

# FINAL REPORT ON EDITORIAL CULTURES: SLOVENIA

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Project report prepared for EMEDIATE, WP3

Project title: **EMEDIATE: Media and Ethics of a European Public Sphere from the Treaty of Rome to the 'War on Terror'.**

EU Sixth Framework Program, Specific Targeted Research Project, Priority 7:  
Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society. Project no. CIT2-CT-2004-  
506027.

## **CONTENTS:**

Introduction (3)

### **Literature review**

General description of the literature review (5)

Literature review (6)

### **Interviews**

Analysis of interviews (9)

Conclusion (15)

### **Annotated bibliography**

Annotated bibliography with short abstracts (17)

Books (17)

Students' diplomas (22)

Articles and debates (36)

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Settled in four distinct areas (Styria, Carniola, Carinthia and Gorizia) since the sixth century, Slovenia was later variously dominated by the Bavarians, the Frankish Empire of the Carolingians, and the largely Germanic Holy Roman Empire, which lasted in one form or another from the 9th to the 19th century. The Slovenes themselves were a Slavic people, converted to Roman Catholicism. In the 14th century, the Slovene territories became hereditary possessions of the House of Habsburg. After 1867, when the Habsburg realm became the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary, the Slovenes fell under the jurisdiction of the Austrian Crown. Despite considerable socio-economic progress locally thereafter, the ancient threat posed to Slovene survival and cultural identity by germanization pushed local political sentiment towards supporting the growing south Slav movement of the Croats and Serbs. Thus, following the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during World War I, Slovenia became a part of the new 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' in 1918 (renamed 'Yugoslavia' in (1929)). In 1941, when the Axis powers dismembered Yugoslavia, Slovenia was carved up between Germany, Italy and Hungary.

Local resistance, initially from non-communist nationalists, was hijacked by the Yugoslav Communist Party (transformed into the League of Communists after the war) led by Josip Broz Tito, himself partly of Slovene origin. In 1945, after the communists emerged victorious, Slovenia became a constituent republic of the new Yugoslav federation. The ruling League of Communists of Slovenia (LCS) supported the Croats in the demand for an effectively confederal Yugoslavia during the 1960s and 1970s, although never to the point of provoking Tito into repression, as the one that took place in Croatia in 1971. Among other things, this caution made a relatively liberal political atmosphere in Slovenia possible, culminating in a pluralist 'Slovene Spring' after Milan Kucan became LCS leader in 1986. Kucan steered Slovenia towards independence following multi-party National Assembly elections in April 1990 which brought to power a six-party center-right coalition, calling itself DEMOS, led by Premier Lojze Peterle.

After 14 months, during which both Slovenia and Croatia became increasingly alienated from Belgrade, Slovenia declared independence. The central Government immediately sent in armoured convoys to take control of federal border posts and key installations in the capital of Ljubljana. The army was clearly not expecting the resistance put up by well-prepared Slovene irregulars and after about 10 days of sporadic and largely inconclusive fighting, a ceasefire was reached. By October 1991, all federal military forces had left the republic, and Slovenia proclaimed its independence on 8 October. Full international recognition followed in January 1992, after which the DEMOS Government collapsed, having achieved its sole objective of securing international recognition.

Slovenia was admitted to the United Nations in May 1992. A non-party government of technocrats took over pending new elections. Today, Slovenia has a multi-party democracy, although it is on the road to permanent coalition politics with three parties (the customary European mix of center-right, center-left and liberal) as the main contestants.

The government, which took office in October 2000, is typical of this pattern, consisting of a four-party coalition led by the Slovenian Liberal Democratic party, the centrist grouping which has consistently been the largest party in the national assembly. The result was similar to those of 1992 and January 1996. One constant presence, until his recent retirement, was Milan Kucan, who completed his second and final presidential term in 2002. His successor has been Janez Drnovsek, who first took office as premier in 1992 and remained at the helm for the next 10 years. In 2002, following the most recent presidential poll, Drnovsek replaced Kucan as president, while Anton Rop replaced Drnovsek as Prime Minister. After 2004 party elections, Janez Jansa, leader of the Slovenian Democratic Party, took office as the new prime minister.

Slovenian foreign policy focused on improving links with Western Europe, with the eventual aim of joining both the EU and NATO. The EU began membership

negotiations with Slovenia in early 1998. By and large, these proceeded smoothly: the only real obstacle was a series of interrelated disputes with Italy over territory and property acquired by Yugoslavia after the 1947 post-war settlement in the region. With these issues settled, Slovenia joined the EU, along with nine other countries, in May 2004; it was the first of the former Yugoslav republics to attain membership. Slovenia was also formally invited to join NATO at the organization's Prague summit in November 2002. Slovenia's only major outstanding problem in its foreign relations is a long-standing border dispute with Croatia, an aspirant to EU and NATO membership, which has so far defied solution.

## **2. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW**

Collection of literature regarding editorial policies of Slovene media presented the first phase of this project's assignments. Different Slovene libraries (National Library, University of Primorska Library, Faculty of Arts Library, Faculty for Social Sciences Library, ISH Library, Faculty for Education in Ljubljana Library, Faculty for Education in Maribor Library, Faculty for Education in Koper Library, Peace Institute Library) were accessed through bibliographic system COBISS/OPAC and available services. Not many results matching to our search were found. This was the reason for wider examination of literature regarding Slovene media, especially in National Library and Faculty for Social Sciences database. This examination included mainly student diplomas and published articles/debates regarding Slovene media and their editorial policies as there are practically no books dealing with editorial policies and editorial orientation of Slovene media.

Finally, 13 students diplomas, 9 published articles/debates regarding editorial policies of Slovene media and 4 books, helping at least partially understand (editorial) orientation of Slovene media, affected by political and economic changes in last decades, were selected for a further research. The usability of matching results for this project's goal is of some, but not of significant importance as it provides just partial information regarding editorial policies of Slovene media.

### **3. LITERATURE REVIEW: NEWS-MAKING CULTURES**

According to Gorse (2000), editors of Slovene media were usually employed and removed by the League of Communists after the Second World War, and the party thoroughly kept sharp inspection of media content. In *Ljudska pravica* (People's justice) - which later developed in *Delo* (Labour), Slovenia's most prominent daily - for instance, texts were written by the most important party leaders creating political-theoretical essence of a newspaper. As Gorse also states, collaborators of *Ljudska pravica* were almost entirely partisan journalists, and development of journalism was many times impeded by the League of Communists itself, as it moved editors and journalists to another posts. Until the end of 1980's chief editors of *Delo*, Slovenian most prominent daily newspaper, were named by the Presidency and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Association of Working People. Connection between the League of Communists of Slovenia and *Delo* could also be seen in the functions/positions of *Delo*'s editors in the League of Communists of Slovenia. For instance: Rudi Janhuba, one of the former chief editors of *Delo*, was a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and a member of the Chief Committee of the Socialist Association of Working People; Janez Vipotnik, also a former chief editor of *Delo*, was the president of the Socialist Association of Working People; Joze Smole, similarly, was a member of the League of Communists of Slovenia, president of the Social Association of Working People, and also the Head of the Yugoslav President's Cabinet.

League of Communists' leaders regularly supervised the content of the newspaper (*Delo*). Janez Vipotnik, a former editor of *Delo*, once said: 'As an editor-in-chief I had practically daily connections with Slovene leaders, who helped newspaper's reputation with their well-intentioned critiques, advices, help, but also cooperation and writing...' Slavko Fras, one of former managing editors of *Delo*, described Mitja Gorjup, also a former managing editor of *Delo*, as ...'a person, who made enormous contribution in establishing the profession of self-management journalist'. This is

perhaps the best illustration how editors (and society) understood the role of journalism at that time. Gorjup actually postulated a principle that being a journalist is not a job, but political and individual determination of an individual... (Gorse: 2000:59).

In his memoirs named *The story of a communist journalist* (1994) Joze Smole, a former editor-in-chief of *Delo*, wrote: »I am not ashamed of my work. On the contrary, I am proud of it. I am aware I have made many mistakes. In the area of political decisions and in my activities as well. But ... I have contributed a small piece in the building of the new society, which should not exploit people, but enforce new international relationships, which should be based on full equality of all states, big and small, rich and poor. This historical project was not realized, but this was not the reason why we should have been ashamed for taking part in it. Each political movement has different currents and each political party has different wings. In Slovenian League of Communists, I was never part of any dogmatic wing, as I belonged to a free and critical democratic wing,« he wrote. And added that a final thought of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia programme, which had been adopted on 7th congress in Ljubljana in 1958, was the closest to him: »Nothing of the achieved is not that holy that could not be replaced by more progressive, more free and more humane...« (Smole, 1994:5).

