production of programs, appearances at international television festivals, and general cooperation with foreign countries. Judging by the place given to these services in the organizational pattern of the television centers, it is clear that this activity has lately been given priority and that in subsequent years it will play a major role. Interstudio coordination of the work of these services is carried out through the Yugoslav Radiotelevision Secretariat in Belgrade.

Introduction of the second program and the program in color is being carried out, but all TV stations will not start broadcasting these programs at the same time. After a short experimental period Television Belgrade started officially with its second television program partially in color on December 31, 1971. In the spring of 1971 Television Ljubljana started broadcasts in color, which simultaneously, by the construction of a new transmitter, has enabled viewers to choose between the Slovene program and the broadcasts from the Zagreb and Belgrade Television.

The main objective of the second program is similar to the goals of our PBS, that is, a contrast to the commercial network. More educational programs should dominate the daytime hours, then entertainment and certain selected

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productions from abroad (taped and filmed). It is agreed that program II will require more cooperation between the stations because of the natural tendency to duplicate efforts and content. There are expectations that the second program will resolve the problem of successful broadcasts not being aired due to insufficient time and space. So far, this alternative choice has proven to be successful. Audiences are taking advantage of both UHF and VHF channels, although the quality of productions on the second program seems to be the focus of criticisms. Producers are still considering the effort as experimental so changes are constantly occurring.

The production of television films is underdeveloped. Although the first series of domestic films have appeared and have won popularity among the public, this kind of feature is still lagging behind other forms of TV activity and world TV organizations. This is one of the reasons why a large number of these series are imported from abroad. Because of their fixed duration, TV serials are widely used, since they permit easier program scheduling and planning. The establishment of a better technical base for sound in the production of these films remains one of the biggest tasks in the immediate future, but this is dependent upon the stability of financial resources. Attempts to arrange the production of such features with Yugoslav film companies have not produced many worthwhile results. Lately however, there has been a slight increase

in the number of locally produced films, possibly because of the appearance of the second TV program.

Yugoslav television cooperates with a number of foreign television organizations by exchanging their programs with foreign broadcasts. Yugoslav Radiotelevision is a permanent member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), and of Eurovision. In addition to this, Yugoslav Radiotelevision participates as an observer in the work of the Council of Intervention, the other European organization that combines the television networks of the socialist countries. Cooperation with the members of Intervention has been fruitful, and further growth depends primarily on the establishment of good quality TV links with Hungary, and parts of Czechoslovakia, which would permit direct relays of programs.

The schedule of the Yugoslav joint television program has not changed significantly within the last three years. It has proved itself satisfactory and sufficiently flexible to seasonal demands as well as to changes in the character and duration of new programs; it has shown itself capable of handling special events and broadcasts which interrupted the regular program schedule. The following logs give an example of the content of joint program scheduling from year to year; this schedule was released from the Yugoslav Radio and Television staff.⁵⁹

Program Schedule in December 1971Cities and Number
of BroadcastsMonday

04:45 p.m.	Cultural Panorama in Hungarian	Bg 52 broadcasts
05:00 p.m.	Elementary Education	Bg 26
05:30 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:40 p.m.	Puppet Show	Zg 16, Lj 13, Sr 10, Sk 13
06:00 p.m.	TV Kindergarten	Zg 52
06:15 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:30 p.m.	Science	Sr 11, Zg 15, Bg 26
07:00 p.m.	Commercials	
07:05 p.m.	Young People Performing for the Young Ones	Sr 13, Zg 13, Lj 7, Bg 13, Sk 6
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	TV Drama	Bg 22, Zg 23 Sr 6, Tg 1
09:35 p.m.	Commercials	
	Confidentially on Mondays	Zg 13
	Objective 350	Zg 13
	Film, Theater and ...	Zg 13
10:25 p.m.	TV Journal II (daily news)	

Tuesday

09:35 a.m.	TV in School	Zg 34
10:45 a.m.	Russian Language Lesson	Zg 34
11:00 a.m.	Fundamentals of General Education	Bg 32
02:45 p.m.	TV in School (repeat)	
03:50 p.m.	Russian Language Lesson (repeat)	
04:10 p.m.	English Language Lesson	Bg 32
04:45 p.m.	TV Chronicle in Hungarian	Bg 52
05:00 p.m.	TV Review in Albanian	Bg 52
05:30 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:40 p.m.	Small World	Zg 26
	Binocular	Bg 26
06:15 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:30 p.m.	Cultural Inheritance	Sr 7
	Contemporaries	Sr 6
	Reportage	Sr 18, Tg 13
	From Dawn to Dusk (broadcast for Yugoslav Army)	Bg 13

Cities and Number
of Broadcasts

07:00 p.m.	Folk Music	Sk 7, Zg 13, Bg 13
07:20 p.m.	TV Mail	Tg 13, Sr 6
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	Zg 26, Bg 26
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	Feature Film	Bg 26, Zg 26
10:05 p.m.	Information Broadcast	Bg 12
10:25 p.m.	Portraits of Musicians	
	TV Etude	Zg 13

Wednesday

04:50 p.m.	Broadcast for Farmers in Albanian	Bg 52
05:05 p.m.	TV Chronicle in Hungarian	Bg 52
05:20 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:30 p.m.	Cartoons	Zg 26, Bg 26
05:45 p.m.	Popular Science Films	Bg 26, Zg 26
06:15 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:30 p.m.	Popular Music	Sk 13, Sr 13
		Zg 13, Bg 13
07:00 p.m.	Commercials	
07:05 p.m.	Culture Nowadays	Bg 13
	Science 1971	Bg 13
	Mosaic	Sr 13
	Encounters	Tg 13
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	Popular Drama	Bg 21, Zg 23, Sr 4, Tg 4
03:35 p.m.	Short Cartoons	Bg 26
	Serious Music Concerts	Bg 9
	TV Play	Bg 4
	Film Program	Bg 13
10:05 p.m.	TV Journal II	

Zagreb

09:35 p.m.	Feature Broadcast	Zg 39
	In the First Plan	Zg 13
10:05 p.m.	Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow	Zg 52
10:25 p.m.	Medallions (humorous broadcast)	Zg 13
10:25 p.m.	End of Program	

Cities and Number
of Broadcasts

Thursday

05:00 p.m.	Elementary Education (repeat)	Bg 26
05:30 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:40 p.m.	Broadcast for Children	Sk 26, Lj 26
06:15 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:30 p.m.	Folk Music	Sk 26, Zg 13, Sr 13
07:00 p.m.	TV Encyclopedia	Bg 52
07:20 p.m.	Humorous Broadcast	Bg 52
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	Talks on Topical Matters	Bg 33
	Vista	Bg 11
	Outstanding Personalities--	
	Portraits	Bg 11
09:30 p.m.	TV Film Serial	Bg 52
10:25 p.m.	TV Journal II	

