



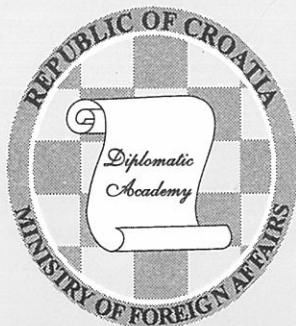
International Seminar  
within the Framework of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

# PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND MEDIA

Dubrovnik, Croatia

14 - 15 April 2000

University of Zagreb  
International Center of Croatian  
Universities, Dubrovnik



Diplomatic Academy  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of  
the Republic of Croatia

# **D i p l o m a t i c   A c a d e m y   Y e a r – b o o k**

CENTRAL EUROPEAN INITIATIVE

International Seminar  
within the Framework of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

**Public Diplomacy and Media**

Dubrovnik, Croatia  
14 - 15 April 2000

**Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia**  
**Diplomatic Academy**  
Zagreb, 2000

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## Diplomatic Academy Year-book

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## Foreword

The year-book "*Public Diplomacy and Media*" contains proceedings from an international seminar, which was held under the same title in Dubrovnik, 14 – 15 April 2000, under the auspices of the Central European Initiative (CEI) and within the framework of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. The Seminar was organised within the framework of the CEI Network for Diplomatic Training by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia in co-operation with the University of Zagreb - International Center of Croatian Universities, Dubrovnik. It was co-sponsored by the Austrian, Croatian and Greek Foreign Ministries, British "Know How Fund", U.S. Embassy in Croatia, OSCE (ODIHR), Dubrovnik County and City authorities as well as by some Croatian enterprises.

The seminar consisted of plenary sessions - "Public Diplomacy and Its Role in Foreign Service", "Role of Media in Democracy", "Foreign Policy and Media in the Stability Pact Process" and "Wrapping Up of the Seminar", a round table on "Relations between Diplomacy and Media – Diplomats and Journalists Working Together" as well as workshops on "Image Making", "Putting the Message Across Effectively" and "Interviews, Crisis Management". It was attended by 71 diplomats, journalists and other experts for media and international relations from twelve CEI member states, but also from Belgium, Estonia, Great Britain, Greece, Switzerland, the United States of America and Montenegro, as well as from four international organisations (CEI Executive Secretariat, ECMM in Bosnia and Herzegovina, International Red Cross, OSCE).

The Year-book contains 14 articles presented during the Seminar about a number of relevant issues in the field i.e. how a number of actors in the contemporary international environment changed the international arena, where apart from governmental and expert organisations, NGOs are also very active; how development of democracy and civil society is the only possible environment for freedom of the media, but also for international and diplomatic communication; how globalisation influence traditional diplomacy; importance of public diplomacy in creating foreign policy; how public opinion influences foreign policy creation; importance of co-operation between journalists and diplomats; role of diplomacy and media in the process of democratisation; establishment of confidence and stability in the South Eastern Europe.

The Year-book also contains authorised discussions held during sessions and a round table which shows dilemmas and challenges that both diplomats and journalists face in the course of their everyday work, but also some thoughts of how to enlarge a common ground in order to make work of both more professional and substantial in informing the public without compromising rules of each profession.

Having in mind the aforementioned, the idea of authors and editors is that this Year-book becomes an additional source of ideas, experience and knowledge, useful both to diplomats, journalists and scholars involved in the field of diplomacy and media training. The overall activities of the CEI Diplomatic Training Network, including specialised conferences and seminars held under the CEI umbrella with different framework, such as in this case Stability

## Diplomatic Academy Year-book

Pact for South Eastern Europe, set an inspiring background for the continuation of such international gatherings with published proceedings, where experts in the field meet not only to exchange ideas and opinions about current situations, but also to identify future needs of diplomats. This is especially important in today's rapidly changing world where a diplomat is faced with new challenges every day in the course of his or her work.

In this respect, Croatia and its professionals, namely the Croatian Foreign Service, are eager to continue with their contributions to the theory and practice of modern diplomacy, especially regarding countries in transition of Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe as well as their further and wider international networking.

Dr. Mladen Andrlić, Ambassador  
Assistant Minister

**Report**  
**on the International Seminar**  
**“Public Diplomacy and Media”**  
**Dubrovnik, Croatia 14-15 April 2000**

1. The International Seminar “Public Diplomacy and Media” was held within the framework of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe First Table on Democracy and Human Rights in Dubrovnik on 14 and 15 April 2000 as one of the activities of the Central European Initiative (CEI), but also as a contribution of the Republic of Croatia to regional co-operation, confidence building, cross-cultural awareness and stability as means for further integration into European processes. It was organised by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia in co-operation with the International Center of Croatian Universities, University of Zagreb. It was supported by the CEI Secretariat (EBRD), OSCE (ODIHR), Austrian and Greek Foreign Ministries, British “Know How Fund”, U.S.A. Embassy in Zagreb, Dubrovnik County and City authorities as well as by Croatian enterprises “Atlas”, “Croatia Airlines” and “Zvečevo”.

2. The seminar was attended by 71 diplomats, journalists and other experts for media and international relations from twelve CEI member states, but also from Belgium, Estonia, Great Britain, Greece, Montenegro, Switzerland and the United States of America as well as from four international organisations (CEI Executive Secretariat, ECMM in Bosnia and Herzegovina, IRC, OSCE)

3. The seminar was opened by the special envoy of the Croatian Foreign Minister, Assistant Foreign Minister, Dr. Mislav Kukoč, who emphasised the importance of co-operation, partnership and interactivity in this part of Europe in an increasingly globalised and interwoven world. The Deputy Director-General of the CEI Secretariat Ambassador Mr Anton Rupnik conveyed the position of the Heads of Government of the CEI member states at their annual meeting in Prague in 1999 that the CEI Diplomatic Training Network (CEIDTN) and traditional diplomatic conferences organised by the Croatian MFA’s Diplomatic Academy with their contribution to better co-operation among the member states, have become regular CEI activities. The Seminar was greeted also by the County and City authorities as well as by the organisers.

4. Main points that were discussed at the Seminar could be summarised as follows: a number of actors in the contemporary international environment changed the international arena, where apart from governmental and expert organisations, non-governmental organisations are also very active; development of democracy and civil society is the only possible environment for freedom of the media, but also for international and diplomatic communication; changes in traditional diplomacy in present trends of globalisation; importance of public diplomacy in creating foreign policy; influence of public opinion on foreign policy creation; importance of co-operation between journalists and diplomats; role of diplomacy and media in the process of democratisation; establishment of confidence and stability in the South Eastern Europe.

5. The working part of the Seminar began with *the first session Public Diplomacy and Its Role in Foreign Service and Role of Media in Democracy*. The first presentation was by Croatian Assistant Foreign Minister Dr. Mislav Kukoč, who emphasised the 'public face' of diplomacy, which has to explain to the public traditional activities of diplomacy and foreign policy. He also stressed that it is important for Croatia that after the elections as an open European country striving towards full membership in the European Union, to be able to contribute to its image with its new foreign policy. In other presentations and discussions it was pointed out that public diplomacy has to be an integral part of foreign policy creation. The important role of diplomacy and media, was stressed, especially in turbulent areas such as the region covered by the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, where it is important "to serve the public and not national interest".

6. *The second session Foreign Policy and Media in the Stability Pact Process* emphasised that media are "mirror of the society" and will always reflect the society and provoke commentaries, but the dilemma is whether diplomats and journalists should work together or just co-operate. Greek co-ordinator for the Stability Pact Ambassador Spyros Dokianos pointed out that Stability Pact presents an important chance for countries in the region and these young democracies that have started to improve their way of life should not be let down.

7. *The round table Relations between Diplomacy and Media - Diplomats and Journalists Working Together* began with the presentation of the Croatian Deputy-Foreign Minister Dr. Vesna Cvjetković-Kurelec who pointed out main characteristics of the development of democracy, rule of law and development of civil society in Croatia to help it reintegrate to the democratic family of European nations to which it has always spiritually and culturally belonged. She has given an example of competent implementation of foreign policy through thorough knowledge of diplomacy and communication skills by reminding the audience of the efficient diplomacy of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Participants at the Round Table also discussed co-operation between diplomats and journalists in the interest of democracy because both professions are responsible to the public. It is essential that diplomats build a sincere and open dialogue with journalists and preserve their credibility. Although it may seem that diplomats and journalists pursue different agendas, because the former have to look after the interests of foreign policy, while the latter seek information and facts, there is between the two, enough leeway for co-operation.

8. The seminar was concluded by *three workshops*. The first one was held by public relations consultant from Brussels Richard Linning about the effective transmission of messages to target groups. It was also concluded that communication between diplomats and journalists should be open and mutual trust has to be established. Lois Bianchi, media expert from the United States of America, tried to make both diplomats and journalists understand each other better by a series of short interactive simulations where they had exchanged their roles. The last workshop conducted by Professor Pavao Novosel and Dr. Smiljana Leinert Novosel focused on good communication, verbal and non-verbal as well as on image making in the professional world.

## REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND MEDIA"

9. *At the third and final plenary session* Ambassador Dr. Mladen Andrlić, Director of the Croatian MFA's Diplomatic Academy, pointed out to some of the conclusion of the Seminar, which for the first time gathered diplomats and journalists in this part of Europe. All goals set have been achieved – professional networking of diplomats and journalists, exchange of opinion and ideas between the two groups especially during the round table and discussions after presentations. Having in mind a valuable content that has emerged from this seminar, proceedings will be published and will be useful literature for both diplomats and journalists. It was also emphasised that a follow-up, for which Stability Pact - Task Force on Media of the First Working Table as well as the Council of Europe have already shown interest and would like to actively participate in, could go into at least two main directions, which will not be parallel, but intertwined. One would be focused on diplomats and challenges they have to face that will be further discussed at the traditional CEI diplomatic conference in Dubrovnik in October, but also in different seminars for diplomatic training, for which one of the channels will be the CEIDTN. The other direction that could be followed is one focused on journalists and media experts and could be implemented together with the International Centre for Training Journalists in Opatija, Croatia. Our joint projects would be directed to improve the awareness of journalists for the need to co-operate with government officials, especially diplomats and to find a common ground between the two groups.

## Opening Address

*Mislav Kukoč*<sup>1</sup>

Distinguished guests, dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I may welcome you today as a special envoy of the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, Mr. Tonino Picula. Let me also convey his satisfaction that this valuable gathering of diplomats, journalists and other media experts from thirteen Central European Initiative member states as well as five other countries and eight international organisations interested in the issue of public diplomacy and media is held particularly here in Dubrovnik, which is also a cradle of centuries-old diplomacy. Furthermore, the seminar as an international venture can be also seen as an additional contribution to the overall network of diplomatic activities and reconfirms Dubrovnik as an appropriate diplomatic venue.

This seminar in organisation of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, that is held as part of the CEI activities within the Stability Pact framework is also a part of Croatian contribution to the First Working Table on Democracy and Human Rights. Moreover, it is for the first time in this part of Europe that both diplomats and journalists are gathered together, which shows the need for both groups to work together in a globalised world, where co-operation and not competitiveness among states is essential as well as partnership and interactivness.

Having all this in mind, I hope that this gathering will enable an effective exchange of opinion and provide further contribution to better understanding between diplomats and media. It will also contribute to confidence building and cross-cultural awareness in this part of Europe as well as networking of professionals in order that a traditional mistrust primarily based on single national interests gives way to co-operation and interdependence already present in developed democracies and set out as goals of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We obviously live in an interdependent world where all have to work together, which also goes for diplomats and media, who share a common ground and have a responsibility to correctly inform the public about policy issues that will affect their lives. I also hope that a follow-up of this seminar will result in similar gatherings that will increase mutual trust so that we could progress towards achieving the ultimate goal of serving the public in a most democratic way.

Having all this in mind, let me conclude by wishing all the best for our work in the two-day seminar and ending on this note, I proclaim this seminar open.

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<sup>1</sup> Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

# Public Diplomacy and Media

*Vesna Cvjetković -Kurelec<sup>1</sup>*

Distinguished guests, dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I may greet you today not only in Croatia, but especially in my hometown of Dubrovnik at this gathering of diplomats, journalists and other media experts organised by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

Hoping that most of you have already been acquainted with the centuries-old diplomacy of the Republic of Dubrovnik, let me remind you that the first written document of the Dubrovnik diplomacy can be found already in 1272 in the Dubrovnik Statute, stating the role of envoys and the need to establish diplomatic courier service, while the codes dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain many provisions on the structure and organisation of the diplomatic and consular service.

The importance of well-conducted diplomacy can be well documented when Dubrovnik was recognised as a part of the West Mediterranean in a written document issued by the French court in 1760, thus obtaining a most privileged status at the time. The Republic of Dubrovnik was also among the first to recognise political independence of the U.S.A., indeed, according to some fragmentary evidence, it was the first country to officially do this, while Croatian language was recognised as one of the official languages of diplomatic communication in Constantinople at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

This proves that Croatian historical diplomatic tradition has always been orientated toward its neighbours and co-operation and it is along these lines that in today's globalised world we are proud to continue.

International relations, foreign policy and diplomacy are connected and intertwined and have to be formulated as one whole, which is best done within the foreign ministry as a focal point regardless of current ideas about international relations, because modern diplomatic practice shows that the effectiveness of co-ordination amounts to the clearness of policies that take into account all factors. It is absolutely impossible in today's world where interactivness and partnership are basis for co-operation to create foreign policy in any kind of isolation.

The very obvious result of this constant co-operation in diplomacy is growing multilateralism and thus the diplomatic agenda of today has become "total" and transnational and good co-ordination becomes the only way to cope with it. In order to obtain efficient co-ordination, timely and relevant information is necessary. However, the present-day constant flow of information, makes it difficult to cope with, but on the other hand it is a must. This requires from diplomats analytical mind and expertise in order to sift through and to get to the essential part necessary for their contribution to policy-making.

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<sup>1</sup> Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia



Having all this in mind, the instantaneous accessibility of information and events, has left political leadership without a luxury to take time to formulate positions, because media needs prompt reactions. It is both the duty of the political leadership and those who implement policies, diplomats in case of a foreign policy, as well as the media to inform the public. Consequently, in order to make work easier for both groups it is essential that the mutual trust and transparency be established between government officials and the media.

As Croatian leadership has shown in the year 2000, consistent and transparent policy at home results in responsible and justifiable foreign policy, which is recognised as such both by foreign governments and the media. Changing an image of a country is a long-term process, but it can be based only on responsible foreign policy and promises that are carried out. Croatia is heading full-speed towards democracy, rule of law and building of civil society, which will result in its closer integration into the democratic European family of states to which it has always spiritually and culturally belonged. But, this also supposes a responsible media policy so that journalists can have unimpeded access to information and government officials have to articulate policies in the most efficient manner so that the public is always fully informed. On such basis trust between government officials and the media can only increase.

Ladies and gentlemen,

This is also a reason why modern diplomats require communication skills, as they need in a most efficient way to present foreign policy and explain positions on a number of issues aiming at general public, but also reaching to key opinion formers and decision makers. They need to be trained in this direction, but they also need to understand the work of the media and it can be done by gatherings such as this one, which will enable an effective exchange of opinion and result in better understanding between diplomats and media, which will also contribute to confidence building, cross-cultural awareness and networking of professionals.

In this respect, I hope that this seminar as well as other international activities held within the CEI framework will effectively contribute to the goals highlighted in the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. Conclusions of this seminar, particularly its follow-up to be held within the CEI Diplomatic Training Network, should certainly be an additional input for better regional, all-European and international understanding, stability and development.

Let me conclude by saying that this will in the long run result in a new world order based on universally accepted principles and the necessity of all parts of the world to form a whole as countries should recognise that their particular interests cannot be stronger or more important than the preservation of the new world order and that no country big or small would be able to isolate itself or exist outside the new world order. In this way the new world order would be a worthwhile path to undertake by all countries where diplomacy would also have its place in developing and promoting ideas of peace and co-operation.

Hoping that further exchange of views and ideas at the forthcoming roundtable will provide additional results to this fruitful gathering, let me thank you for your attention.

# Public Diplomacy: The Challenge for the New Croatian Foreign Policy

Mislav Kukoč<sup>1</sup>

What is diplomacy; which are its task and responsibilities? Talking about the essence of diplomacy, about the relationship or the difference between traditional and modern, so-called public diplomacy, the question is if diplomacy has essentially been changed much through time, or not. Diplomacy is often defined as a multidisciplinary job. First of all, throughout the history the most important role of diplomacy is to represent ceremonially and socially its country. Beside the role of a representative, diplomat has also the role as a negotiator, co-ordinator between various experts, communicator, observer and analyst, and finally adviser to his own government, as well as to businessmen and experts from different fields. It is important to note that diplomacy is a profession, which integrates both theory and practice, and, according to new challenges, diplomats need to adjust their "tools" and learn how to use them effectively.

Traditionally, diplomacy is defined as a "closed shop". That means that diplomats usually see themselves "as having a special responsibility for the security of the country". In that sense diplomacy is ironically marked as "the world of the honest spy", and diplomat as a "licensed spy", or as "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country". Even the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word 'diplomatic' as 'uncannily deceiving'. In the media we can often find characterisation of diplomacy made in this way, i.e. "This communiqué is full of what diplomats call skilful language and the plain man calls lies".

These are attributes of old traditional diplomacy from the past. But we are living now in a brave new world, building a new world order which intends to create an image of itself, an image which is so typical for all epochs with self-interpretation, in a way, as a new perfect, even eschatological age.

This wishful self-reflection of our modern (or post-modern age) presupposes 'politically correct' preferences, as co-operation not competitiveness, importance of common and shared values, interdependence of nations as part of supranational bodies, decentralisation of power, thriving democracies, reconciliation and balancing of national interests, cosmopolitan considerations of an international political order, in one word, globalisation, a magic word, the brand new phenomenon, which is seen as a foundation on which foreign policy has to be based in the modern (or post-modern) world. By the way, I am not sure that everybody unanimously accepts this uncritical positive comprehension of globalisation, at least not violent demonstrators from Seattle and Davos.

Of course, this self-reflection of the actual new epoch, the new age, asks for change of the role of diplomacy, abandoning the old traditional diplomacy, and creation of so called public diplomacy with superior means of projecting this new trend.

In the contemporary world of global communication no profession can be conducted far from the public eye. Naturally, diplomacy is no exception. The essence of diplomacy does not change much through time, but means how to achieve its goals do.

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<sup>1</sup> Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

Diplomats need to possess traditional abilities to inform, analyse and negotiate, but they must also develop communication skills in order to meet challenges of the new post-industrial, information society. However, a diplomat today more and more needs to explain in public traditional activities of diplomacy and foreign policy, what he could yesterday keep in secret. A well-designed and thought-through policy towards media is nowadays part of the well-carried out foreign policy; co-operation is the basis for conducting foreign policy in a globalising world, which is certainly recognised by the media and rewarded by supportive public opinion.

An example of good co-operation on basis of common interests and goals is certainly the Central European Initiative (CEI) within which framework this conference is also taking place; the CEI member states, following good examples of its member states who are also EU members - Austria and Italy, have so far co-operated in a number of fields, and this diplomatic co-operation initiated by the Diplomatic Academy of the Croatian Foreign Ministry with regular diplomatic conferences each autumn and the CEI Network for Diplomatic Training, has been stressed in the Final Document of the Heads of Government in November 1999.

It is also important that Croatia becomes an active participant in its image-making in order to position itself as an open European country and a part of the global family of nations, particularly the full member of the European Union which is the most important goal of the new Croatian foreign policy. In order to achieve this, it needs clear priorities and strategies, which the new Croatian government has set forth both in its home and foreign policies; *bona fide* information and credibility start at home and the right relationship with media is something which has to be constant and which a contemporary democracy is measured against.

In this sense, processing of information in "media storm" is very important, because diplomats need to analyse events in order to contribute to position making. They also need a constant and timely feedback from the policy-making people, so that coherent position can be presented to the public through media, with the purpose to sensitise all parts of government, including diplomacy, towards the importance of public opinion.

The last ten years of an authoritarian policy of the late president Tuđman and his government produced an economic disaster in Croatian society and international isolation of Croatian State. The ruling party control of the media, particularly the state TV, produced such international isolation. With the brilliant victory in the recent parliamentary elections, at the beginning of the new millennium, the coalition of six democratic parties: SDP, HSLS, HSS, HNS, LS, and IDS, replaced the Croatian Democratic Union from power and established the new coalition government. The Prime Minister Ivica Račan comes from SDP, as well as the foreign minister Tonino Picula. The second strongest party of the ruling coalition, HSLS has the vice-prime minister Goran Granić. Deputy minister Mrs Vesna Cvetković-Kurelec and I represent this party in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As the new assistant minister I will coordinate a new department which is going to be established as a sort of the 'Think tank' of the Ministry. We intend to make political analysis and propose strategy for the new Croatian foreign policy with the purpose to promote the policy of the new direction, which is so undoubtedly welcomed in the whole democratic international community. From this point of view we will try to improve Croatian diplomacy as well. On the other hand we will also propose to cut irrational expenses, and so to accommodate Croatian diplomacy and foreign policy to the restricted state budget and impoverished economy.