Such cases are perhaps the best illustration how Slovene media operated between the end of the Second World War until the fall of a socialist regime in former Yugoslavia in late 1980's and in the beginning of 1990's. According to Micic (2004), in the period prior to the declaration of Slovenian independence in 1991, there have also been very strong formal and informal pressures of authorities, which prevented journalists from their independent work. Slovene journalists could not work independently in this period. Moreover, the authorities have maintained pressures on journalists, especially on those opposing Yugoslav government, with their repression apparatus. With the declaration of Slovenian Independence in 1991, radical changes occurred also in the area of journalism and editorial policies of Slovene media. According to Gorse (2000) political changes and transformation of power relations

also brought internal clash between editorial and journalistic lines in many media. In Delo, for instance, some of the most influential journalists and editors (Bozo Kovac, Joze Vilfand, Vlado Slamberger, Janez Korosec, Mile Setinc) were removed. Many new media were established at that time.

The period after 1991 was importantly influenced by other changes in the media world, such as privatization of the media, liberalization of the print media market and superficial regulation of broadcasting market, media monopolization and commercialization (Basic-Hrvatin & Milosavljevic, 2001). As several other authors (Cepin, 1999; Rednak, 2004) note, the interests of profit are often stronger than interests of the public, although journalist should primarily serve the public. Not surprisingly, big pressures and tensions on journalists occur in the last decade and they are many times forced to adopt certain contents to satisfy advertisers' demands.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that Slovene media were also significantly affected by political changes during the 1990's (Basic-Hrvatin & Milosavljevic, 2001) and even later on. Splichal, for example, ascertains that "democratic political changes in Eastern Europe brought greediness for media, which can be compared with plague, which new democracies have not yet succeeded to dam up. All classical branches of power – legislative, executive and judicial – have limited the freedom of media, but the greatest contribution to that came from executive power" (Splichal, 2000:7).

Basic-Hrvatin (2002) emphasizes another, rather problematic issue: importance of appointment of editors as one of the main questions posed by the journalists in public debates. This issue relates to the question whether the appointment of editors in the media needs approval or merely opinion. Article 20 of the law regulating RTV Slovenia, for example, stipulates that the RTV Council appoints and dismisses the editors in chief of the individual programs at the proposal of the program directors, subject to the approval of the employees of the department in question. The term 'approval' was later replaced with 'opinion'. The amendments to the RTV Slovenia Act, which were adopted after the controversial appointment of one of the director-general, introduced a compromise, so paragraph 6 of the amended Article 20 now

states that »if the director of the radio or television programmes proposes to the RTV Council a candidate for the position of the editor-in-chief who has not received a positive opinion from the representative body of the programme staff in the editorial office, this body has the right to propose to the RTV Council another candidate who has received its positive opinion. In such a case, the RTV Council chooses the editor-in-chief from among the candidates proposed by the director of the radio or television programs and those proposed by the representative body of the programme staff in the editorial office.« After two years of debates and pressure from journalists, the legal provision thus changed from mandatory approval to a non-binding opinion to the above mentioned compromise. Frequent changes to the law regulating the functioning of a public service broadcaster are one source of the production and reproduction of its crisis.

Similar cases regarding appointment of editors were also very evident in other Slovene media in last years.

#### **4. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS**

9 selected media (radio stations Radio Slovenia, Murski val/Mura Wave and Radio Robin, television stations TV Slovenia, POP TV and TV Primorka, and Delo/Labour, Primorske novice/Primorska News and Vecer/Evening) and more than 20 editors were invited to participate in the project. Some of them persistently ignored our requests for cooperation in the project. Finally, 8 different media and 10 editors participated in the project.

10 interviews were conducted for the purpose of the project. The interviewees were:

- Irma Benko, former managing editor of Mura Wave and now its director;
- Milan Predan, former editor-in-chief and managing editor of Evening;
- Slobodan Valentincic, former managing editor of Primorska News and now an editor of its central redaction;
- Blanka Dobersek, editor of external policy redaction at TV Slovenia;

- Zdenka Bakalar, editor of internal policy redaction at Radio Slovenia;
- Tanja Staric, editor of informative programme at TV Slovenia;
- Damijan Slabe, editor of external policy redaction of Labour;
- Darijan Kosir, former editor of external policy redaction of Delo and now its editor-in-chief;
- Karmen Saksida, editor-in-chief and managing editor of TV Primorka;
- Marko Vuksanovic, former editor and now a director of Radio Robin.

#### Findings:

Generally speaking, our interviewees differentiated between two kinds of values in a culture of journalism today. On one hand, there are classical/traditional journalistic values, such as trustworthiness, credibility, a sense for fairness, truth, and, to a lesser extent, openness of the media to its readers/listeners/viewers. On the other hand, accuracy and being the first one who reports on the subject/event is becoming more and more important value in a culture of journalism today although not all of the editors find this value as the most important value. Majority of our interviewees stated that the most important journalistic values are primarily maintained through editorial policy of the media and through journalists' respect of professional journalistic standards. According to the majority of the interviewees, journalist's character plays an important role in this process. The most important journalistic values are not necessary dominant values of the society/state although the majority of interviewees is convinced that the dominant values in a society and the most important journalistic values are very much connected. Media can, in best case, shape public opinion, but they can not, at least not in a view of Slovene editors, create new values. Newspapers and electronic media also do not automatically reflect society's values. According to our interviewees reflecting society's values is not even a journalists' job; their job is in stimulating positive values (such as tolerance) in society by reflecting such values through media. In other words, the most important values are just partially drawn out over time by journalists, meaning

that journalists can contribute to stimulation and adoption of certain (positive) values in society.

Answers whether journalistic values have changed in last decades varied a lot. Some of the editors are convinced that the most important journalistic values have remained the same, while the others think that those values have changed. They mentioned that Slovenia faced important 'transition' changes after the break of the socialist regime and the declaration of Slovenian independence in 1991; the change of the social and political system importantly influenced the value system and this is the main reason why journalistic values have changed. For instance, in the second half of 1980's, Slovene journalism played important role in wider stimulation of social changes and democratization of Slovenia. As one of our interviewees pointed out, journalists were led by values, such as freedom, democracy, human rights, tolerance, welfare and social change. After Slovenian independence in 1991, many of those values became reality and Slovenian journalism had to adopt to a completely new situation. This was not really easy knowing that journalists were used to strongly criticize Yugoslav and Slovenian 'partitocracy' for years. When the first democratic government was established in Slovenia, journalists were faced with a completely new situation, demanding the same amount of criticism, although there was no longer a presence of 'internal enemy'. According to one of the interviewees, in such a situation some of the media decided to strongly support the new government, another choose extreme opposition, while the third group tried to establish a certain balance between those two options. Although journalistic values were pretty much the same among majority of the media, media clearly had different opinions about what was going on in Slovenia.

Journalistic practices and processes in Slovenia were influenced by structures of media ownership, but they were even more influenced by market forces in the last years. Before 1991, the state was the owner of the media. Majority of media was not influenced by market forces at that time, but political pressures were, according to most of the interviewees, much more evident. After 1991, when many new media boosted, political pressures were replaced by pressures of the media owners. In the

mid-1990's, another element importantly influenced future development of Slovenian media. The state was no longer the (only) owner and this resulted in the fact that the owners of media could become people, working in media. Privatization law, adopted few years later, of course changed this fact. Today, national broadcaster, such as Radio and Television Slovenia, is still directly or indirectly owned by the state. State has also important shares in other national media. The other media - and especially commercial ones - are importantly influenced by market forces and advertisers demands. Current ownership trends in majority of Slovene media do not necessary support existence of traditional journalists' values, such as credibility and trustworthiness. This fact results in 'infotainment', which is very much present in Slovenian media. In a view of majority of our interviewees, dispersed ownership of media, economic success of media and journalists' professionalism could be regarded as safeguards of independent journalism, although majority of interviewed editors doubted that something as independent journalism truly exists. Our interviewees also confirmed the 'top-down' pressures: those pressures are both political and economic in bigger/national media and primary economic in smaller/commercial media. Luckily, in opinion of our interviewees, they do not really affect the media contents. The results of this study also suggest that the majority of Slovenian media does not have any concrete experiences with international ownership, as there are just two cases (POP TV and Finance), where such ownership is evident.

Contested or controversial issues are the most challenging for the majority of Slovenian media. On the other hand, they can increase recognition and circulation of the media. But in view of the majority of our interviewees, it is important to secure journalistic credibility when it comes to coverage of contested or controversial issues. Credibility in such cases implies mainly correct information, journalist's experiences and professionalism, but also his/her trustworthiness. In other words, reporting on any contested or controversial issues should respect general journalistic values. More urgent stories are usually less controlled as they have to come in the public as soon as possible. Some of the interviewees even claimed that journalistic reporting could hardly be regarded as controlled: a job of editors is to organize work and not taking care of censorship, some of the interviewees said.