Friday

04:40 p.m.	TV Chronicle in Hungarian	Bg 52
04:55 p.m.	TV Review in Albanian	Bg 52
05:25 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:35 p.m.	Children's TV Play	Zg 26, Bg 26
06:15 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:30 p.m.	Coctail	Bg 13
	Jazz	Bg 13
	Variety	Zg 13
	Music Journal	Zg 13
07:00 p.m.	Documentary and Feature Broadcast	Zg 52
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	Zg 17, Bg 17
08:35 p.m.	Singers League Competition	
	Quiz Program	Sr 4, Bg 4
	Adriatic Competitions	Zg 9
09:45 p.m.	TV Film Serial	Zg 52
10:35 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
10:55 p.m.	Open University	Bg 32

Saturday

09:35 a.m.	TV in School	Zg 34
05:20 p.m.	Announcement, TV News	
05:30 p.m.	Folk Music	Bg 52
06:00 p.m.	Information Broadcast	
06:15 p.m.	Children's TV Play	Bg 20, Zg 17, Sr 15
06:50 p.m.	Elementary Education	Bg 26

Cities and Number
of Broadcasts

07:15 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:25 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	Entertainment Music Broad- cast	Zg 17, Bg 12, Sr 1
	TV Transmission	Zg 10, Lj 2, Sr 3, Bg 5
09:35 p.m.	Feature Film	Zg 26, Bg 26
11:05 p.m.	TV Journal	Zg 26, Bg 26

Sunday

08:10 a.m.	Broadcast for Children in Albanian	Bg 52
08:25 a.m.	Škendija--Broadcast for Farmers in Albanian	Bg 52
08:55 a.m.	Furrow--Broadcast for Farmers in Hungarian	Bg 52
09:25 a.m.	Announcement, TV News	
09:30 a.m.	Folk Music (repeat)	Bg 13, Lj 13 Zg 13, Sk 13
10:00 a.m.	Broadcast for Farmers	Bg 26, Zg 26
10:45 a.m.	Commercials	
10:50 a.m.	Broadcast for Children (repeat)	Zg 26, Bg 26
11:30 a.m.	Children Film Serial	Zg 52
12:00 noon	Elementary Education	Bg 26
12:30 p.m.	Illiteracy Lessons	Bg 26
01:30 p.m.	Humorous Broadcast (repeat)	Bg 52
01:30 p.m.	Professional Education	Bg 16
06:00 p.m.	Commercials	
06:05 p.m.	Documentary Film	Zg 23, Bg 23, Sr 6
06:20 p.m.	Feature Film	Zg 23, Bg 23, Sr 6
07:50 p.m.	Commercials	
08:00 p.m.	TV Journal	
08:30 p.m.	Commercials	
08:35 p.m.	Humorous Broadcast	Bg 15, Zg 15
09:20 p.m.	Videofon	Zg 43
	Popular Music	Lj 9
09:35 p.m.	Sports Review	YRT
10:05 p.m.	Information Broadcast (from other studios)	Bg 26
10:50 p.m.	TV Journal II	

Several conclusions can be made from such a schedule. There is a high priority placed on educational

programs which include formal institutional learning as well as informal teaching. An acute emphasis is placed upon languages which points out the diversity among the cultures, and the effort being made to coordinate the various educational needs of the viewing audience. It is also clear from the number of broadcasts that Belgrade and Zagreb have taken the most initiative in providing a major access within the television medium to educating both children and adults. There is a strong desire to increase the number of the programs in the southern part of the country; areas such as Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia are extremely poor in educational facilities and would benefit from such an effort.

There is also a strong emphasis on cultural entertainment. Naturally, Yugoslavia is proud of its traditional talents in music and dancing, and they have taken advantage of television in transmitting a high degree of performing arts. This is a significant point because this awareness is consistent with the political themes which are in documents, speeches and amendments, that is, a constant reminder of the past, their heritage, their independence, their customs. These elements are factors which help contribute to the unity of a highly diversified country. Therefore the folk dances and music create a pride in the historical values of each republic.

Another major focus is the information broadcasts, which includes documentaries, TV Journals or daily news,

and special reports. Of course one of the most important goals of Yugoslav Radiotelevision is to inform and educate the masses. Rather than entertain and amuse its audiences, as with American television, there is a critical need to utilize every type of medium in upgrading the standard of living and thinking, especially in the underdeveloped regions of the country. There are daily broadcasts on current events, political policies, government reports, industrial problems, news and local affairs.

In 1971 JRT received from abroad 337 programs lasting 23,482 minutes in all (391 hours and 22 minutes) as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Programs from Abroad, 1971.

	Programs	Minutes
Eurovision		
Sports	121	13,673
Light music and entertainment	21	1,774
News	39	3,051
Unilateral programs from specific countries	<u>106</u>	<u>1,334</u>
Total	287	19,832
Intervision		
Sports	23	2,497
Light Music and entertainment	6	683
News	3	232
Unilateral	<u>18</u>	<u>238</u>
Total	50	3,650

Major transmissions received from abroad were:
 Apollo 14 (13 transmissions), European Figure Skating Championship, Zurich (5 transmissions), Pre-Olympic Games, Sapporo, Japan (4 transmissions), World Figure Skating Championship, Lyon (5 transmissions), European and World Hockey Championship, Bern and Geneva (16 transmissions), Visit of Josip Broz Tito to Italy (11 transmissions), Apollo 15 (13 transmissions), European Athletics Championship, Helsinki (6 transmissions), Children of the World, Celebration of 2,500 - Anniversary of Iran, Teheran, (4 transmissions), Visit of President Tito to the USA and Canada (10 transmissions), etc.

In the year 1972 there were several minor changes made in the program schedule. Times for specific shows varied each year, and a few additional productions replaced older serials from 1971. The American Embassy gave the following schedules outlined for 1972.⁶⁰

Program Schedule July 22-28, 1972

Saturday

1st program (VHF)

4:35 p.m. The news; 4:40 TV Comedy; 5:10 Athletics: Yugoslavia - Belgium; 7:15 An Actor is an Actor
 7:45 p.m. Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik - newscast
 8:30 p.m. Show program; 9:30 U.S. feature film with: Dean Martin, John Wayne; 11:30 Late news.