At the end of my presentation I will express my hope that our project will not finish in the same way as the following example, mentioned in the paper "The Role of the Diplomat", presented by the distinguished British diplomat Professor Stanley Martin at the Dubrovnik Conference of the Diplomatic Academy two years ago: "A few years ago in Britain we had a team in the government which was called the 'Think Tank'. It produced a very critical report of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service as they were then constructed and it suggested that there should be far fewer missions abroad with many more experts flying out. Well, the Foreign Office fought back in defence of what one would call traditional diplomacy and, of course, I am happy to report that the 'Think Tank' was abolished two years later. As far as I know, the Foreign Office is still there!"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Stanley Martin, "The Role of the Diplomat – Past and Present", *The Role of Diplomacy in Countries in Transition with Special Emphasis on Education and Training*, Diplomatic Academy Year-book, Zagreb, 1999, p. 22.

# Public Diplomacy and Its Role in the Foreign Service

*Allen L. Docal<sup>1</sup>*

Good morning. It is a pleasure for me to participate with all of you this morning in this conference dedicated to Public Diplomacy and the Media and what role Public Diplomacy plays in the conduct of Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. As it was mentioned at the introduction, I am the PAO - Public Affairs Officer, at the American Embassy in Zagreb. And no, we have not changed our titles to PDOs - Public Diplomacy Officers. We remain PAOs.

What I thought I would do this morning as part of this panel dedicated to Public Diplomacy and its Role in the Foreign Service - is to spend a few minutes on where Public Diplomacy stands within the Department of State and the American foreign policy apparatus and then some time on what would be a typical day or week for us in Zagreb - some of the issues we may cover and how we would handle them.

I am a Foreign Service Officer of the United States, and work for the Department of State. So ultimately, Madeleine Albright is my boss. But unlike my colleagues who might be consular or political or economics officers, I joined the Department in a somewhat different way than the norm. I entered through the consolidation door. I'll explain.

When I joined the Foreign Service almost fifteen years ago - after a career in the private sector - I joined an organization, which no longer exists, namely the United States Information Agency - USIA. In most places outside of the United States it was better known as the United States Information Service - USIS. A quick aside as to why on that. The primary reason for the difference between being USIA at home and USIS abroad is that USIA as an acronym - when translated into many languages, gets uncomfortably close to the acronym for another one of our well known agencies - CIA. Thus it was decided some years ago to change the name to Service overseas.

The United States' first foray into information activities abroad - namely press and cultural programs - actually dates back to World War I - when President Wilson created what became known as the Creel Committee but was actually called the Committee on Public Information - CPI. I will not dwell on the years through and to the end of World War II but variations on CPI continued such as the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Co-operation (SCC) within the State Department in the late 30's, the establishment of what became the VOA - the Voice of America also in the 30's, the President' Committee on International Information Activities in the late 40's etc.

USIA/USIS as we knew it was established in 1953 by President Eisenhower under the authority created by the Smith-Mundt act of 1948. The independent agency - which when it was established its director reported to the President through the National Security Council - and not to the Department of State - encompassed all of the information programs, including VOA, that were previously in the Department of State ... except for educational exchange programs.

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<sup>1</sup> Public Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, Zagreb, Croatia

I mention VOA, which started as radio and eventually incorporated some television programming - and the Smith-Mundt Act because one of the interesting things about the law, which is not widely known in the U.S. or abroad - is that it specifically prohibited the use of materials, programs, literature, etc. prepared by USIA or by VOA - to be disseminated within the United States. When the law was written - after World War II and at the beginning of what came to be known as the Cold War, those in Congress did not want what they considered to be "propaganda" to be used by the government towards the American people. Unlike the general population in Britain who can and do listen or watch the BBC or in Germany to Deutsche Welle or in Croatia to HRT, the average, every day, run of the mill American has never, ever listened to VOA. One cannot get it except in some parts along the East Coast on short wave radios. That is, Internet aside. The law still stands, VOA - in any version - is NOT aired within the U.S. And as I will explain in a few minutes, adhering to the spirit of the Smith Mundt Act became a critical element on where public diplomacy stands today within the State Department.

But back to USIA. It prospered from the '50's through the '80s, it took on more responsibilities, including the exchange and educational programs such as the Fulbright Program. Officers like me became Press Attaches or Cultural Attaches or Public Affairs Officers in every American Embassy and Mission throughout the world. Our functions then, as now, were varied: press conferences and the Washington File, speakers and now the electronic journals, academic and professional exchanges, international visitors programs, arts and cultural exchanges, etc. I suspect that some of you may, at some time or another, have received, been exposed to, listened to or viewed some program, American exhibit, printed materials, etc. that was prepared by USIA or perhaps have been the recipient of one of our exchange or visitors programs.

For the sake of time this morning I will jump ahead a number of years and fast forward to the present. I'll be happy to answer any questions concerning USIA and its past in the question and answer session or during the breaks.

By the mid-1990's three or four factors started exerting pressure on where USIA was headed and on the development of public diplomacy within the American Foreign Service community.

First and foremost, the fall of the Berlin Wall signaled the end of the Cold War. The need for free flow of information, for correcting the misinformation of Communist regimes and institutions was perceived to have diminished.

Secondly - we had our own Revolution in the U.S. - a different kind of revolution - but one that impacted greatly on many public programs, foreign affairs among them. Namely, the success of the Republican Party in controlling both houses of Congress in the elections of 1994, the rise of Newt Gingrich and his Contract With America, and the public demand for smaller government, less expenditures, what was called then a "peace dividend" and more of a focus on domestic issues. If there had to be budget cuts - one place to start was in the foreign affairs budgets since for the average American it would have absolutely no impact and yet savings could be generated. One early casualty of some of these cuts were the traditional American Libraries which many of you may have seen or frequented in your



respective countries. They began to close by 1995 or so. If I am not mistaken, the one in Zagreb was actually the very last one to remain open in all of Europe - and they were replaced by what are known as IRC's - Information Resource Centers.

Third factor - the electronic information revolution, the explosion in technology, satellite communications, instant information. What some in the press have called the CNN Factor. And Bill Gates and the Internet. No longer are foreign policy issues or debates restricted solely to government officials, or Ministry staffs or the possibility or desire to make and implement policy behind close doors. Evelyn Lieberman, who is the Department of State's first and current Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs - her full title and another one of my bosses - has stated "Diplomacy wears an increasingly public face." Global media, CNN and the Internet, multinational interest groups and NGK's influence the thinking of leaders, legislatures and the public in virtually every country around the world.

By late 1995, some members of Congress, led primarily by Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, who was the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, started discussing - some might argue more than just discussing - the possibility of reorganizing the Foreign Affairs agencies, eliminating several, including ACDA, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, USAID, the United States Agency for International Development and USIA To be incorporated within the State Department. There were versions of the legislature debated - but never enacted in 1996 and 1997. Finally in 1998 the Foreign Affairs reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 was signed by President Clinton in October of that year. Under the law, USIA was abolished effective October 1 1999, (for those who might be interested, ACDA was abolished as of May 1999 and USAID remains as an independent agency but some of its functions were and are, being transferred to State). All of USIA's functions - except the International Broadcasting Bureau which oversees VOA and some television programming, were integrated - consolidated is the preferred term - into State. IBB became an independent Agency as of October 1, 1999. You now understand why I said at the beginning that I entered State somewhat differently than many of my Embassy colleagues.

Let's go back to the Smith-Mundt Act. Because it has not gone away. In the discussions that ensued over 1998 and into 1999 leading to October 1 of last year, one of the most important - and legal - issues that had to be resolved were the requirements of Smith Mundt that the U.S. public not to be the recipient or the audience for the U.S. Government's information and public diplomacy activities.

However, at the same time, the Department already had an established Public Affairs Department - which in fact was the office that Jamie Rubin and those who preceded him headed. But who was or is PA's main audience? Primarily the U.S. media who cover the Secretary, the Department, international relations and related issues, based in Washington and writing for American newspapers and magazines. So USIA - let's call it Public Diplomacy from now on - could not just be merged into State's existing PA -but had to be protected and firewalled in order to adhere to Smith Mundt. Very little could cross over from one to the other.

Again, I am jumping ahead - what was decided ultimately was to create a Bureau of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs - to be headed by one Under Secretary - which is extremely high in the Department's organizational chart since there are only 6 of them. Public Diplomacy does have a seat at the table in policy formulation and I would argue - and this is totally my own personal point of view - that we may have more of a seat today - as part of State - than we did as USIA. If nothing else, we are now collocated - we moved into the State Department and are not across town in Washington. As we say in the U.S. when talking about business success - location, location, location. In this case, I believe location does matter.

The Bureau's goal is to unite public and traditional diplomacy, to implement outreach programs that will inform and influence the public and policy makers abroad as foreign policy is being made and implemented. Public Diplomacy is not created after the policy has been decided but rather crafted - for the most part - simultaneously. Obviously there are going to be times and circumstances when one or the other - traditional or public diplomacy - will take the lead - or will react first - but the goal is to work hand in hand. We believe that the mission of public diplomacy is to understand, influence and inform foreign publics to help promote U.S. interests and to broaden dialogues between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad - even in places and with people that are hostile or sceptical about our policies or objectives.

Personally I find that one of the ironies of Smith Mundt is that even though we are prohibited from dealing with domestic American audiences, it is part of our mandate to create links between American citizens and institutions and counterparts overseas. In my career in the Foreign Service I have been assigned to 4 different countries and done what we called TDY assignments - temporary assignments long or short - in about another dozen or so. I cannot begin to tell you the numbers of Americans I have met or worked with who have contacts or have developed life long friendship and relationships as a result of public diplomacy efforts.

So what do we do and how do we do it? First of all, let's start with staffing because that plays a vital role. Every American Embassy has someone like me - a PAO assigned to it. Depending on the size of the country there might be other American PD officers with titles such as APAO - for Assistant - or BPAO for Branch (an example of that would be in Poland where we have people both in Warsaw as well as Krakow), IO, (Information Officer), CAO, (Cultural Affairs Officer,) etc. The number of Americans will vary.

But more important than the American Officers is the fact that we maintain a permanent foreign national staff in each country. Our institutional memories and networks. An American Foreign Service officer usually serves no more than 3 to 4 years in any one country. Those are the regulations. So it is imperative that we have local staffs, trained in how we Americans work but knowledgeable and sensitive to the customs, politics and social issues of their own countries. They are in place and they are our continuity. In Croatia, for example, there is myself and another American an APAO - but we also have 9 Foreign Service Nationals - FSNs - working with us. One of them, Saša Brlek, accompanied me here to Dubrovnik today.



So when we arrive, whether we have received some training in the language and customs of where are going or not, we start with an advantage - our staffs. In some way or another I have worked at American embassies in fifteen of the countries represented in this room today. In 99% of the cases I could barely have gotten myself out of the airport had it not been for the local staff.

Secondly, and to some degree this depends on the leadership of the Ambassador although most Ambassadors certainly adhere and support this policy - there is only one Public Affairs, Public Diplomacy component in an Embassy. We try to co-ordinate all of the activities and maximize our efforts while at the same time giving one point of view. You won't see many of the Americans assigned to an Embassy talking to the press or conducting what are PD programs. Of course, they are part of the process and we use them. It is better for a consular officer to discuss visa-related issues than probably me - but we work it under one section. Whether it is the political section which is hosting the visit of an American Senator - as we are doing here in Dubrovnik tomorrow - and wants to set up a press conference for him or her, or the Military Attaché's office which is planning the visit of a Navy aircraft carrier to a port - as we are doing in Dubrovnik next month or a local university which would like to host an American scholar under the Fulbright program - as is Lois Bianchi who will be a workshop leader here tomorrow but who is teaching at the University of Zagreb - somewhere somehow there is a public diplomacy component to the activity.

The arsenal of public diplomacy tools that we use is wide and deep. We will send a group of Croatians to the U.S. for a familiarization trip and to meet counterparts - on a particular subject or issue. We will bring American speakers and experts to discuss privately with officials or publicly at conferences such as this one, universities or through the press any number of issues. Certainly exchange programs such as Fulbright, Humphrey and Ron Brown grants are forms of Public Diplomacy. On a daily and weekly basis we send to ministries, libraries, journalists and other interested individuals pages and pages (or electronically) of press conferences, speeches, press releases and other official United States Government information relevant to the country or the region. Here in Croatia we do it in both English as well as Croatian.

The Internet and web pages have become an integral part of the mix. There might be one out there that I am not aware of, but virtually every American Embassy throughout the world maintains its own web site. Here in Croatia it is [www.usembassy.hr](http://www.usembassy.hr). Everything we do - be it a press release or the announcement of a grants program, goes on the page - in real time. We average over 40,000 hits a month on the Croatian page - which for a country the size of Croatia and as yet relatively limited and expensive Internet access its' not a bad figure. And at the same time that we use the web we are helping to train librarians and researchers on how to use the Internet. We are committed to it for the future and have immense support both at the ambassadorial level as well as from Washington. I'll be glad to talk about our use of Internet afterwards if you are interested.

Allen L. Docal: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ITS ROLE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

I certainly have gone on longer than may have been allocated. I hope this overview of where Public Diplomacy started within the American Foreign Affairs community and where it stands today will be helpful and instructive. In her remarks on October 1 when she took over her position as Under Secretary of State, Ms. Lieberman said: "Public Diplomacy working in tandem with the traditional diplomacy of the State Department can only enhance our foreign policy, enhance our message and frankly, is the only way to conduct foreign policy in this wired world." I hope you agree.

Thank you very much.

# Concept and Substance of Public Diplomacy

*Friedrich Höss<sup>1</sup>*

Ambassador, Mr. Chairman,

First let me thank you for the invitation to this seminar. It not only gives me the opportunity to discuss a subject, which I consider of great importance for modern diplomacy; the visit to the beautiful and historic city of Dubrovnik is my first one. And since I as an Austrian have a special feeling for Croatia, to which our former Danubian Commonwealth of 12 nations owed so much over the centuries, this visit also gives me, hopefully, the opportunity to discuss with our Croatian and other friends at this meeting the further road map to European integration.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

We all witness the change, which the international system underwent in the second half of the last century. States are confronted with a threefold challenge: they are confronted with the imminent crises of identity, of authority and of demography. For the purpose of our discussion I wish to shortly deal with the problems of identity and authority.

Whereas until the last century national identity in most cases coincided with the identity of a state (with the exception of supranational entities based on subsidiarity), we now witness a trend to smaller, more intimate cultural units, if we only think of the Catalans or the Scots, who look back to their historic roots. Most central states, if they are well advised, try to encounter these movements, this tribalism versus McWorld, with the Instrument of devolution. However, this already leads to a loss of authority, as it was hitherto understood. Simultaneously the national states experience erosion of authority on the international level. Be it within the EU, where they loose authority either up to Brussels or with the growing principle of subsidiarity down to their regions, or generally to a stronger international order.

I, therefore, am of the firm belief that a lasting order of the future will depend on the creation of a framework which will ensure the balance between a necessary national unity and regional diversity within a confederation *sui generis* such as the EU.

In a future order of the aforementioned quality, I see for states as the ones, which hopefully soon will be members of the EU, the great chance to take their secure place in a Europe of unity and diversity.

This is the political background I see for the discussion of our subject. Before we deal with the concept and the substance of public diplomacy, this complementing variety of our profession, I wish to assure all diplomats present that they all have already applied public diplomacy in their daily work, whether consciously or not. At the same time I wish to emphasise the fact that classical diplomacy is by no means obsolete, that we shall need it in the future as a firm element in our job. We should, however, where appropriate, use public diplomacy in our democratic and pluralistic societies to achieve our goals.

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<sup>1</sup> Ambassador (ret.) of the Republic of Austria

Public diplomacy as a means to achieve a certain goal naturally existed long before its intellectual concept or its academic teaching have been accepted. If we agree that international relations to a great extent depend on the perception of a nation's policy by a domestic and foreign public and, on the other hand, we see the possibilities of modern information society to influence the formation of public opinion and its expression, it is only consequent when governments no longer rely solely on the means of classical diplomacy.

As you can imagine there is a variety of definitions of public diplomacy. For our purpose I shall limit myself to describe it as a way a government chooses to deal with its own and other societies, by trying to achieve a comprehensive understanding for its political, economic, cultural and scientific goals, conditioned by its history and geography at all relevant sections of society. I wish to add that one's own public has to be included in this exercise in order to obtain an acceptance of the foreign policy of a country by its domestic public opinion.

In order to be cost-effective, it is advisable to include private national institutions with foreign connections in this exercise. Nevertheless, building up and keeping connections is costly. A small state therefore must make an exact analysis:

- In which countries or international organisations lay its interests and its emphasis
- Which possibilities of outsourcing exist. Be careful with so called consulting and public relations companies. They are costly and often do not contribute to the image (advertising in Newspapers).

Democratisation and pluralisation of societies makes it possible to differentiate between variety of target groups by means of public diplomacy or to co-ordinate several target groups towards one goal e. g. the goal to join the EU:

- Classical diplomacy: receive and execute an order, report the reaction, receive another order, go up the echelon, work on all levels of the formal hierarchy if possible report, organise a meeting of ministers etc.

- Reaction of public diplomacy: find out the sources of resistance, try to focus on important interests (e.g. economic ones), work on the leading economic organisations and enterprises, related media, parliamentarians and their staffers, think tanks etc.

It is important that such an exercise is closely co-ordinated within and by the mission in order to keep its guiding and leading role.

As you can see, the application of public diplomacy requires several prerequisites:

- A catalogue of targets with a working programme
- The right persons to carry out the task
- The existence of contacts, eventually a network
- A close exchange of information with the central office, which requires an open mindedness of the leading personalities for public diplomacy
- The preparedness of the heads of missions and all staff to work without specific orders

- The build-up and upkeep of a data base accessible to all staff in question
- The division of labour by creating task forces for special projects regardless of the hierarchy in the mission, co-ordinated by the head of mission.

As one can see, public diplomacy forces to say good-bye to traditional thinking as far as sharing of information and knowledge is concerned. When I entered the foreign office - and I am sure this applies also to other countries - knowledge was power. To share knowledge was a question of hierarchy and to a certain extent of favour. This way of acting is no basis for public diplomacy.

Personal requirements are well-educated generalists who have access to specialists. Generally, I have seen that a public diplomat *nascitur non discitur*. Above all one has to bear in mind that public diplomacy cannot equalise a bad policy.

In summing up what I have said so far, the following preconditions are necessary to carry out public diplomacy:

In the receiving state:

- An open society
- Important national interests (political, economic, cultural, scientific)
- The formulation and permanent revision of a midterm work programme at the mission based on the interests
- A critical mass of persons at a mission including outside resources
- Necessary funds
- Technical infrastructure (IT)

In the sending state:

- Acceptance of public diplomacy
- Formulation of the national interest
- A broad political and social standing of the acting persons (the value of a head of mission abroad equals his standing at home)
- Broad support and standing also outside the bureaucratic hierarchy

As far as the goals are concerned we can keep in mind the following:

- Comprehensive of the political, economic, cultural and scientific interest at relevant strata of society
- Increasing the acceptance and the regard of the sending state, creating a positive public profile
- Target orientated lobbying
- Influencing decision-makers, opinion-leaders and makers
- Create a climate favourable for the solutions of conflicting interests and for the prevention of conflicts

A word to the limits of public diplomacy.

- Legality and rule of law
- Public and political acceptance
- Non-interference in internal matters

Ladies and Gentlemen, public diplomacy is

- Active
- Not reactive
- Creative
- Influence and goal oriented
- Optimises resources

Co-ordinating primacy of a public diplomacy minded head office:

- Facilitates the evaluation of success
- Oriented on a midterm work programme
- Interdisciplinary

For a small and middle-sized state, public diplomacy allows for broadly differentiated organised diplomacy with limited means vis-à-vis open and pluralistic societies and international organisations with complex spectres of opinion and structures of decision-making.

I wish all of you much success for the future in your respective missions.

Thank you very much.

# Relations between Diplomacy and Media: Diplomats and Journalists Working Together

*Tatjana Lesjak<sup>1</sup>*

"There has always been an active relationship between journalism and politics, and so is the case today, when both journalistic and political paradigms are subject to continuous changes. because everything has changed: in front of us, inside us, and above us".<sup>2</sup>

## **1. Introduction to the Public Relations and Media Office**

The Public Relations and Media Office is a governmental service of the Republic of Slovenia, whose task is to ensure that information passed between the government and its representatives, and the Slovenian and international general public, is both comprehensive and up-to-date. The Office, which has a staff of 30, mostly with high professional qualifications, is organised into three departments. The first department is responsible for providing information about the work of the Slovenian government to the general public in Slovenia, whereas the second, international, department covers the field of communication with the general public around the world. The third department provides communications support in connection with the accession of Slovenia to the European Union.

## **2.0 The work of the International Department**

### **2.1 General**

The work of this department is aimed at providing high quality information about current events in Slovenia as well as about the country itself, in order to promote a better understanding and appreciation of Slovenia in other countries. Emphasis is placed on good relations with the media, on the provision of communications support for major events and projects, and on the promotion of Slovenia abroad. Research is also conducted into the quality of the image projected by Slovenia abroad, and on the country's general reputation.

The International Department works towards the above goals together with many of the government's ministries and departments, such as the Office of the President of the Republic of Slovenia, the Prime Minister's Office, various ministries, the Office for the Promotion of Trade and Investment, the Slovenian Tourist Board, and Slovenia's Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Different forms and methods of communication are used with foreign audiences for the creation and maintenance of the perception of Slovenia as a modern Central European country with a stable political and economic system and a rich cultural tradition, as well as for the enhancement of Slovenia's present profile within central Europe, and for the strengthening of individual economic, tourism- and culturally-based activities.