All of the editors taking part in this survey agreed that technological changes influenced journalistic processes and practices drastically in the last 10, 15 years. Modern technologies provided easier access to different kinds of information on the one hand, and made publishing of information faster on the other. This results in high accuracy of modern media and changed work of journalists today. Some of the interviewees also expressed the opinion that journalism does not provide broader information on subjects/matters as this was the case in the past. This results in different journalistic products, which are not necessarily worse, but they are much different in the sense of graphical design, language, writing style etc. But technological changes have not changed traditional journalistic values (with the exception of accuracy), at least not in view of majority of Slovene editors, although the audiences demand completely different things today. This is the reason why media became much more specialized for different areas of people's life (technology, tourism, leisure activities). On the other hand, the audiences' struggle for 'infotainment' is much more evident as this was the case in the past. There is less analytical and serious reporting and bad news (crisis, conflicts and different kinds of disasters) are usually top news of the day.

None of the Slovenian interviewed editors recognized any specific 'European' journalistic culture, in the sense that there would be values, standards (including ethical standards) and practices that reflect a specifically European sense of identity and/or common purpose. In their point of view, 'European journalism' does not exist. It is better to talk about Irish/French/British etc. journalism and about national journalistic cultures. Majority of interviewees also pointed out the difference between European and American journalism, but hardly regarded identity of "European journalism" captured in a statement, a writing style, a story idea, and a brand identity. According to one of the interviewees, there is nothing like European journalism: rather, there is a decision of (certain) media to deal with European issues – European policy, European economy, European transport, European ecology – and to educate people on these issues.

Majority of the interviewed editors recognized evolution in the concept of "Europe' in the context of reporting and analysis of news and current affairs over the period of the past 10-15 years. And yet, they confessed that, especially after Slovenian

integration in the European Union, Europe is mainly identified with European bureaucracy; nevertheless, Europe is still seen as something positive by Slovenians. According to one of the interviewees, it seems that Slovenian media lost their interest for Europe after the enlargement: nowadays, the majority of Slovenian media report on the EU in technical, bureaucratic sense and do not provide deeper reflexion on Europe and its perspectives. In his opinion, reporting on Europe is one of the weakest points of Slovenian journalism. Nevertheless, majority of interviewees defined the concept of 'Europe' as absolutely positive one. Especially regional media do not facilitate great production of articles and reports on European coverage: they are primary concerned with 'localization' of EU issues and topics, which could have a significant importance for people in a local areas. The situation is different in national media, although some of their editors confessed that readers/listeners/viewers respond to 'European' coverage badly. According to one of our interviewees, Europe has always been present in Slovenian society and Slovenian people have felt as Europeans long before the EU enlargement. But people are not interested in European Union as such; they rather prefer reports on historical, economic, cultural aspects of Europe. In other words, they are not interested in Europe as a kind of imaginary idea, they are not interested in bureaucrats in Brussels and they are not interested in EU policy. Readers/listeners/viewers long for reports on specific countries and their specific aspects, problems, perspectives.

The answers of our interviewees about the change in relationship between journalists/editors and their audience varied a lot. Some of the interviewees see this relationship differently as it was 10, 15 years ago. According to some editors taking part in the survey, the relationship between journalists and readers/viewers has not changed in the past 10-15 years. They said that the audience had always been the most important to them and that they always paid a lot of attention to their readers/listeners/viewers. This is why it would be rather hard to say that media are more attentive to audience complaints and comments than before, although the technological change brought easier contacts and feedbacks with the audience. Readers/viewers can contact journalists in all media taking part in the survey directly

– by email or phone. This is something very positive for majority of the editors interviewed.

According to the interviewees, there is not a specific pattern to the way in which 'European' topics or issues (i.e. issues connected with the governance, enlargement, and political agenda of the European Union and the European project generally) are dealt with in their publication/broadcasting station. European stories are many times selected when they have direct national relevance, but this is not a general rule or a long-standing trend. In many cases, selection refers to the decision of journalist/editor of what might be of interest to readers/viewers/listeners and what might be important for Slovenia in the future, directly or indirectly. According to the interviewees, there are no special rules of what makes a story 'European'. One of them pointed out that each story could be European: crisis in Iraq, for instance, is also a European story, as it has at least partial consequences for many European countries. This is why it would be better to talk about global than European stories. Bad journalistic story and non-direct relevance for people and their interests usually make a "European" story uninteresting to national readers. There are also no specific reasons why might an EU story be discarded in majority of Slovene media: the most often explanation is not having enough place/time to publish it. There are also no "house rules" on "European" stories in Slovenian media: the only rule is to provide good, interesting and accurate story.

## **5. CONCLUSIONS**

Not much literature regarding editorial policy of Slovenian media exists for the period 1945-1990. Generally speaking, it could be said that editors of Slovenian media - similarly as in all republics of former Yugoslavia - were usually employed and removed by the League of Communists in this period and that the party thoroughly kept sharp inspection of media content. According to Gorse (2000) political changes and transformation of power relations at the end of 1980's and in the beginning of 1990's also brought internal clash between editorial and journalistic lines in many media. Nevertheless, it could be argued that Slovene media were also significantly

affected by political changes during the 1990's and that the period after the fall of the socialist regime and declaration of Slovenian independence 1991 was importantly influenced by other changes, such as privatization of the media, liberalization of the printed media market and superficial regulation of broadcasting market, media monopolization and commercialization (Basic-Hrvatin & Milosavljevic, 2001). Those changes very much influenced media and their work, as much as their editorial policies.

From a point of view of the interviewees participating in this project, editorial policy of Slovene media today does not depend on political parties' decisions as this was the case in the past, although the political and economic pressures on media are still very much evident. Luckily, in opinion of our interviewees, those pressures do not really affect the media contents. In view of majority of our interviewees, dispersed ownership of media, economic success of media and journalists' professionalism could be regarded as safeguards of independent journalism, although majority of interviewed editors doubted that something as independent journalism truly exists.

## **ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH SHORT ABSTRACTS**

### **1. BOOKS**

**Basic-Hrvatin, Sandra (2002). Serving the State or the Public. Ljubljana: Peace Institute.**

The author of this book stresses importance of appointment of the editors, as one of the main questions posed by the journalists in public debates was whether the appointment of editors in the media needs approval or merely opinion of the employed journalists. Article 20 of the law regulating RTV Slovenia, for example, stipulated that the RTV Council appoints and dismisses the editors in chief of the individual programs at the proposal of the program directors subject to the approval of employees of the department in question. The term 'approval' was later replaced with 'opinion'. The amendments to the RTV Slovenia Act, which were adopted after the controversial appointment of the director-general, introduced a compromise, so paragraph 6 of the amended Article 20 now stated that *»if the director of the radio or television programs proposes to the RTV Council a candidate for the position of the editor-in-chief who has not received a positive opinion from the representative body of the program staff in the editorial office, this body has the right to propose to the RTV Council another candidate who has received its positive opinion. In a such a case, the RTV Council chooses the editor-in-chief from among the candidates proposed by the director of the radio or television programs and those proposed by the representative body of the program staff in the editorial office.«* During the two years of debates and pressures from journalists, the legal provision thus changed from mandatory approval to a non-binding opinion to the above mentioned compromise. Frequent changes to the law regulating the functioning of a public service broadcaster are one source of the production and reproduction of its crisis.

**Basic-Hrvatin, Sandra & Milosavljevic, Marko. (2001). Media Policy in Slovenia in the 1990's: Regulation, Concentration and Commercialization of the media. Ljubljana: Peace Institute.**

During the 1990s the Slovene media were significantly affected by political changes. The events that most influenced the media world of the nineties were the introduction of the new media law (arguments and discussions about the media law in Slovenia have again become topical ten years later), the privatization of the media, liberalization of the print media market and superficial regulation of the broadcasting market, media monopolization and commercialization. These events are the subject of the analysis of this essay.

The authors argue that the fundamental question posed over the last decade remains unchanged and, more importantly, unanswered. This question is: What kind of the media policy does the state actually support? In the nineties Slovenian media field has been largely affected by political and economic changes, both inseparately connected.