2nd program (UHF)

7:00 p.m. The Belgrade program; 8:30 Popular music
 9:30 p.m. The 24 Hours; 9:40 French feature film
 9:55 p.m. War songs (Yugoslav)

Sunday1st program

8:00 a.m. Albanian Farmer's program; 8:15 Albanian children's program; 8:30 Hungarian Farmer's program
 8:50 a.m. Hungarian cultural panorama; 9:15 The news
 9:20 a.m. Folklore; 10:12 Farmer's program
 10:55 a.m. Sesame Street - U.S. serial, rerun
 11:30 a.m. Lidsville - Children's serial, rerun
 4:55 p.m. Athletics: Yugoslavia vs. Belgium
 6:25 p.m. Peyton Place - U.S. serial; 7:45 Cartoons
 8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik - newscast; 8:30 Yugoslav serial film
 9:15 p.m. Musical program; 9:30 Basketball: European championship for juniors - finals
 11:00 p.m. Sports review; 11:15 Late news; 11:30 Next week's program

2nd program

8:30 p.m. Japanese feature film; 10:00 The 24 hours

Monday1st program

4:25 p.m. Hungarian TV Chronicle; 4:40 Albanian TV Review
 5:15 p.m. The news; 5:20 Chess - commentary; 5:40 Puppet show
 6:00 p.m. From children's books; 6:15 The news
 6:30 p.m. TV Mailbag; 7:00 Young people's program
 7:45 p.m. Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik - newscast
 8:30 p.m. Caravan; 9:00 TV Drama; 10:15 Late news

2nd program

7:15 p.m. Travelogue film; 7:50 Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik - newscast; 8:30 Young Ones in Action, serial;
 9:25 p.m. World Around Us; 9:40 U.S. feature film with: Shelley Winters

Tuesday1st program

5:15 p.m. Hungarian cultural panorama; 5:35 The news
 5:40 p.m. Children's program; 6:15 The news
 6:30 p.m. Scientific studio; 7:15 British serial film
 7:45 p.m. Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik - newscast
 8:30 p.m. From Yugoslav TV Studios; 9:15 McCloud - U.S. serial
 10:05 p.m. Late news; 10:25 Classical music

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Wednesday1st program

3:10 p.m. Hungarian TV Chronicle; 3:25 Albanian TV Review
 4:00 p.m. The news; 4:05 Chess - commentary
 4:25 p.m. Cartoons; 4:35 Lidsville - children's serial
 5:00 p.m. Basketball: Balkan Championship Yugoslavia
 Rumania; 6:30 Reportage; 7:00 Cartoons
 7:15 p.m. Entertainment program; 7:45 Cartoons
 8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik - newscast; 8:30 Kozara - Yugoslav
 feature film; 10:30 Late news

2nd program

7:00 p.m. The Belgrade program; 8:30 TV Drama
 9:28 p.m. The 24 Hours; 9:38 Musical program

Thursday1st program

4:45 p.m. Hungarian TV Chronicle; 5:00 Albanian TV Review
 5:35 p.m. The news; 5:40 Children's program; 6:15 The news
 6:30 p.m. Folk music; 7:00 Music; 7:45 Cartoons
 8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik - newscast; 8:30 NANA - French serial
 9:17 p.m. Jazz; 11:47 Late news

2nd program

7:00 p.m. The Belgrade program; 8:30 Krug - Information
 9:25 p.m. The 24 Hours; 9:35 Upstairs-Downstairs -
 British Serial

Friday1st program

4:25 p.m. Hungarian TV Chronicle; 4:40 Albanian TV Review
 5:15 p.m. The news; 5:20 Chess - commentary
 5:40 p.m. Concert; 6:15 The news; 6:30 Popular Science
 7:00 p.m. Folk music; 7:30 Cartoon; 8:00 TV Dnevnik--newscast
 8:30 p.m. Meetings; 9:40 On the Buses - serial
 10:10 p.m. Basketball: Balkan championship Yugoslavia -
 Greek; 11:30 Late news

There is no significant difference in the program content. The second program has appeared offering serials, films and local series. Naturally 1972 was considered a

transitional period for viewers to adjust to two programs rather than one. By looking at the format there does not seem to be a contrast to the existing channel but gradually programs are added on, allowing a wider selection, especially during the following year. In public opinion polls, viewers reacted enthusiastically to Program II, but the major criticism was in the quality of productions. When asked whether they preferred quantity or quality, the majority of those question requested better quality programming.

One other notice should be made in the content of programs during that year. The American serial "Peyton Place" was added and received with overwhelming ratings. The serial became so popular that it was said that families without TV sets would huddle around those that did; sometimes 10 or 12 viewers gathered at one time to see the episodes. It became the "hot topic" in social circles, fan mail flooded the studios in every region, and critiques were written in newspapers. Polls showed it to be the most popular program at the time. The series continued until February 25, 1973 when the last episode came to an end, not because of a concluding chapter, but because of a decision made by executive committees either in the government circles or television stations. The decision came as a result of the rising popularity to an American film which later became labeled, by politicians and the "intelligentsia," as a "petit bourgeoisie" program consisting of mediocre characters, plots and themes. The real

crux of discontent was pointed towards the political implications within the story. Specifically, the central characters were members of the working or middle class, those with enough money to live comfortably but not extravagantly. It was these characters who were weaving in and out of jail sentences, murders, adultery and crimes which are commonplace among the middle class. Through this theme, a political connotation was derived; American producers and writers were downgrading the "workers," depicting them as members of society who are unhappy and displeased with the system. It is doubtful that the majority of viewers looked at the program with this point in mind, however the decision makers found enough threat in the piece to take it off the air without discussion or explanation. Letters of disappointment were sent,⁶¹ television directors shook their heads in disagreement, and the public remained ignorant of the reason for the change. The question now arises, does the public have an input into programming decisions? This point will be discussed in a later chapter, however this provides a concrete example of the lack of coordination with the public, television professionals and members of the Communist Party, in deciding on definite policies towards programming.

The following year shows similar patterns in the amounts of serials, films, etc.⁶²

Program Schedule June 23-29, 1973Saturday1st program

2:45 p.m. The news; 2:50 World Kayak Championship
 3:50 p.m. Wrestling; 5:00 Handball: Yugoslavia vs. Rumania
 6:00 p.m. Belgrade Chronicle; 6:15 Children's program
 7:15 p.m. Steptoe and Son - British serial; 7:45 Cartoons
 8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik; 8:30 Children's Festival - Sibnik
 9:20 p.m. An American in Paris - U.S. feature film with
 Gene Kelly, Leslie Caron
 10:50 p.m. Late news

2nd program

7:56 p.m. Today's program; 8:00 TV Dnevnik; 8:30 TV Drama
 9:40 p.m. Interview with Jean Renoir
 10:30 p.m. George Gershwin Music; 11:00 The 24 Hours

Sunday1st program

8:20 a.m. Albanian program; 8:50 Hungarian program
 9:35 a.m. The news; 9:40 Folk music; 10:12 Farmer's
 program; 10:55 Children's program
 11:25 a.m. Children's serial; 2:00 p.m. European Kayak
 Championship; 3:40 Handball: Yugoslavia vs.
 East Germany; 4:15 Continuation of Handball
 4:40 p.m. European Kayak Championship; 5:40 Stens -
 Documentary film; 6:00 film program
 7:45 p.m. Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik; 8:35 Folklore
 10:00 p.m. Old Melodies; 10:15 Sports Review
 10:45 p.m. Late news; 11:05 Next week's program

2nd program

7:56 p.m. Today's program; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. Stage Fright - directed by A. Hitchcock with
 Marlene Dietrich; 10:00 The 24 Hours

Monday1st program

4:45 p.m. Hungarian news; 5:05 Albanian news; 5:40 The news
 5:45 p.m. Puppet Show; 6:00 Children's literature
 6:15 p.m. TV news; 6:30 Spectators and the TV