The work of the International Department is aimed towards frequent and regular forms of communication with target audiences within the EU and neighbouring countries, whereas in other countries the promotional aspect remains at the forefront. Special attention is given to the following target audiences: the international media, diplomats, state administrations,

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Director, Public Relations and Media Office of the Republic of Slovenia

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Mario Plenković, "Journalism and Democracy", Zadar, 1996

national and international institutions and organisations, and leaders in business, culture and sports. The most frequently used communication tools are media relations techniques, printed and audio-visual materials, and the Internet.

## **2.2 Relations with the media**

Professor Dr France Vreg of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, has stated that the mass media are public places where social problems, conflicts and institutions can and frequently do become transparent. Their constant task is to uncover the covered. The establishment of good relations with foreign editors and journalists is strongly encouraged. Communication takes the form of regular press releases, the organization of individual and group visits for foreign journalists, the co-ordination of press coverage arrangements for major events occurring in Slovenia, the handling of requests by representatives of the media for official information or other professional support, and the provision of professional assistance while such representatives are working in Slovenia.

Incoming and outgoing visits by foreign heads of states, ministers and other officials have an important public relations impact, as they can help to increase mutual understanding and generate positive exposure in the foreign media. The Public Relations and Media Office provides escort services for accompanying journalists, and briefs them about events.

## **2.3 Preparation and publishing of promotional materials**

At the International Department, basic general information and promotional publications are prepared about Slovenia, its history and cultural traditions, its economic and scientific achievements, and its tourist attractions. This promotional material is mainly intended for foreign journalists and media, for foreign diplomats and diplomatic missions, for foreign state administrations and international organisations, and for international representatives in the fields of business, science, culture, tourism and sport. The Department also provides a certain amount of information and promotional material to Slovenian organisations, for their use in contacts with foreign business partners, both at home and abroad.

At present these activities are mainly aimed at the following countries, in order of importance:

*First line:* the core countries of the EU (Austria, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, and "Brussels") and Croatia;

*Second line:* Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland;

*Third line:* the USA, Japan, China, Russia and Israel.

## **2.4 The Internet**

In co-operation with external experts, the Public Relations and Media Office maintains its own web site ([www.uvi.si/uvi/](http://www.uvi.si/uvi/)). The object of this web site is to provide as much useful information as possible, with the quickest possible access. The web site can also be used for interactive communication between the Office and virtual visitors, which ensures fast and efficient feed back. In the case of important events special web sites are prepared, and later maintained as project references, as is described in the following section.



## **2.5 Communications support at important events**

In the case of events of national and international importance, the Office provides communications support by means of various tools and techniques which are aimed at meeting fixed objectives. The Office provided such assistance in the case of the Pope's visit to Slovenia, in 1999, (see the web site: [www.sigov.si/pope/](http://www.sigov.si/pope/)), as well as in the case of Slovenia's presidency of the CEFTA countries in 1997 (see [www.uvi.si/cefta/](http://www.uvi.si/cefta/)), Leon Štukelj's 100th birthday (at the time, the oldest living gold-medal winning Olympian athlete) (see [www.uvi.si/projects/](http://www.uvi.si/projects/)), Slovenia's first appearance at EXPO '98 in Lisbon (see [www.uvi.si/expo98/](http://www.uvi.si/expo98/)), and President Clinton's visit to Slovenia (see [www.clinton.si](http://www.clinton.si)).

## **2.6 Research into Slovenia's image and reputation with foreign audiences**

Surveys are sometimes conducted in individual countries in order to determine the views of foreign audiences about Slovenia's image and reputation. In this way the Office attempts to find out what effects its communication with foreign audiences have had, as well as the actual achievements of promotional activities. The results of such surveys are used for the preparation of long-term communication development plans. So far, such surveys have been carried out in Austria and in France.

## **3.0 Some concrete results**

During 1999 the staff of the Office helped to look after a total of 839 representatives of the foreign press, including individual and study visits as well as visits within the framework of important national events (see Section 2.5). There appears to be a gradual increase in interest in Slovenia, particularly in connection with the country's accession to the EU. A total of 46 journalists visited Slovenia on an individual basis. There were 9 study visits by journalists from Sweden, Finland and Portugal, a special "NATO" group, and two mixed groups from Spain (in total, 89 journalists). A total of 145 journalists were welcomed to Slovenia on the occasion of 14 official visits by foreign statesmen, as part of foreign press delegations (e.g. from Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Portugal), and hundreds more were welcomed at the special events (the visits by the Pope and President Clinton, and the PV meeting).

In 1999 a total of 59 press communiqués were issued, as well as a total of 283 so-called "press kits". The Office also helped to prepare 7 special issues about Slovenia, which were published in the foreign media (the Washington Times, Die Presse, the Financial Times, Privrednji vestnik, Suddeutsche Zeitung, NATO's Nations, the Diplomat (GB), and the European Voice).

## **4.0 Conclusion**

No matter what these processes are called, either promotion, or propaganda, or international public relations, or PR for state-nations, or public diplomacy, in all cases what is involved is a planned and persuasive process of communication by the government of a particular country, which is aimed at the general public in other countries (after Nada Serajnik Sraka, "Teorija in praksa", 35, 4, 1998).

# Diplomacy and Media

*Ino Afentouli<sup>1</sup>*

## Introductory Remarks

Thank you for the invitation to attend this interesting seminar at such a historical place of high symbolism.

The topic of this seminar is rather the most interesting nowadays, especially in our region marked by ethnic conflicts and hatred. I noticed that the subject of the conference is "Public Diplomacy and Media" and I am wondering if there is a role for the media in secret diplomacy!

Besides this, it is certain that media are playing a more and more important role in foreign policy.

During the last decade, very painful for this region, we followed "media" wars and we had all experiences of how the outcome of a conflict can be influenced by the coverage of media. Interconnection between media and foreign policy exists nevertheless anywhere, anytime, because foreign policy is in the end a policy exercised by politicians anxious about public opinion and political cost.

Given that in the global village we live, policy is practised through the media, we can easily understand why for national governments it is so important to try to pass their views on foreign policy through them.

## Media and War

In our region we had till 1991 a lot of painful experiences and we talked a lot, journalists and specialists, about this. We did not have as in the "Desert Storm" a media war but a real one with tragic consequences and thousands of victims. This is not the topic of our discussion so I would not go further as we would need many hours to develop this controversial subject.

It is rather easy to support objectivity as an observer, it is very difficult when you are part of a conflict.

Now that as, at least we hope, difficult days are behind us, there are new great issues to analyse about the relationship of media and diplomacy in a region trying to build solid democratic institutions and to strengthen civil society.

## Media and National Interest

From my point of view the most crucial issue is the definition of national interest and the interpretation of this notion by journalists and foreign services. I should be tempted to say that in an original "check and balances" system as the democratic political system ought to be, journalists may not serve national interest but *public interest*. Governments have the responsibility for foreign policy decisions and media have the task to control them.

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<sup>1</sup> Journalist, "Exoussia"

The United States offer a good example of how this dualism can work. The "Desert Storm" operation was a huge media operation. We know that the American Pentagon had the responsibility of the "mise en scene" of a war, the first in history in live coverage. In this war, I think objectivity and good journalism were the losers. Electronic media accepted to be manipulated and we know that from the American press. More recently, after the Kosovo war, important commentators in the US criticised the operation as inefficient.

These are proofs of the existence of an open society.

### **Propaganda and Information**

An open society is the precondition to pass from a propaganda era to the information era. Propaganda is a means of communication for authoritative states. Information, possibly unbiased, is the tool for democratic states.

Journalists hate the "langue de bois". Foreign policy is better served by communication based on solid arguments and a systematically organised flow of information.

Diplomacy must serve national interest and the latter is best served by transparency and access to the sources of information concerning foreign policy decisions.

The more we know the best interpretation we can do!

### **Sensitive National Issues**

We are all familiar in South Eastern Europe, I would say we are educated, we grew up with the notion of "national issues". Nation-states are too young in this region, national conscience is a difficult and often controversial issue, and ethnic conflicts are common as well as hatred and pain. So, how is it possible to overcome such a legacy?

It is not easy but it is feasible and media have a preponderant role to play in this process.

It is feasible if from the traditional culture of confrontation we move towards a culture of co-operation. This, of course, presupposes acceptance of the same principles. It is important to understand that sharing the same values and building relationships and co-operation in broader regional schemes do not lead necessarily to abolition of national foreign policy, but permit to serve national interests in a better way in the interconnected regional and international environment.

For people in quest of national identity it is rather difficult to accept this notion. But if we accept that we belong to a broader community of values then the affirmation of national identities is compatible with the vision of a common future.

### **The Role of the Media in National Prejudices and Partisanship**

There are many "famous" antagonistic duets in the region (Serbs and Croats/ Greeks and Turks/ Christians and Muslims/ Albanians and Macedonians etc.) The easy way for journalists and diplomats is to continue to reproduce prejudices and stereotypes (I am not entering the discussion of their establishment because I think it leads nowhere). The difficult way is trying to overcome these stereotypes and establish a different approach.

**A win-win approach** is exactly the opposite of what happened in the region during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Certainly, we cannot and should not ignore history. But history is for the past and our task is to shape the present. Public opinion is in general reticent to accept major changes in the way the “other” is perceived. So, to accept our neighbours and the necessity to leave / coexist with them peacefully is a difficult process and needs time and education. At this point the media role is crucial.

### **Information Networks**

One of the main handicaps for a better communication and understanding in the region is the absence of regular, organised flow of information. We get usually, on a daily basis, mostly through the Internet, a huge amount of information about the so-called “western world”. Due to an organised system of transmission of information (agencies, papers, electronic editions) we easily know what happens in Europe or in the US. This is not the case with our region. There are few sources, for example, for Croatia, Slovenia, Albania or Bulgaria. Even when we get information we cannot check its accuracy and objectivity.

Therefore, there is an absolute need for establishing networks among professionals in the region. Information networks should be created through the Internet and function on an on-line basis. The cost is affordable.

A better flow of communication among the countries of the region should also facilitate the civil society’s activities and strengthen the role of public diplomacy aiming at resolving existing problems via consensual methods.

## Relations between Mass Media and Authorities

*Irene Miller<sup>1</sup>*

The public on all levels speculates a lot about the role of mass media, especially their influence, their effects. It is, however, a fact that any precise statement on the effects of mass media is no more than fiction. We only know that mass media do have effects. How great these are, how they are caused, on which factors they depend in which measure - all this cannot be defined precisely. We never know whether an article will find consent or dissent, will cause love or hate. This is what makes making newspapers so difficult, so unpredictable and so fascinating.

There is one thing we can say unequivocally despite all these uncertainties: Media endeavour to learn the truth, must endeavour to do so. Not necessarily in order to hand it on unaltered to their readers. This depends on the quality and the orientation of the medium. But even falsification only makes sense on the basis of true knowledge.

This is why all the media without respect to their obligation to truthful reporting or journalistic ethics will do the utmost to provide themselves with true information. This is the principal problem especially in their dealings with authorities.

Of course, there are cases in which the circulation of simple truth conforms to the authority's intentions. Good. But very rare.

Usually, authorities, even foreign ministries, try to publish merely that part of truth, which they think, will help their interests. In some cases they might even tell outright lies.

The most frequent problem is selective truth. Those who give information will resort to it in many cases, and we, journalists, usually know that this is what we must expect, even if we are assured to be given the simple, frank, real and true truth. We, therefore, will do our utmost to check information at several sources, we learn to take our informant's measure, we compare information we get today with our knowledge of incidents or conduct in the past. And we all know very well that our information is doubtful and our real possibilities to check them deficient.

Let me give you an example, which shows the real dimension of the problem. Moreover, it does not attack diplomats but military people. But I think we all know that examples, even if less drastic ones, can be found everywhere.

When NATO started its air war against Serbia in the spring of 1999, they claimed they would inform the media quickly, precisely and truthfully. In fact, in the following weeks NATO's spokesman told a number of hair-splitting lies. The International Press Institute IPI published a whole volume, which critically scrutinises NATO's information policies in this conflict. It is also true, however, that IPI was very critical of the air war.

Still, to clarify details, IPI's report is very useful. But we all could see clearly and long before the end of the war that NATO had made some mistakes and owned up to them only under duress and belatedly, that the alliance exaggerated Serbian crimes, sometimes even

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<sup>1</sup> Foreign Editor, "Die Presse", Austria

invented them, and that they sometimes handed out marks of good or evil as wantonly as the Serb regime itself.

Without discussing the moral dimension of such behaviour we should ask after its efficiency. Were the NATO lies worth it?

The bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade might have been an error, or a sophisticated attack on a sophisticated spy installation, or else even a terrorist act meant to throw uncertainty on Belgrade's friends. Whichever the real meaning of the event, none of these explanations would give an excuse for the attack which did cost three human lives, and Chinese ones, while China most definitely was not a party to the conflict. So what were the lies good for? By the way, the fact that the CIA afterwards punished seven employees for this bombing and sacked one of the seven would rather imply an error.

We live in a time in which mass media have become a self-confident, socially essential and therefore, also, economically sufficiently strong power; it is an illusion to believe one could hide the truth from them indefinitely. I should, maybe, add, that the media power I am speaking of for the moment is not yet in place in several of the countries here present. I believe, however, that all those other countries will follow suit within the next years.

After a while, be it a few weeks, a few months, even some years, a relatively precise picture of an event will be assembled. Let me remind you of the fact that the opening of archives thirty or fifty years after events rather rarely brings big surprises. Of course, only with the help of archives will precise and scientific historical studies be possible, but the great lines of common knowledge on important events very often are not contradicted.

At first, it is the media who have to take the public's blame for giving false information. But authorities should remember that media have a very strong motive to safeguard their credibility, a stronger one than ministries, which can often build a barrier of anonymity around themselves. Therefore, media will never stop looking for the real authors of lies they are blamed for.

At this point, let me ask you to reflect on two basic points. The first: Why should media in a free society spread lies? Ideological influence usually is not transported by false facts – except, of course, in totalitarian states. But for these the whole concept of truthful information as I am discussing it simply does not apply. For free media, one story is as good as another is. NATO killings do not attract palpably more readers than Serb or any other killings.

Secondly, Human beings have a strong urge to talk. Very few people are capable of keeping secrets over a long period. The probability that a person will tell his friends over a whisky or two most covertly: I know something others do not know, is very great. Not even United States or other presidents manage to make people keep quiet about their love affairs. How could Nato enforce discretion when wrong targets or lost aeroplanes are concerned?

Between authorities and media there is a basic conflict: The media's task in society is to control; they want to know everything and they judge everything, and do so publicly. Authorities do not mind controlling as long as they do the right thing, but they are less enthusiastic when it comes to dealings that are not perfectly immaculate.

On the other hand, authorities also depend on media for conveying their decisions and their actions to the citizen and voters. That is so in foreign politics as in any other field of politics.

Even if we cannot say precisely how the media influence the formation of public opinion in specific cases, we do know that they do. People, however, have a lot of other sources that will add to their image of other countries or specific events. I am thinking of journeys, books, lectures, movies, tourists or immigrants from those countries and so on.

It is within this area of differing influences that individual opinions are formed; the concurrence of many individual opinions, often again influenced and guided by opinion leaders and all sorts of authorities, will generate public opinion. Public opinion is influenced by the media and articulates itself in the media in a subtle and not entirely understood way. Some journalists find out about public opinion in talks with their taxi driver, others in discussions on the highest level, none will afterwards be able to explain how he came to understand it. It is, however, a fact that within a state or a community a common knowledge of what the public thinks on certain questions relatively quickly comes into being; and it does not always reflect the opinion of the biggest newspaper or the leading TV station. This does not mean that all the media will conform in their reporting; merely that they all have quite a positive feeling about what the public feels. Of course, there are always some topics that will remain controversial for a long period.

For journalists, it is a constant uncertainty that they cannot write against the deep-set attitudes of their readers, and that these attitudes are rarely to be detected in people's public utterances. They are there however, and play an important part in the formation of individual and public opinion. I am speaking of a great heap of prejudices and resentments few people own up to and which strongly mark their opinion about Krauts and Boches or gypsies and Mongols.

Conflicts between differing information or between information and attitudes are being reduced subconsciously, and this process is a very individual one and cannot directed or even influenced from the outside. The more truthful and plausible the pieces of the mosaic, the clearer and more consistent the picture, and the bigger the chance that the person will examine her stereotypes in the light of new information.

Authorities, amongst them diplomacy, certainly can explain their actions better against a clear background and in an atmosphere of understanding and tolerance for another country than in an ambience of distrust, aversion and cliché. But then, their actions must be reasonable and respectable, and they must be presented truthfully.

Now, after all this has been said, we must also take into account that it is not always possible to tell the truth, especially in foreign politics, when a country risks to anger neighbours or members of a greater community. The German diplomat Michael Libal has analysed his government's policy towards Yugoslavia in co-ordination with the other members of the European Union in the first years of the nineties. He speaks of a very difficult search for consensus within the community.

It does not seem sensible or realistic for media to call for truthful information in such a case - although they certainly should be informed that there is a conflict of interests or disparity in the analyses of the situation.

But Libal's conclusion ought to remind all those who would give great words instead of factual information of the stakes we all face: "Even the most profound analytical perspicacity and the most justified and well-intentioned moral rhetoric are in themselves not sufficient to provide strength and persuasiveness to a foreign policy, especially when it lacks conviction in other parts of the international community. Some day, someone may have to risk life or limb to transform such rhetoric into reality".



# Role of Media in Democracy

*Charles Northrip<sup>1</sup>*

**A. Begin with some quotes from one of the great champions of a free press in the US. The third President and author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson:**

- The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. BUT I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them.
- The only security of all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure.
- Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe.

**B. Tasks and Responsibilities:**

- Seek and find “the story”. Must assume it may be hidden.
- “The story” is not necessarily what the agency says.
- It is instinctive to seek other sources for reactions to agency/country positions.
- Springs from a “suspicion” about the motives of the government.
- Jefferson said: A despotic government always [keeps] a kind of standing army of newswriters who, without any regard to truth or to what should be like truth, [invent] and put into the papers whatever might serve the ministers.
- To “Get it Right!” That may fly in the face of the most exciting story!
- Jefferson said: My opinion of the manner in which a newspaper should be conducted so as to be most useful [is]...by restraining itself to the true facts and sound principle only. Yet I fear such a paper would find few subscribers.
- Sometimes the real story is boring!!! Jefferson said: As for what is not true, you will always find an abundance in the newspapers!

**C. Access to Information – A natural desire on part of agencies/governments to not release any information until they “have it right.”**

- And...sometimes they are waiting for the information, themselves (from higher up or farther down the chain).
- Nevertheless, the reporter assumes the agency is withholding for no good reason.
- So...whenever possible, release what you can, as soon as you can, to ALL media (exceptions for special circumstances)

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<sup>1</sup> Network Operations Adviser, IREX ProMedia, Zagreb, Croatia

- An aside...with every government & agency having its own web site (and shadow pressure groups with their own web sites) we could say there is way too much access to information – just NOT THE RIGHT KIND.

**D. Role of Media in Building a Civil Society**

- Is there one???? Media often seem bent on creating anarchy!
- Actually, many positive examples.
- Without the Federalist Papers, there would probably not have been an American Revolution (some in this room, may still regret that!).
- Without the Anchorage Times, Alaska would probably still be a territory of the US – not a State.
- Without a CBS documentary called “Harvest of Shame,” migrant farm workers in the US would still be in near slave conditions.
- Each of these examples requires taking a position on a controversial subject. That is, abandoning the notion that there are two or more equal sides to every argument.
- It requires discernment on the part of readers/listeners/viewers that they are consuming opinion, not “just the facts” (back to Jefferson’s requirement that citizens be able to read (and understand!)).

**E. Influence of media on foreign policy decisions and on public opinion AND Public Opinion’s influence on foreign policy.**

- CNN can transmit a report world-wide, before some foreign ministers or presidents are informed! Tell me how the knowledge that the report is putting in the hands of average citizens AND those governments with whom you may be negotiating, does not influence how your government reacts to a given situation.
- Has opened some decidedly undiplomatic channels of communications, as the U.S. learned during the Gulf War (Operation Dessert Storm) when Peter Arnet’s reports from Baghdad and interviews with Iraqi leaders circumvented normal diplomatic communication.
- When television brought the Viet Nam War into every living room in America, popular opinion really began turning against the war.
- The days are gone when foreign policy is ONLY the province of diplomats.
- We in this room know also that the days are gone when citizens of any single country can be isolated from what is happening elsewhere in the world. The spread of satellite broadcasting, the Internet, faxing and mobile phones have brought access to information easily and relatively cheaply to almost anywhere in the world.
- And that access will only get faster, cheaper and more widespread.

**F. The media and diplomats must co-operate and USE (in the best sense of that word) each other. Otherwise, both will be left behind by average citizens, who will do the job themselves.**

## Foreign Policy and Media in the Stability Pact Process

*Spyros Dokianos<sup>1</sup>*

It is usually said that in Democracies the Mass Media adjust governmental policy - including foreign policy - to the wishes and desiderata of the public opinion, whereas in authoritarian regimes the Media adjust the public opinion to the wishes of the governmental policy. This diagrammatizing seems to prevail as a guiding principle for its first leg but unfortunately it prevails as an unquestionable axiom and generally accepted principle for the second leg.

