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Original scientific papers

THE DEPENDENCE ON GLOBAL MEDIA OF FOREIGN POLICY
REPORTING OF THE YUGOSLAV DAILY NEWSPAPERS
(SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1989)

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ABSTRACT:

This paper is based on the assumption that the reporting on international events by the Yugoslav daily newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika*, in their 1989 printed editions, was insignificantly influenced by the global media. We begin this study by using the method of quantitative content analysis. The data analysed were gathered over a four month period i.e. from September to December 1989. The Yugoslav national agency *Tanjug* and the correspondent staff of these newspapers were still the main sources of information for covering international events. However, heavy, but indirect influence of the global media was present in the Yugoslav newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. Their media representation on how the world was oriented toward actual events that happened on the northern hemisphere. Military and political conflicts were the main topics of interest for covering the southern parts of the world. Empirical results also revealed surprising contrasts in journalistic professionalism and international reporting itself among the leading Yugoslav newspapers in 1989.

KEY WORDS:

Global media; International flow of information, Newspapers, Yugoslavia.

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SAŽETAK:

Ovaj rad zasniva se na pretpostavci da je izveštavanje dnevnih novina Nova Makedonija, Delo i Politika o međunarodnim događajima tokom 1989 godine bilo pod uticajem globalnih medija. Empirijski rezultati su dobijeni metodom kvantitativne analize sadržaja. Podaci su prikupljeni tokom istraživanja sadržaja ovih izdanja od septembra do decembra 1989. godine. Iako je u ovom periodu nacionalna agencija Tanjug i dopisnički kadar agencije bio glavni izvor većine medija, primjetan je i uticaj najznačajnijih globalnih medija.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Globalni mediji, Međunarodni tok informacija, Dnevne novine; Jugoslavija

Introduction

This empirical research is based on the theoretical framework given by the exploration of the world communication problems in the second half of XX century. They were introduced as problems in the period of decolonization and independence of the former colonies from the southern continents of the world (Herman, Mc Chesney, 2004). The non-aligned countries, along with dozens of research papers and reports published by UNESCO, initiated the idea for establishment of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) (Carlsson, 2003; Nordenstreng, 2013). They were supported by the empirical results obtained from over 150 research papers on the international flow of information (Hanusch & Obijiofor, 2008). Several projects were conducted on international level (Mohammadi-Sreberny et al., 1982; Kayser, 1953; Harris, Malczek, Özkök, 1982). The results obtained in research were in many cases contradictory and could not entirely describe the impact of the global media. However, they revealed the domination of the global news agencies in some national newspapers in the countries around the world. As a result of that, it was concluded that international news agencies *Reuter*, *Associated Press*, *United Press International*, *Agence France Presse* and *TASS* were creators of more than 80% of all information that cover actual events around the world (Hatschen, 1993, p.165 in Horvit, 2010, p.73). According to Noam Chomsky, elite media set a framework within which others operate.

“If you are watching the *Associated Press*, who grind out a constant flow of news, in the mid-afternoon it breaks and there is something that comes along every day that says ‘Notice to Editors: Tomorrow’s *New York Times* is going to have the following stories on the front page’” (Chomsky, 1997).

In some cases, the influence of the global media was confirmed through the sources of information used in the media content for international events. But, many papers were interested in the indirect influence of the global media. Hamid Mowlana wrote about the information inequality in the world, which originates from the existence of communication center and periphery (Mowlana, 1985). The question of neglecting events important for the southern parts of the world in the media was theoretically grounded by Raul Prebisch (dependency theory), Immanuel Wallerstein (world-systems theory) and Johan Galtung (structural theory of imperialism)

in their postulates for the center and periphery of the planet (Galtung, 1971; Wallerstein, 1986; United Nations, 1950). Research projects, to a greater or lesser degree, were inspired by these theoretical frames in their analysis of the international flow of information.

In 1980, the UNESCO's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems published the report "*Many voices, one world*" (UNESCO, 1980). In this paper were described many growing problems that originated from the information inequality in the world (Osolnik, 2005). One of them was the problem with reporting negative issues for the southern continents and regions in national and local media around the world (Harris, 1981; Obijiofor, 2009; Rauch, 2003). "Expressions such as 'coups and earthquakes' were frequently used to describe reporting of Third World events" (MacBride & Roach, 1993: 6). The MacBride Commission concluded that the flow of information, messages, media programs and cultural products was mostly directed by developed and bigger countries in the world (UNESCO, 1980). It means that news for the southern continents and regions of the world, especially those for the non-aligned countries, have always been left on the margins of international reporting. According to George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, the main region of interest in national newspapers published by non-aligned states were actualities that occurred in the Soviet Union, while American newspapers in the same period of time were oriented towards selection of news mostly for events from western European states, their neighbours and Asian countries (Gerbner, Marvanyi, 1977). This means that different parts of the world had conflicting views on what the world was in that time.