**Smole, Joze. (1994). A Story of a Communist Journalist. Ljubljana: Enotnost.**

In an introduction of this book, Joze Smole describes himself as a young communist, who found himself in exacting area of a journalistic work. »I am not ashamed of my work. On the contrary, I am proud of it. I am aware I have made many mistakes. In the area of political decisions and activities. But I ... have contributed a small piece in the building of the new society, which should not exploit people, but enforce new international relationships, which should be based on fully equality of all states, big and small, rich and poor. This historical project was not realized, but this is not the reason why we should be ashamed for taking part in it. Each political movement has different currents and each political party has different wings. In the League of Communists of Slovenia, I was never a part of any dogmatic wing, but I belonged to free and critical democratic wing,« he writes. And adds that a final thought of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia programme, which was adopted on the 7th

Congress in Ljubljana in 1958, was the closest to him: »Nothing of the achieved is not that holy that could not be replaced by more progressive, more free and more humane...«

**Veronik, Sasa. (2004). Journalism Between Knives and Forks. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.**

In this book Sasa Veronik describes his rich professional career of a journalist and editor. He worked for several Slovene media houses, and for a short period he was also a chief-spokesman of Andrej Bajuk 6 months government (in 2000). Here are some of his quotations, which best describe author's opinion regarding Slovene journalism and its editorial policies:

-In November 1986, Delo published an extended article about a session of the Socialist Association of Working People. The authors of this article, Janja Klasinc and Marko Jensterle, wrote: »on today's meeting in the publishing house Delo, the presidency of the Socialist Association of Working People...«. This sentence nicely reflects that political establishment and daily press were one and the same thing in those days. In a boldface of this article it was clearly stated that chief-editor of cultural-entertainment programme on Radio Ljubljana became Aleksander (Sasa) Veronik. (page 56)

-Former morning programme was – with one word – terrible. Sleepy voices of sleepy speakers announced exact time every five minutes. No matter what kind of music there was on the radio – sweet-sounding Slovene national songs performed by Slovene octets or partisan marches – they cut into the listeners ears with: »It is precisely quarter past five...« This was followed by news, which was a translation of the only Yugoslav press agency called Tanjug. The news was a kind of the League of Communists appeal and you could listen to them each hour. Of course, there was also weather forecast. This was mainly everything. Stane Urek practiced gymnastics on a radio, and a programme for children was each day – on sundays and holidays also – at 6.50. My editorship started in 1979. Partisan marches between half past

four and five in the morning were slowly abolished. When Tito died, everything went faster. It is true – a few months after his death people were walking around with long faces, but you could feel that things will never be the same again. (page 76, 77)

-In three years we developed a programme, which was comparable with other European countries. This was between 1979 and 1982. (page 81)

-At that time (in 1991) something happened, which had very unpleasant consequences for me. Almost fatal. Radio Slovenia for the first time in its history elected democratic directors. At least I thought so. These were France Vurnik and Francek Rudolf. I wrote Vurnik about possible modernization of radio programme and about suggestions from Germany. But like all non-Party people, he was pervaded with real nationalism. I still have a feeling that it was precisely the non-Party people – very successful in Slovene radio-television system - who were the most eager defenders of the system. Well, they had to be, at least outdoors, because they were known as 'not-our' people. (page 123)

-When I wanted to meet people, who stood behind the newspaper (Slovenec/Slovenian), I was a witness of the following scene: Telephone. General secretary Hilda Tovsak. On the other side Vinko Zalar, editor of Slovenec. Rot was not there for a long time. Subject of discussion: what to put on the first page of tomorrow's newspaper. I was horrified. I did not say anything. This was a classical case of political interference into the freedom of the press. It was precisely what it should have happened, and Reissmueller explicitly told me that. (page 138)

-Journalistic reports on Slovene television were made similarly like houses are. With one difference – that their constructions started on the roof and not on the ground. The whole procedure was also interesting from sociological and political manipulation point of view. It all started on editors meeting. When a question about new thoughts and ideas was raised, everybody was quiet. Including editors. When half-beginners came back from their shooting, they wrote a text and then went to the basement, where they recorded it on a tape. The structure of their texts was very similar to the

texts, published in newspapers. Technicians later pasted journalists' text to the picture. And the consequence? People who watched television, many times did not know and understand what they are watching. Text was telling one thing, but the picture was telling another. Television screen was full of old people. You could guess that the picture was taken somewhere in the centre of Ljubljana. And the voice on the television was telling something about law changes in pension and social system (page 150).

-Morning programme was removed from daily meetings of people on responsible positions. When I am looking back, I can not get rid of impression that transition in Slovenia put on the top decisions of people, who could never lead so complex and complicated institution like Slovene Radio and Television. This institution was – more unknowingly than systematically – destroyed, until it was blown away by its own party. This happened in 2001 and 2002. (page 152)

-Home correspondents were special jewels. They practically did not do anything; yet they were incited by local lobbies to stimulate 'a state must help' principle. Class logic was far away from educating audience to do something on their own. (page 172)

-Slovene journalism is without any critical distance. It is also corruptive. Its morality is under threshold that could still be tolerated. (page 175)

-Well – the system works like this: political centre makes up a certain event or issue that should be placed into the public. Then it sends official invitation to different media. The editors distribute these invitations to young and nice female-journalists, who hardly know something about the background and content of the event they are going to report about. Then the journalists – together with film shooters – run on the place of the event and put the microphone under someone's nose. This person gives a short statement about the subject, the journalist adds a few obligatory phrases and – that is it. And all the people watch TV news at 7.30 p.m. But the interesting point is that the form and content of the news is usually different from what it was agreed upon in the morning on editorial meeting. Despite the fact that nothing unusual,

tragically or very serious happened during the day. And all the people believe that 20 minutes of TV news actually reflect what happened in the state and in the world. (page 184)

-Foreign correspondents are tie between their homeland and host-country. Their reports many times reflect economic and political relationship between both countries. The whole policy, actually. This is of special importance in European Union. If we analyze Slovene foreign correspondents and their work, we can easily get a feeling that they are in continuous conflict with the country, they are reporting from. (page 303)

## **2. STUDENTS' DIPLOMAS**

**Cepin, Maja. (1999). Marketing Local Newspaper. Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences.**

Author presents different marketing strategies that could serve as an introduction and existence of a local newspaper. On the other hand, she also describes the problems connected with unprofessional marketing of local newspapers. Sometimes newspaper companies employ the utmost kind of acquisition and preservation of their advertisers and decide to accommodate their editorial policy to the advertisers needs. This is, of course, a great danger for journalistic autonomy and journalistic responsibility for the public needs. Vidic (1996:27), for instance, believes that inclination to financial success could create new working places and raise the quality, but it also presents a great danger as the interests of society could become subordinated to the commercial interests. Splichal (1992:478) assumes that subordination to the maximisation of the profit threatens autonomy of journalists and media the most, while Poler (1996:112) explains market orientation of modern media by a demand to achieve a well-being of organisation.

Author of this text also mentions big pressures and tensions on journalists, who are forced to adopt certain contents to satisfy advertisers' demands. This problem is even more present at the local newspapers, which are – at least in Slovenia – mostly dependent from one or few strong local companies. For that reason local media usually do not publish information which is in contrast with advertisers interests. In last years, the value of local market of advertisers and readers was largely recognized by national newspapers. National newspapers have accommodated their selves to local markets: This is the reason why we can, for instance buy Veèer for Koroska or Veèer for Ljubljana. These editions put more emphasis to different regions. Delo has decided for similar strategy in last years.

**Eory, Silva. (1988). Ljudska Pravica and Its Contribution to Joining Peasant Masses into Communist Movement. Ljubljana: Faculty for Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism.**

As the first half-legal and legal newspaper of the Communist Party, Ljudska pravica was created for wide public masses. It meant a break of old Yugoslavia forces, which suffocated Labour Movement. Ljudska pravica connected its readers with criticism of social situation and with fighting capture for the rights of working people in Slovenia. Many of those critiques were written by average Slovene people, mostly workers and farmers, as Ljudska pravica widely opened its door to them. Readers were also attracted by simple people's language and natural – not scientific or distorted – way of writing.

Communist Party intended Ljudska pravica mostly for farmers and their inclusion into Communist movement. But Ljudska pravica was not only warming welcomed by farmers, but also by other exploited social classes. Ljudska pravica became announcer of huge masses. It was published in a time of deep economic, political and social crisis, which forced people to critique of present situation and regime. In its reach to resolve such situation, Ljudska pravica - and therefore also Communist Party – got important respect. There was another contribution of Ljudska pravica

that needs to be emphasized: with its breadth and messages, which served as propaganda for establishing the Slovene Peoples Front and with its anti-fascism orientation Ljudska pravica was a preparation for the Slovene Liberation Front.