If this axiom, this principle, is known to us - practitioners of foreign policy - from our practical quest, semeiology and interpretation of the Media of the former communist regimes, men of Media and peoples of the South East European countries inherited it in their traumatising memories and attitudes. Conditions of freedom created after the fall of the communist regimes did not automatically revoke this situation, either because they did not enact rules for its correct use and practice, or because they did not allow individual and collective mentalities and attitude to mature for the correct use of these rules, wherever and whenever they were established.

Taking for granted that the Media constitute the mirror of the society and system where they function, it is normal that all evils, which in general characterise the fall or rearrangement of regimes and societies, are reflected in their system of communication and information. The Media of the former communist countries of South Eastern Europe did not escape from this rule. Influence from governments, from organised or other interests, interweaving with suspicious circles, easy conversion to thoughtless mouth-pieces of irresponsible or fanatical circles, are some of the derivative evils reserved to them by the transitory post-communist period. Evils, whose creation is augmented by the lack of substantial professional training in modern journalism deontology, ignorance of a series of political and technical parameters of international being, as well as economic and technical deficiency.

As in every sort of political culture, the case of Media of South Eastern European countries, which find themselves in a transitory phase or in their first democratic steps, constitutes a challenge for the attitude of those who wish to offer help. Because, any "prescriptions" presented by contributors, must be adjusted to local realities, without subjugating the internationally prevailing democratic standards to these realities. The "prescriptions" in question should not give the sense that they constitute coercion imposed from above. They should not take place through procedures, which face or consider journalists, peoples and societies of South Eastern European countries as elements of a lower political and cultural level.

To the extent that correct models of functioning of institutions and of people of the Media, establish attitudes which discourage sharpening of passions and fanaticism - be it intolerant, nationalistic, irredentist or religious, it is obvious that they contribute to the cultivation of a climate of stability and avoidance of crises in the South East European

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<sup>1</sup> Ambassador, Greek Coordinator for the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

region. If we suppose that these correct attitudes were followed by both, states and Media, in their mutual relations as well as vis-à-vis the public opinion, during crises, we could talk about attitudes, which contribute decisively in the management of crises.

But as I hinted before, this presupposes on the one hand a maturing process of persons, institutions and societies, and on the other hand the necessity for patience and a certain modesty and humbleness - allow me the expression - on the part of those who give advice. Humbleness deriving from self-knowledge or conscience that even in the developed western democracies neither incentives, nor interests, nor incidents and attempts to influence - actively or passively - the Mass Media, are unknown practices and realities. Simply, the codes of institutions and attitudes have reached such a level of elaboration and maturation that their violation is either very difficult or more sophisticated or less grotesque.

The Greek policy in the Balkan space, the Royaumont initiative of the European Union and now the Stability Pact, have sailed along the above lines and way of thinking. Technical support to the Mass Media of the beneficiary countries of South Eastern Europe, meetings and co-operation of journalists in two levels: that is, between South East European countries and western countries on the one hand, and countries of South Eastern Europe among them on the other hand, encouragement of journalists and authorities of their respective countries to adopt a code of behaviour in conformity with the established principle of the field of information and communication of the western democratic societies, constitute some of the important activities through which this policy is being manifested.

On the other side we should not forget the existence - in the framework of the OSCE of the special Representative of this Organization for the freedom of Mass Media, as well as - for all those countries of South Eastern Europe which are members of the Council of Europe and European Convention for Human Rights - the possibility of individual recourse because of violations of articles providing for freedom of thought and expression.

The above brief exposé aimed to set a frame of scrutiny rather than to shape up solutions to concrete problems. The Mass Media will always express, as they should, views of governments as well as views of institutions, groups of people and views of individuals. They will provoke commentaries and reactions by nations, countries and persons who represent "schools of thought". They will consequently constitute centres attracting attention, interest as well as the good or bad will of foreign policy. A goal of the Stability Pact is to create a certain culture of Mass Media in South Eastern Europe, a culture which will be able to offer to states and societies more stability, more democratic character more respect to the decency of institutions and to the personality of their citizens.

## Information Strategy: Why?

*Kurt Boos<sup>1</sup>*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Between the creation of humanity and the invention of the first printing machine in 1434 by Gutenberg, nearly all communication was verbal or pictorial. Only monks and a few other privileged people were able to write and to publish their ideas with the help of hand-written books.

The printing machine changed the whole information system and with it the whole world. Written propagation of ideas became much easier and mainly much faster.

Already Victor Hugo, the famous French author and poet complained about this situation in his novel "Notre Dame de Paris" when he wrote in 1831, and I will try to translate his wording in English: "This will kill that, the books will kill monuments. Orphée's stony letters will be followed by Gutenberg's leaden characters. Until the fifteenth century architecture was the main register of humanity and until then, there had been no philosophy in the world which had not been expressed in a stony monument".

What did he mean with this? He simply explained, that prior to the printing machine, the stony witnesses of our past spoke quietly to an admiring population, silent, immovable and timeless. They narrated the past, they explained through stones, pictures and sculptures the history of their time and of their builders.

But communication and information developed and became worse and worse. In our days, nearly the whole mankind is in a permanent communication process with the help of mobile phones. You can meet people in the street telling about how fine the weather in Rome is, and on the other side, about the bad weather in London. This revolution has not finished yet and before soon, mobile phones will become so small and light, that you will be able to put them outside your jacket, for women even as decoration of their evening dresses. And as mankind is long-term adaptable, such mobile phones will perhaps become one day integrated in the body of a new-born, a member of the human body, a part of it.

This development is becoming very dangerous as we are already now largely "over-informed". Information is arriving through one ear and is leaving through the other one without any memorisation. We heard about bad and good weather, but have forgotten it. We heard that grandmother died, but forgot to attend her funeral. We heard from a friend or a family member about heavy rain somewhere in Africa, but forgot to send them help. We heard about an earthquake in Turkey but the immediate needed help arrived finally only after 10 days because nobody was aware of the dramatic situation.

In 1996 François de Closets, a well-known French journalist and television speaker and producer wrote, and I am once again translating his ideas: "Our society expressed itself some fifty years ago only by the written word. This has been a silent world where everybody

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<sup>1</sup> Management Consultant, Geneva, Switzerland

looked out for his own share, for information of some interest to him. This world has become a big fair where media clowns are bumping their clients with an excessive supply of permanent titles, pictures and sounds. Already our children are immersed in this noisy, seductive and obscene world, in this boiling of sensations and information, in this permanent zapping which shows everything at any time without letting the time to absorb and to understand”.

Mankind has been bypassed by the technological progress and is becoming more and more schizophrenic. Jean Paul Sartre paraphrased these phenomena as follows: “People are losing contact with reality”. We all have been bypassed by the technological progress, by robotisation and computerisation and lost already a long time ago our contact with the realistic world.

You certainly agree with me, that there is a big problem. We are informed 24 hours a day, 7 days a week without any break. News is offered on television, radio, written press and the Internet. People are watching television news with apathy because too much second hand news and information of no immediate interest is permanently spread out all over the world. Let’s be honest, the fact that US president Clinton is sleeping with one of his secretaries does absolutely not have to become information of world-wide interest. It should have remained a piece of information of US internal interest only and the rest of the world should have been spared such trivial matters. Even news such as a railway accident in India is, in my opinion, information of strictly limited local interest not worth of world-wide publication.

This is the reason of the listener’s negative attitude and apathy. They listen mainly nonsense and news without any direct concern for them on a daily basis. Only really outstanding presentations retain their attention and interest. For this reason you have to become outstanding in order to be listened, to be understood and mainly to become memorised with your information or presentation.

How to achieve this, how to dominate the media phenomena, that is the question which I will try to make you understand.

First of all we have to develop our own strategy before we start to inform and to present our ideas. Our information has to be convincing, interesting, fascinating and captivating. Only then can you be sure to be heard and understood.

Now, you are certainly beginning to understand, why you have to develop your own information strategy.

First of all, what does the term “strategy” mean? Let me try to make some understandable definitions:

“Strategy is the whole of all co-ordinated actions in order to succeed, to be victorious”. This victory can be understood in the military field, but also in the political, economical one. Or, “Strategy is the whole of all co-ordinated plans leading with the highest probability to the realisation of a fixed goal”.

So, information strategy means “the whole of all co-ordinated plans which lead with the highest probability to the best possible information of a given population on a given subject”.

Why such an information strategy for diplomats?

First of all, because when you speak, you want to be heard and understood.

Because diplomats represent their countries in other countries and have to be particularly careful with the propagation and presentation of information. Because diplomats represent the official, government's opinion of their countries in other countries. Because diplomats very often hold the floor in front of TV cameras after international conferences and meetings and certainly wish to be heard and understood by their potential audiences.

So, before speaking in front of cameras, a microphone or simply in front of an auditorium, you have to become a strategist, you have to prepare your presentation carefully.

What kind of topics have to be taken into consideration in order to become successful?

- The topic of your speech, the exact subject. You have to study your files thoroughly, in order to become credible, correct, true and serious. You have to check information you are using for your presentation carefully. Your own credibility depends on it.

- The kind of population you have to speak to (children or adults, common people or well-instructed ones, etc). For each category you have to choose and to adapt your vocabulary.

- Which geographical area has to be covered and convinced?

- How to dress in order to "come through" (casual or evening dress)?

- How much to invest (cost evaluation of the whole operation)?

After having made the inventory of all separate items, you have to evaluate, to weight point after point. Here enters also the cost/success ratio into the game. How much money can be spent to obtain the best possible cost/success ratio for an information campaign?

From the result of this evaluation depends the choice of media you will use: public intervention in an auditorium, presentation in a radio studio, presentation in front of TV-cameras, written presentation in the local and/or international press, publication of your ideas world-wide via the Internet, etc.

Once the strategy is fixed you have to develop your own action plan:

- Choose the best possible date and hour to have your listeners ready for your presentation.

- You have to be aware that a good presentation depends on a well-prepared analysis. You have to study your file thoroughly, to check your information and documentation to be credible. You have to clarify your own ideas and choose the most successful interpretation of your analysis. Try to emphasise, to underline the most important messages of your presentation and arrange the information to facilitate the processing and the synthesis. Construct your own storyboard and write visual supports to transmit your messages.

- You have to train exactly and to study your own body-language: how to use your hands, how to use your eyes, avoid ticks, how to dress, sitting or standing, how to read a paper, etc. Before a public presentation, make your own exercises with a camera, screen the results and make corrections.



## Kurt Boos: INFORMATION STRATEGY: WHY?

- Chose your language. Try to remain simple, easily understandable. If you have to give a presentation in a foreign language, use mainly a simple vocabulary and speak slowly. You have to be aware that the most important thing for instance, is not to speak excellent Oxford English, but to make yourself understood.

- Ask yourself questions, such as: could I make myself understood, do you have any questions to ask me, have I been clear in my presentation, etc. This can show you if you have been followed and understood by your listeners.

- As a diplomat you have always to be aware of what will be allowed to say and what not. In an official interview you are even not always allowed to expose your own personal ideas. So you have to be careful with the choice of your wording. You have to balance each word carefully, each sentence you are pronouncing in front of your auditors and journalists asking questions. Very often, if attacked and surrounded by journalists, it is easier to make no comment, no explication instead of a bad one. You are even allowed to ask a journalist to be heard after a 10-minute reflection period during which you can carefully prepare your intervention.

- Try also to dominate your stage fright and fears in front of a cramped auditorium. Try to find out your own threshold of fear and make exercises to overcome it. Example: If you are discussing with 2-3 people in the street, you are certainly not anxious. Now transpose this situation to a room with 10 people in front of you: Are you stressed or not? Let's suppose with 10 people you are not. Take now 20, 30, 50, 100. What is your own threshold of fear? Now, you are in front, let's say, of 100 auditors. If you are stressed, fix your eyes not only on the text you have to read but also on the listeners in the first range of the room. After this try to go further, take the second, then the third range. Have a superficial look from time to time from the first to the second, the third and continue to move to further ranges and you will become suddenly aware that your stress is disappearing, that you are freed from all your fears.

Good diplomats have to develop an excellent strategy in order to inform successfully. They have to be true and convincing in their presentations. And be always aware of the German saying: "In der Kürze liegt die Würze", meaning that the flavour resides in the shortness. You have to be short, pertinent, interesting and exact in your declarations and presentations. Then you will be successful and listened by your public.

I hope and wish that this has been also the case of my exposé that you could easily understand and memorise it.



# Relations between Diplomacy and Media

*Walter Greinert<sup>1</sup>*

I intend to talk about the possible co-operation between diplomats and journalists, knowing that we have agreed yesterday that information policy is only part of public diplomacy.

Is co-operation between these two professions possible or not? In this context I would like to return to Mr. Northrip's saying: "Diplomats and journalists have to co-operate and they have to use each other" - and I add: "In the interest of the good functioning of democracy", while I am conscious of the fact that each of them is coming from different perspectives.

Before entering in some practical case studies I would like to outline the main points of the philosophy on which my day-to-day work is based: we all know that a press department is a service station catering to many - from the minister, to the house, above all to the public and the media representatives in particular.

- Credibility comes first: never tell a lie, even if you are sometimes obliged to omit something, and do not pretend that we are in the best of the worlds.
- Develop an honest intellectual dialogue between equal partners at a time you do not want anything from your counterpart (networking, confidence building).
- I always tell my collaborators that it is not sufficient to create something good - say a press release in understandable terms - you also must do it at the right moment, not too early not too late.
- Speed and deadline thinking, put yourself under pressure and answer journalists' questions immediately or within the shortest time possible.
- On occasion I would hand out an internal document to a journalist when I know that he can get it somewhere else but only with more difficulties; that means I believe in transparency which does not contradict my obligation to keep a secret in the public, national and in the interest of individuals when the publication does harm a person's life out of proportion of the value of the given information.

Case studies:

1. What can one learn from the period when charges were levelled against former UN-Secretary General Waldheim? These were reproaches without proof, but the Austrian representatives always legged behind these reproaches because they were too defensive. The effect was that dementies were only reproduced mostly in a short sentence without contents - that means you have to develop an active strategy and foresee upcoming questions and answer them in time.

2. Austria's preparation for EU membership: the respective information campaign was a common effort of all members of Government and a public relations firm, an effort to convince

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<sup>1</sup> Head of the Press and Information Department, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

the Austrian population that EU membership is useful and lobbying vis-à-vis the Governments of EU member states. The result was that 66,7 % of the Austrians voted for adhesion to the European Union.

3. So-called sanctions of the EU-14 against Austria: this country is and remains a stable democracy respecting human rights and all other European standards (there she even has a better record than many other countries). Austria has the highest part of foreigners in its country, her record as asylum country is internationally recognised (e.g. 95,000 refugees from the Bosnian war region, 66,000 of them being integrated in the Austrian society), readiness of the Austrian population to help neighbours in need.

The relations between public employees and media should be based on dialogue and co-operation in the interests of a lively democracy.

## Relations between Diplomats and Journalists

*Josef Kirchengast<sup>1</sup>*

Except for events like this, journalists usually do not have much time. So my first advice - if I am supposed to give one - would be - to cut the long story short. What you cannot get across within five minutes you probably will never bring over.

In the conventional understanding there is a classical clash of interest between diplomats and journalists. Diplomats have to serve their respective governments by the special skills they have been taught, which means sometimes to hide the truth or at least to adjust it to the conditions of "Realpolitik". Journalists want to find out the truth - at least if they take their profession seriously.

But as we all know things have changed a lot. The globalisation of economy is matched by a globalisation of information and - at least from the European point of view - by a globalisation of values. There is a general understanding that in terms of human rights countries cannot refer any longer to internal affairs and reject interference from abroad in principle.

On the other hand, this globalisation of values has opened a new field of operation for diplomacy, a different type of diplomacy however. In this area of humanitarian issues, generally speaking, diplomacy has to compete especially with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). And it can learn a lot from them - in terms of information management both with respect to timing and effectiveness, as well as by the way those organisations build up and maintain their media networks.

Within the relations between media and diplomacy, I think there is the same crucial point as in international relations in general. And that is building up confidence. Building up confidence requires several preconditions:

- acknowledgement of common values and a minimum of common commitment to them;
- mutual respect of each other's personality, abilities and work, and, of course, patience.

That does not mean to ignore the antagonism - a natural antagonism, I would say - of serious, independent journalism and diplomacy. But from my own experience I can assure you that confidence is always worth while.

Of course, journalists want to get information they can use. But they often are themselves in a dilemma whether to use information they just got for short-term profit, so to say, or to use it in a broader, deeper sense - to increase their experience and expertise. If you want to build up confidence and create a durable relationship with a journalist you think you can rely on, do not try to make things look better or just different than they do.

If you do not want information to be published make it clear right from the beginning. And if you have some second thoughts do not try to hide them. A serious, professional journalist would detect them soon and draw his conclusions.

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Certainly, there is some truth in the words of a well-known French journalist, and I quote: “Les meilleurs accords sont entre les arrière-pensées.” The best agreements are those between the second thoughts. But such agreements require a very high level of both confidence and responsibility. And confidence means also to provide sensitive information to journalists whom you can trust that they will not use this information in an inappropriate way - which sometimes means that they will not publish it, at least for the moment.

On the other hand, be aware of the fact that also in international relations, there is a growing demand for news you can use. Just one example: There are more and more small shareholders who normally would not be very much interested in international politics. But when it comes to how their money is working or not working things are looking quite different. So it is no damage at all for the overall goal of a country's diplomacy to provide economically useful information to the media consumers.

To conclude, I would try a synthesis of what I have been elaborating on:

- As for delivering useful information cut the long story short and make the message as precise and effective as possible.
- As for building up a relationship of mutual trust and understanding with journalists - which is something quite different from comradeship or even fraternisation - invest as much time as you can afford.

# Media Diplomacy in Media Democracy

*Irena Zubčević<sup>1</sup>*

Globalisation is a concept, founded not on balance of power but on supranational bodies that are based on co-operation and decentralisation of power and not on competitiveness and supremacy. This new concept of cosmopolitan considerations of an international political order influences all spheres of today's society and has produced changes in international environment where common and shared values are important. Global international order based on democracy, free commerce and international law, co-operation, partnership and interactivness among nations has also its influence on conducting diplomacy, which has to take into account intertwined international dimension of politics, that cannot function in isolation. Multilateral arrangements and international co-ordination prevail. Likewise, decision-making about foreign policy is no longer a preserve of a few elites, but is increasingly shared by regions, states, non-governmental organisations, businesses and other non-state actors, because with each advance of technology more information becomes available and the interested public becomes broader. Therefore, the increasing number of actors in diplomacy generates larger public interest in conducting foreign policy than was previously the case. Today, diplomacy has to be conducted in the environment where leaders and their public can experience events instantaneously and simultaneously. Communications are instantaneous, international relations have become truly global and have thus become a concern of a general public, because they influence their everyday life. Consequently, influence of public opinion on foreign policy is growing steadily around the world and it is in the interest of policy-makers to increase dialogue between them and the public and thus there should be a concomitant strengthening of public diplomacy.

First example where a need for public diplomacy was expressed can be found in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points when he claims that the European diplomacy should not be conducted secretly by experts, but on the basis of "open agreements, openly arrived at". It has to be pointed out that conduct of European diplomacy was largely a consequence of Westphalian system of nation-states, where each sovereign was exercising supreme, absolute and permanent national authority. In today's world a new system is established in which nations feel secure enough in their identities and in their neighbourhoods to make a virtue out of soft borders and intertwined economies and cultures as well as to grant their regions greater autonomy. Accordingly, this new culture of national and international politics requires a more 'public' face of diplomacy.

Before continuing, let me give an explanation cited in the USIA mission statement, what is public diplomacy, which defines it as well as anything I have found: "To understand, inform, and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest and to broaden the dialogue between national institutions and their counterparts abroad. To accomplish this we explain and advocate our policies in terms that are credible and meaningful in foreign cultures; provide information about our country, the people, values and institutions; build

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lasting relationships and mutual understanding through the exchange of people and ideas; advise our decision-makers on foreign attitudes and their applications for our policies". It shows that a public affairs officer is reaching beyond the government elites who decide policy and is interacting with the larger publics in the respective country as well as with influential people, journalists, academics and other leaders in society who help shape public opinion.

Having in mind this broad definition of public diplomacy, the term that I am going to use for the purpose of this article, which deals with relations between diplomats and journalists, will be media diplomacy, which is just one part of public diplomacy, focused on relations between diplomacy and media.

Diplomacy is no longer restricted to traditional diplomats coming from foreign ministries. These new actors have increasingly transnational and non-territorial interests. They are, as some authors point out, regional authorities that practice cross-border co-operation among various regions in different states and present powerful actors; there are also supranational actors such as the European Union and also firms and non-governmental organisations. Diplomacy which exists on the state-firm basis actually points to the need of negotiations between the state and the business world and also firm-to-firm diplomacy with corporate take-overs and strategic alliances between companies from different countries also determine future trends. NGOs are strong with development co-operation, the environment and humanitarian matters, they have influence in shaping norms, values and moral standards. They are often accepted as informal negotiation partners in international negotiations, in preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building. International organisations also show a trend of increased autonomy, which can be best seen on the example of the UN, which is seeking partnership with civil society.

Therefore, co-operation among diplomats and journalists is very important. A diplomat has to have core traditional skills of reporting, analysing and negotiating, but also public communication skills used to transmit information and policy messages across the media spectrum to key audiences, which requires knowledge of media environment as well as effective internal communications. Thus, media policy is an essential part of the foreign policy leadership, because in every country political leadership is accountable for its policy decisions to the parliament, the press and the public. These decisions should be clearly articulated, so that accurate information flows down through the machinery of government and out to the public.