In the 70's and 80's of the XX century, the non-aligned countries played the main role in raising this issue. Yugoslavia was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and it initiated the foundation of the *Non-Aligned News Agency Pool*. The main support for this initiative was given by the Yugoslav news agency *Tanjug* (Shafer, 1997). This initiative came after the Fourth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries was held in September 1973 (Topuz, 1977: 1). Yugoslav foreign policy for more than three decades was based on the policy of nonalignment and coexistence in international relations (Djunov, 1989; Mojsov, 1981). But, Yugoslavia at the end of 80's was indecisive regarding its foreign policy priorities (Andov, 2013). At the beginning of September 1989, the IX Summit Con-

ference of Heads of States or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in Belgrade. Two months later, the Berlin Wall failed and the Non-Aligned Movement was not so important anymore. The Yugoslav federation was separated between the nationalistic dreams of Slobodan Milosevic for creation of Great Serbia and aspirations for European integration, which was particularly mentioned by the Slovenian political establishment (Radeljic, 2012).

Methodology

On the basis of this theoretical background, the paper tries to discover the dependence on global media of international reporting of the Yugoslav daily newspapers in 1989. This research starts from the assumption that reporting on international events in the daily newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika* in 1989 was under insignificant dependence from the international news agencies *Reuter*, *United Press International*, *Associated Press*, *Agence France Presse* and *TASS*. For the purpose of this research, we claim that the dependence can be separated on direct and indirect influence. Direct influence of the global media can be revealed by the sources of information used in the media content published in the newspapers. Indirect influence of the global media can be determined through the following indicators: continents and regions in the texts for international events and topics covered in the texts for the southern continents and regions of the globe.

The relevant literature for the division of the world on communication center and periphery was used in the methodological framework. In the global 'North' of the world the following continents and regions were included: Europe (including the USSR), Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey), Middle East, North America (the USA, Canada and Mexico) and Asia. In the global 'South' of the world the following continents and regions were considered: Africa, Central America (including the Caribbean), South America and Australia (including New Zealand and Oceania). This division of the world was mainly based on the previous studies carried out by UNESCO in the second half of the twentieth century, such as the report "*Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 countries*" (Mohammadi-Sreberny et al., 1982). However, some of the changes made in this research should also be noted. As already mentioned, the empirical results in this paper are part of a broader thirty-year research of the international reporting. Therefore, for the purposes of the

whole research it was necessary to include the Middle East as a region in the global 'North'. In fact, the implications of international events from this region were directly connected to the world's communication center in the 2013 research period. However, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and other Arab countries of the Mediterranean were included under Africa's continent in this research. It means that the geographical location of all countries was also taken in consideration. The research included a special class for those international events for which information had arrived from different parts of the world, forming the so-called global events. It should be noted that the foreign visits of the Yugoslav officials were not considered as international events in this research. The official meetings with foreign officials in the Yugoslav capital were also not considered as international events.

Previous studies published by UNESCO have also been used to define what can be considered as positive and negative topics in those reporting in relation to the southern continents and regions of the world (Mohammadi-Sreberny et al., 1982). In this case, additional topics were defined in the groups of positive and negative themes. In the group of positive topics were included many new issues, such as: the work of the NGO sector, the respect of human rights, ecology, alternative sources of energy and energy efficiency. In this case, through a specific example, we should explain what is positive and what negative topic is. If the text concerns floods in Columbia, this is certainly a negative topic. If the article informs about the reconstruction of Columbian cities after the floods, then this is a positive topic. Additionally, a special class in this research includes those journalistic articles that treat two or more topics within one single text.

Regarding the research sample, it should be mentioned that in this research were included the following newspapers: *Nova Makedonija* (the Socialist Republic of Macedonia), *Delo* (the Socialist Republic of Slovenia) and *Politika* (the Socialist Republic of Serbia). The main criteria for the selection of newspapers was impartial. All three newspapers had to be published on a national level, constantly, in all three research periods of 1983, 1989 and 2013, a criteria that originates from the research methodology of my doctoral dissertation. In order to obtain empirical results in this research, the method of quantitative content analysis was introduced, along with semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis. However, in this paper are presented only those results of the quantitative content analysis for the 1989 printed

editions of the newspapers. The analysis was conducted on all printed editions of the newspapers in the following period: from 1st to 7th September (the first week of September), from 8th to 14th October (the second week of October), from 15th to 21st November (the third week of November) and from 22nd to 28 December 1989 (the fourth week of December). This period of research was chosen as an effort to obtain reliable results. Identical dates gave the possibility to make effective comparison from historical and regional perspective. The four-month research period excludes the possibility for key impact of some major international event on the received empirical results.