7:00 p.m. Youth program; 7:45 Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. The Cities; 9:00 TV Drama; 10:00 Late News
 10:20 p.m. Culture and the society

2nd program

7:30 p.m. Sports; 7:50 Cartoons; 7:57 Today's Program
 8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik; 8:30 Disneyland - U.S. serial
 9:20 p.m. Bounty Man - U.S. feature film with Clint
 Walker and Richard Basehart

Tuesday

1st program

3:30 p.m. Hungarian news; 3:55 The news
 4:00 p.m. Children's program; 4:30 Soccer - finals
 6:15 p.m. TV news; 6:30 Science program; 7:15 Folk music
 7:45 p.m. Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik; 8:30 Stop - Zagreb
 9:15 p.m. Star Trek - U.S. serial; 10:05 News; 10:25 Ballet

Wednesday

1st program

3:20 p.m. Albanian news; 3:30 Hungarian news
 4:00 p.m. Polish serial; 4:30 Soccer: Celik vs. Tatabanja
 6:15 p.m. Through Vojvodina; 7:00 Cartoons
 7:15 p.m. Youth program; 7:45 Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. Soviet feature film; 10:00 Feature story
 10:45 p.m. Late news

2nd program

7:56 p.m. Today's program; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. Musical entertainment; 9:30 Art in Yugoslavia
 10:00 p.m. Ballet program; 10:30 The 24 Hours

Thursday

1st program

3:45 p.m. Hungarian news; 4:05 Albanian news
 4:40 p.m. The news; 4:45 Children's serial
 5:15 p.m. Folk music; 5:45 Handball: Yugoslavia-
 E. Germany
 6:15 p.m. TV news; 6:30 Handball continued
 7:00 p.m. Panorama; 7:45 Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. The Karamazov Brothers - BBC serial
 10:30 p.m. Viva la Musica; 11:00 Late news

2nd program

7:56 p.m. Today's program; 8:00 TV Dnevnik; 8:35 Krug
 9:45 p.m. Cartoons - produced in Zagreb
 9:45 p.m. Serial film; 10:45 The 24 Hours

Friday1st program

4:45 p.m. Hungarian news; 5:05 Albanian news
 5:40 p.m. The news; 5:45 Children to Children
 6:15 p.m. TV news; 6:30 Art and the Nation - French serial
 7:00 p.m. Folk music; 7:30 Cartoons; 8:00 TV Dnevnik
 8:30 p.m. Dean Martin Show; 9:20 Gunsmoke - U.S. serial
 10:10 p.m. Late news; 10:20 Book review

2nd program

8:00 p.m. TV Dnevnik; 8:30 On 625 Lines - Sweden
 9:30 p.m. Informally - about students and schools
 10:00 p.m. The 24 Hours

As indicated, "Peyton Place" on Sunday evening was replaced by a film, from which country is not known. Schedules show that during successive weeks American films were played, and later, other foreign movies were interjected.

Political Information Program

In the general structure of the programs one of the important places belongs to the current affairs broadcasts and news broadcasts, which made up 28.4% of the total program in 1970, 32.3% in 1971 and has increased ever since. The most important among these are:

TV News (TV Belgrade)

TV Chronicle (TV Zagreb)

TV Review (TV Ljubljana)

TV News and TV Chronicle (TV Skopje)

Evening Screen (TV Sarajevo)

TV News of the Day (TV Titograd)

These are the first news broadcasts about the events of the day at home and abroad, with the addition of local news. These newscasts are televised by each of the above stations for its own area at 6:15 p.m. "Evening Screen" started officially on March 17, 1969. Starting on January 1, 1970, TV Skopje reshaped its first information block in the evening. Brief news items were introduced in the Macedonian language for a duration of five minutes and TV Chronicle in Albanian for a duration of 15 minutes. TV Titograd started its broadcast on November 20, 1971.

"TV Journal," the main evening newscast, gives full coverage of the events of the day, with commentaries, interviews, statements, etc. In earlier years this broadcast was prepared by TV Belgrade for the whole territory of Yugoslavia, in cooperation with other stations. In 1968, TV Zagreb and TV Ljubljana started broadcasting their own TV Journals for their own areas. At first TV Skopje broadcast its TV Journal twice a week (on Tuesdays and Saturdays) and on other days it took over "TV News" from TV Belgrade. On January 1, 1970, TV Skopje introduced TV Herald as its own main evening newscast at 8:00 p.m. every weekday except Sundays when it still takes over Belgrade's news show.

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The last evening broadcast repeats the most important news of the day and reports news which has come in during the evening.

TV Journal II (TV Belgrade)

Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (TV Zagreb)

Latest Messages (TV Ljubljana)

TV News II (TV Skopje)

Evening Screen II (TV Sarajevo)

Sarajevo's newscast officially started on January 5, 1970. The time for all broadcasting of the evening news is about 10:30 p.m. Outside of formal newscasts there are several informal informational programs. "Time Machine" (TV Belgrade) consists of old films which elaborate on points of interest from various countries of the world, prepared by special TV reporters or by private individuals during their travels.

Then there are broadcasts devoted to the topical problems of social, economic and cultural life with the participation of well known figures in political and economic life, workers, students, and other citizens.

Topical Talks (TV Belgrade)

Vista (TV Belgrade)

Portraits of Well Known Figures (TV Belgrade)

Dialogues (TV Zagreb)

"Sports Review" covers a synopsis of sporting events of the day, broadcast every Sunday from 9:35 to 10:05 p.m., in which all the TV stations participate directly. "From

"Dawn to Dusk" (TV Belgrade) is a series devoted to life in the Army, and to questions submitted by the public. This is shown once a month, on Tuesdays at 6:30 p.m. "Broadcasts for Farmers" include farming news, giving technical advice and film stories from the International Farming Magazine, which are exchanged among the members of Eurovision. This broadcast is prepared alternatively by TV Belgrade and TV Zagreb, every Sunday from approximately 10:00 to 10:45 a.m. "TV Mailbag" (Belgrade), and "Technical Advice to Viewers" (TV Zagreb), consist of viewers' opinions of programs and of TV in general. These programs are prepared alternatively by TV Belgrade and TV Zagreb for the Serbo-Croatian area, every Monday, while TV Ljubljana and TV Skopje have their own broadcasts of this kind for the viewers in their local language area.

The news departments obtain their material from their correspondents in all the country's major cities, also from abroad in Paris, London, New York, Moscow, Rome, Bonn, Prague, Beirut. The sources of filmed materials are Eurovision, the television agencies VISNEWS and UPTIN, and lately CBS which supplies daily news clips with the necessary film footage via airmail.

Culture, Science and Art Programs

The cultural programs during 1971 took up 3,047 hours or 32.9% of the total schedule. One of the basic concepts of TV programming in Yugoslavia is that they should

be designed for all sections of the population. Through this exposure it is hoped that audiences will increase their interest as well as knowledge in the cultural field. Credit is given to television which has tried to become sensitized to new cultural trends in the contemporary world. The current effort is to reach the younger people; authors are trying to avoid the conventional and boring methods of story telling, and producers are constantly seeking creative means to enhance the cultural performance.