Despite traditional picture of incompatibility between the government and press relations in foreign affairs because a properly functioning press deals with disclosure and exposure at all times, but the diplomat deals in these terms only in end results, while in obtaining these results he was taught that they could be achieved only through confidentiality and privacy, recognising professional requirements and constraints of the other can be the beginning of a more comfortable relations, because they have a common goal of serving the public. Journalists have information and direct input to public opinion, while diplomats have information and policy insight. A start might be to avoid things that exacerbate the problem. Diplomats should avoid untruths and half-truths, while the press should avoid

automatic assumption that what they hear are lies and to avoid denouncing government officials unless clearly and provably required. The press needs to get the facts of the story and sufficient context to make sense of these facts and then to write an informative story, while the guiding purpose of diplomats is not to hide the screwups of government from legitimate inquiry, but to advance its country's foreign policy interests, which means that at times there will be a limit of what any diplomat can say without compromising those interests. Between these poles there is enough of leeway and almost always enough for diplomats to provide journalists with the grist for a story.

We live in media democracy and increasingly we practice media diplomacy, which means that policies cannot be presented to the public in the abstract, because they are constantly measured against images on television – images that are instantly available around the clock and around the globe. If you can inform people well, media democracy has many advantages, but if policy is swayed by stories without background, then you will get policies that jump from one thing to another. Information must include analysis. The public needs to know what it means for them. Good television is no substitute for either good thought or good policy. Live television does not change the policy, but it does create the environment in which policy is made and it puts pressure on diplomats who are now in a race against time, because they need a decent interval and staff support to sift facts, marshal sober analysis, review policy opinions, scrub them down with experts and reach sound decisions. And in order to have a fair play between the diplomats and journalists, as much as journalists would like to have an instant response to an event, they have to realise that a good decision needs time to be taken, especially when new elements have to be taken into consideration. On the other hand, diplomats, when they have information should not take too much time in shaping it, despite their desire to get as good a media coverage as possible. In this way co-operation between the two groups could be enhanced and a mutual trust established.

To conclude, it would be wise to bear in mind the following words by the CNN Vice President Peter Vesey, who heads network international services: "The process of diplomacy and the process of government are being demystified by the growing awareness that what happens in Tokyo affects prices in Paris, which affects policies in the U.S., which makes Argentina's businessmen look northward. People want to know more. My advice would be to feed that trend positively and not hold back."

## Discussion

### First Plenary Session

#### *Public Diplomacy and Its Role in Foreign Service*

Moderator: Gerhard Reiweger (Deputy-Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna)

Gerhardt Reiweger: Thank you very much Mr. Docal for this insight into the broad range and the intricacies also of US activities in public relations and public diplomacy. Before we move to the questions and answers period, let me first thank and compliment all the members of this panel for keeping so close to the time slot allotted to them. I've chaired quite a lot of panel discussions, but we've never had a panel, which finished so very much on time. Which was important because this gives us this half hour, which we had intended for the discussion or questions and answers. We've heard quite a few ideas, practical experiences, also concepts about public relations, as far as a diplomat's job is concerned. A concept of public diplomacy, the broad concept was presented by Ambassador Höss, and I think we're all interested in going into a more detailed analysis. The floor is open.

Walter Greinert: My name is Walter Greinert. First of all, I would like to congratulate all the panellists for the very comprehensive remarks, and being myself a journalist for more than 20 years, I am familiar with most of the issues raised here, and when it comes to the analysis of public diplomacy versus traditional diplomacy. But, I think, one thing has only been touched very briefly upon in Ambassador Höss's statement and a little bit more in Mr Docal's statement. I think, one of the things we are facing today is a completely changing environment once again in the public diplomacy. While we could rely, at least in places which were not that much in the focus of the international interest in foreign policy, on documents or material which are being produced by the ministries to be sent out to various embassies and consulates in order to be used in public diplomacy, the programmes and so on, we face now a kind of real-time information going around the world in seconds. I believe, and it is very important for the credibility of our own public diplomacy that we have to be in a position to give answers also more or less in real time, because what we are facing now, and particularly from the media side, we get a question 10 minutes after a speech somewhere in the world was delivered. And, I think there is a huge responsibility now for the various ministries, for the agencies to provide the missions abroad who are in the forefront of public diplomacy with the necessary information, and my feeling is that at least in many ministries, in many agencies, some in my country as well, this has not been realised yet. Because they think, as Ambassador Höss said, information is power and sharing power is difficult. And, we feel that very often in our service, as well, that we do not have the information we need in order to answer a quick question after an event. And, I think, that is something that has to be taken into consideration by the ministry.

Gerhardt Reiweger: Anyone likes to comment?

Allen Docal: If I may add a line to that. I think there is also a sense that the media has to show some responsibility. It's a two-way street. I agree with you that there is that, again the CNN factor, there is that instancy that the minute something happens in one place we, wherever we are, have to comment. And as you can all imagine, being the US, we are



probably put in the hot seat more than almost everybody else is, because we comment on everything. But there is also a sense on the other side, and that is, that we in that mission, in that embassy, in that building, or in our case, going back to Washington which is six hours behind Croatian time, let's use this as an example, we need a few minutes to think. And we can't just have, you know, the 30-second snapshot, sort of that's gonna go on the six o'clock news, in 5 minutes. In a lot of issues, we need to check back with our home office, namely, Washington. And, if it's 10 o'clock in the morning here and there has been some, and I'm just making up an example, if minister Picula has made some comment at nine thirty, half of Washington, if not all of Washington, is sleeping. And *Novi list*, and I'm picking only *Novi list* because I see a friend there, I hope, can't expect me to answer back at 9:35. It just doesn't work. And I think as much as we need more guidance from home, which is I think what you were referring to, I think, we also need to start working with the media and explaining back that criticism, and that is that you can't expect that instant gratification, without giving us some time to think. For example, our phones don't stop ringing and I answer both Croatian media as well as American media that may be interested in issues. I have a boss, I mean, most of you Croatians know who it is. I have to find him before I can, sort of, you know, discuss an issue. He is not always available. It's a very clear fact, human issue. That's it. So I think it works both ways. It's what I was trying to get in.

Walter Greinert: I would like to continue in this same line of argument by commenting the sentence of Ambassador Höss saying. I would say that you seem to underestimate the role of the press department and the public relations officer. When I'm thinking of, for instance, my time in Washington, when my Ambassador, during the Waldheim affair said: "You are in the first line and I'm covering you." And I had to talk without coverage from the government back home in the talk shows, I think this active role is somehow describing the development of public diplomacy and press work. In former times, everything, which was not in the files, didn't exist. Now, everything, which is not existing in the media, is, not only unknown, but also non-existent. And I think, therefore, this equal role, of press work and information work and diplomatic decision-making, so to say, this is not yet really popular in the foreign service. And there we should really educate our own people.

Friedrich Höss: I'd like to reply to those gentlemen. The discussion needs a little bit of clarification, I think. What you both said was more information policy. I mean, the thing, is, nobody would interfere, I think, in the daily information policy with the public and press office. My concept of public diplomacy is target-oriented. And for that, you need a project leader to follow a certain target, to pursue a target. And for that purpose, whoever that is, it might be even the head of the public relations office, of the press office for one purpose. But for another, then all the others are under this project leader, for that special purpose. And this has to be clarified, because what you both referred to is, and I think it's very important, the real-time issue, what you said. But then what you need to take in this quest, which what in my definition doesn't really come under public diplomacy is that you need, for smaller countries it's better to have daily telephone conversation with the policy-makers at home. Then you really get the insight. I mean, the desk officer for you should just call you, or you him. Because, even Mr Hostman wouldn't know everything in your case until it comes down to him. So, I think that is the question. I'll give you an example. When I visited with the FBI,

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then FBI director, he had the CNN on. Whilst I talked I said: Why do you have CNN on, you should...”, but he said: “No, when it’s shown on CNN, I’m glad, because then I can alert my people. In very many cases it’s earlier on CNN, than even with the FBI”. So, that’s the real-time question, but I really would advise to consider this information policy as one, you could say, general public diplomacy, but in my definition, the public diplomacy are special targets, special issues that have to be taken care of. That’s what I wanted to say.

Richard Linning(Consultant for EU Government Relations, P.R.P.): My name is Richard Linning. I’m from Brussels, and I span the three worlds. I was a journalist, I was a diplomat with the Hong Kong Government, and now I am in the area of consultancy, which was, quite correctly, criticised earlier. I find no fault with what you said and advocated earlier. I would like to take up the problem of real-time. You quoted CNN earlier. Those of you who’ve read Stephanopolous’s book will know that, the President was waiting to go on air to announce that missiles had been launched against Iraq. It was CNN that gave the news that they had landed, ahead of the intelligence sources. So, he was able to go and to announce to the American public that it had happened. But, I think that the key thing that is missing in real time, and dealing with this issue is the question of anticipation. I agree very much with what you were saying about targeting the information. I think that part of the problem of dealing with public diplomacy is the question of evaluation. I know that in the work that I’ve done with, and for various governments, the problem is evaluation. I can give good advice and some people will recall what I’ve said about the waste of money spent on supplements and the like. Now, if that money is put into anticipation of events, then I think the identified problems here become much easier to resolve, that is, there are more resources devoted to sharing information, to anticipating questions, to anticipating the problems. Then, I think a lot of challenges can be overcome. But, if evaluation is simply evaluation of the number of press releases which are generated, the number of other things which are issued, and no evaluation at all takes account of the influence of that, then I think, communication is not as good as it should be and not effective as it should be, nor is the advocacy, part of diplomacy, as successful as it can be.

Bojan Grobovšek(Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia): I am now Ambassador from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia, but I am a former journalist. I joined the service in January 92. On that question, particularly, I am addressing myself to Ambassador Höss. You depicted it in a plastic way, I mean, the role of information a few decades ago and now, the difference which exists. Now, I am asking you since you have many years of experience in the foreign service: “How much discretion should we keep in diplomacy, in secrecy, if you want, in foreign service?” And in the diplomatic service, diplomacy, and so on and so forth. Particularly, the new countries, new democracies, countries in transition, where nothing was really public, where everything was secret as we all very well know. Now, we are often facing the other side of the coin. Everything is supposed to be public. And sometimes it seems, and in fact we know it, sometimes this is even endangering some of the diplomatic negotiating processes and so on. OK, this is my question, which is not addressed only to Ambassador Höss, [but] to all the participants of the panel.

Friedrich Höss: Well, I do realise and I admit that it is a very very important question, I

mean, the limits of public diplomacy that's what you refer to. Well, I think first of all there are some general limits: legality and rule of law, public and political acceptance in the receiving state and non-interference in internal matters, that is broad. Now what you addressed, we've all witnessed that, and I think it is a question of the organisational position of a country, of the size and of the political military importance. I do think that the question of, let's say, negotiations between the United States and Russia, of Mr Putin. The conditions for Russia to ratify START-2 and enter into discussions of START-3 is not exactly a question for public diplomacy. Only after they have agreed to do that, then you could do it. But very few of us come into such a situation. I'm in a position to act from such a point. So, I think when you are a member of a negotiating team, or a member of the EU, most of the questions, more or less, if you don't say them, if you don't play with them, others will use them. Mostly, it is a question if the public is also interested in them. I mean, if you take the coming IGC, it's a very very important thing: Intergovernmental Conference, but I personally don't believe that you can create much public feeling for it. Because, they are technical questions. So, I can only advise that you can use public diplomacy as a trial balloon, for instance, for your own public that I would say, if you want that. If not, there must be one last resort in a ministry or in a government where you can hold at least as long as it is politically advisable. I mean that is what absolutely has to be. And there must not be this false understanding of democracy, which requires absolute information at all levels. I think that is not so, and there are many, many old democracies who are a good example for that.

Mislav Kukoč: If I can try to comment your answer and your question, concerning the Croatian experience. Croatia as a transition country, post-communist country with a very short tradition of independent politics, very short tradition of diplomacy – only ten years, but when we speak, when we talk about this relationship between the public and secret diplomacy, what concerns me, it is this so-called secret traditional diplomacy which was characteristic of past ten years of Croatian politics. Not only secret diplomacy, but secret and non-public politics, and it was not good politics and not effective politics and diplomacy. For example, in the internal affairs at home, this policy produced very bad development and economic results, and in this authoritarian regime everything was proclaimed as top secret, as confidential, but the purpose of this policy was to cover privileges of one small élite group which brought this country in this very bad state. On the other hand, diplomacy, Croatian diplomacy, produced also very bad results; on the international level, it produced isolation of Croatia; as you all know, Croatia was an isolated country and not respected in the international community. This was the reason why Croatian new policy desperately needs public politics, and particularly public diplomacy, and with public diplomacy, especially to work together with the media, with open democratic media, I think that new Croatian policy can reach much better results. And can make big progress in approaching Euro-Atlantic integration, which is the main goal of Croatian foreign policy.

Allen Docal: I would like to add something. Earlier, when the Ambassador [Höss] gave the speech, he talked about targeted audiences, and yet he also said that, for example, in a situation such as START-2 and President Putin, there would really be no need for a public diplomacy campaign because the general public is not interested. But one of the things that you can do is to target your public diplomacy. You may not have a general public, the entire Russian people involved, but you can certainly send for, for example, a group of six journal-

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ists, six opinion makers, members of a think tank, in Moscow, whatever, who will influence the Duma's debate to meet with the counterparts in Washington for a week or two. In our case, that falls under public diplomacy guidelines and budget. So, what I'm trying to say, I'm not trying to disagree with you, but there are elements that you can implement, not perhaps a hundred percent of the time, but certainly, I would say, in a majority of issues. In different manners, shapes or forms.

Friedrich Höss: I would like to say something, otherwise we'd forget. You see, in your case, in the case of Croatia, what should also imply, I think, are hard effects on the economy. If a French, German or whatever company wants to build something or sell something, you should take into account a little bit what you get back, what you get back in the integration policy. I mean, this is allowed, absolutely allowed, and make these big bosses of these companies go back to their heads of states and to their heads of government. So, I think, we should really talk business now, I mean, this is also part of public diplomacy. That's what I wanted to add.

Irena Zubčević: Now that we have heard comments from diplomats and former journalists who have become diplomats it would be interesting to hear from somebody who is currently a journalist. I know that this topic is probably more provocative for diplomats than for journalists, but it would be interesting to hear their side, too. I would just like to add a comment to what Mr Linning has said. We had a conference here last year, which was called "Knowledge Management", and I think it is important how we manage knowledge. We have to bear in mind that public diplomacy is a much wider term than just managing information. What is very important is how you manage public diplomacy when you are under time constraint and you have to work against real-time. I think that it is very important what Mr. Docal has said that public diplomacy is not created after foreign policy, but is a parallel process. Thus, it is very welcoming what Dr. Kukoč has said that Croatian Foreign Ministry will create a think tank, because with policy planning many things can be then anticipated and this will simplify everyday work. It has also to be underlined that information *per se* is not enough for a diplomat or for creating foreign policy. What is important is what you do with this information and when it becomes knowledge then you can do something with it. So, anticipation in present time when information is instantaneous and often in real-time, is important as it makes life easier for a diplomat.

Friedrich Höss: Madam, I wanted to tell you, but you still concentrate yourself on information. I want to say if my target is to become a member of the European Union, and then I know that there are three countries that are important for me, I make a policy how to influence [this country]. You have to target the big bosses of decision-making and decision-influencing; they could be, I don't know, newspaper like *Le Monde* or *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, among others, but you have to create, you have to target decision-makers in industry and whatever the interests of such countries are. And only then, after that, you can also use information policy. But the main thing of public diplomacy is to use all these levels of decision-makers and opinion-leaders which are not necessarily in the media, which also can be in the media, but in many - three, four, five countries and then create an atmosphere, that's what I wanted to say.

Gerhardt Reiweiger: OK, I think at this point of our discussion we have reached the core issue, and I also want to take up a comment by Mr Kukoč in that context. Obviously, if public diplomacy is a guiding principle, which has a strategy behind it, it needs a focused approach and the media or working with the media is part of this strategy. That is what you've said, obviously, it would be nice to know that we have all the media, sort of, behind us, but that is not how things work, because the media are not a government instrument. And that is why I said this is the core issue for the whole seminar, and that is where we have, I think, made a very good start, identified this question which will then give food for discussion in the next one and a half days. We've used the time that was allotted to us, we are on time, and we can have a little break and will meet again in half an hour for the second panel.

### *Role of Media in Democracy*

Moderator: Bojan Grobovšek

Moderator: Thank you very much Mr Vukov-Colić for describing this specific issue, which you called the Croatian situation. At the same time, you generalise saying that this is the situation that is rather typical for countries in transition. Of course, it would be, I think, very positive to hear opinions from participants coming from other countries in transition. Either they agree or disagree with you. Now, thank you to all of you, you really contributed a lot. We have eight minutes left. We have to be punctual. And I would like to open the floor in terms of questions. The spectrum was very broad.

Walter Greinert: I think, first I have to comment Mrs Miller's words, that most of the time journalists get lies from public employees ...

Irene Miller: Selective truth.

Walter Greinert: ... selective, even selective. I think if we depart from the philosophy that there should be a mutual trust, confidence between public employees and journalists, even if the two are departing from different perspective. And, if you respect this perspective, then I would say, we are also human beings who can make mistakes, who can try to find their truths and honestly answer questions of journalists. I think, this honesty serves the public employee. If he wants to maintain his credibility or the credibility of his work, he will avoid any lie, he will even try to avoid selective truths. But he can also omit sometimes, things he doesn't know. I heard very often in my ministry, an information officer, a public relation officer ... he has to know everything. He cannot say "Ich weiss das nicht". Well, sometimes, I dare say "Ich weiss das nicht" please find your way, I'll give you a part of my truth and then go on. So, I think, the intellectual dialogue between public employee and journalist – this is the most important part of our co-operation. You will answer because you say we get always only selective information. This is very often not willingly, not consciously, especially, because we know that the technology and the means of finding information is today such that we cannot hide behind a lie or a selective truth. For me, a selective truth is also a lie, I would say. And I would say that the public employee who wants to serve his State, the national interests, he can explain to the journalist, to his counterpart, off-the-record, off-off-the-record etc. three, four times "off", and I must thank the whole journalistic profession, very rarely this "off-off-off" is broken. I got sometimes, I fell into something, but for most of



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the time, 98% of the case is, the journalists also then respected this “off-off-off”. It is part of the culture. We have for instance, in Switzerland background information between government, and background session between editors-in-chief and the government. They are “off-off”, and if editor-in-chief breaks this “off”, he is excluded, he is excluded from his own people, and also from the government.

Irene Miller: If I were not an Austrian journalist and knew what effect truthful information has upon my work, I wouldn't have chosen such a topic. I know very well - and if you speak of it, let me tell it publicly - that we get a truthful information. And I never like you better than when you say: “I don't know, please ask another person”. This is quite clear. I did not speak of a situation like in Austria between the Foreign Ministry and the press. No question. But, what I spoke of is a situation for instance, like the American gentleman said before, when information for foreign use is not meant by law to be for home consumption. I mean, if this is not a sign for not entirely truthful information, I don't know what is.

Dunja Pastizzi-Ferenčić (ex-Deputy Executive Secretary UN ECE): I would like to quote Mrs Afentouli who started this excellent panel by stating that one of major tasks for journalists in our region is to fight stereotypes. I fully agree with her. Later on, very many examples were added to the truthful information and inheritance of the Cold War in transition countries when the stereotypes should be fought. A question that I have for our journalist friends on the podium is that what I noted in this region is something which I could call “self-imposed” censorship. Very often when I was in a position to give very truthful information on certain economic or political issues, and I noted, in my experience that they said “Oh, I couldn't publish that, because my editor or my government wouldn't like it”. Because in all these countries the media and the journalists are financially limited by the existential problems, and this self-imposed censorship is, in my opinion something we should really address, either through some professional associations, or through international organisations, because we should never disregard their financial dependence on the political parties and government.

Lois Bianchi (U.S. Fulbright Scholar – Professor of Journalism): I totally agree with you and I must add that self-imposed censorship is not only characteristic of totalitarian or semi-totalitarian states, but the core of issue is when we impose to ourselves censorship because we think that the question or an issue is against the so-called *raison d'état*. And, this is the real, if you want for me, this is the real argument and, to fight this perception is to strengthen democratic institutions, because only a strong democracy - and then the United States offer paradigm - only a very strong democracy can stand attacks to the so-called *raison d'état*. Because, we as professionals, we know very well that but many times, while covering foreign policy issues, we don't abandon our national identity. And this is, I think, this is legitimate. This is not an attack, a category I make. This is legitimate. Because we are working for society, we're working for the public opinion. So, this is the real question, in my opinion, for democratic states.