International reporting of the Macedonian daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* in 1989

Nova Makedonija was the most influential daily newspaper in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the 1989 research period. Its office had 16 journalists, both from Yugoslavia and abroad, that created media content for international events. In the period between September and December, in the daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* were published 514 texts, 93 photographs and 18 units of other media content (charts, graphs, maps, caricatures, etc.).

The most used source of information on textual content was *Tanjug*. The Yugoslav national news agency produced 258 articles, or 48, 8% of the total number of published written material. International news agencies *Reuter*, *Associated Press*, *United Press International*, *Agence France Presse* and *TASS* were used as source of information in 38 articles and 2 photographs, which represents 7,4% of the textual content and 2,2% of the photographic content. Journalists and contributors of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* prepared 116 texts, or 22, 6% of the textual content. Empirical results revealed that the editorial board did not respect the basic journalistic rules when reporting on international events. A vast majority of 84 photographs, or 90,3% of the photographic material, were included in the newspaper editions with unstated source of information. Also, in 65 articles (12, 6% of all written content) was impossible to discover the journalist who created the material, or the media used for collecting information.

With these results on board, we can say that the direct influence of the global media was very small in the research period of 1989. Yugoslav sources of information

dominated in the published articles about international events. However, two indicators demonstrate the indirect influence of the global media on foreign policy reporting of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. The most important results are connected with the editor's selection of news for different continents and regions of the world.

Table 1. *Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1989*

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper <i>Nova Makedonija</i>	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
Reuter	19	3,7%	1	1,1%	0	0%
Agence France Presse	9	1,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Associated Press	6	1,2%	0	0%	0	0%
TASS	4	0,8%	1	1,1%	0	0%
Total:	38	7,4%	2	2,2%	0	0%
Foreign national and regional media						
Other foreign national media	34	6,6%	0	0%	3	16,7%
Xinhua	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
The New York Times	0	0%	0	0%	1	5,6%
Total:	35	6,8%	0	0%	4	22,3%
Editorial staff of the <i>Nova Makedonija</i> newspaper						
Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Yugoslavia	73	14,2%	7	7,5%	0	0%
Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the <i>Nova Makedonija</i> newspaper	43	8,4%	0	0%	6	33,3%
Total:	116	22,6%	7	7,5%	6	33,3%
Yugoslav national media						
Tanjug	251	48,8%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	251	48,8%	0	0%	0	0%
Unstated source of information	65	12,6%	84	90,3%	8	44,4%
More than one source of information	7	1,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Other source of information (local media, state institutions, international organizations, NGO's, etc.)	2	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	514	100%	93	100%	18	100%

In the last days of the Yugoslav media system, the daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* was geared toward reporting events from the northern continents and regions of the world. As much as 451 articles, or 87, 8% of the total number, refer to international events that took place within Europe, Asia, Balkan Peninsula, Middle East or North America. For actualities from the developing countries, or the Third World countries, which are mostly located on the southern parts of the globe, were published 34 texts, or 6, 6% of the textual content. There were also so-called 'global events' treated by the editorial staff. *Nova Makedonija* published 29 articles (6, 6% of their total number) for actualities that occurred in more than one continent or region of the world.

Table 2. *Continents or regions which were the subjects of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1989*

<i>Continent or region which were the subjects of interest in the published articles</i>	Text	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the world		
Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)	197	38,3%
Europe (including Soviet Union)	196	38,1%
Asia	25	4,9%
North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)	20	3,9%
Middle East	13	2,6%
Total:	451	87,8%
Southern continents and regions of the world		
Central America and the Caribbean	13	2,6%
South America	11	2,1%
Africa	10	1,9%
Total:	34	6,6%
More than one continent or region	29	5,6%
Total:	514	100%

Research results revealed that the editors of this Macedonian newspaper selected negative topics in covering the southern continents and regions of the world.

Table 3. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the world, published in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1989*

Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the world	Text	
	N	%
Positive topics		
Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations	5	14,7%
Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights	4	11,8%
Other positive topics (those positive topics not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	2	5,9%
International aid	1	2,9%
Total:	12	35,3%
Negative topics		
Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)	12	35,3%
Other negative topics (those negative topics not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	5	14,7%
Organized crime	4	11,8%
Total:	21	61,8%
Two or more topics	1	2,9%
Total:	34	100%

They created negative media representation about the factual reality in the Central and South America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Oceania. In 1989, gatekeeping was constantly feeding the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* with negative topics, which were covered in 21 published articles, or 61, 8 % of the total number of articles for these parts of the world. Political conflicts, civil wars and international military conflicts were presented as such in 12 journalistic texts, or 35, 3% of all textual material. Contrary to this, in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* were published only 12 articles, or 35, 3% of the total number, that elaborated some positive topic for the southern continents and regions.