A review of Ljudska pravica's publishment: in 1939 there were some attempts to re-establish Ljudska pravica in Zagreb (under the name Nova Ljudska Pravica/New People's justice), but there was just one edition published. Preparations for establishment of this newspaper were Edvard Kardelj's work, Rado Irsic was signed as publisher and a chief editor was Maks Durjava. In 1941 there were three editions of Ljudska pravica published. Their subtitle was 'A newspaper of workers and farmers' and their guideline was 'For bread, peace and freedom'. Those editions were edited by Miha Marinko and Tone Tomsic, and published by illegal party printing-house in Sadinja vas near Podlipoglav in Dolenjska region. During the occupation of enemies, Ljudska pravica was published between 15.1.1943 and 6.3.1945: at the beginning as weekly, and later two times per month. Despite technical problems it was published regularly. It was edited by Boris Ziherl, C. Logar, Vlado Krivic, Vida Tomsic, dr. Ales Bebler and Lidija Sentjurc. After the end of war, in 1951, it was published as a daily and later as a weekly. Its chief editors were Ivan Bratko, Dusan Bole, Vlado Vodopivec and Tomo Brejc. In 1955 it was margined with Borba and it was published as a Slovenian version of this newspaper. Editor-in-chief in that time was Ivan Sinkovec. Publishment of Ljudska pravica stopped on 29th April 1959, when this newspaper joined Slovenski porocevalec. The result of this was now daily Delo, a newspaper of Socialist Association of Working People in Slovenia.

**Gorse, Mojca. (2000). Newspaper 'Delo' in Place and Time. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

This diploma is divided into two parts. The subject of research in the first part is Slovene national daily 'Delo' (and its forerunners – Trzasko Delo, Slovenski porocevalec and Ljudska pravica) defined as a mass print media, while the second part refers to five different time periods (1920-1940, 1940-1945, 1945-1959, 1959-

1990, 1990-2000), to which the author gives a special attention with regard to historical events, programme directions and a role of specific newspapers and magazines in each investigated period, as much as to newspapers circulations, editorial policies and differentiation of readers.

According to the author, Delo has grown from a small party leaflet into a mass media with a great influence on shaping of Slovene public opinion. Importantly, it has also adapted changes in time and place. Delo has therefore survived a transformation from illegal and half-illegal period of its publishment during both World Wars into partisan press and later – after the second World War - into a mass Marxist press and through a central paper of former Socialist Association of Working People into the largest Slovenian national daily. Today, Delo has no real competition among Slovene quality national dailies, and the public – after Slovene independence and transformation of political system – still recognizes it as a main Slovene national daily. Despite centralization and monopolisation of Slovene print media, Delo has succeeded to remain its basic characteristics from the 1960's unchanged. These characteristics could be described as a kind of Delo 'trade mark'. Delo is known as the main Slovene newspaper with almost unchanged structure of readers and circulation, although it has successfully adopted its programme guidelines to past social situation. With its continuity, and by assuring its presence in Slovenia it had (and still has) an important influence in formulating of Slovene public and Slovene public opinion.

Author's conclusions regarding editorial policies of Delo could be summarized as follows:

Delo in a period 1945-1959: in this period, editors were employed and removed by the Communist Party (and its later successor, the League of Communists), which thoroughly kept sharp inspection of newspaper content. Informing newspapers and organization of correspondents was a Slovene Liberation Front committees' job. Not surprisingly, texts written by the highest party leaders created political-theoretical

essence of newspapers. »Editors did not really write a lot. But they did publish many speeches of political activists. There were almost any professional journalists. Journalists actually became partisan propagandists and former warriors.« According to Lev Modic, »collaborators of Ljudska pravica were almost entirely partisan journalists, while Slovenski porocevalec also employed older journalists. In comparison with today, newspapers had small working collectives. In post-war redaction of Porocevalec, there were approximately 30 people employed, including correspondents. Development of journalism was many times impeded by Communist Party itself, as it moved editors and journalists to another posts. Pravica was a kind of reservoir for cadre – but sometimes, it was also a kind of garbage dump.

Delo in period 1959-1990: At the beginning, former editors of Ljudska pravica got majority and the most important editorial positions in Delo. Until the end of 1980's chief editors of Delo were named by the Presidency and the Executive committee of the Socialist Association of Working People. How strong was a connection between the League of Communists of Slovenia and Delo is shown in the information about Delo's editors and their functions in the League of Communists of Slovenia. For instance: Rudi Janhuba was a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and a member of Executive Committee of the Socialist Association of Working People in Slovenia; Janez Vipotnik was the president of the Socialist Association of Working People; Joze Smole was a member of the League of Communists of Slovenia, president of the Socialist Association of Working People, and also the Head of the Yugoslav President's Cabinet.

Political leaders regularly supervised the content of a newspaper, which was directly subordinated to the League of Communists and to directions of its policy. Janez Vipotnik once said: »As an editor-in-chief I had practically daily connections with Slovene leaders, who helped newspaper's reputation with their well-intentioned critiques, advices, help, but also cooperation and writing... Slavko Fras who described Mitja Gorjup as ...«a person, who made enormous contribution when raising the profession of self-management journalist« is perhaps the best illustration how editors (and society) understood the role of journalism at that time. Gorjup actually

postulated a principle that being a journalist is not a job, but political and individual determination...

Delo in period between 1990 and 2000: 1990s brought radical changes also on this area. By that time chief-editors of Delo were named by Socialist Association of Working People, but naming Tit Dobersek for editor-in-chief and responsible editor means an important break of such practice. Political changes and transformation of power forces also brought internal clash between editorial and journalistic lines in Delo. At the beginning of 1990s some of the most influential journalists and editors (Bozo Kovač, Joze Vilfand, Vlado Slamberger, Janez Korosec, Mile Setinc...) were eliminated. The whole thing ended with departure of a group of journalists, who later established right-oriented political weekly Mag.

**Jere, Nina. (2003). Slovene Newspapers in Place and Time – 'Pionirski List' in 1948 and 'Pil' in 2001. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

The author describes historical background in development of youth newspapers in Slovenia, but also Yugoslavian youth policy from the end of Second World War until the break of millennium. There is also a comparison of values, present in Pionirski list in 1948 on the one hand, and in Pil in 2001 on another. The author concludes that mass media for children and youngsters are for surely the most wanted target of all, who seek to influence the audience of mass media. Everybody who wants to have power in society needs to raise, shape and educate audience by his/her own taste. This goal can be best achieved in youth, when individuals do not yet have a capacity of critical reception and evaluation of media contents. On the other hand we should not neglect the fact that one of the main goals of children and youth media is to educate them for successful life in specific social system. Pionirski list and Pil were therefore very appropriate arena for comparison of values, which were mediated in youth magazines in different social systems.

Values, pursued in Pionirski list soon after the end of the Second World War, got its modern echo in Pil. Taking care for a well-being of community was withdrawn by

individualism, taking care of yourself and of your own life. An individual was suddenly no longer a member of community, but its own project. If Pionirski list encouraged youngsters to work for the well-being of a state, Pil emphasized importance of creating individual way in your own life. If a system of beehive was a crucial for functioning of the state in socialism, capitalism appreciated only those individuals, who were able to find their own way to success. 'All different – all equal' was a guideline at the end of 20th century, not only promoting tolerance, but also presenting life guidance for youngsters. Equality is 'in', difference is 'out'. But there is still equality in terms of equal rights. Tolerance to different and marginalized is main value, promoted in Pil, meaning the extension of brotherhood value. In socialism, all people were equal brothers, connected with the same socially-political system. In capitalism, love between people does not exist anymore, but the tolerating ('others' and 'different') remains.

According to Nina Jere, a love for native country also went through transformation. From benevolent and caring mother, demanding unconditional love native country became individual geographic place, where we live. Country is no longer caring guardian, but alienated apparatus. Country is no longer native country; it is just a totality of interesting, unique, lovely, geographical, historical and ethnographical characteristics on one hand, and bureaucratic apparatus on the other. The only characteristic, which could eventually attract youngsters, is that we can trade native country and try to sell it, and that we take care for its image. National pride is therefore contracted on successful sportsmen. Image of Slovenia is contracted on idyllic alpine country with good sportsmen.

Both Pionirski list and Pil faithfully reflect the effort of its era to educate individual, who will serve high (ideal) standards of the society. Pionirski list wants to educate ideal pioneer, who will do everything for his/her native country, will give priorities to the needs of community, and will love other people everywhere on the Earth as his/her own brothers. On the contrary, Pil wants to educate ideal modern person, who will be able to create his/her own way, who will be a real consumer, will 'live

and let live', and will not be bind on native country, but will rather be a citizen of the World.

**Korosec, Igor. (2004). Slovene Newspapers in Place and Time: Motorist Magazines and Politics. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

The author investigates how motorist press reflected basic characteristics and changes in different periods of time. He builds on hypothesis that international economic and political relations in Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, in Socialist federative republic of Yugoslavia and in independent Slovenia importantly influenced motorist magazines.

In 1928, for instance, motorist magazines reported on American, French and English cars, but with the rise of Germany a few years latter inclination toward German cars is more than obvious. In a post-war Yugoslavia, around 1960, motorist magazine *Avto moto* reflects certain economic and political influence, as articles with political and economic modulation have important presence. Self-sufficiency of Yugoslavia and new domestic acquisitions are also very present on magazines pages. However, motorist magazines also published many speeches of President Tito and other important authorities, therefore showing support to different social and economic guidelines of policy at that time.