Drama

During the last two years television showed a large number of modern works, classical drama and live broadcasts from theaters as well as original plays written for television. In contrast to previous war themes and events which happened years ago, the writers of TV plays are now more and more turning toward contemporary life. There is an emphasis on psychology, love and social themes which are light enough in plots to keep the unsophisticated viewer interested. The national scripts are written mainly by young authors who are just now obtaining recognition through television.

The drama programs are broadcast on Monday and Wednesday evenings, allowing a different style to be shown each night. Monday is devoted to serious drama which covers the best up to date works of both classical and contemporary writers who are world known. Wednesday is reserved for

melodrama, sentimental love stories, etc. The editors are hoping to bring the programs to the top of the popularity list, through providing such repertoires as "Great Trials in History," which updates historical memoirs and documents. Cooperation between the theater and television have been successful thus far. Many theatrical performances were successfully shown on TV, from the main city theater as well as in small towns. Furthermore, television continues efforts to produce and adapt some performances in its own studios. Fragments of plays, dialogues and monologues from the repertoires of the national theatrical companies were also frequently shown in various forms with the participation of well known actors and commentators by theater directors.

From time to time anthologies of television dramas are published serving as an exchange system to meet the current requirements of individual stations.

Programs for Children and Youth

Children's and youth programs totalled 529 hours or 5.7% of the total TV program. These include plays for young people, special broadcasts for children, serials and animated cartoons. There are regular broadcasts in which children are told in words and pictures about subjects in science, engineering, history, art, sport, school, and children's organizations. In addition, many foreign children's films and animated cartoons were televised to expose them to talents and cultural differences abroad.

Films

According to statistics in 1971, films accounted for 100,562 minutes or 18.1% of the total programs. All types of films are imported from abroad or made by Yugoslav cinema enterprises, but this category does not include films made by television corporations.

The number of minutes of programs shown in individual stations are as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Programming of Individual Yugoslav TV Stations.

	Belgrade	Zagreb	Ljubljana	Sarajevo	Skopje
Feature films	7,231	7,260	15,185	511	15,592
Serials	5,324	3,960	7,179	2,503	8,810
Cartoons	1,583	2,340	686	106	928
Children's serials	217	1,380	3,824	227	1,464
Children's animated cartoons	917	300	2,211	--	736
Popular science	590	720	7,471	--	1,297
Total:	15,862	15,960	36,566	3,347	28,827
	minutes	minutes	minutes	minutes	minutes

It is evident that the minute duration of films shown in Ljubljana and Skopje is proportionally larger than that of other stations. This is due to the fact that other

languages are spoken in the southern regions of Slovenia and Macedonia, so that all films are broadcast several times, each with a different sound track, whereas the stations of the Serbo-Croatian regions broadcast films in accordance with the agreement and the determined schedule from Belgrade or Zagreb. It can also be seen from the table that Sarajevo broadcasts a limited amount of films for the Serbo-Croatian region. Minute duration mainly refers to films broadcast only for viewers in the territory of this Republic.

In an endeavor to raise the artistic value of the films, the selection process reaches for the best works by Yugoslav documentary film makers, many of which have already gained notable recognition abroad. Besides the regularly scheduled films, there are also special features presenting them in a collage form. For example, there is a series "Screen on the Screen" (TV Zagreb), made up of sections from well known Yugoslav and foreign films with suitable commentaries, interview, etc. It has been running for years, and the public is still watching the series with unabated interest. The program also shows films during their production including the process of shooting, and film festivals. Problems of national cinematography are also discussed.

Most of the feature films and serials shown on television are foreign produced, mostly American. This is largely due to the international market in which the USA

has available the largest inventory of old films. In order to vary the film repertoire as much as possible, not only in subject matter but in national origin, measures have been taken to extend the importation of films to other European and overseas countries. Success has been achieved in this regard with Polish, German, Swedish and Canadian films. As a result of these measures, the share of American films has recently decreased.⁶³

Education

The total duration of these broadcasts remained the same during 1970 and 1971, at 63,641 minutes or 11.5% of the total program. However, since that time there has been a significant increase as efforts to produce quality shows with more creative input from educators has been placed as a high priority. School television is mostly broadcast by Radio Television Zagreb, which has been specializing in this field since 1960. The total educational program of this station was 32,100 minutes or 21.5% of its total production in 1971. A school program was broadcast every day, and was repeated in the afternoons for the pupils who attended school at different hours. The approach is formal, with the goal to convey a determined amount of knowledge to the audience in a limited amount of time. The basic purpose of this approach is to make the program a part of the classroom thus contributing to the efficiency of learning techniques.

To rate the effectiveness of classroom television a survey was made with the participation of teachers as well as students using the system. The results showed that 86% of the pupils and 82% of the teachers watch school broadcasts, although not regularly. This shows a positive indication that the system is being utilized and will continue to be a helpful learning device.

In 1971, the total duration of the education broadcasts by Television Belgrade was 16,462 minutes, or 12.6% of the total program. The production emphasis was more oriented towards general education, although broadcasts of a more specific nature have appeared recently. The approach of TV Belgrade was somewhat more innovative than in Zagreb. An effort was made to include the participation of the student, to work as a team in finding the answers, and arousing curiosity. The basic criterion used in programming was the level of education of participants, that being divided into three categories: elementary school pupils, elementary education of adults, and viewers with secondary or higher education.

Efforts have also been made in Television Ljubljana and Television Skopje, which have their own specific needs. At the end of 1971, Sarajevo also started broadcasting its own regular program intended for pupils and teachers of elementary and secondary schools. (These broadcasts are not devised entirely in accordance with the school curriculum and include additional academic information.) Thus they

are intended for supplementary education with more extensive insight into the history and literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The basic question of financing educational television programming has only been ad hoc and unsatisfactory. With only one channel, television used to cater to the interests of its subscribers, providing general programming rather than specialized productions. But the demands are growing and the financial resources are minimal. Other than income from subscribers, efforts have been made to solicit contributions from republican, educational, and other institutions, but donations have been minimal. Research is under way to finance the further development of educational television so that it may become a more effective part of the general educational system.

Commercials

In 1971, commercials took up 6.2% of the total broadcasts which represents a decrease of 2% in relation to the previous year when it was 8.2%. Commercials were broadcast in the local programs except in special cases when the television stations agreed on exchanging them. In such cases the income from commercials was shared among all the stations which televised a particular kind of commercial in their area. The money obtained from commercials is believed to represent 15 to 20% of the total revenues of stations. In some cases advertising during

one telecast is the main source of funds for obtaining TV rights. Although commercial broadcasts are very attractive to television stations from the financial point of view, it is generally considered by the programming staff a distraction from the continuity of one program leading to another. The consensus is to minimize the number of advertisements allowing enough time for the impact of the message to reach the audience; redundancy and lengthy themes are undesirable.