International reporting of the Slovenian daily newspaper *Delo* in 1989

The Socialist Republic of Slovenia had the daily newspaper *Delo* as the most influential printed media in the moments of dissolution of SFR Yugoslavia. The leading

newspaper had at least 31 journalists and contributors that followed actualities from abroad. Among them, 19 journalists were permanent or temporary correspondents outside Yugoslavia.

In the newspaper *Delo* were published 637 texts, 92 photographs and 33 units of other media content (charts, graphs, maps, caricatures, etc.). Yet, the most employed source of information on textual content was the Yugoslav national news agency *Tanjug*. It was quoted in 253 texts, or 39, 7% of the total number of published written material. However, the journalistic staff had crucial role in forming media content for the historic year of 1989. Correspondents, reporters and contributors of the newspaper *Delo* from abroad prepared 204 articles, or 32% of the textual content. Additional 9, 4% of the articles were created by journalists and editors located in Yugoslavia. It is obvious that the editorial board had agenda for creation of media content by their own journalists and editors. Even the photographic material was prepared by its own. *Delo* produced 35 photographs (38% of their total number) for visualization of actual foreign policy events. Identical proportion of photographic content was published with unstated sources of information.

Table 4. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper *Delo* in 1989

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper <i>Delo</i>	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
Reuter	23	3,6%	13	14,1%	0	0%
Associated press	17	2,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Agence France Presse	8	1,2%	0	0%	0	0%
TASS	3	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	51	7,9%	13	14,1%	0	0%
Foreign national and regional media						
Other foreign national media	20	3,1%	3	3,3%	10	30,3%
Xinhua	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
DPA	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
The New York Times	0	0%	0	0%	2	6,1%
Total:	22	3,5%	3	3,3%	12	36,4%
Editorial staff of the <i>Delo</i> newspaper						

Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the Delo newspaper	204	32%	0	0%	0	0%
Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Yugoslavia	60	9,4%	35	38%	13	39,4%
Total:	264	41,4%	35	38%	13	39,4%
Yugoslav national media						
Tanjug	253	39,7%	2	2,2%	0	0%
Other Yugoslav national media	3	0,4%	4	4,4%	1	3%
Politika	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Vjesnik	1	0,2%	0	0%	1	3%
Nova Makedonija	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Oslobodenje	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	260	40,9%	6	6,6%	2	6%
Unstated source of information	39	6,1%	35	38%	6	18,2%
More than one source of information	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	637	100%	92	100%	33	100%

Before the breakup of Yugoslavia, the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* was geared toward reporting events from the northern continents and regions of the world. As much as 507 texts, or 79, 5% of their total number, referred to international events that took place within Europe, Asia, Balkan Peninsula, Middle East or North America. For events from the developing countries or the Third World countries, which are located mostly on the southern parts of the world, were published 85 articles, or 13, 4% of the written material.

Table 5. *Continents or regions which were the subjects of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Delo in 1989*

<i>Continent or region which were the subjects of interest in the published articles</i>	Text	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the world		
Europe (including USSR)	339	53,2%
Asia	57	8,9%
Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)	51	8%
Middle East	30	4,7%
North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)	30	4,7%
Total:	507	79,5%
Southern continents and regions of the world		

Africa	38	6%
South America	26	4,1%
Central America and the Caribbean	20	3,1%
Australia, Oceania and New Zealand	1	0,2%
Total:	85	13,4%
More than one continent or region	45	7,1%
Total:	637	100%

Contrary to the fact that editor's selection of news gave larger space to articles for the northern continents and regions of the world, another indicator demonstrated opposite results.

Table 6. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the world, published in the newspaper Delo in 1989*

<i>Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the world</i>	Text	
	N	%
Positive topics		
Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations	44	37,6%
Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights	14	12%
Other positive topics (those positive topics not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	6	5,1%
Economic, political and cultural development of society	2	1,7%
International aid	2	1,7%
Independence, establishing sovereignty, struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism	1	0,9%
Total:	69	59%
Negative topics		
Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)	25	21,4%
Other negative topics (those negative topics not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	11	9,4%
Religious, ethnic and racial antagonism	4	3,4%
Organized crime	4	3,4%
Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.)	2	1,7%
Terrorism	2	1,7%
Total:	48	41%
Total:	117	100%

In the newspaper *Delo* mostly appeared articles that covered positive topics for those countries located on the global 'South' of the world. In 1989, gatekeeping was constantly feeding the newspaper *Delo* with positive topics, which were represented in 59% of the total number of articles for Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. Negative themes were covered in 48 journalistic texts, or 41% of the textual material. As a result of this, we can say that media agenda of the leading Slovenian newspaper tried to explain that the southern parts of the world were places with serious conflicts, but at the same time, there was space for civilized solution of all problems.