Between 1980 and 1991 motorist magazine *Avto magazin* published articles about economy and partly about motorist industry policy in each magazine. However, there was almost any pressure or influence from economic or political area on magazine's work. In contract to other similar magazines, *Avto magazin* was particularly oriented toward informative presentation of cars in 2002. This means that its aim was to inform the public about novelties on motor market.

**Lapajne, Maja. (2003). Political Control of News and Influencing Citizens Attention. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

When considering how the presence of media in political communication influences the quality of political information, it is necessary to search for the differences in a quality of political information when media are present or non-present in a political communication process. However, it is also necessary to define, what kind of political information could be described as quality, the author says. And because mediating democracy is the only possible democracy in modernity, this means that media need to be included in a process of political communication as a third political actor. But the media did not only take a role of mediator, but want to be active and independent actor in political communication. Journalists' wishes for inspection under political news many times lead them to create such products, which maintain journalists' inspection, but also emphasize their status of political communication control.

**Lesjak-Jakomin, Alenka. (1998). Business-Financial Press in Slovenia. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

The fundamental thesis made by author of this work is that business-financial press in Slovenia could have better quality and that there are only a few media, which are able to achieve designed business and informative-editorial concepts. Among main characteristics of business-financial press in Slovenia, she puts out editorial concepts of media and their editorial policy, a number of employees and external collaborators, their age and sex, distribution of thematic issues in redactions, and educational structure of journalists.

The author also made an opinion poll among editors of business-financial press in Slovenia. The editors described their editorial concepts as follows:

- Finance is commercial project, which has to make profit by following their main missions.
- Gospodarski vestnik (Economic gazette) defines its editorial concept in terms of objective and informative reporting about business world.
- Manager wants to be specialist-popular magazine about management.
- Kapital (Capital) defines its editorial concept with this sentence: »Kapital is a magazine for investment of money, where investment means money, stocks and bonds, real estate, cars and knowledge.
- Obrtnik (Craftsman) defines its editorial concept as practical and useful. This magazine provides much information, which craftsmen can use in their every-day work – business evidences, business information, craftsmen policy and technical newness.
- Podjetnik (Entrepreneur) came into this world by inspiration of its editor, who was at the beginning an editor of Magazine for development. He found this magazine too intellectual and decided to create own press media, which is more practical and oriented toward undertakers.
- Profit wants to offer its readership a broad collection of themes, which do not necessary refer to economy in its strict sense. Profit writes, for instance, about cars, computers...and wants to write about different issues in their widest sense. From a content of this magazine, a reader needs to husk what is perspective, what is worth buying, what could become interesting investment and so on.
- Slovenski delnicar (Slovenian stockholder) wants to create a magazine, which will open different financial issues in their widest sense, will look for answers and will be a kind of guide, a demystification of financial and business world.

The author also ascertains that financial-business press in Slovenia has private ownership, where individuals prevail. The majority of money - two thirds on average - comes from advertisers. This presents a specific threat to independent and quality reporting of journalists. Redactions of business-financial press have a small number of employees, but they help themselves with many external collaborators. Business-

financial press in Slovenia competes for its readers in more and more sharpened and competitive environment. Despite this fact the quality of business information is still on rather low level.

**Lunder, Sonja. (2001). Political Propaganda and Press for Youngsters. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences, Ljubljana.**

Media, especially those for children and youngsters, have many times ideological connotations. In this diploma, the author analyses texts with political and propaganda connotations in Ciciban (no adequate translation), the most popular and known magazine for children in Slovenia, from sociological, ideological and psychological point of view. She focuses on political propaganda in Ciciban in a period between 1974 and 1991, when important transformations in Slovenian political life took place. She puts a special emphasis to celebration of 25th May and 29th November, as she foresees that the elements of political propaganda were the most present in these two periods. She builds on three hypothetical assumptions:

- before Tito's death and soon after that the elements of national ideology were the most present
- textbooks and school handbooks from that time reflect the influence of present ideology; this is also seen in Ciciban, where propaganda and education are almost inseparable connected
- Ciciban accommodated to new political and social situation in successfully maintained its basic characteristics

The first three yearbooks (after 1974) did not include much political propaganda. In this period, verbal associations, like Tito's pioneers, Tito's partisans and so on, were not really common. But the issues, such as love for the homeland, brotherhood and unity, were quite common. Political propaganda was very seen in the years before

Tito's death and soon after that. Tito's personality cult was a kind of guarantee of internal stability of the state and Yugoslavia's position in the world. His death brought several uncertainties and Ciciban content also reflected that. Generally, it could be said that political propaganda in Ciciban was very present in a period between 1974 and 1991. Values of socialism, brotherhood, unity, equality, love for the homeland and symbols of ideology, like partisans and pioneers, were very much emphasized. A special place – highly above the others – was dedicated to Josip Broz – Tito.

At the end of 1980's new winds revealed Ciciban. Texts with ideological connotations remain, but in lesser and different context. Homeland – from now on Slovenia – is still praised, and different, capitalistic values have prevailed in Ciciban. Ciciban educates individuals, community loses its meaning. It could be generally stated that Ciciban reflects trend in society, modern ideals of life and schemes of identification. If we compare Ciciban in 1974 and in 1991, we can see that political and social situation importantly influenced the content of media.

**Micic, Aleksandar. (2004). Censorship in the Press – 'Mladina' and Authority in the Period between 1985 until Slovenian Independence. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

According to Micic, in the period between 1985 until declaration of Slovenian independence in 1991, there have been formal and informal pressures of authorities, which prevented journalists from their independent work. Micic claims that Slovene journalists could not work independently in this period. Moreover, the authorities have maintained pressure on journalists with their repression apparatus. Therefore, journalists had to be very carefully what and, especially, how they write. The author's thesis is that magazine Mladina (Youth) had to face the censorship of the press, but also informal pressures. Mladina was, after all, one of the few alternative magazines, which dared to write (and warn) about mistakes of socialist authorities. 13 cases of censorship and prohibition of this magazine in only few years are

sufficient evidence that there has been a huge precipice between declared and actual freedom of the press in Slovenia.

**Murko, Metka. (1989), Content and Editorial Policy of Religion Newspapers. Ljubljana: Faculty for Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism.**

According to Metka Murko, Slovenia does not have not even one scientific work on religious press. Although this kind of press has specific orientation – in its content and editorial policy – modern Slovene religious press is not occupied with strictly religious matters, but also with secular matters. Religious communities started with systematic construction of journalistic redactions and editorial policy. They also pay a lot of attention to their cadre and modernisation of graphical appearance in newspapers. Murko is also convinced that content and editorial policies in religious press are tightly linked, but editorial policy undoubtedly has a leading position in this interaction.

**Podbreznik, Slavko. (1998). Media as a Dagger. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

During social crisis, media do not serve as carriers of reasoned public, but rather as a political stand for spectators, from which agitators of social conflict quarrel on the level of ideology. In extreme circumstances, this can eventually lead to physical fight (war, revolution). The author presents main actors in media conflict, inspired by Smolnikar affair (a clash between military and police secret services). This affair could actually be seen as a clover, where policy, mass and mass media present main three actors of media conflict. Mass media, known as the fourth branch of power in modern societies, got totally different characteristics during this affair. Mass media became 'media as a dagger'. In this context, 'media as a dagger' have double role: they confirm their own choice of the mass, which tend to take revenge of their

opponents, but on the other hand, media took legitimisation role in possible violence toward the enemies.

**Rednak, Andreja. (2004). Business Journalism in Modern Slovenian Press. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

The author notes that independence of Slovenia, a transformation of economy in a new state, and independent economic and monetary politics in Slovenia led to different issues and contents in journalists' reports. These facts were followed by 'business of the century', privatisation of property, which used to be common to all citizens. This was a totally new process, about which majority of citizens (including journalists reporting on economy) did not know anything. Media had to face with their privatisation also. Journalists sold their shares not knowing that this will probably threaten their autonomy in the future.

Rednak is convinced that Slovene journalism is in the crisis. Market has done its own also in media and journalism. The interests of profit are stronger from interests of public, although journalist should primary serve to the public. On the other hand, press has to compete with television and the readers, who do not really have much time to read, are not real allies of the press. The whole process could be compared with a junk food (McManus): it looks nice and tasty, but it is rather without value and even harmful.

The author draws from three basic hypotheses:

1. journalist reporting on business and economy, are target of many pressures;
2. the strongest pressures come from advertisers and editors, as much as from the owners of media;
3. the quality of journalism, dealing with business and economy, is lessening.