Commercials are broadcast in scheduled blocks, quiz formats, sports, and intermissions. In addition to those advertisements which are approved and organized, there are those which have not been formerly agreed upon. Lately, a new form of unpermitted advertising is becoming more frequent: those during the broadcast of pop festivals. Using television as a medium but without previous agreement, the organizers of these performances announce a series of their sponsors thus securing for themselves considerable financial means. The programming staff is very concerned over the growing problem, but as yet no solution has been reached.

The law neither forbids nor restricts advertising by television. There are periodical demands in the representative bodies, that certain restrictions should be introduced, such as, the promotion of tobacco and liquor. Restrictions on the advertisement of liquor have recently been enforced, but few doubt whether the same will be applied to tobacco.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL OPINION TOWARDS PROGRAM CONTENT

Public opinion polls are gathered by a variety of sources. The most popular source in Belgrade is the Daily Barometer, an institution kept completely autonomous from the television departments. The research staff is directly hired by Television Belgrade to analyze the public's reaction to program content on a daily basis. They are financially supported through the individual companies or stations which hire their services, although there is a desire to significantly expand their market to all communications media, i.e., publishing companies, newspapers, etc.

The research staff consists of both full time and part time sociologists and students. The full time staff are experts in the fields of sociology, psychology, research methodology and content analysis. Part time personnel are mostly students who perform the interviewing, which is conducted personally from door to door. Surveys are made quarterly totaling about 1,000 viewers who participate in the questionnaires. The results of the surveys are distributed upon completion to 250 editors who then base future programming decisions upon the direction indicated

in the analysis. However it is the feeling of the majority of staff members within the institute that very little is done on the part of program directors with the study that was so expensive to produce. Analyses are thrown into files, not to be recirculated to the audiences until two years after the original publication. This lack of feedback to the general audience is extremely detrimental to the process of encouraging input from the viewers as well as from professionals. Whether this policy is intentional or not, the quality of programs will remain limited until all available resources are utilized.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, interviews are conducted, surveys are completed, and the published results continue to indicate trends of public thought; yet the popularity of programs continues to fluctuate with the political climate, the economy, and the local interests of the day.

One of the most helpful studies done on content analysis was completed in 1972 on the reactions towards Program II. It was realized at the outset that public reactions would not be as positive towards the second program, as towards the first program, the reason being that Program I had a ten year start and has recently gone color.⁶⁵ The study revealed that people were initially motivated to watch the first series of Program II because of heavy promotion in the newspapers. However, television producers anticipated a poor turnout in the number of viewers because they were not sure whether the whole

territory of Serbia could receive the program. Besides, an additional UHF converter needed to be purchased and sales of these devices did not show a significant increase before the first airing date.

It was concluded that the people who watched the second program were viewers with a higher educational background, the reason being that simple variety shows and feature films which were shown on Program I became boring or uninteresting to those with cultural interests. Of those that watched, opinions ranged from disappointment to excellent as follows:

35% excellent program

11% good

44% fairly good

3% little interest

7% completely disappointed with program.

There were some constructive suggestions for improvement, although again opinions were diversified, and of various percentages:

1. Asked for less differentiation; programs should combine politics, culture and films together instead of long time intervals devoted to each segment.
2. Asked for the whole spectrum to be more diversified.
3. Would like the number of cultural programs increased.
4. Would like more educational shows.
5. Would like more sport.
6. Should satisfy the intellectuals.

Of the intellectuals, 70% asked for programs with more

variety, suggesting that the direction should include both the educated and uneducated audiences.

51% of the intellectuals thought programs should be more amusing and lighter in themes.

36% wanted programs to be more serious in comparison to Program I.

13% thought that Program II should be similar to Program I.

The conclusion among the intellectuals was that the appeal of Program II would only draw a specialized audience, however it was hoped that efforts would be made to interest viewers with a variety of educational levels and interests.

Audiences within Belgrade felt there was insufficient coverage of local news. As a result, people turned to Program I for this information. Once this opinion was made known, producers made an effort to incorporate in-depth local affairs which increased the number of viewers significantly. When asked what the critical element was in deciding whether to choose Program I or II, the overwhelming response indicated that the feature films on the first program made it more appealing to continue watching that show. All of this only signifies that there is strong competition between the two and it is a matter of time to let the audiences become accustomed to two selections.

Perhaps the persons who seem the most concerned about the quality of programming are the television professionals. However their concern is not often publicized and their discussions are kept secret. In a meeting held in December, 1972, it was originally decided that the comments

would be broadcast in the informative television programs.

Three reasons were given for the elimination of this plan: (1) Comments on programs stayed secret with program directors, (2) there was not any influence of the public towards the program, (3) the producers couldn't decide about the destiny of their work.⁶⁶

Many of the opinions were published nevertheless, in Nin, the daily political newspaper. One comment relayed the concern that "television could easily become prey of various monopolies and could produce an 'ideal' atmosphere which is not in the best interest of society."⁶⁷ The chief director of informative programming, Dušan Mitević, did not agree with these doubts. When the commission complained that it was not the responsibility of TV programmers to make decisions regarding its political speakers and subjects, Mitević quickly made the point that

one of the greatest weaknesses of our tv is our satiation of information about political reports consisting of boring forums in which television itself doesn't appear as the subject. This leads to confining programs into local spheres.⁶⁸

Mitević was referring to the fact that television has six or seven daily informative programs, which is more than enough politically. This creates the opinion from the viewers that television is a medium only for political exchange, rather than culture, education and entertainment. Milan Kovačević, a television editor, agrees and believes that there must be a way to be more creative about politics, after all, "every American television program is very political, even though there is no specific mention of politics."⁶⁹ Another member of the commission, Vuk Krnjević,

said that foreign programs are of poor quality, that 50% of the films and serials are foreign shows. "This leads to the 'Peytonization' of our programs." Krnjević is referring to the serial of "Peyton Place" which has gradually become a synonym for everything that is bad in programming. Mitović again disagrees and feels that "Peyton Place" was professionally done and of good quality. "It's not the mediocrity of 'Peyton Place' but rather the mediocrity of many Yugoslav television programs which creates these ideological questions." He went on to explain that domestic programs were the only way to withstand the bad influence of foreign programs. Using some statistics he pointed out that in a period of several years the production of programs increased 34% but there was a need for 42% in order to fill the time. In addition, Mitović feels there is no dichotomy made when providing a program for the general public and for a specific audience. There is unloyalty between Program I and Program II, a lack of concern for what each is trying to accomplish. He concluded by saying that it seems evident that television is not in tune with the times.