International reporting of the Serbian daily newspaper *Politika* in 1989

The dailies *Borba* and *Politika* were the two most influential newspapers in the Socialist Republic of Serbia before the breakup of Yugoslavia. With the background of the oldest Balkan newspaper, *Politika* had reputation in Yugoslavia because of its comprehensive and detailed international reporting. There were around 22 permanent and temporary correspondents from abroad. Also, between 11 and 14 journalists and contributors from Yugoslavia produced the content in foreign policy section. During the research period of 1989, there were 756 texts, 201 photographs and 20 units of other media content (graphs, tables, maps, caricatures, etc.) published in the newspaper *Politika* on international events.

When it comes to the sources of information of the published media material, this research reveals that the editorial staff of the newspaper *Politika* was the main source of information in foreign policy section at the end of 80's of XX century. Correspondents, reporters and contributors of the newspaper *Politika* from abroad created 240 texts (31, 7% of the textual content) on international events. Journalists, editors and contributors of the newspaper *Politika* in the SFR Yugoslavia produced another 134 articles, or 17, 7% of the textual content. If we group together the whole material, then the editorial staff of the newspaper *Politika* was used as source of information in 374 texts, 8 photographs and 7 units of other media content.

In 1989, printed editions of this newspaper had permanent correspondents from Warsaw, Moscow, Beijing, Athens, Tokyo, Bonn, Harare, Buenos Aires, London, Paris, New Delhi, Berlin, Cairo, New York, Mexico City, Jerusalem and temporary

reporters from Budapest, Bucharest, Timisoara, Oslo and Prague. This number of correspondents was unimaginable for the influential print media from the smaller Yugoslav republics. Besides the advanced network of journalists, a vast majority of the photographic content was published all noting an unnamed source of information – photographer who created it or other media from which these materials were provided. Foreign policy section of the newspaper *Politika* was made up of 187 photographs (93% of the photographic material), 9 units of other media content (45% of the total number) and 154 articles (20, 4% of the textual content) with unnamed source of information.

Table 7. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper *Politika* in 1989

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper <i>Politika</i>	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
Agence France Presse	14	1,9%	0	0%	0	0%
Associated Press	10	1,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Reuter	7	0,9%	1	0,5%	0	0%
TASS	2	0,3%	0	0%	0	0%
United Press International (UPI)	1	0,1%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	34	4,6%	1	0,5%	0	0%
Foreign national and regional media						
Other foreign national media	14	1,9%	0	0%	2	10%
Total:	14	1,9%	0	0%	2	10%
Editorial staff of the <i>Politika</i> newspaper						
Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the <i>Politika</i> newspaper	240	31,7%	3	1,5%	0	0%
Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Yugoslavia	134	17,7%	5	2,5%	7	35%
Total:	374	49,4%	8	4%	7	35%
Yugoslav national media						
Tanjug	170	22,5%	2	1%	0	0%
Other Yugoslav national media	1	0,1%	3	1,5%		
Total:	171	22,6%	5	2,5%	0	0%
Unstated source of information	154	20,4%	187	93%	9	45%
More than one source of information	5	0,6%	0	0%	0	0%
Other source of information (local media, state institutions, international organizations, NGO's, etc.)	4	0,5%	0	0%	2	10%
Total:	756	100%	201	100%	20	100%

On the other side, the direct influence of the global media on foreign policy reporting was very small. From September to December 1989, in the newspaper *Politika* were published 34 articles within which the international news agencies were named as sources of information, which represents 4, 6% of the overall textual content.

Table 8. *Continents or regions which were the subjects of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Politika in 1989*

Continent or region which were the subjects of interest in the published articles	Text	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the world		
Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)	256	33,9%
Europe (including USSR)	236	31,2%
Asia	56	7,4%
North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)	35	4,6%
Middle East	16	2,1%
Total:	599	79,2%
Southern continents and regions of the world		
Africa	24	3,2%
South America	19	2,5%
Central America and the Caribbean	16	2,1%
Total:	59	7,8%
More than one continent or region	98	13%
Total:	756	100%

However, the indirect influence of the global media was persistent. *Politika* mostly published articles for actualities that took place in the developed countries of the northern continents and regions of the world. These parts of the world were followed within 599 articles, or in 79, 2% of the total number of textual content for international events. Moreover, the main focus of reporting was put on events from Europe (256 texts or 33, 9% of the total number) and the Balkan Peninsula (236 texts or 31, 2% of the textual content). For actualities from the southern continents and regions of the world there were published 59 articles, or 7, 8% of the textual content.