Pave Brailo(representative of Dubrovnik-Neretva County): If I may just say something maybe on behalf of an average news consumer. The people living in Dubrovnik, had, for a long time, a situation that those that desperately wanted to read the independent *Novi list* from Rijeka had to wait an extra day. Because of the inaccessibility of this city, we had to wait for the boat and read the news of a previous date. And we were happy and thankful to have it. But, there is another situation, I would like to add, if it is possible because this is maybe a question for a round table, and since there are so many participants from the countries in transition, maybe a graph that shows how much papers are sold in this countries could give us also a good answer. I can tell you that I was very, very unhappy when the weekly political *Tjednik* vanished, because of the kind of articles that I liked to read. Maybe the answer is that the segment of readers was not sufficiently big enough to keep it alive in the market, but it had such good articles and the journalists writing for it were top professionals. They were really those that are fully involved in research journalism and I really dare say that I feel, kind of, unhappy after it vanished from the market. The other thing is that those people that speak languages and try to read the foreign press, because, honestly speaking, I always prefer to take *Newsweek* or *Economist* or any other and go to the Island of Lokrum, enjoy the fragrances of the pine trees and read the articles or fragments or columns or whatever they are, but many people that can't have it, because it is too expensive for them, they do not read them, they do not peruse them. In the transition countries, I think, in many places where people work and they really can become the decision-makers, especially in economy or finances, they must have the situation when someone briefs them or those people that love to read at least give information to them. We have Internet, but how can we use our time and decide what is important and what is not. And having the only pair of eyes that the God has given to us, for the life time.

## Second Plenary Session

### *Foreign Policy and Media in the Stability Pact Process*

Moderator: Mario Horvatić (Head of the Department for Peace and Security, MFA of the Republic of Croatia)

Moderator: Thank you very much for the questions and ideas that you have put in front of us for further discussion. I, sort of, expected that your presentation will be a provoking one and you have not disappointed me. Especially stern was your judgement that diplomats and journalists are not obliged to work together. And, in principle, I think that we can agree with this attitude. Work together - no, this is maybe dangerous, but to do the work in a way that we help each other or at least not put obstacles to each other's work is maybe a good definition of a co-operation, which is not a co-operation. And I think this type of co-operation would show the strength of both professions, like Ambassador Höss, I think this morning has said, whoever is sitting on knowledge and sitting on information is just showing weakness, and not strength. With this, we have passed through our keynote speeches, I would open now the floor for discussion and I already see my dear friend Hans Dieter Steinbach, please take the floor.

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Hans-Dieter Steinbach (Ambassador, Deputy Head of the OSCE Mission to Croatia): If I may add to the many questions that have been right now raised in keynote speeches another one: "Should the role of the foreign service and media in the Stability Pact be a decreasing one?" I'm putting this question because, you mentioned that this year we celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. But, we're also celebrating another very important event for European history, that is the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Schuman Declaration. And, indeed, when Schuman in 1950 stated that security and stability in Europe should be very important goals, he was thinking in economic terms, having in mind, of course, the history, in particular, the history between Germany and France. And, in fact, the result of this famous Coal and Steel Union in 1950 was the creation of the European Union in 1957. So, in the times of Cold War we had the CSCE, as it was at the time, in trying to create a framework for a comprehensive approach to stability and security in Europe. Today, you mentioned it, Mr Bešker, we have the declarations of Cologne and Sarajevo in the framework of the Stability Pact. So we have another framework for stability. The question is: "Diplomats and foreign policy, did they do their job?" I mean, we have now the documents, we have the framework, we have the Working Tables in the Stability Pact, we had the first funding conference just two weeks ago, and it was quite encouraging to see how much money was given to the Pact, although, I agree, it's not just giving money, things have to be developed in the proper sense. But, when we look at the diplomatic framework, I think, the European Union after the Schuman Declaration, although based on economic co-operation, would not have been created without the work of the diplomats and the foreign policy; it would not have been created without the constructive approach of the media; and I believe, from what we've seen today – yes, diplomats and media have to contribute to the create a framework. But the implementation of the Stability Pact has to be also in the hands of NGOs, of the economic circles of this country, because only that we can create a framework of stability for this region.

Moderator: Would you like to respond?

Inoslav Bešker (Rome Correspondent, *Jutarnji list*): Well, I shouldn't blame the diplomats for the timing - not so well as we hoped during the first weeks of implementation of the Stability Pact. I suppose that we have to blame, when speaking about diplomacies, the lacking of political will among the governments. Diplomats are only a transmission, they can make this transmission better, or not, but they are not authorised to create politics. On the other side, if we try to search for an answer on the same question in media – analysing papers, TV, radio, or Internet - then maybe we can note some lack of political will in several, or in all nations involved. We can also see that the language of media changes parallel with the changing of governmental politics, or several weeks before the change of a political will. For instance, we can see how the language of the media changed in some papers of the Moslem area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, even in the *Dnevni avaz*, closely before this change was expressed during the political consultation.

Moderator: Ambassador would you like to add, being an expert on Stability Pact?

Spyros Dokyanos: Well, I have to add that fortunately, or unfortunately, we have a long way to go and diplomats are badly needed because we should not forget the whole exercise for the foundation of this beautiful dream which I call the Stability Pact started some time in



early May last year and we were in the heart of that tragic conflict in our area which caused a lot of suffering everywhere and - yes, we are needed, but we have to be aided all the time by the dictators of the pen, of the pencil, and the same time, like the Ambassador noticed. It is the time of the NGOs to play a very important role. Nobody knows exactly the value of those NGOs. Some of them are colourful as I witnessed when I was ambassador to Brasilia, and we had a meeting there, and we also had in Beijing China, where I came from last year, the World Conference on Women, and there we saw a number of NGOs, that did play a very important role and they even shook up certain governments and certain authorities. So, now we are in front of reality, we said the Stability Pact is a great hope for this area, it has to be helped by all of us, by powerful countries, by the beneficiaries themselves, and if we fail, there is no hope, we do not have the right to fail, we must not disappoint the young democracies of the area, this is the only hope in my view.

Moderator: Thank you Mr Ambassador. I couldn't agree more with you, and this was obviously, a very good question to ask, because all three of us feel the need to respond to it. So, I would just like to add to what the keynote speakers have said. Yes, NGOs, economic sector should now take the implementation into their hand, but the work of the diplomats, as Mr Bešker has said, they are relaying a political will. And what is maybe the most important is that through this framework that the diplomats have shaped there is a huge political signal behind it. All countries of the region, of the South Eastern Europe are now working with the same goal and are utilising the same tactics, the same strategy, through the Stability Pact, except one. And even a part of this country that has this misfortune of having a wrong regime is an early participant of the Pact. So this political signal of the unified political will and unified strategy of moving towards European integrations, I think, is the greatest capital that the Pact has already introduced. And now the implementation, as Ambassador Dokyanos said, is something, which we must have and must do, because, otherwise the whole political process will be reversed.

Richard Linning: I'm not a diplomat, so I'm allowed to be undiplomatic. I have to disagree on the question of NGOs. But I would like to begin, if I may, by telling you about a sign that used to be on the desk of President Reagan. It read: "There is no limit to what a man can achieve, provided that he doesn't mind who gets the credit for it." One of the problems with the Stability Pact, as seen from Brussels which is the perspective that I have, is that the European Union has been reluctant to follow-up its commitment to the Stability Pact, because the perception in Brussels, and by Brussels I also mean member states of the European Union, is that they would not get sufficient credit. And the other problem as perceived from Brussels and expressed in European Union meetings, is that part of the problem of the region is the proliferation of NGOs. I would like to have the comment of the three of you on those two points, which are points as reported quite strongly in Brussels.

Moderator: Thank you very much for this very welcome diversity of opinion. This always makes discussion more interesting. Whoever would like to respond or comment upon this, I would not dare, actually.

Spyros Dokyanos: It is true that many people doubted the sincereness of the European Union, and the real aims they had concerning the Stability Pact. But, we should not forget that it was an initiative started by the European Union. It was the German Presidency that

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started the whole thing; allow me to say that our small country assisted the German side wholeheartedly, because we are in the immediate neighbourhood and we do care. So, it was the initiative of the European Union; the problem was a little bit technical later, but you must know, living in Brussels, Mr Linning that we had a very meaningful, important and very fruitful regional funding conference last week on the, not last week, two weeks ago on 29 and 30 March which really produced results and the European Union contributed by a very, very considerable amount of money; almost half of the amount offered, pledged, was coming from the European Union. Yes, we so far we have not had the presence of NGOs in various meetings, but most of our leaders in the European Union countries do want to have the NGOs present, and this will come soon. Some time in the middle of May we're going to host in Thessaloniki the second meeting of the Regional Table of the Stability Pact. And, there is a, of course, serious thought to invite many representatives of NGOs. Because, especially my Minister does believe in the presence of those and the work of the NGOs, as he also believes in the diplomacy of the citizens, as he calls it.

Moderator: Since I am also the co-ordinator of Croatia for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Working Table, this is the experience that I have, and I remember that in Sarajevo, at the meeting of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Working Table on security issues, presence of NGOs was quite considerable. So, I guess that the NGOs do have a role to play in the process, that they should be introduced into the process. But, I think that with the NGOs is the same case as with the beneficiaries, the countries-beneficiaries of the Pact. Just a few days ago we had a very detailed discussions with Bodo Hombach, special co-ordinator of the Pact who visited Zagreb, and he once again mentioned how in the Financing Conference that took place in Brussels at end of March nearly five and a half billion EURO that exist, [have] remained not allocated, not earmarked, because there were not enough concrete projects that could have been financed. So, it is one thing to say that the NGOs should be introduced and active in the process. But it's as with the countries, the question of their concrete contribution, and then we can discuss the modalities of co-operation, in my opinion.

Hans-Dieter Steinbach: I'm sorry to take the floor again, but I must admit I tend to disagree with your assessment. Also from the OSCE point of view, I think, what we're looking for in this region is stability, definitely. And, I firmly believe, that stability without a sound, fundamental civil society cannot work. And, I do believe that to create a civil society in the pure sense of the word - and this is something this region has been lacking for quite a while - is only possible through the help of NGOs. Not exclusively, but with the help of NGOs. And, of course, as a German, I know very well how difficult the negotiations were on the Stability Pact, and certainly, what criticism was raised when it came to NGO inclusion, shouldn't it be a kind of inter-state agreement, kind of that. Yes, definitely that's true, but still without including all groups of civil society into the process I do not believe that lasting stability can be achieved.

Spyros Dokyanos: Just to continue my thought on what I was saying before. There was a certain reluctance, but let me be frank with you. The reason among certain powerful European partners was the following. They wanted first to be sure that in the beneficiary countries there would be drastic reforms, reorganisation, fighting corruption, and all these things would indeed help leaders to be supported by their public opinions in order to grant the funds.

Moderator: This is obviously a very hot issue that has spurred up the discussion. Are there any other questions or comments? Yes, there are two ladies. I'm very happy to have you, please.

Romanian Lady: I think I have to introduce myself, firstly, because you don't know me. I come from Romania and I'm on some other seminar, but I thought that this seminar is very interesting, and I wanted to assist.

Moderator: We welcome you, Madam.

Romanian Lady: My question is a little more general one, and I would like to push the discussion a little further. I don't know, if it is a little further or a little backward, but you kept talking about the role of media to inform the population, especially in this field of foreign policy. But, I think that something that is almost all the time forgotten is the fact that the population doesn't have, let's say, a minimum knowledge that would help it to understand and to process those data that, let's say, some newspapers give to the population. So, what do you think about that appeal that is so often heard nowadays, actually, to educate the population in order that the major part of it, ninety percent, let's say, or eighty, be able to understand and to process the information and to be able to understand what's happening with their country, especially in the foreign relationship of their country with the others. That is my question, thanks.

Moderator: Yes, thank you. And I see here a role for the media *par excellence*. Maybe if you could comment on it?

Inoslav Bešker: The answer to this question deserves several books, not only several phrases, so ... It's obvious that there is no democracy without information, without good information, without penetrating information. On the other side, in our countries - in yours as well in mine - we witnessed how the information on democracy penetrated in the public through the papers, through the media. Information that came from abroad how others did it was a kind of implementation of democratic mind in our countries, too. I suppose that the media have always this educational role. Media are information, they are education, they are entertainment. If you can't have all those three elements in one paper, or on one TV net, etc. - that medium is out, it cannot find its market. I'm aware that this job is not finished, it's one job, which cannot be finished, not until we die, because, always new generations arrive, and they have always to be educated for democracy. The best education for democracy is practice: democratic practice or practicing democracy. Democratic practice must begin in elementary school, in the classroom, which ought to be a kind of democratic forum too. Democratic practice has to be a kind of permanent education. The media have their role in the same process, contributing to this education with good information, i.e. with true and realistic information.

Spyros Dokyanos: Of course, education is the basic characteristic of good societies. And, of course, like you say, it is needed, we have to educate our people. And, like Mr Bešker said, it can be done through the papers, in general, in mass media. Only we have people, when people know how to read, what to read, we produce democratic citizens, and it is also the imitation of the examples of the others. We all went through very difficult periods, like Mr Bešker mentioned, in our country, and we are very happy to say that we have one of the very good democracies, of the best, following a seven-year military junta period. So, you are

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taught by the sins of the past, and now you can also do the same in your very good and civilised countries, and, I think, steps are being taken in order to improve the quality of political life. And I had the chance to travel a lot around our area, these last seven months I've been a national co-ordinator, and I saw remarkable progress in all the countries of the area.

Moderator: I hope this has shed some light on the problem that you have raised, and I thank you for raising it. It's a never-ending process of education that lies, I think, on three pillars: family and inherited values, schooling system, educational system and, of course, media as the essential part of it. The lady has asked for the floor. I apologise for made you wait so long, but I think this was an interesting discussion. Please, you have the floor, Madam.

Lois Bianchi: I'm not sure that this is appropriate, I'm American and I know that our view of the role of media is very different, but something does puzzle me a little bit, and I wonder if you might address it. The notion of education, information and entertainment. I have no quarrel with it, it's certainly what, I think, we aim for as well, but the idea that the media would in any way be responsible for seeing to the success of the Stability Pact or any other policy is very puzzling to me, because, if I may put it very bluntly, even should it fail, it would still be a news story, and it would still be something for the journalists to write about. I'm puzzled at the notion that there's a sense that you have a responsibility to see that it succeeds. And is this just a totally different culture, or am I missing something else?

Inoslav Bešker: Well, I can say that there were some media who put this question of their responsibility before any other did it. You know, the Western governments decided their intervention in Bosnia, and then in Kosovo, only after two years in the first case, and in the second case after several weeks of pressure of the media on their governments. So the journalists had accepted their responsibility for the information, not for the politics, not for the issue, but for the realistic information - which changed the public opinion even in the United States and which made a pressure even on the government of the United States. I remember quite well the position of, for instance, Deputy State Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger in the beginning of the nineties, and a different position, for instance, of Madeleine Albright. The position of the State Department changed after the pressure from the media.

Lois Bianchi: If I may. Are you saying that you believe it was a deliberate effort by American media to push foreign policy, American foreign policy, to bomb in Yugoslavia, because I don't see it in that way at all. I see it that it may have had that effect, but I think it's different.

Inoslav Bešker: Yes, that's a more precise definition, but that's it.

Lois Bianchi: What I think I'm hearing here is that you're urging the media to get behind this and sell it. And, that's, I think, what I'm a little bit puzzled about.

Inoslav Bešker: No, they didn't push the US foreign policy to bomb Bosnia, but after several months of realistic describing of the atrocities suffered by the civil population they have written that the Serbian forces in Bosnia have to be bombed. I read it in American papers before the bombing of Serbian positions in Bosnia. Not everybody thought so, but those who wrote it, they thought so, didn't they?

Richard Linning: I think this is a very interesting area, myself, because you're talking in terms of information. Now, part of the role of diplomacy, part of the role of public affairs, and part of the role of what I do, as a lobbyist, is actually to use information to change perceptions. We can go back, for example to "Desert Storm", and public perception shaped in America the result of an interview with a "Kuwaiti" about Iraqis tearing children out of incubators. Totally false, the interviewee was the daughter of the Ambassador. Manipulation of opinion. Very recently, on a television in the United Kingdom was a programme called "Moral Conflict", and for those of you who saw that, you saw interviews with leaders of the KLA[Kosovo Liberation Army], and they didn't name the diplomat that gave them the advice, but they said they were told "You won't get EU, NATO, American support until there are five thousand bodies." And the KLA adopted a policy of provocation to generate the bodies and then to generate the press coverage that went with it, and the consequence of that was the change of perception. So, there are a number of types of information, and it is all legitimate and real to use them to form public opinion.

Inoslav Bešker: Yes, we can mention some other isolated cases like that, for instance, the Timișoara bodies, if you remember, in the last days of Ceaușescu's life. But those cases are isolated. I didn't want to speak about the role of media out of this South Eastern Europe, out of the countries in transition. The information from Bosnia hammered and hammered the public opinion for days, for weeks and for months and it was not the result of any lobby. It was a fact and not propaganda that the people died in shelters in the town of Sarajevo for more than a thousand days. That was a real situation, which couldn't be created by any lobby in this world.

Moderator: On the other hand, we are, of course, all aware of the facts of the world that we live in, and the notion of five thousand bodies. We know how certain mechanisms react slowly and they need a really big, and sometimes, bloody push.

Lada Stipičić-Niseteo(EU/NATO Correspondent, "Večernji list", Brussels): If I may return to the Stability Pact. Well, the only language people, common people in the region understand is the language of better life. From Brussels I can write a lot of articles, I can write everything, I can promise everything, I can inform on everything, but people can only understand the promise of better life. And the proof of it. You can have a lot of different documents, ideas, statements, everything, but people, they want money, they want a job, they want future. And this is the most important. We can just talk beautiful stories, but they are not able to receive them. This is the message: give the people better life, and you will have peace, you will have co-existence, you will have co-operation, everything.

Moderator: Yes, basically, what you have just mentioned could pass for a definition of stability as we see it. Ambassador, you wanted to add a word to it?

Spyros Dokyanos: It is true that the countries of the region, the public opinion has had and still has many expectations, they did not want talk bla, bla, bla. They wanted deeds, they wanted money, and they wanted jobs, like you said. Yes, we have, however, to be a little bit more patient because, as I said, the Pact was born in the minds of certain Europeans last May. It was finally in June and in July in Cologne and in Sarajevo that the baby of the European Union was born and it took some time, of course, to materialise the programmes, etc. And do

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not forget that just on 16 September last year we had the inaugural meeting in Brussels of the World Bank, of the European Investment Bank, of the Commission. They know their job well, be sure that very soon we'll have very good results and all those good programmes and projects will start coming into being shortly. Indeed, the European Union and all other IFIs do work well and the peoples of this area will soon benefit from the gathering of this remarkable amount of money.

Dražen Vukov-Colić (Commentator, "Novi list", Rijeka): To comment very, very briefly on the question raised by our American friend. I completely agree that the media has now a special role in defending the so-called "higher moral grounds" to play a profit. To always play a role of the absolute rightful guidance, or something like that. To play a God in small. But, I do believe that the media are responding to the main task of the media. And the main task of the media is to have a fair, correct, balanced and unbiased reporting, and that only such kind of reporting should prevail. It is enough to tell the truth. And, in diplomacy or politics, we are only defending one's special interest and not the interest of the public opinion, or some kind of the highest moral value. That kind of fair and balanced reporting would change the situation by itself. Because not only media people are the ones who should change the situation. The situation is changed by their readers, by the viewers. That's public opinion. The journalists are not making public opinion. Public opinion is more general, and, I would say, journalists are only a part of the processing of the information. Not the only part, or the exclusive part. So I'm saying to abide by the rule of our profession, I'm repeating once again, it is unbiased, fair, correct, objective, informative media that would bring the change.

Moderator: If I can just make a short comment. I think you're both right and wrong at the same time. I don't mean wrong in the bad sense, but you said that media do not change public opinion and do not create reactions, but the readers do. But, we, of course, cannot deny the influence of the media on the public opinion, being maybe a major factor that creates it. On the other hand, you are also right because we see that those media who do not abide by the professional rules, who are, as we say, "yellow", who are untrue, very quickly disappear from the market and are rejected.

Inoslav Bešker: Maybe the Croatian situation is a little bit specific one. Italian too.

Moderator: This is a Croatian experience and this is a personal experience. But, OK, we can maybe discuss it in a more informal setting over dinner.

Peter Palmer: I'm Peter Palmer from the OSCE mission in Croatia. Something just quickly about the role of the press in forming opinion and the responsibility of the press. I must admit I don't entirely agree with a colleague from *Novi list* [Vukov-Colić] about the responsibility of the press to inform in an unbiased way. I do agree that the press has not got a responsibility to support any particular line or whatever. But, I think, it can do it if it wants to. I come from the UK and there it's perfectly normal that papers have an editorial line. They like a particular thing or they don't like it, and they say it so very openly in editorial comments, they support particular political parties and international policies and positions and so on. I think if it's clear and it's above board, and you can see what their line is and everybody knows it, it's apparent where they are coming from, I don't see a problem with that. I think actually, you



know, observing the press situation here in Croatia, I think it's fairly normal here, as well. And when it's a question of private print media adopting a political line, I haven't got a problem with that. Sure, there is a certain responsibility not to peddle and I regret to say that the yellow press does tend to thrive, but, in general, I don't have the problem with the media actually forming opinion and leading opinion.

Pave Brailo: I haven't introduced myself last time. My name is Pave Brailo and I'm here on behalf of the Committee for International Affairs of the Dubrovnik and Neretva County. When I listened to this discussion I thought about opinion-making in the West. Very short letters to editors that people read commuting to their job, every day, sometimes are much more powerful than enormous headlines, because they have no time to read. Besides, the editorials as well. This is the time of challenge, and if everyone that is able to decide something admits to himself that they don't have sufficient knowledge, this is the time to learn and this was a perfect opportunity which I thank you very much for. My concern is the registration cards that have been left on the table with the folders and I do want to know what is the reason of the absenteeism. These people had a wonderful chance to come here and learn in this city. So, if the journalists are involved, I wonder, whether the reason they didn't come was their editor-in-chief who wouldn't give them time to come and participate here, because if he didn't have other younger people to go around to search for the news in Dubrovnik, that's OK. But, I think, this was a unique possibility for them. The time of challenge and transition in this country.