The author concludes that journalism is becoming more and more market driven, serving to interests of media owners, advertisers and capital, while the interests of readers and public are subordinated. Among different pressures, lessening autonomy

and independence of journalists, Rednak also mentions the pressures of editors. These are mainly time pressures, but also accommodating to demands of management and advertisers. Majority of interviewed journalists is, however, more aware of editors and readers pressures than pressures made by advertisers and marketing.

**Zist, Vesna. (2002). Slovene Newspapers in Time and Place: Social Issues in Dolenjski List between 1987 and 1997. Ljubljana: Faculty for Social Sciences.**

Transformation from self-managing socialist economy into market-driven economy in Slovenia did not change the attitude and reporting on social issues in Dolenjski list (Gazette of Dolenjska) between 1987 and 1997, claims Vesna Zist. She builds this premise on comparison and analysis of newspaper articles on this issue. She concludes that reporting on social issues was critical and objective in the whole period, and also after newspaper got private owner. Dolenjski list kept almost all of its rubrics and images in the period between 1987 and 1997; its content does not reflect changes of editorial policy either. Editorial policy did not avoid critical reporting about mistakes and abuses, made by carriers of public warrant holders; on the contrary, it particularly dedicated a lot of attention and place to social issues.

### **3. ARTICLES AND DEBATES**

**Jerovsek, Janez. (1991). I Want to be a Lighting Conductor in a Defence of a Free Word - General director of Slovene Radio and Television about the policy making and organization of electronic media. In: Nasi Razgledi (5th April 1991)**

The author of this article builds on hypothesis that politically plural relations in media can not be completely independent and non-party. Slovene Radio and Television, for

instance, shows dependency from 1. subscribers 2. Radio and Television Council as an organ of management, which is based on party and parliamentary principles 3. owners who have a certain influence on a work of organization or institution 4. political parties, which are interested for spreading their influence on public 5. potential investors in Slovene Radio and Television 6. different groups of pressure and organizations, which are typical for every modern civil society 7. economy and all subjects, with whom Slovene Radio and Television communicates on the business area. According to Jerovsek, it is precisely this plural dependence that makes professional autonomy possible. On the other hand, this also results in greater freedom of Slovene Radio and Television. This freedom is much bigger from the times when Slovene Radio and Television was dependent from just one, absolutely dominant subject in society.

Jerovsek also talks about possibilities of independent editorial policy on Slovene Radio and Television: »It is precisely plural dependency, which makes possible and dictates independent programme and editorial policy of Slovene Radio and Television. Such policy does not serve any political party, but it can be in accordance with policy and values system of certain political parties, at least to some extent. This means that political-structural position of Slovene Radio and Television does not force this institution to be a party media.« And continues: »I can not imagine any media, which would want to have quality, professionalism and certain influence on different stratum of social activities, without having elaborated programme and editorial policy. Editorial policy has to build on certain premises, constants and value orientations, which are sophisticated and dedicated on present situation in Slovenia. Such premises and value orientations include considering: whether Slovene Radio and Television should be oppositional or positional media or whether it should take one or another orientation in different cases. According to Jerovsek, this means that in its editorial policy Slovene Radio and Television should decide, whether it is going to act toward political destabilization, and reconsider, whether such destabilization could provide bigger economic, social and political harm than expected benefits are.

Jerovsek also expresses opinion that editorial policy of newspapers, such as Allgemeine Zeitung or Die Zeit, is worth every imitation, because the orientation and content of those newspapers are close to government's orientation. On the other hand, those two newspapers also influence government's opinions and policy, although they keep a certain critical distance toward the government. »That does not mean that editorial policy of Slovene Radio and Television should be strictly influenced by Slovene government and its policy. On the contrary, Slovene Radio and Television should influence government through highly professional programme. It can be concluded that in present situation Slovene Radio and Television should not have editorial orientation, which would destabilize hardly re-established pluralistic political system,« Jerovsek said.

According to him, editorial policy should be based on premise that Slovenia – with independency, developed economy, vigorous private structure and initiative, of course – could reach Austria development in five to seven years. To achieve this goal, media need to have an important role in stimulation of undertaking. »We need to resist a syndrome of 'red director', which was partly produced media in those political forces, which wanted to freeze mobility of leading positions in society. If we want to stimulate undertaking, editorial policy must come on liberal position, where the main value belongs to individual, and not to collectivism. An individual must become responsible for him/her self. But we should not loose way into conservative liberalism, known as 'Thatcherism', which claims that each individual is responsible for own poverty and unpleasant situation. However, we will overthrow socialist value orientation, according to which the state should provide work for every citizen and his/her social security. We will support social democratic state of welfare, but also point out that present situation does not provide enough economic possibilities to make state welfare possible.«

For that reason, »editorial orientation will gradually try to devaluate socialist vales of egalitarianism and all those values, which negatively influenced on discipline, dedication to work, identification with working organization, and extreme comprehension that

we go to work because of money and social security, but not to give certain working equivalent for all that. To conclude: strong editorial orientation should be dedicated to the problems in economy, to the problems of management and undertaking, and to cultural orientation, which is strongly connected with successful work and successful economy.«

**Leskovic, Alenka; Podobnik, Branko & Setinc, Mile. (1987). Pressures on Freedom and Against It. In: Delo, vol. 29, n. 224, 1987, pp. 20-21.**

The subject of this article refers to the one of the most important reasons for low level of constitutionality and legitimacy in Slovenia. According to the authors of this article, pressures on press, judicature and on other state organs and institutions are responsible for such situation. The authors of the text questioned different types of pressures by inviting many people to this group-interview. They discussed the topic with Mitja Deisinger, deputy of republic district attorney, Tit Dobersek, chief editor of Delo, Alenka Jelenc-Puklavec, deputy of Slovene Supreme Court president, Manca Kosir, a researcher of journalism at the Faculty for Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism, Matevz Krivic, a teacher at the Higher administration school, Mitja Mersol, an editor of Delo's edition Sobotna priloga (Delo on Saturday), Mojmir Ocvirk, a member of the presidency of the Slovene Socialist Youth Association, Slobodan Rakocevic, a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Association of Working People, and Lenart Setinc, executive secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Many participants in this interview pointed out an examination of not yet published texts. Mojmir Ocvirk told: »Political reality, which I understand as a sphere of political institutions and other places of social decision-making, does not show its power of sanctioning the pressures, at least not directly (by confiscation of newspaper, by instance). Secondary faces of pressures are much more seen. Political judgement about one editorial's decision damage is stated by carrying texts from the printing-

houses, before the text is published. Political pressure is then directed toward editors: they need to be convinced that certain text could harm international relations in the country – although this text could actually contribute to clarification of certain problems. For that reason, journalistic realm and perception of the world is abolished.

This group-interview also touched other important issues, like democratic appointment and removal of editors. Rakocevic pointed out that Social Association of Working People always paid attention to journalistic redactions opinion. Lenart Setinc thought that ten violent removals of editors among 800 newspapers in Slovenia at that time could not be described as a mass event. Manca Kosir had different experiences: Nova revija (New Journal) magazine proposed Ivan Urbancic for editor-in-chief twice, but this proposition was rejected without any arguments. Rupel and Grafenauer were removed without any explanation also, and the editor of Teleks (Telex) magazine Jure Apih too – without knowing what he actually did wrong.

**Lorenci, Janko. (1996). Nova Revija: We Do Not Want To Be Opposition Nor Apology. In: Teleks, vol.42, n. 28, 1996, pp.24-27.**

Lorenci made an interview with Niko Grafenauer, chief editor, and Dimitrij Rupel, responsible editor of Nova revija. They both stressed that this magazine came into the world in the moments of distress, but now the situation is better and better. Despite the fact that the political public is still rather sceptic regarding the magazine. According Grafenauer and Rupel, statement that Nova revija is publicized by exclusive closed group, arise from totalitaristic point of view, from position always seeking for enemy. Collaborators of Nova revija magazine look upon fundamental definitions - democratisation of society, for instance – the same, but they are internally differentiated. After all, is it also a politics that is differentiated itself. Grafenauer also emphasized that politics was at the beginning afraid of too politicised magazine. This is the reason why they wanted to tighten the magazine

exclusively to literary monthly. »In principle, we were refusing that, because literature and publicists are obviously connected with all other environments, which belong to the world of culture, including economy and politics. The concept of a magazine is therefore based on culture in its widest sense. This has probably positive effects on daily politics,« concluded Grafenauer.