The results of the research revealed that the leading Serbian newspaper presented the global 'South' in negative context. During the research period of 1989,

negative topics for Central and South America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Oceania were covered in 31 published articles, or 52, 5% of the textual content. Positive themes for the southern continents and regions of the world were published in 23 texts (39% of the written material).

Table 9. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the world, published in the newspaper Politika in 1989*

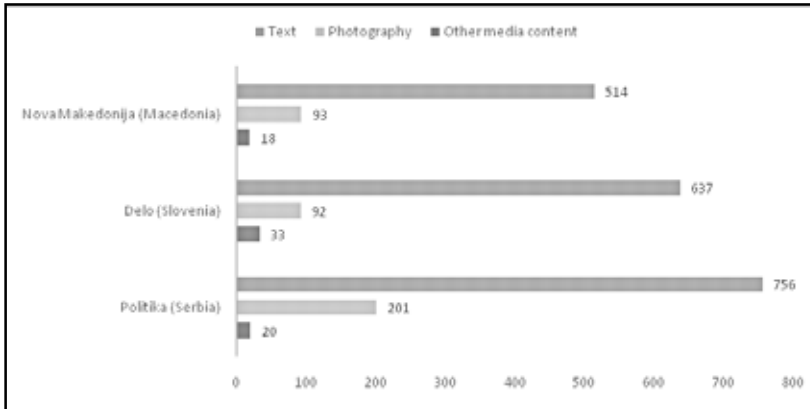
Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the world	Text	
	N	%
Positive topics		
Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations	15	25,4%
Other positive topics (those positive topics not listed as separate class in the exemplar document)	4	6,8%
Economic, political and cultural development of society	2	3,4%
International aid	2	3,4%
Total:	23	39%
Negative topics		
Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)	12	20,3%
Other negative topics (those negative topics not listed as separate class in the exemplar document)	9	15,2%
Organized crime	3	5,1%
Terrorism	2	3,4%
Religious, ethnic and racial antagonism	2	3,4%
Economic and financial crises	1	1,7%
Poverty and diseases	1	1,7%
Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.)	1	1,7%
Total:	31	52,5%
Two or more topics	5	8,5%
Total:	59	100%

Discussion

The Yugoslav daily newspapers gave different attention to international events during the research period of 1989. The highest openness toward the world was shown by the newspapers *Politika* and *Delo*. In foreign policy section of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* were published around 20% more articles on international events than in the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. Compared with the newspa-

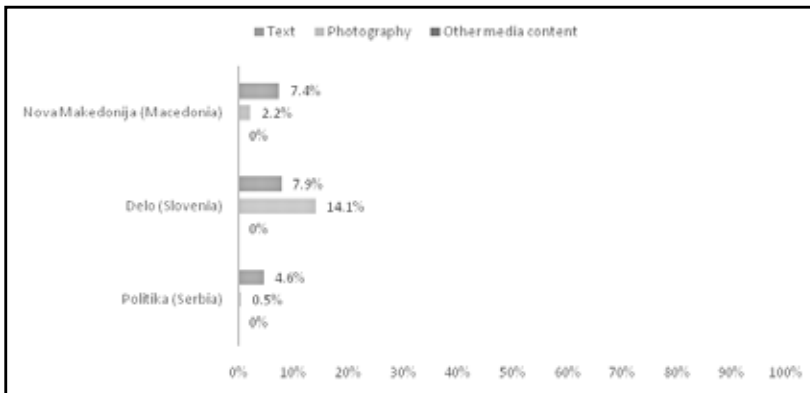
per *Politika*, editors and journalists of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* published almost 50% less articles for actualities from abroad. At the end of 80's of twentieth century, the newspapers *Delo* and *Politika* had higher number of correspondent staff compared with the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. Quantitative content analysis shows that international reporting was more important for editors and journalists of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* and the Serbian newspaper *Politika*.

Graph 1. Number of published media content for international events in the 1989 printed editions of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers



The direct influence of the global media on international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika* was very small. The main reason for this was the Yugoslav national news agency *Tanjug*. It was the main source of information for all the newspapers.