Moderator: I agree with you, and it was visible in the morning when the television came in and tried to get out as soon as possible after the first speaker. Yes, I can only subscribe to your expressions of regret that this chance has not been used in a better way. Do you want to defend the press?

Inoslav Bešker: No, I can defend only the good press.

Moderator: OK, that was a quite clear remark. Do you wish to continue this discussion or should we prepare ourselves for the tour of this magnificent city and then continue with whatever remained unanswered over dinner to which we were invited. I guess we have consensus on that. I thank you very much for filling this quality time.

### Round Table

#### Relations between Diplomacy and Media - Diplomats and Journalists Working Together

Moderator: Ambassador Mr Haris Dimitriou (Director of the Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Greece).

Bojan Grobovšek: I'd like to return to the topic of trust. It has been a prominent topic in these days, trust and mistrust between diplomats and journalists, which, I think, is very important. We probably all agree that this problem exists very much in former socialist countries for very understandable reasons: conspiracy, Soviet methods, etc., and journalists basically don't trust diplomats, and diplomats, well, they grew up in certain schools some of them, there is a pattern, mind-set, and, for the understandable reasons, as I said, this problem exists. Now, at the same time we have the representatives of newspapers from Western Europe, and mainly they are from Austria. In passing, I'm speaking now as a former correspondent from Austria and former diplomat in Austria. And, in passing, I'd like to thank Ambassador Greinert for the work he did; he was a very good father to us, and his work's very correct, whatever he said behind the podium, it's true and I thank him. But now I'm coming to Austria as a democratic country, I continue all the time, of course, emphasising it since '45. But, as to a very specific media situation, Austria is unique. Any student of journalism, any correspondent will write about the phenomenon of *Kronen Zeitung*, as a tabloid selling one million copies per day, which is fantastic. We all know *Die Presse*, a very serious newspaper, and the whole of Austria, many people were very happy when *Der Standard* arrived, the second serious newspaper, etc. Now, from what I could hear from Austrian colleagues, I mean, I can detect quite a lot of mistrust, antagonism between government and diplomacy on the one hand and journalists on the other hand, so is this a typical Western situation, or is it atypical, is it abnormal, maybe, and in other Western countries this situation might be a bit different, due to the fact that the structure of the media in Austria is different. I'm talking about that because we are here, coming from former socialist countries, and we'd like to hear a model how it looks like. If it's the same, then our future is not that bright. Thank you so much.

Walter Greinert: I think I could answer that. I think the difference in these countries is not so great. There is perhaps a certain difference in the understanding of its democracy. Perhaps, well, how should I put that, in the United States they are still more inclined to separate facts from opinion, which is not done so much in some of our newspapers or even at the radio. When I began at the radio, the Austrian radio, there was a strict instruction to separate comment from fact. Today it's like this that sometimes, not sometimes, really in very crucial questions, moderators of the Austrian radio interfere into politics by commenting in advance and giving a spin to a report instead of sticking to the facts. So, that's one example. Or another example is in the United States, the *New York Times*, in election time, they declare very clearly what candidate they are for. For instance, they make an editorial decision: 'We are supporting such and such candidate'. That was introduced in Austria also, in another sense. Because, lately, the *Kronen Zeitung*, this mass tabloid made a campaign for the Social Democratic - Christian Democratic coalition, and they lost. But it was for weeks and weeks



there were anonymous commentaries in the *Kronen Zeitung* favouring the red-black coalition instead of black-blue coalition. So, that's there, I think it's a transgression for journalists who have to be somehow chroniclers of the daily history, that will later on be, perhaps, even the basis for historians. It's a transgression towards political actors and this happens in other Western countries, also. We have a particular situation, because, if you look at your countries here in South Eastern Europe, you have private radios, you have private televisions and so on, in Austria, you still have the monopoly of the Austrian radio and television. Pardon?

Josef Kirchengast: Not radio, no.

Walter Greinert: Well, not radio, radio no. Yes, but TV. What I wanted to say, the differences are not so big and, I think, the understanding of the role of media is pretty much the same in the democracies.

Ireny Comaroschi: I'm the spokesperson for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I would like to thank you very much for the discussion that I attended this morning, to all of you. I really benefited from a lot of good ideas. I would like to make some brief comments on a certain aspect. I noted, and it is not for the first time, a tendency towards stressing a gap existing between interests of diplomats and interests of journalists. I think that a clear differentiation has to be made on this assertion according to the criteria of deadlines. I think we have to speak about short-, medium- and long-term interests. And seen from this perspective, I think the gap is not so large any more. When we speak about short-term interests, certainly, I should say, there is a contradiction. Because journalists need quick, hot, information, which sells well, immediately, and diplomats, well, are mostly willing to provide limited, settled, agreed upon information, which is not interpretable. The more we tackle long-term interests, I think the more the gap appears to be relevant. And I will try to explain in a few words why. Media is working for the society expressing a basic need for information and, I should dare say, for tuition. Government is working for the society and it's its *raison d'être*, and I do not want to tackle any more on that, we all agree on that. I think the common realm is precisely these common interests: informing, educating, and stimulating the civil society and the government in the sense that a constructive relationship and the genuine understanding are to be developed between society and government. And, I think dialogue between media and government, in this respect diplomats, should focus on these aspects.

Charles Northrip: I've been thinking ever since yesterday about the statement that was made by Mr Docal about why *Voice of America* programming is prohibited from being seen in the United States. And I did not want all of you to go home thinking the only reason was because there was this desire for U.S. propaganda not to be heard or seen in the United States. When that law was passed, all mass media, all radio and television in the United States was commercial. And, the commercial networks were being asked to contribute their programmes to the *Voice of America*. For transmission overseas. They would not agree to do that if those programmes were also going to be seen or heard on the *Voice of America* in the U.S. and, therefore, dilute their audiences and lose their commercial advantage. So, there were two things going on at the same time. Just, I thought it'd be good to make that clarification.

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Moderator: It seems that you generated a lot of interventions.

Dunja Pastizzi-Ferenčić: My name is Dunja Pastizzi-Ferenčić and I'm a former high-level UN official. A distinguished participant from Romania who spoke just a few minutes ago raised a very important issue. This is: "What is newsworthy?" This should be considered as the crucial point of understanding between diplomacy and media. If a press release is issued stating that the Transport Working Group of the Central European Initiative met and discussed, for example TIR convention, nobody from the media seems to be interested. It is not newsworthy. This involves a lot of interaction and dialogue with journalists to see what kind of language we should use to make the information appealing to the media. I prepare to put more emphasis on such a dialogue to achieve a "win-win" situation. We have tried this in the Economic Commission for Europe where the usual diplomatic press releases were put in the context why it is useful for our everyday life. We have shown that TIR convention allows for man rapid crossing of the borders and that the transport committee prepares all traffic signs. By changing the diplomatic language into simple life situations we have achieved more coverage by the media.

Moderator: Before continuing, I give the floor to Mr Palmer to make a comment.

Peter Palmer: I think it's a very very important point. It's absolutely right that diplomats always remember what it is the journalists want and try to give it to them. And much more likely they will succeed in that if they look for and welcome feedback. So, there needs to be a dialogue. This does not mean that they are, sort of, like, working together. That they are trying to achieve the same things, of course not. And another thing that a diplomat has to be aware of is that journalists are not necessarily going to be predictable. Some of them are, unfortunately. But, I'm glad to say, a lot of them are not. And you're frequently not gonna have it your way, and you'll have to accept that. And I think this is why it is that important. If I could slightly disagree with the previous point about the long-term interests of media and diplomats. I think, you know, for journalists it's always gonna be the case that they want to have good stories and to sell papers. And I would never want to be in the situation where diplomat or spokesperson can feel they can rely on some relationship with the journalists. Not at all. Frankly I'm much, much happier when it's not the case. It's true I like to have newspapers, which will put across the points that I want to make. Great, I do want that. But, I'm much much more impressed by those papers who can make real critical comments and who I can't rely upon, and can't depend upon. I enjoy more dealing with such journalists, with such papers, as well.

Irene Miller: I feel very unhappy when I hear, and I have heard several times now that newspapers or diplomacies, they are to educate people, of even tutor them. This simply is not true. It is not our task to educate the population, it is not our wish to do so, and I firmly believe that the population, people have no need to be educated. They know what is good for them.

Dražen Vukov-Colić: Coming back to the question we raised yesterday, and it is repeated also today. It's the question about the influence of media in general, I believe it is greatly overrated. We've just heard the example, a very interesting example from Austria regarding the *Kronen Zeitung* and their campaign in favour of the coalition who finally lost the elec-

tion. They have the largest circulation, but not, as we have seen the greatest influence. These are two different things. We speak all the time about the TV. We always mention that legendary example about Kennedy vs. Nixon campaign. But all the people who talk about it are forgetting that it was impression who made the President, not the media itself, because Kennedy was better and he transmitted the message that he was more modern, so to say, more contemporary president and a better person. If you see how the TV was used in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, you will see that those politicians got all the time in the world, but it didn't help them very much. The more they spoke, the worse they looked. You know, that was a rule. It is also true that in Croatia the two most important elections, they were lost despite the state TV just because it was very biased. You know, they were the elections in 1990 when we got rid of the communism and the election of this year when we got rid of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]. They were the crucial elections, and yet they were lost despite the television that was supposedly state-owned and had the greatest influence on the people. Then, coming back to the point I made yesterday and also going back to that example that editorials in U.S.A. are always proclaiming their support for certain candidates a day or two days before the election, but it was shown in two thirds of the occasions that the people voted against the suggestion of the most of editorial writers. The ratio is 2:1 against newspaper editorials. So it shows, coming back to the yesterday's points, that the information, which is served to the general audience, is already re-processed information, you know. There is also a form, you can say it only in 30 seconds, and you can write it only in 50 lines. That's also a limitation. But that already re-processed information is re-processed in the mind of the general opinion. So, I would say it is instrumental, but not the most important part of the forming the general opinion. They need to be a little bit more modest about themselves.

Moderator: Mr Kirchengast first.

Josef Kirchengast: I would like to refer once again to what Mr Grobovšek and Mr Greinert said concerning political culture in our countries and I would extend this to the most of the Central Europe. I think there is a certain pattern of political culture, which seems to be a legacy of perhaps the old monarchy, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the entire reformation. Namely, to keep conflicts social and conflicts in society below the surface and to have the consensus before the conflict. This is a vast-spread conception still, I think, in most of the Central European countries and Austria is surely, at least in my opinion, one in the front lines, one of the countries in the front line. And the discussion, the internal discussion, the internal problems we have now in Austria is a consequence of this reluctance to carry out conflict openly, sincerely, and then to come to a sustainable consensus. A little bit you can see this development now in the internal political situation in Slovenia, you have a similar situation in the Czech Republic, in Slovakia, it's a little bit different in Hungary. The Hungarians always tended more towards revolutionary aspects. But, I think, as long as we don't accept that democracy and civil society, is first of all, conflict, conflict in a human way, conflict carried out in a way that leaves the opposite side in their dignity, but to carry out these conflicts very harshly and strongly, as long as we don't accept this as a basis for civil society and democracy we will have such situations on and on.

Moderator: A lady up there asked for the floor.

## DISCUSSION

Nadja Podobnik (Journalist-Editor, Slovene Press Agency): On the same subject as a journalist, from the journalists' point of view. I come from a transition country and I would just like to say about the mistrust from the part of the diplomats. We really miss, as journalists, at least in Slovenia - I don't know if this is true for other transition countries or for the developed democracies - but, we miss background information and off-the-record information. It seems to me that our diplomats are, kind of, afraid that we would misuse this information. But, I can assure you that if information is off-the-record, it won't be published, because the journalists know that if they publish off-the-record information they'll never get anything back. So, I would really like to call on our colleagues on the other side, the diplomats, to be more courageous, or whatever, and do this, because as the lady before said, the diplomatic language, the diplomatic information is not the real stuff. But if you get some background information, then you can do something with it. So, I would also like to hear from our colleagues from the so-called developed democracies if they have the same problems. I don't know, if this is a problem arising from the former regime, or lack of tradition in this area, but, it's how things stand for the moment.

Inoslav Beškerc: I'm Inoslav Beškerc. Croatian journalist and Italian professor. What do we mean when we use the term "education"? Well, that's the point. I don't mix education with the manipulation with people. Of course, that people can understand what is best for them, for themselves, but, on the other side, they can't do it without information. Information about facts is a kind of education. Opinions are nothing but education, and both of them are a part of media, a part of papers and of electronic information

Moderator: Can you pass the micro to the Romanian lady. Apparently, she wants to respond to some remarks and then we'll continue.

Ireny Comaroschi: I think my colleague just responded to one of my remarks. I feel the need to make the precise example of what I had in mind when I said what I said. Thank you very much. I do not take education for manipulation. Absolutely not. I had in mind a very specific example. My country started negotiations with the EU for the membership. That will be a long process. We set a target date for seven years - in 2007. So, during these seven years, the Romanian public opinion needs information, needs to know what the European Union means, needs to know what negotiations mean, what the Romanian Government has to do, what the Romanian society has to perform in order to meet those aspects. And I think this is very important. As for the interests, long-term interests, I would also want to comment on the comment I had. I think the long-term interests for the Romanian society with this specific example is very clearly set for both groups. And in these terms, I want to refer to, let's say, diminishing a gap of interests.

Moderator: All right, yes, let's continue.

Tatjana Lesjak: OK, my comment will be very brief, I just wanted to react on our Slovenian colleague, the journalist, when she was saying that they do not have backup, or off-the-record information. That's just what we do at the foreign ministry; as the press department, we organise meetings, together with our club of journalists writing about foreign policy, with the directors of the most sensitive departments, like consular department, department of international law and it's strictly off-the-record because we have been co-operating with the

journalists. We have the other problem how to get those diplomats who never talk to the press, to talk to the journalists and make them explain clearly and without any fear how some structures work why, for example, we cannot reveal the name of an ambassador before he gets credentials and all other things, and I think it works quite well, even though we are in a transition country, but we're trying and both sides so far have been satisfied.

Moderator: All right, next.

Lois Bianchi: Yes, I have a very quick comment and a question please. The state of American trust between politics and the media is as bad as it has ever been in our country; it is disastrous, and to add to that, the public faith in the media is low. Journalists rank, somewhere below used car salesmen. That's not a joke that's absolutely true. And it's a very bad situation. That was my comment. My question that I liked to ask and I think it goes to these several questions, one of education, and also of trust, and also of long-term goals. May I ask some comments from you, people on the panel, about whether you believe journalists ought to be, or are, concerned with consequences? Yesterday, we had some comments about this. Today, one of the gentlemen talked about the newsprint sale and how that was harmed by something. Is this something that journalists ought to be concerned about, the consequences of giving the truthful report?

Moderator: Somebody wants to respond?

Inoslav Bešker: Well, I suppose that we have to worry about consequences only when the very weak subjects are in question, as children, as ill persons, etc. Nothing else. Not about states, not about governments, not about politicians of course.

Moderator: Yeah. I'm not sure that we all agree with you. I don't agree anyway. I may say so immediately. But, I'll leave the floor to you.

Bojan Grobovšek: As a former journalist, I am for many years looking for an answer of the question whether we, journalists, not maybe, we diplomats too, are *ex officio* exempt of any moral and other responsibility. We shouldn't forget that even in this region, South Eastern Europe, or former Yugoslavia, very bloody, cruel conflicts took place, and my personal opinion is that the media, the journalists, the editorialists are not innocent for that. Are the diplomats innocent? But, concretely, I would like to ask Mrs Vukušić, whether in your formidable meetings with the lawyers, with the judges somebody did formulate such a question at all? The question of the responsibility. Thank you.

Moderator: Do you want to respond Mrs Vukušić?

Jagoda Vukušić (Journalist, "Novi list", Rijeka, Vice-President of the Croatian Journalists' Association): Yes, there were two questions. One question is one of the most important questions for our profession, as I see it. I think that we are living in a context, we are living in a society. Circumstances have influence on us, and we are also having possibility to influence circumstances. And I think that one rule which is one of the International Federation of Journalists' rule for us, as some kind of a code of conduct, is that we have to take care about the harm which is done already, not to make it bigger. So, it means that we have some moral obligations, that we have to think about the context, the results, and we have some responsibilities, yes. So, I will partly agree with what Mr Bešker said. Especially, when we are talking

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about public persons. We, here in Croatia have very strong opinion about that. Persons when they enter the public arena expose themselves to the public. And we have a right and that's our obligation to write, to criticise and even offend them if they are not working well. So, it is not easy to be a public person. You should not be a public figure if you cannot be prepared for such criticism! And, if Bešker had that in his mind, I completely agree with him. But, when we are talking about more complicated or more complex issues, which don't involve persons, like public persons, but involve citizens, and not the State, I mean, I don't care about it, I don't care about the State policy. We always have to question if it's good or not. But, if citizens could have trouble because of something going on, or we are writing something about it, we have to be aware of our responsibility. Minority, basic human rights, children, we have to think about it. Now, I remember an example. One weekly newspaper in Croatia wrote about a child. She was born as a result of a rape in Bosnia and that child was baptised, and that was the reason why they made a story about that child, and with the full support of her mother. I mean, mother accepted that idea that they would write an article about her child. And at that time I was a president of the Croatian Journalists' Association and I gave that story, gave that problem, that issue to our court of honour, or council of honour, better to say, that is a proper word. Ethical council, yeah, we have it in our association. Because, I thought that nobody had the right, even the mother, to give that permission to the journalist, to write the story about the child who didn't have still idea about what raping was, what could be the future problems for that child, and who couldn't make a decision for himself. The others are obliged to do that. And the verdict was that the newspaper and the article didn't observe the ethical code that we have to take care about the kids who don't have such possibility to decide for themselves. We have to think what is wrong, what is right, and what could happen with them in the future. So, I think that we have to think about results of our actions, because public word is very strong one so we have to be very aware that what we are doing is good and we have to think on several levels. I think that partly it's very important to know all the circumstances and results.

Moderator: Thank you. Mr Palmer asked for the floor. But we have to put an end in 10 minutes, so I will take some more questions and observations, but at around half past twelve we have to close, all right.

Peter Palmer: You probably noticed that in response to the request for members of the panel to make a comment on this we were all initially reluctant to actually take up the challenge because it is a very, very difficult question to answer. I think there are some cases where it seems fairly clear-cut that a journalist will be concerned about the consequences. Perhaps not take responsibility for them, but at least be concerned about them. I actually had a case three weeks ago of a journalist from one of the daily newspapers here in Croatia who with the help of the OSCE mission did a human-interest type story of Serb returnees in one of the areas of return of this country. And it included talking to various returnee families, one of which, their house is still occupied by some Bosnian Croat refugees and so they were unable to recover their property. Following that article, that Serb family received a visit from some Bosnian Croats who beat them up. I think, it's natural that one is concerned of consequences in this kind of case and it's a clear-cut case. In other cases, it's much less clear-cut. Nevertheless, I think there are times when you have to say you're uncomfortable. I was



uncomfortable also, as we heard, with much of the media coverage in 1991 in former Yugoslavia which, I thought, was frequently, not only highly inflammatory and dangerous, but also in many cases serving the interests of political leaderships which were trying to inflame the situation deliberately, and, I thought, it was a very, very worrying period. Another example, just to get completely away from the region, which was not so obvious as this one perhaps. There was a couple of years ago, I think it was maybe three or four years ago even, a brief period when there was a tension between the United Kingdom and Australia. It was rather nasty. It started off with some complaints in Australia about the UK had during World War II by abandoning Singapore and by refusing to allow some Australian ships to return to the Pacific. It had effectively abandoned Australia and left Australia to the mercy of Japanese. This was followed in the UK by some rather nasty stories dragging up some documents of British officers in Singapore complaining about discipline and cowardice among the Australian troops on Singapore. It was all very unpleasant. For a brief while. Thank Goodness it stopped. I felt particularly bad when I heard there were some newspapers owned by the single person - you know whom I'm talking about - in both countries, which were boosting their sales by having this kind of stories. It makes me feel very uncomfortable, so somehow we need to know where the line is. I do think that journalists do have to worry about consequences often.

Zoran Vodopija (Head of the Analytical Department, MFA, Croatia): Well, I think that I could understand the anger of Mr Bešker, because journalists in Croatia were frustrated for ten years writing about everything, and suffering consequences just by themselves and never seen anything happen for about nine years. And I think that Mr Bešker is just claiming the right to continue that way to have the right about writing about everything and anything, and about the new Government, about new affairs, because the only consequences before in the old regime were the journalists that suffered, and no consequences at all for anybody involved in big affairs that were revealed in Croatian newspapers. Am I right Mr Bešker?

Irena Zubčević: It was very good of previous speakers to clarify what they mean by consequences and I would fully agree with that. I would like to stress that media has responsibility towards the public in the same way that government officials have responsibility towards the public. I think that we have previously seen a lot of hate press in this area, so the ultimate goal would be the responsibility towards the public. On the other hand, treading on the sensitive ground, what Mr Vukov-Colić has spoken previously about, of public opinion the question is what makes and influences public opinion and I would not agree that media is not a very important factor in making public opinion, because there have been a number of surveys and studies and some of them have been quite convincing. Let me give you an example from the United States where the survey studied how much influence newspapers had on government officials and the importance of the agenda that newspapers set for the public. It was said that American senators and government officials spent about half an hour reading *Washington Post*, because they knew that during the course of the day they would be asked questions about issues that appeared in that paper. So, I think that media does have influence on public opinion, but of course it's a sensitive question what makes public opinion. Thank you.