**Markic, Bostjan. (1991). Editor's Message. In: Teorija and praksa, v. 28, n. 1-2, pp. 3-10 (January 1991).**

The editor of Teorija and praksa (Theory and practice) Bostjan Markic presents main programme guidelines for this magazine in 1991. In 28 years, since this magazine was published for the first time, many things happened on Faculty for Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism, which publishes the magazine. These events also influenced editorial policy of the magazine and changes of editorial boards with their chief and responsible editors. »The magazine went through different phases of development. It could be argued that it lost 'specific political orientation' in last years, which can be seen in its content and openness of its editorial policy. Therefore, Teorija in praksa magazine lost its characteristics of 'political magazine' and a voice from the past is less present nowadays.

According to Markic, Teorija and praksa editors are perfectly aware of competition on Slovene press area. »Our consciousness that we exist in pluralistic environment, is healthy and educational for editors. It is also good for the readers of this magazine. In 1991 we want to act intellectually and autonomous. A high level of Teorija in praksa editorial autonomy will, of course, demand a higher degree of scientific and publicist responsibility. In this manner, a new environment is opening to our magazine; it will be filled with higher theoretical solidness of debates and scientific articles on one hand, and with analytical discussion of social practice on another. In 1991, magazines – including Teorija in praksa, will be faced with sharpened competition for their readers and subscribers with all financial and economic

implications. Teorija in praksa has a circulation of approximately 3200 editions and the efforts of our redaction will be directed toward such circulation in the future.

**Splichal, Slavko. (1971). Where Do Suspicions and Doubts Come From? In: Teorija in praksa, vol. 8, n. 8-9, pp.1297-1298.**

On three different cases, Splichal tries to prove that mass media have not yet renounced 'benefits' (political, of course), arising from transmission situation. He points out that all information (including some of the most important) does not pass selection successfully, as Socialist and Federative Republic of Yugoslavia is far away from 'communication totality'. »We can also get half-real and not objective information, which can not be stored in a clear frame, on a common denominator, and this is the main reason why we can not create the whole picture about events, which are – many times, if not regularly – a product of long-term development and a battle of contrasts«. Splichal also emphasizes that information many times encourage individuals to social-intensive direction, which forces 'black' or 'white' interpretation with explaining dimensions of black or white colour. Such reporting is socially harmful; but the question is, of course, if there is anybody (and who is) interested for such presentation of information. Writing itself does not provide the answer on this question. But we can ascertain something else: what are the reasons for one-sided reporting on international relations. A very good illustration for such argument is writing about relations between Soviet Union and Yugoslavia«.

According to Splichal one possible reason lies in Soviet external policy (its policy toward Yugoslavia), which actually builds on such principles and demands from Yugoslavia something that will never be acceptable for the state. 'Points de filtrate' for such demands and for information about them are convinced, that they could launch more damage than profits therefore stimulation public to sharp reaction. Such reaction could eventually make relations between both socialist states even worse. This is the reason why they do not want to stress public opinion, and they hold it

back at the 'potential level'. In this case, media serve as extended arm of external policy interests'. Second possible reason is that information selectors in mass media denounce possibilities for better informing about relations between the states because of very simple reason – they do not wish to risk, although this would, in last instance, provide possibilities for free selection.

Splichal concludes that the public remains to be uninformed through mass media in their homelands. He also demands to tell the public what is the truth and what is not. »What bother Soviets and what bothers us. If we do not know that, we do not want to know that or we are not suppose to know that, then it is better that we shut up. There will be less excitement in mass media audiences in such circumstances... There will be less non-objective and exaggerated thoughts, suspicions and doubts.«

**Splichal, Slavko. (2000). From a Swan's Story to Intellectual Who Needs to Find a Sense in It. In: Delo, vol. 42, n. 157, pp.7 (8th July 2000).**

Splichal problematizes one Slovene intellectual's state claiming that »the government has the right, not just duty, to intervene into the competences of media and to take care for bigger professionalism of their editors and journalists. If there is no other way, government also has the right to change editors and journalists. Splichal comments such supervisory relations in the following manner: »if (present) political authorities will supervise 'professionalism' of media, media will not criticise the authorities, but rather report about their work in a manner, which will please authorities. Let them become respectful and grateful, if our prime minister wishes so. Let them become professional and responsible!« So, what kind of control do media need? Preventive or repressive? According to cited intellectual, the answer is very clear: one or another, whatever satisfies the needs of authorities, concludes Splichal.

He also ascertains that democratic political changes in Eastern Europe brought greediness for media, which can be compared with plague, which new democracies

have not yet succeeded to dam up. All classical branches of power – legislative, executive and judicial – have limited the freedom of media, but the greatest contribution to that came from executive power. Splichal also thinks that journalist and media are partly responsible for party's desire for them. In his opinion, a story about 'intervention into media' includes one big paradox: post-socialist authorities – taking oath on market, economy and privatisation, independent from the state – enforce their political interests precisely by using economic means. Political levels of disciplinating media are, according to Splichal, no longer successful. »Times, when political actors' words implied terror-respect and any criticism, are no longer present. Defenders of such inspection in media can only lament over those times, concludes Splichal.

**Setinc. Mile. (1991). Freedom for one Lighting Conductor. Reaction on Janez Jerovsek openhearted explanation of what Slovene Radio and Television should be, »where a freedom is a system characteristic«. In: Nasi razgledi, n. 9, pp.255-256, (May 1991)**

This article is a reaction on Jerovsek explanation what kind of policy will Slovene Radio and Television practise in his general director mandate. Setinc marks Jerovsek speech as a naive-sincere explanation of political-propaganda television concept. According to Setinc, in such concept media are one of the most important ideological apparatus of a 'new' state to discipline its citizens. Setinc also emphasizes that he did not expect something like that from Jerovsek, especially after his indignant fight for political control under Slovene Radio and Television, which was clumsy, but consistent hidden by DEMOS. Setinc also thinks that Jerovsek subjugated to his own theoretical thesis – that 'freedom is system characteristic', as 'freedom became systematic characteristic of system' with pluralistic situation in Slovenia. If freedom became systematic characteristic of Slovene system, than our country has - looking from a perspective of freedom - a plenty of it. For that reason it is completely irrelevant what Jerovsek is going to do with Slovene Radio and Television, concludes Setinc.

**<sup>1</sup>•Greater Importance, Minor Influence. (1998) In: Delo, n.59, pp.49 (12th March 1998).**

This article puts emphasis on editorial policy of magazines publishing literary texts written by Slovene authors, and criteria for the publicizing those texts. Editors, who were interviewed for this article, think that there are many criteria relevant for publicising such texts, and the methods of selection could be very much different – but only at a glance.

-Ciril Zlobec, chief editor of *Sodobnost* (Modernity) magazine, described his editorial policy in a following manner: »The magazine is not keen of style, generation, principle or political unity and uniformism. We do not support polemic polarisation either, but synthesis of different personal endeavours of the authors collaborating with us. *Sodobnost* is mainly authorial magazine, which is from the editor's point of view not an easy task: polarisation, opposition and denial have always been something fatal important, if not the most recognized characteristics of Slovene national character. This is not just very present in Slovene politics, but also in our literature. However, it could be claimed that all Slovene literary magazines have one common characteristic: no matter what editorial policy they pursue, they are losing their former national, social and outside-literature influence. In a certain sense, they are becoming more specialized and less dedicated to aesthetic delight, acquaintance with authors and their work, and to literature in its former meaning. In other words, literary magazines are slowly transforming into specialised magazines for a small sphere of those, who are interested and qualified to follow the literature.

-Vida Gorjup Posinkovic, editor-in-chief of *Primorska srečanja* (Primorska encounters) magazine, describes her editorial policy in such manner: »If I have to describe the

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<sup>1</sup> The article does not have a known author.

magazine with a single sentence, I would say that this is a regional magazine serving national needs.«

-Vida Mokrin Pauer, editor of literary part of Primorska srečanja, said: »Main part of a magazine is dedicated to the problems of Primorska region, while the literary part puts a little more emphasis to the authors of this area.« And: »My goal is to stimulate interest for the literature and raise literary tolerance, cohabitation of different writings and readings.«

-Samo Kutos, editor-in-chief of Literatura (Literature) magazine, described his editorial policy with these words: »Editorial credo? One of the biggest superiorities of the magazine is co-existence of different personal poetics, thoughts and styles, without any limitation on certain authors or narrowly defined groups.

-Emica Antoncic, editor-in-chief and responsible editor of Dialogi (Dialogues) magazine, said: »Dialogi is magazine for culture in general, but in last years we define ourselves as a 'magazine for culture and society'. Dialogi is, above all, a magazine for intellectuals, covering different arts (literature, theatre, paintings and music), issues regarding culture in general, and humanism and social sciences.

-Mitja Cander, editor of literary part of Dialogi, said: »For the last years Dialogi has renovated literary edition. This edition introduces home and foreign authors, many times also different selections of national literatures. We do not belong to any literary-aesthetic, value or generation stories. Decisive is the literary quality of the texts.