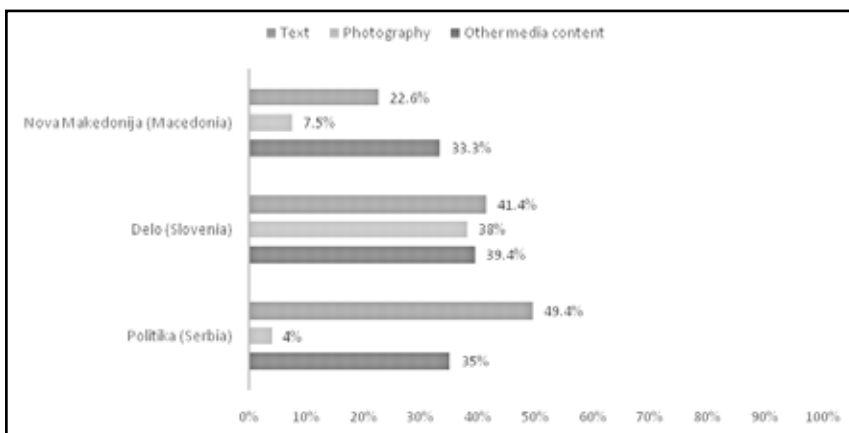
Graph 2. Global media as a source of information in international reporting of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1989



However, the basic journalistic standards were not respected equally by all Yugoslav newspapers. In most cases, the daily newspaper *Delo* used its own sources of information in articles and photographs for international events. This was not the case with the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. The professional rules were not always respected, so these newspapers did not publish their sources of information for photographic content. As a result of this, it was impossible to discover the direct influence of the global media over photographic content for international events in the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*.

On the other hand, empirical results showed that journalists and editors had different impact on international reporting in the Yugoslav newspapers. The Slovenian newspaper *Delo* produced twice more articles and five times more photographs about international events than those journalists who worked in the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. Similar results were obtained for the Serbian newspaper *Politika*. Producing original content means higher quality on international reporting and gives importance to international actualities that happened at the end of 1989. But, we also have to mention here that these three newspapers had different number of journalists engaged in producing media content.

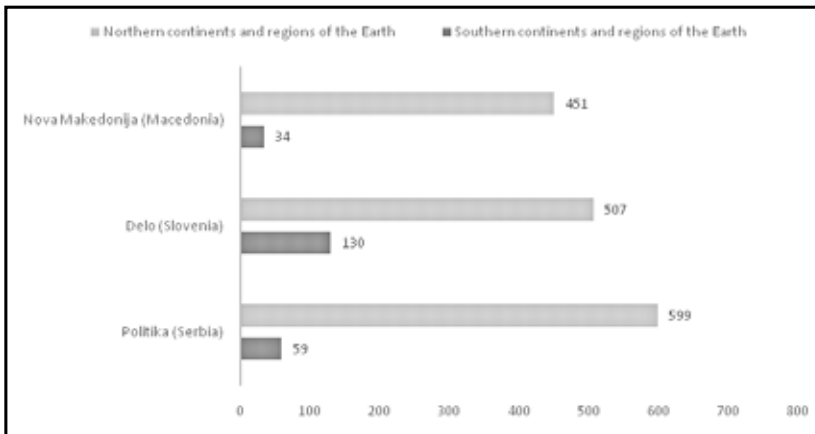
Graph 3. Editorial staff as a source of information in international reporting of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1989



There are two indicators that confirm the heavy, but indirect influence of the global media on international reporting of the Yugoslav daily newspapers. The selection of news and framing policies applied on international reporting can tell us

a lot about the indirect influence of the global media. Gatekeeping policy revealed the continents and regions covered in the articles of the Yugoslav daily newspapers. The northern parts of the world, in particular, the events happening in Europe, dominated in foreign policy sections of all newspapers. Their media agenda had one unofficial rule for giving priority to events that originates from Europe, Balkan Peninsula, North America, Middle East and Asia. To varying extent, this is proved for all Yugoslav daily newspapers. It can clearly demonstrate the heavy, but indirect influence of the global media on international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika*. On the other hand, the smallest inequality in media representation of international events was present in the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. The analysis of media content in the newspaper *Delo* showed a margin of 4:1 in favour of the northern continents and regions of the world. However, the highest imbalance of 13:1 in favour of the northern parts of the world was present in those articles published in the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. Similar results were obtained for the Serbian newspaper *Politika*.

Graph 4. Continents and regions which were the subjects of interest in published articles for international events in the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1989



Research results for the newspaper *Politika* demonstrate that for the Balkan Peninsula, Europe, North America, Middle East and Asia were published 10 times more articles than for actualities from the southern continents and regions of the world. Following the selection of news for international events, we can say that the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika* were not so strongly influenced by the Yugoslav foreign policy priorities. Reporting for the southern parts of the world was diminished in their media agenda.