In another meeting the same year with the League of Communists of the Belgrade radio and television, the basic subject centered on the question of leadership and conformity to the policies within the LCY. It was believed that Belgrade radio and television had not contributed to the revolutionary spread of nationalism, and that the content in no way contradicted the philosophies of the

Socialist Republic of Serbia. However, the media was not without faults. It seems that radio and television stations

have not been fighting against concrete phenomena and vehicles of nationalism, especially great Serbia; that communists here have succumbed to the pressure of the liberal atmosphere. They have not sufficiently fought against the penetration of trash, petty bourgeoisie, consumer mentality, pro-western entertainment and commercial programs.⁷⁰

Again reference was made towards the "Peytonization" of programs which concealed them behind the screen of "modern trends." Specific mention was made towards the education of socialism, and how this direction was not being pursued enough on the part of the media. There should be more effort to

enrich the existing programs with the introduction of new ones in order to serve in a Marxist and communist way, to the development and consolidation of the self-management, democratic socialism, in the multi-national and united, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia.⁷¹

It was concluded that the Belgrade radio and television must be open to the public, above all to the working class.

In January 1973 a new plan was developed to create a medium for critics via the newspapers to criticize television programs. The programs included were those broadcast from all centers throughout Yugoslavia, including Program I and II. These articles were published in the newspapers of: Borba, Illustrovana Politika, Politika, Književne novine, Komunist, Nin from Belgrade, Vjesnik, TV news, Nova Makedonija from Skopje, Oslobodjenje from Sarajevo as well as Svet, and Večernje novosti from

Belgrade.⁷² There was diverse opinion written in the journals; opinions ranged from comments about regional shows to local ones.

The above journals agreed that the first program was of poor quality. The critics feel that this was due to unavailable funds for the directors in order to make a more attractive program. They explained that all the centers in Yugoslavia should contribute to make this program more understandable and entertaining. A suggestion was made for well known entertainers to help better the quality, because the program drew the largest audiences. Some of the critics feel that the program should be eliminated altogether. Particular mention was made of a unique and unusual broadcast on Program II entitled "Do You Believe in God?" Several interviews were conducted by television journalists asking people if they believed in God and why. The program served as a warning to certain social and political parties because many of the answers were "yes." Perhaps this is an indication that these institutions are not as influential as they ought to be-- too many people go to church and believe in God.⁷³ The critics felt this was a brave effort to ask such delicate questions because most people are afraid to give responses to these points on television. The critics also felt that this show should continue, that interviewers should seek out people's opinions on subjects such as this.

Overall, Program I elicited the following comments:⁷⁴

Dramas are in a crisis. More should be done by Yugoslav writers; they should be more original. Illustrovana Politika

Music has a sufficient number of programs, but the majority of them were "light." There should be more folk and national music as well as more serious themes. Politike

Films: All the films that were shown at the film festival at Belgrade should be shown on television because the audience is interested in the old as well as new.

Education programs were not equally represented. There should be more educational shows for youth on adolescence, etc.

Informative: Critics feel that the cooperation between all television centers was good. The shows they mutually decided to transmit were in good taste, throughout the territory of Yugoslavia.

Sports: Lack of programs on mass physical culture. They did not use doctor's opinions on the sport, no medical background or explanation about the usefulness of the sports. The portraits of outstanding sportsmen were done very well.

The critics were most severe in their comments towards the second program, however, they feel that it has potential. There were suggestions on localizing the music shows, making the sports more versatile, and particular emphasis was placed on mutual cooperation between television centers throughout the country.

The critical question remains regarding the direction the media will follow, based upon proposals, public opinion polls, and countless numbers of meetings. There is an ideological, political, practical, or experimental emphasis which could be chosen. Based upon reactions from students and the younger generation⁷⁵ it is hoped that a practical approach will be taken. This means more current themes

in films, plays and locally produced programs. A constant up-dating of information regarding politics, education, and documentaries needs to be sought. Specifically, old World War II battles with Nazi Germany, which dominate every Yugoslav film, need to be minimized or eliminated. What happened twenty years ago, the victories as well as the struggles, should have its place in history, but it does not provide for creative programming and only creates apathy towards the military and politics.⁷⁶ This attitude was felt not only by the youth, but was also articulated by the general audiences. People feel that they must dwell upon the era of peace and progress rather than war and its devastating costs. From a more political point of view the general consensus is that it is important for the people of Yugoslavia to remember the contributions made by Marshal Tito during World War II, to recall the sacrifice of thousands of fellow Serbs, Croats and other republicans. This is what builds pride and unity towards a great country; patriotism should never be forgotten, but must be constantly renewed.⁷⁷

As the League of Communists grows in numbers and influence, and with external pressure from President Tito as well as party members within radio and television, one can anticipate the direction the media must follow. If the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia is going to reach its goals, it must utilize every source and instrument it has to make those plans work. In a projective proposal for

1974 and 1975 television programming⁷⁸; it was decided to infiltrate political themes throughout the content. This was inspired by the wish that the "TV media must become, in a more active way, a means to struggle against all the weaknesses and deviations of our society."⁷⁹ The article indicated a hope for closer cooperation between all Yugoslav TV centers including the new additions of Kosovo, Vojvodina, Novi Sad, and Pristina. In a section of the proposal entitled "What Is New," the following comment was written:

More attention will be on the period of World War II, the heroic struggle of the partisans, and the history of the worker's movement. Marxist education and philosophy will also receive greater priority.⁸⁰

In reference to specific programs, ground work is being laid for the information programs to "become more objective, but will obtain [sic] a harder line on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia." The daily shows will have more commentaries on the workers, scientists and cultural endeavors of writers who promote the ideologies of democratic socialism. For example, there will be a documentary entitled "Journal Program"; "Reflector," which explains actual themes of the socialist system; "Eyes to Eyes," talking between politicians and workers; "White Book," contact with other countries; "Program for the Field Workers," demonstrations of new technical machinery for agriculture; "Culture Today," joint effort to combine politics and culture; "Television and the Spectators," dialogues between television viewers and the critics within television.

There does seem to be an effort to include the audience in program content. However, many professionals agree that public opinion is not given enough consideration in the decision making process. Whether they will correct this tendency remains to be seen. The conclusion that may be made is that the intent on the part of the party is to decide what is beneficial for the Yugoslav society, in reaching the goals of the government. This above all is the first priority and the media serves as an efficient instrument in achieving that goal. It is hoped by American journalists that the system will encourage more creativity in the writing, reporting, and producing of programs. Yet if one studies the trends of recent developments, one may readily agree with Dan Morgan, Washington Post correspondent in Belgrade.

Yugoslav intellectuals are complaining bitterly (but privately) about a climate of McCarthyism since President Tito halted a long period of political liberalization last fall. There are daily accusations against sociologists, philosophy professors, writers, poets, book publishers and movie directors. Works that won literary awards only a year or so ago have been publicly condemned, as have the juries that selected them.

Older Communists and veterans have led the way in smearing and attacking the younger intellectuals who have dealt critically, and sometimes irreverently, with the early postwar events in this country. Liberals are disheartened by what they fear is the end of a long period when works seemed to be judged more on their literary and artistic merits than on their political content.

In general, Yugoslavia's intelligentsia has not played as active a role in pressing for political reform and wider freedoms as have their counterparts in less free Soviet-style countries. Few people here

believe that writers represent a threat to the regime of President Tito. For this reason there is speculation that the anti-intellectual wave may be evidence of an internal power struggle within the League of Communists.