## DISCUSSION

Moderator: All right. One last intervention, one last observation by Mr Linning and then I have to wrap up this discussion and close the session.

Richard Linning: This is by way of a commercial break. It was mentioned earlier, this question of news value and that's what I'm planning to address in the first workshop after lunch. But, what I would like to go to bring, if you like, a perspective from a little distance, a more recent example of this, if you like, inflammation of public opinion, has been the question in the United Kingdom of the abandonment, if you like, of *Rover* by the German BMW company. This has brought forward all the *clichés* and stereotypes of the relationship between those two countries over the last hundred years. I think, an illustration of the power of that is these basic emotions, or the appeal to these basic emotions to sell newspapers. In the commercialisation of newspapers and the competition between them to sell papers, information comes a very long way down the scale of the reasons why stories are part of their agenda. And, we can quote statistics all the time, but there's a very interesting one recently from the United States, which indicated that the American population, about 25 percent, I believe, gets its information about public affairs, and politics from late-night comedy shows. Not from the serious newspapers, but from the smart quips that are made by people like J. Leno, etc.

Dražen Vukov-Colić: Sorry, I didn't say that the media are not influencing the public opinion. I just said that the influence of the media on the public opinion is greatly overrated. That's something different. If the media could be instrumental in every case in influencing the public opinion, then it would be necessary to read only the newspapers and to follow the service of the public opinion and to win the election. And we will have only one party, and only one winner, as a consequence of such an approach. I put it in some grotesque way, I did it to make me a little bit better understandable.

Moderator: Dr Kukoč, the last remark.

Mislav Kukoč: I want just to add something to this interesting dispute concerning media influence on public opinion. There were some surveys in Croatia and the most influential media was TV with more than 70% influence, then some popular daily newspapers, and after that weekly newspapers which were mostly independent in Croatia, but they had a very limited influence. And the former ruling party had a very strictly control on these influential media, TV, and the most popular daily newspapers, but nevertheless, these influence on public opinion was very limited, and the last elections, last parliamentary elections showed that the electorate voted for then opposition and the change of government occurred even though the former government had very strong influence on these most influential media. So, it is an argument, evidence, for the thesis that influence of the media on the public opinion is very strong, but limited. Thank you.

Irena Zubčević: Of course, what makes public opinion and how much influence media has on public opinion is a complex issue, but we have to bear in mind that media can have an influence on public opinion contributing to a negative image of something, not only positive. So, I would say that at the Croatian state television previously the exposition of the ruling party did not necessarily have a positive effect on public, because as Mrs Miller has said earlier, people know what is good for them, so this exposure was actually counterproductive as the elections that followed have proved.



Moderator: So, ladies and gentlemen, I think that it's now time to close this interesting discussion. I know that there are still a lot of remarks. This proves that the issue is interesting and never-ending, but we have to close this discussion. So to wrap it up, I would say that the discussion has been very interesting. It turned around the theme of the relations between diplomats and journalists. We've heard a lot of interesting views about what are the concerns of the journalists, what are the limits of the diplomats, how diplomats should treat a journalist, how journalists should handle information. It would be pretentious from me to draw, you know, firm conclusions since, on one hand, this discussion is the continuation of the yesterday's discussion on some, let's say, general topics. So I would leave to Dr. Andrić this afternoon to draw general conclusions. But, I would like to say the following. Of course, it was generally accepted during today's discussion that the two sides have to co-operate, though not necessarily work together, as some speakers said, since each party has to keep their independence: diplomats to withhold sometimes an information if they feel that this serves better the interests of the state and journalist, on the other side, to know always the truth, and to be able to criticise a decision. Also, it was said that the both sides should pursue the same goal, which is the wellbeing of the people, isn't it? The difference is that these notions, national interest, truth, are very vague – I'm sure that you would agree with me – very vague and trying to put some, you know, limits to one or other of these notions would be very pretentious. Though I'm a Greek, I cannot solve the questions, which have not been solved by Aristotle and Plato. So, I will finish by repeating once again my thanks to all of you for having contributed to this very interesting discussion, to thank also the organisers, and to say how honoured we were by the presence of the Deputy Foreign Minister this morning. So, thank you very much.

## Concluding Remarks: Importance of Diplomats and Journalists Working Together

*Mladen Andrić<sup>1</sup>*

Dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

Let me say that it is not a very gratifying job to try and summarise major points of such a fruitful seminar, with so many ideas that have come up in plenary sessions and interactive workshops.

Let me first thank you all for coming and contributing to the seminar with your active participation which will hopefully result in a substantial follow-up. I would also like to thank all the international organisations, which have enabled the realisation of this seminar by their organisational and financial support, especially the CEI and the OSCE-ODIHR, but also individual countries - Austria, Greece, United Kingdom and the United States.

Before I come to the actual summing up of the main points, let me emphasise the importance of this seminar held as a part of the CEI activities within the framework of the First Working Table on Democracy and Human Rights of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe as well as a part of Croatian contribution towards implementing goals set in the Stability Pact - regional co-operation, confidence-building, cross-cultural awareness and stability as a means towards closer integration into European processes and inclusion in the international family of nations.

It has been mentioned a number of times in the seminar that globalisation has changed international relations and consequently, modern foreign policy and its implementation through diplomacy has to adapt to these changes. The number of actors in the international setting has increased, while the transparency and openness have become the only way to conduct a credible foreign policy, where public diplomacy becomes the most efficient mechanism of its implementation. This seminar has also shown that exchange of views between diplomats and journalists is of the utmost importance. Among others the following points have been underlined:

- need for diplomats and journalists to co-operate (which does not mean to work together), because even though they have different perspectives their goal to inform the public is the same and thus they need to find a common ground in the same process of sensitising public opinion towards foreign policy issues, for which they need to establish mutual confidence and trust;

- changes in traditional diplomacy due to the effects of globalisation process, where co-operation, dialogue and networking are the only path to undertake, consequently well-conceived policy towards the media is a part of well-conducted foreign policy;

- public diplomacy as an important part of foreign policy creation as it is directed to both special target groups and media;

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- “think tanks” as integral parts in proposing strategy for a foreign policy;
- increasing number of actors in the international setting with whom diplomats have to co-operate, especially NGOs;
- democracy and civil society the only environment possible for free media as it prevents manipulation and censorship;
- adjusting models from abroad to the local realities as one of the goals set by the Stability Pact to support co-operation among journalists from the region in order to help them adapt to the professional standards of communication and media in developed democracies;
- role of media in the process of democratisation, confidence-building and stability especially in South Eastern Europe, which are also the goals of the Stability Pact;
- public opinion and the degree to which media influences public opinion;
- an insight how information departments, multilateral diplomacy, public relations offices, but also newspapers operate.

Ladies and gentlemen,

A follow-up, for which the Stability Pact - Task Force on Media of the First Working Table as well as the Council of Europe have already shown interest and are eager to actively participate in, could go into two main directions, which will not be parallel, but intertwined. One could be focused on diplomats and challenges they have to face that could be further discussed at the traditional CEI diplomatic conference here in Dubrovnik in October, but also in different diplomatic training seminars. One of the channels for communication will be the CEI Diplomatic Training Network that connects diplomatic training institutions of sixteen CEI member states, which is a lively channel through which even this seminar has been carried out through work of its co-ordinators from Austria, Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Let me also point out that Greece, as one of the most active participants in the Stability Pact, has also contributed significantly to the seminar through the Greek Diplomatic Academy.

The other direction that could be followed is one focused on journalists and media experts and could be implemented together with the International Centre for Training Journalists in Opatija, Croatia, about which Mrs Vukušić has informed you in her presentation. Our joint projects will be directed to improve the awareness of journalists for the need to co-operate with government officials, especially diplomats and to exchange experience and to find a common ground between the two groups.

Having in mind a valuable content that has emerged from this seminar, proceedings will be prepared and your co-operation in providing the written material will be appreciated.

Wishing you all the best in your respective careers and hoping that this valuable network established here will continue in achieving a common goal of informing the public and working towards a common benefit for all of us I hope that this joint seminar of diplomats and journalists is only the first in the line of many more to come. Thank you.

## List of Participants

### BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Mr Enver Čaušević, General Secretary, Journalists Union
- Mr Alija Lizde, President, Bosnia-Herzegovina Journalists Union
- Ms Milimirka Purković, Counsellor, Planning and Information Department, MFA

### CZECH REPUBLIC

- Mr Ondrej Kašina, Career Counsellor, Personnel Department, MFA

### FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

- Mr Vasilie Andonoski, Counsellor, MFA

### HELLENIC REPUBLIC

- Mrs Ino Afentouli, Journalist, *Exoussia*
- Ambassador Mr Haris Dimitriou, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA
- Ambassador Mr Spyros Dokianos, Co-ordinator of Stability Pact Issues
- Ambassador Mr Stavros Vassilopoulos, Ambassador of the Hellenic Republic to the RC

### ITALIAN REPUBLIC

- Mr Grytzko Mascioni, Attache, MFA

### KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

- Mr Richard Linning, Consultant EU Government Relations, Public Relations Partners

### REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

- Ms Ermira Bedalli, Press and Information Department

### REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA

- Dr Walter Greinert, MFA
- Mr Johann Hoffman-Ostenhof, *Profil*
- Ambassador Dr. Friedrich Höss, MFA
- Mr Josef Kirchengast, *Der Standard*
- Mr Robert Lechner, *Wirtschaftsblatt*
- Dr Irene Miller, *Die Presse*
- Mr Gerhard Reiweiger, Deputy Director, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

### REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

- Mr Nikolai Ovsianko, Information Department, MFA

### REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

- Ms Tatjana Petrova, Expert in Qualification, Personnel Department, MFA
- Dr Ludmila Dimitrova, Information Department

## Diplomatic Academy Year-book

### REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

- Ms Maja Adamić, Head, Section for Diplomatic Studies, Diplomatic Academy, MFA
- Ms Irena Andrassy, Department for European Integration, MFA
- Ambassador Dr Mladen Andrić, Assistant Minister, MFA
- Professor Dr Borna Bebek, Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb
- Mr Inoslav Bešker, Rome Correspondent, *Jutarnji list*
- Mrs Pave Brailo, Representative of the Dubrovnik and Neretva County
- Ms Tatjana Buršić, Head, Public Relations Office, City of Pula
- Dr Vesna Cvjetković-Kurelec, Deputy-Minister, MFA
- Ms Ida Gamulin, Head, Public Relations Office, Dubrovnik and Neretva County
- Mr Boris Hajoš, Senior Adviser, Ministry for European Integration
- Ms Andrea Halambek, Department for European Integration, MFA
- Mr Mario Horvatić, Head, Department for Peace and Security, MFA
- Dr Mislav Kukoč, Assistant Minister, MFA
- Dr Smiljana Leinert-Novosel, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
- Mr Dragutin Lučić, President, Croatian Journalists' Association
- Prof. Dr Pavao Novosel, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
- Mrs Dunja Pastizzi-Ferenčić, ex-Deputy Executive Secretary, UN ECE
- Dr Zrinjka Peruško-Čulek, Research Fellow, Institute for International Relations-IMO
- Mrs Lada Stipić-Niseteo, EU/NATO Correspondent, *Večernji list*
- Ms Karmen Šešelja, Department for Diplomatic Studies and Training, MFA
- Mr Zoran Vodopija, Head, Analytical Department, MFA
- Mr Dražen Vukov-Colić, Journalist-Commentator, *Novi list*
- Mrs Jagoda Vukušić, Vice-President, Croatian Journalists' Association
- Mrs Irena Zubčević, Head, Department for Diplomatic Studies and Training, Diplomatic Academy, MFA

### REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

- Ms Siiri Parelo, Attache, Media Analysis Division, Press and Information Department, MFA

### REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

- Mr Karoly Dan, Head, Section for Admission and Education, MFA
- Mr Harry Rusz, Consul, Hungarian Embassy, Zagreb

### REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO (FRY)

- Ms Daniela Djurđić, Adviser, MFA

### REPUBLIC OF POLAND

- Ms Ewa Kordys, Attache for Economic Affairs, MFA
- Mr Jarosław Szczepankiewicz, Principal Consultant, MFA

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### **REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA**

- Miss Bojana Cipot, Attache, MFA
- Ambassador Mr Bojan Grobovšek, Undersecretary of State, MFA
- Ms Sergeja Hander, Journalist/Foreign Policy, POP TV
- Mrs Tatjana Lesjak, Deputy Director, Government Public Relations and Media Office
- Ms Mateja Paluc, Attache, MFA
- Mrs Nadja Podobnik, Journalist-Editor, Slovene Press Agency
- Mr Miha Rott, Adviser, Government Public Relations and Media Office

### **ROMANIA**

- Mrs Ireny Comaroschi, Spokesperson, Head, Communication and Public Relations Directorate, MFA
- Dr Vasile Sorin, Romanian Embassy, Zagreb

### **SLOVAK REPUBLIC**

- Ms Monika Keimova, Director, Press Department, MFA

### **SWISS CONFEDERATION**

- Mr Kurt Boos, Management Consultant

### **UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND**

- Ms Fiona Sinclair, British Embassy, Zagreb
- Mrs Renata Škalabrin, British Embassy, Zagreb

### **U.S.A.**

- Ms Lois Bianchi, Fulbright Fellow, Zagreb
- Ms Saša Brlek, U.S. Embassy, Zagreb
- Mr Allen L. Docal, U.S. Embassy, Zagreb
- Dr Charles Northrip, Network Operations Adviser, IREX Promedia

### **INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS**

#### ***CEI Executive Secretariat***

- Ambassador Mr Anton Rupnik, Deputy Director-General

#### ***ECCM***

- Mr Rui Rodrigues, Deputy Head of Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Head, Portuguese delegation, European Community Monitor Mission

#### ***International Rescue Committee***

- Ms Hana Francetić, Analysis Consultant
- Ms Rebecca Goddard, Program Officer

**OSCE**

- Mr Peter Palmer, Head, Public Affairs and Media Policy Unit, OSCE Mission to the Republic of Croatia
- Ambassador Mr Hans-Dieter Steinbach, Deputy Head, OSCE Mission to the Republic of Croatia



**Slika:** Participants of the Seminar, Dubrovnik, Croatia, 14-15 April 2000





## ATLAS TRAVEL AGENCY

Since 1923 ATLAS has been the premier travel company of the Republic of Croatia with both incoming and outgoing operations. With own radio network connected to our branch offices, fleet of vehicles and vessels, restaurants and hotel we are well equipped to handle the requests of an increasingly sophisticated and most demanding clientele. We also have offices in the United States, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina. As a result we are able to offer excellent products and have direct quality control.

With its crystal clear seas, warm sunny islands and ancient towns, Croatia is a perfect locale for a variety of programs we have created for our clients. Inspired by Croatia's rich history, we have also offered a number of special staged events called "Atlas Living Theater". They have become an integral part of most meetings, incentives and special groups, particularly to Dubrovnik, which is a magnificent stage itself. Our Handicrafts Department creates special souvenirs, a beautiful embroidery based on the original patterns from the Ethnographical museum.

To summarize, our services include:

- Business travel
- Conference, meeting & incentive organization
- Tailor made group and FIT's programs
- Holidays in Croatia & in destinations throughout the world
- Hotels & private accommodations and rent-a-car reservations
- Escorted tours through Croatia & neighboring countries
- Chauffeur driven & Fly-Drive programs
- Sailing & cruising programs
- Adventure programs
- Pilgrimage holidays
- Senior citizens programs
- Cruise ships shore excursions
- Daily sightseeing tours
- Staged events "Atlas Living Theater"

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# CROATIA AIRLINES

Croatia Airlines d.d. is the Croatian Airline Company (international designation CTN, flight denotation OU), founded in Zagreb in 1989 under the name of Zagal. The head office of the Company is in Zagreb, Savska cesta 41, Tel. +385 1 616 00 66, Fax. +385 1 617 68 45.

Croatia Airlines flies regularly on all domestic routes, as well as on a network of flights to European destinations. At the moment, the company fleet consists of eight aircraft: five Airbus – three A 319 and two A 320 – and three ATR-42. Just before the pinnacle of this year's tourist season the fleet will enlarge with two new Airbus aircraft, an A319 and an A320.

In the Republic of Croatia, apart from Zagreb, the company also has representative offices in Dubrovnik, Pula, Rijeka, Split and Zadar. Abroad, its representative offices are in Amsterdam, Frankfurt, London, Paris, Rome, Sarajevo, Skopje, Vienna and Zurich.

Croatia Airlines connect the Republic of Croatia and Zagreb, its capital, with a number of domestic and European destinations. Its aircraft fly directly to Amsterdam, Berlin, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, London, Madrid, Mostar, Munich, Paris, Prague, Rome, Sarajevo, Skopje, Tel Aviv, Vienna and Zurich. In the Republic of Croatia, Croatia Airlines aircraft fly to the island of Brač, Dubrovnik, Osijek, Pula, Split, Zadar and Zagreb.

On a series of flights Croatia Airlines flies in co-operation with other air transport companies. Thus, code-share agreements have been signed with Lufthansa, Air France, Alitalia, Iberia, Malaysia Airlines, Adria Airways and Turkish Airlines.

During the company's summer timetable, the Croatian coast is connected by numerous charter flights, amongst others with: Ljubljana, Maribor, Vienna, Graz, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Linz, Leipzig, Ancona, London, Manchester, Berlin, Dusseldorf, Prague, Bratislava, Ostrava, Brno and other destinations very important for Croatian tourism.





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## **CROATIAN CHAMBER OF ECONOMY**

On the eve of the new millennium, amongst the primary tasks at hand for Croatia is the special emphasis on full integration into leading world trade, business and economic associations and a more active role in international markets. With this in mind, Croatia has already created the preconditions for an influx of foreign capital and crafted modern laws based on the examples of other European nations. In addition, the privatisation process is nearly complete. Therefore, after eight years in which much effort was put into the creation of an independent state and economic stability therein, Croatia can say that it has met the preconditions for economic prosperity.

The main goals are an increase in production and in exports, based on widely recognisable products following the tradition of success of Croatian food and pharmaceuticals manufacturers and ship builders, which has demonstrated the rich Croatian industrial and entrepreneurial tradition, as well as the competence and motivation of the workforce.

In accordance with these goals, the Croatian business tradition and Western European models, the Croatian Chamber of Economy has assumed the structure of a modern, professional business institution with an aim to promote Croatian business interests at home and abroad.

The Chamber's network of 12 Departments, 20 County Chambers, and over 40 Professional Trade/Industry Associations and their Affiliations, represents a reliable source of information for all businesses in Croatia, as well as for their international partners. Also, the Chamber provides a host of services including business information on specific companies, business education and skills training, environmental protection and quality control, goods and services exchanges and technology transfer.

The Croatian Chamber of Economy invites you to explore the many business opportunities that the Croatian market can offer you both directly and in servicing the whole Central and Eastern European marketplace. The Chamber trusts that Croatia will become your business partner in the new millennium and that Croatian companies will be your preferred choice in realising your business ventures and investments.



# ZVEČEVO

*ZVEČEVO food industry is a shareholders company founded in 1921 by the Italian company STOCK from Trieste. Over the period of eighty years of development the company has enlarged its range of products in cooperation with the leading producers in the world. More than twenty years the company produced Nestle chocolates under Nestle licence and according to Nestle's technological terms of production. Today ZVEČEVO produces a wide range of candies and chocolates, strong alcoholic drinks and dairy products. In its evolution the company has been operative in conditions of strong domestic and international competition. This is the reason why ZVEČEVO has paid special attention to its highly qualified personnel and a constant improvement of technology. Only in this way could quality of each product be assured as well as consumer confidence. To have consumers has always meant and will always mean to have perspective for future development. Many ZVEČEVO products have been awarded prizes for quality at numerous competitions at home and abroad.*

*Products such as Mikado, Clementina and Barun bear the sing of Croatian Quality.*

*MIKADO is a brand of chocolate which has been produced since 1967 according to traditional recipes of the company and its quality is constantly being improved in technological phases of production. It is a milk chocolate of the highest quality. Only the best natural raw materials (coco, milk) are used for the production of this chocolate, and it also meets the high criteria of biological value for foodstuffs (starch, proteins, minerals and vitamins). Crisp rice in this chocolate contributes to its dietary quality and makes it desirable and advantageous from the nutritive point of view. This chocolate has excellent melting quality, specific taste and aroma and its characteristic and catchy packaging have earned it the trust of consumers on the domestic and international markets. CLEMENTINA - dessert is a product made of especially aromatic coco plant, carefully picked and fried nut hearts. All the ingredients are natural, without colour or flavour additives. This dessert is unique because the whole nut heart is placed within delicious nut filling, and all this is dressed in high quality milk chocolate coating. BARUN - bitter herbal liqueur made of high quality ingredients. It contains extracts and aromatic substances of bitter herbs which create a special harmony of taste and aroma and induce a pleasant feeling. It is equally suitable as an aperitif or digestive and as a base for a number of cocktails.*

*All three products use environment friendly, non-polluting packaging in accordance with positive regulations for European and world markets.*



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