Another indicator that reveals the existence of dissimilar media agenda in the Yugoslav daily newspapers are covered topics in those articles informing on the southern continents and regions of the world. In 1989, the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* gave priority to positive topics in the published articles for events that happened in Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. Texts with negative topics were 40% less present compared to those covering positive themes.

However, media representation of international actualities is different in *Politika* and *Nova Makedonija*. Their editors chose to publish those themes that negatively represent countries located on the southern continents and regions of the globe. Quantitative content analysis demonstrates a margin of 2:1 in favor of negative topics in the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. In identical period of time, articles with negative topics dominated in foreign policy section of the Serbian newspaper *Politika*. From these research results, a serious discussion can arise on the consistency between international reporting of these two Yugoslav newspapers and the leading priorities of the Yugoslav foreign policy at the end of 80's of XX century.

Graph 5. Topics of interest in those articles related with the southern continents and regions of the world published in the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1989

These results demonstrate the heavy, but indirect, influence of the global media on international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. At the same time, we can say that the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* had slight indirect influence of the global media in its foreign policy section.

Empirical results of this research confirmed some theoretical claims given by the scholars. University professor Kaarle Nordenstreng argues that there are five lessons from the foundations of the New World Information and Communication Order. Among them, the formation of this communication problem was politically motivated question, while its solution was mostly limited on debate and not on real changes in the world media spectrum (Nordenstreng, 2013, p.3-5). This thesis was proved in the case of the Yugoslav newspapers. In 1989, the Non-Alignment in Yugoslavia became demagogy supported by one part of the political establishment. In reality, it was not supported by the international reporting of the leading newspapers

from Yugoslavia. Actually, so little was done in order to realize at least some of the principles of the New World Information and Communication Order.

On the other side, empirical results in this paper are no different from the previous research studies conducted by UNESCO. For example, in the report “*Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 countries*” was concluded that many newspapers from the developing and Third World countries were publishing media content with unnamed sources of information (Mohammadi-Sreberny et al., 1982, p.49-50). In some cases, the results shown the heavy influence of the global media on international reporting, but there are also studies that rejected this assumption. Jacques Kayser in the 1953 report “*One Week’s News: Comparative Study of 17 Major Dailies for a Seven Day Period*” confirmed that most newspapers used the agency content when covering international events (Kayser, 1953). On the other side, the UNESCO report confirmed that the newspapers of solely four countries (Mexico, Iran, Egypt and Indonesia) used the international news agencies as sources in more than 50% of the published articles (Mohammadi-Sreberny et al., 1982).

Even in the case of international reporting on different continents and regions, some previous research published results similar to the one in this paper. George Gerbner and George Marvanyi in their paper “*The Many World of the World’s Press*” concluded that the regions of Africa, Australia and Oceania and parts of the Central Asia were considerably less present in the world press in 1970 (Gerbner, Marvanyi, 1977, p.60). “The technical structure of the international news media delimits the ‘news geography’ of these news media and gives a prior structuring of those events defined as newsworthy” (Harris, 1981, p.23).

However, the most interesting fact received from this research is that the leading daily newspapers in former Yugoslavia had a different media agenda when covering international events. Empirical results demonstrate that the most consistent in support of the Yugoslav foreign policy was the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. It is this newspaper that invested the greatest effort to overcome the dependence of the global media on international reporting in the research period of 1989.

Conclusion

Global media had a minor direct role in international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika* during the research period of 1989. Their direct influence was very low. As a result of that, the research hypothesis was entirely proved. However, different conclusion can be given about the indirect influence of the global media. The Yugoslav newspapers were oriented toward reporting on events that occurred on the northern continents and regions of the world. The drastic imbalance is evident in the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. The Slovenian newspaper *Delo* gave larger space for events from the southern continents and regions of the world. This exception of the newspaper *Delo* appears together with the balanced reporting on positive and negative topics regarding the countries of Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. On the other hand, the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika* published huge amount of journalistic texts with negative topics for the southern continents and regions of the world. Therefore, we can conclude that they had heavy indirect influence of the global media on their international reporting, which is contrary to the claims from the research hypothesis.

Another difference among the Yugoslav newspapers was revealed. The Slovenian newspaper *Delo* was persistent in following the main Yugoslav foreign policy priorities in the 1989 printed editions. This newspaper tried to create balanced reporting for the non-aligned countries from the southern parts of the world. Together with the Serbian newspaper *Politika*, they were much more open for covering international events than the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. Empirical results revealed the regional difference among the daily newspapers. Even in the treatment of international events, the Yugoslav newspapers foreshadowed the official breakup of SFR Yugoslavia in the following two years.

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