Secrecy has been imposed on internal political developments, so the dimensions of this struggle are difficult to gauge. All that can be said with certainty is that intellectuals make easy targets for political elements maneuvering to restore strict party control and ideological uniformity. Liberals fear that the current pressures may result in a sharp turn towards cultural mediocrity.⁸¹

This mediocrity will affect the quality of television programming, providing less incentive for producers to continue to fight for higher standards. If audiences' opinions are neglected, and psychologists are discouraged, thorough research indicating trends and attitudes of viewing audiences will be discarded. But western influence continues to provide competition in the sense that the Yugoslavs do not want to be left behind. Priorities in Yugoslavia should be devoted to domestic programming in order to inform and educate their people, but the advanced technical skills used by other countries should be shared and taken advantage of; this includes audience evaluations and program content analysis. Only through cooperation and utilization of all their resources can Yugoslavia provide quality service within their information media.

FOOTNOTES

¹Facts About Yugoslavia; pub. Yugoslav Review, NIP Borba, Belgrade; pp. 58-59.

²Ibid.

³Šoškić, Budislav, The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the System of Socialist Self-Management, pub. the Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade, pp. 30-32.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Srdjan Sokolović, former journalist for Yugoslavia's national wire service, Tanjug; guest lecturer at Universities of Washington, Oregon, and Stanford, and currently acting head of the Department of the Institute of Journalism, Belgrade.

⁶Letter from the President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the LCY. Released by Yugoslav News Agency Tanjug.

⁷Ibid., p. 8.

⁸"LCY Sponsors Meeting on Information Media Tasks," Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT, Belgrade, December 15, 1972.

⁹Ibid., pp. 15-16.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹Politika, a daily national newspaper, published in Belgrade.

¹²"December Debates," Tanjug, op. cit., 0945 GMT, December 15, 1972, p. 19.

¹³"Conclusions Approved," Tanjug, op. cit., 0800 GMT 16, December 15, 1972.

¹⁴"The Press in Authoritarian Countries," Quoted from IPI Survey, International Press Institute, Zurich, 1959.

¹⁵K. Kempers, "Freedom of Information and Criticism in Yugoslavia," Gazette, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1967, p. 317.

¹⁶Raymond H. Anderson, New York Times correspondent in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, "Colder to U.S., Warmer to Russia"; "Return to Ideology Bewilders Yugoslavs," New York Times, Jan. 20, 1973, p. 5.

¹⁷The Constitution of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter SFRY), Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade, 1963, p. 16.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 37.

²⁰Ibid., p. 25.

²¹Vecernje novosti, Belgrade, Feb. 28, 1972.

²²"Press Must Remain Free and Independent, Yugoslav Communists Maintain," Radio Free Europe Research, Report 1427, May 30, 1972.

²³Radio Belgrade domestic, Feb. 21, 1972, 0600 hrs.

²⁴"Session of Main Committee of Union of Journalists of Serbia," Politika, Dec. 6, 1972, p. 6, col. 3.

²⁵Ibid., p. 6.

²⁶"Ribicic Discusses Tasks of Communist Newsmen in Slovenia," Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovena, 1400 GMT 17, Jan. 18, 1973.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"Yugoslav Newsmen," Tanjug, Rijeka, March 9, 1973.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰"Report on Joint Session of the Presidium and the Executive Committee of the Slovene SAWP in Ljubljana," Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovena, 1400 GMT, Jan. 26, 1973.

³¹"Action Program of the League of Pressmen of Yugoslavia Energetically Against Ideas Strange to Self-Management," Report released from IX Congress of LCY on June 10, 1973; Voice of America, Belgrade, clipping from press file.

³²Tanjug, Belgrade, Nov. 14, 1972.

³³Reuter, Feb. 2, 1973, Belgrade.

³⁴Reuter, July 25, 1972, Belgrade.

³⁵Reuter, Oct. 6, 1972, Belgrade.

³⁶Duško Otok, former Washington Post correspondent to Moscow, 1970-73; currently stationed in Belgrade.

³⁷Robert G. Kaiser, from Moscow, "A Dispatch that Could Not be Printed in a Soviet Newspaper," International Herald Tribune, July 13, 1972, p. 4, col. 5.

³⁸Politika, May 27, 1972.

³⁹Anderson, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴⁰Jugoslav Radio and Television, JRT Yearbook 1971/72. Issued by the Institute of Journalism, Belgrade, p. 142.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., p. 143.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 144.

⁴⁵Mr. Šundrica, director of Television Dubrovnik, Interview conducted July, 1973.

⁴⁶JRT, op. cit., p. 146.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Privredni pregled, Belgrade, September 29, 1972. Included in Radio Free Europe Research Files, "Yugoslavia: Communications Media," August 23, 1973.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Šundrica, op. cit.

⁵¹Information gathered through explanation by television staff, Zagreb, August, 1973.

⁵²Ibid., Belgrade.

⁵³Ibid., Ljubljana.

⁵⁴Data for Tables 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d were taken from JRT, op. cit., pp. 421-24. Accountable data for 1972 has not yet been published.

⁵⁵Lado Pohar, director and founder of research department, TV Ljubljana.

⁵⁶Neda Ostoić, director of research department for TV Zagreb, Rade Končara 217.

⁵⁷Pohar, op. cit.

⁵⁸JRT, op. cit., pp. 293-94.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 296. Abbreviations signify city of broadcast: Bg, Belgrade; Zg, Zagreb; Sk, Skopje; Tg, Titograd; Lj, Ljubljana; Sr, Sarajevo.

⁶⁰Ronald Sher, director of Information Services, American Library--branch of American Embassy, Belgrade.

⁶¹Anna Barbić, Institute of Sociology in Philosophy, Ljubljana.

⁶²Sher, op. cit.

⁶³Mira Kun Bročić, head of foreign selection of programs, Barometer Research Institute, Belgrade.

⁶⁴Ana Šomolo, researcher for Daily Barometer; interview June 26, 1973.

⁶⁵"The Audience and the Second Program," Jan., 1973, pub. Daily Barometer, Belgrade.

⁶⁶Bogdan Tirnanić, "In Front of the Face of the Public," NIN, daily newspaper, pub. Belgrade, Dec. 12, 1972.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰"Meeting of the Communists of Radio Television Belgrade," Politika, Wednesday, Dec. 6, 1972, p. 12, col. 3, Belgrade.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Professor Milorad Djuric, "Critics in Newspapers," pub. Daily Barometer, January, 1973, Belgrade.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Private interviews with families throughout the country regarding personal opinion towards television.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., politicians.

⁷⁸"Plan of the Program for Television Belgrade, 1974/1975," Politika, June, 1973.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Dan Morgan, Washington Post correspondent, "Yugoslav Liberals Mourn Tito's Crackdown on Arts, Letters," The Detroit News, Thursday, Oct. 25, 1973, Section 10-B.

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