



ORIGINAL PAPER

Interviews with Public Figures of Yugoslav Media Space in 1989/1990 in Croatian Local Newspapers

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Abstract

This paper analyses newspaper articles published in the form of interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space in 1989 and 1990 on the example of local newspapers which were published in the city of Zadar in the Republic of Croatia. The research corpus is based on newspaper articles published in the local newspapers Narodni list and Fokus, which were published in city of Zadar in the Republic of Croatia. The research period of this paper was from 9 February 1989 until 22 September 1990, because youth monthly newspaper Fokus was published in that period. The research period was extremely turbulent for all the republics that were then part of SFRY. Croatia was affected by numerous changes particularly in socio-political contexts. At that time, the multinational republic of Yugoslavia broke up, which resulted in the beginnings of the development of liberalization and democratization of the social and political life in Croatia. Former Zadar media publications Narodni list and Fokus allowed important participants of social-political life to step into the public at the local and national level. The particularity of these interviews was that some of these public figures were given for the first time the opportunity of media appearances in public because they were forbidden to do so until then. The research included newspaper articles classified in the category Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area published on the pages of the weekly newspaper Narodni list and the youth monthly newspaper Fokus. Descriptive, exploratory and qualitative content analysis was used in this paper. 104 newspaper numbers and 1175 newspaper articles were analysed, of which 32 were published within the category Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area. The research results have shown that the researched Zadar local newspapers Narodni list and Fokus allowed the media appearance in public for people from then social and political life, and even those who were forbidden from doing so and in that way informed readers about current events.

Keywords: *interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area; local newspapers; democratization; Croatia; 1989/1990; content analysis.*

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Introduction

The end of the 1980s was a transitional period for many countries in Central and Southeastern Europe. The Cold War, as a non-armed conflict between two superpowers, the USA and the former USSR, ended in 1991 and the Eastern-Western Bloc division of the world into two systems is mentioned as its fundamental characteristic: the capitalist system was in development by the USA and the socialist system was in development by the former USSR. The symbol of the Cold War was the Berlin Wall that divided the city into West (part of the USA's Western Bloc) and East (part of the USSR's Eastern Bloc) Berlin. When it was torn down in 1989, the Eastern-Western Bloc division of the world didn't exist anymore and a new transitional and liberal era for the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, including Croatia, began. According to Crook, Dauderstädt and Gerrits, there were two fundamental transitional problems in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe: economic modernisation and social crisis. Three main transitional goals were: 1. democracy, tearing down communist dictatorships, 2. progress by switching from the unproductive and planned economy to the modern market economy and 3. independence (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 8, according to Crook, Dauderstädt, Geritts, 2002: 16). Pusić states that there were two transitional models in the above mentioned European countries: 1. the northern model developed by Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic and 2. the southern model developed in Romania, Bulgaria, Slovak Republic, Croatia, Slovenia and Albania (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 9, according to Pusić, 1998: 156).

Before tearing down the symbol of the Cold War - the Berlin Wall, in 1987 many revolutions occurred in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. Each of those revolutions had the aim of tearing down the existing ruling communist regimes and created the prerequisites for the creation of democratic rule, and thus societies as well. The Velvet Revolution in former Czechoslovakia can be mentioned as an example. Its main actors were students who organised a massive protest to commemorate the execution of nine Czech students and the shutdown of Czech universities (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 9, according to Milardović, 1998: 23). Unlike its Czechoslovakian counterpart, the Romanian revolution was violent. It resulted in the execution of the dictator-communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife. Democracy and a multi-party system were established in Romania after their execution (Horvatić, P. , 2018).

Above mentioned examples of countries, as well as other Central and Southeastern European countries, have achieved their liberalisation, democratisation and political pluralism path much easier than the multinational construct of Yugoslavia. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a multinational republic consisting of Croatia, Slovenia, FR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. The animosity between the nations and republics of the former SFRY resulted in its dissolution and armed conflicts - war. Croatia, as a part of that multinational community, had a thorny path towards achieving transition, liberalisation, democratisation and political pluralism. The Homeland War (The Croatian War of Independence) was fought on its territory against the Serbian aggressor from 1991 to 1995. Croatia's main goal at the time was to defend its territorial structure and to achieve independence. Unfortunately, becoming independent had catastrophic consequences, a lot of people were killed and many homes, villages and cities were destroyed. From the above, it can be seen that Croatia had difficulties achieving its democratisation development path. According to Kasapović, the democratic transition taking place in Croatia consisted of two phases: 1. limited liberalisation of the political life while

Croatia was still a part of the former Yugoslav Federation, 2. democratisation during and after the process of becoming an independent state (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 24, according to Kasapović, 1996: 155). Therefore, Croatia began its democratic transition while it was still a constituent part of the former Yugoslavia, as stated by Kasapović in her division of the second phase of Croatia's democratisation into two time periods: 1. the period of Croatia's "inner independence" within the Yugoslav Federation and 2. the period that encompasses war, the struggle for international recognition of the state and the continued development of political and economic life (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 24, according to Kasapović, 1996: 158). One of the first steps of Croatia's democratic transition was introducing the political pluralism in political life. Among the first newly founded parties was the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSL), then the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and the Party of Democratic Reform (SDP), which was founded from the League of Communists of Croatia. First democratic elections were also held and HDZ was the winner. Thus, some of the fundamental conditions for the development of Croatian society's democratisation were achieved.

When it comes to the media democratisation in Croatia in the researched time period, it's important to point out that that democratisation path also had difficulties, as was the case with democratisation in the political framework. Journalism in Croatia was controlled by the League of Communists and therefore it was impossible to develop the freedom of speech and expression, as one of the basic human rights. At the time, there was a Yugoslav media model, similar to the Soviet media model, which had some of the following characteristics: media was concentrated in big, strictly controlled newspapers and broadcasters and it was impossible to establish privately owned media (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 40, according to Malović, 2004: 16-18). Regarding the laws and other legal acts and legislation, an interesting thing to point out is that every one of them guaranteed and ensured the freedom of speech and expression, while in practice, it was completely different. The first Public Information Act was brought by the Parliament of the FR Croatia in 1982, famous for its Article 133, i.e., the Article on criminal speech that restricted the freedom of media, expression and journalist activity (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 44, according to Novak, 2005: 880, 923). The term "Blacklist" was often associated with this article. The "Blacklist" referred to a list of Croatian intellectuals and journalists whose work and public and media appearance were prohibited because they were labelled as nationalists (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 54). This term was first pointed out by the youth journalists. It is important to point out that the youth journalists, i.e. youth media - the press, television and radio had an important role in the promotion of the freedom of speech and expression concepts at the end of the 1980s. Youth media made it possible for all Croatian intellectuals and politicians who were prohibited from public action, to make an appearance in public. One of them was the youth journal *Fokus* which was published in Zadar, and which is also the subject of this research.

When the new democratic pluralistic media model was created in 1990, the Public Information Act was amended, and the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia also accepted four fundamental Council of Europe acts on the freedom of the media and expression (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 44, according to Thompson, 1995: 126), which guaranteed the freedom of speech and expression.

Methodology

This paper researches the communication aspect between journalism and the right to freedom of speech and expression as one of the basic human rights. The freedom

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of speech and expression in this paper concerns the right of any individual to make a public appearance. The research was based on an example of newspaper articles published in the local newspapers that were published in Zadar in the Republic of Croatia in 1989 and 1990 - youth monthly journal *Fokus* and weekly newspaper *Narodni list*. Each mentioned publication had its own peculiarities. The weekly *Narodni list* has a long publication history, dating back to 1862 and based on this fact, it is considered as one of the oldest “living” newspaper in Southeastern Europe. In the beginning, it was called *Il Nazionale* and was written in Italian and from 1876, it is published solely in Croatian. This publication played a significant role in the Croatian National Revival in the second half of the 19th century, advocating the reunification of Dalmatia with Croatia at the time and the introduction of Croatian as an official language in all public institutions. In its literary addendum *K list* many literary genres of famous Croatian writers were often published, with the purpose of raising awareness in Croatian readers about their homeland and language. The youth journal *Fokus* had other peculiarities, which were different from the weekly *Narodni list*. It was published in Zadar from 9th February 1989 until 22nd February 1990. Even though this youth journal was published over a short time period, it left a significant mark in the history of Zadar and Croatian journalism. It was started by a group of young enthusiastic journalists from Zadar in a time when the communist regime was weakening in Yugoslavia, which slowly opened a space for establishing independent media, and *Fokus* was one of them. Its pages often featured published news articles about all current issues at the time, without censorship, and numerous interviews with people from Croatian and former Yugoslav socio-political life, which are the subject of this research.

This paper analysed newspaper articles published in *Fokus* and *Narodni list* which were sorted in the category “Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space”. 104 newspaper issues were analysed, i.e., 1175 newspaper articles, 32 of which were sorted in the category “Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space”. Scientific methods that were applied in this paper are descriptive, explanatory and qualitative method of content analysis. The qualitative method of content analysis covers six newspaper articles/interviews published on the covers of the weekly *Narodni list* and six newspaper articles/interviews published on the covers of the monthly *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990. This paper is based on the hypothesis that the researched newspapers enabled the public appearance of people from the Yugoslav socio-political life at the time in their press space, particularly to those who were prohibited from appearing, and thus contributed to the democratisation of the press space of Zadar, Croatia and former Yugoslavia.

Result of research

Table 1 shows the corpus of the research, i.e., newspaper issues that were published in the researched period. In 1989 more newspapers' issues were published than in 1990. Considering the number of published newspapers' issues in relation to each researched printed media, it is apparent that *Narodni list* published more newspapers' issues than *Fokus*. Considering this aspect, it isn't possible to compare these publications because they had a different publication periodicity. *Narodni list* was published on a weekly basis and *Fokus* on a monthly basis.

Table 1. Issues of *Narodni list* and *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990

	NARODNI I LIST	%	FOKUS	%	TOTAL	%
1989	48	55,81	11	55	59	55,66
1990	38	44,18	9	45	47	44,34
TOTAL	86	100,00	20	100,00	106	100,00

Source: Adjusted according to Ražnjević Zdrilić (2013: 85)

Table 2. Comparison of the share of newspaper articles in *Narodni list* and *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990 according to the research category *Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav media space*

	NL	%	FOK	%	TOTAL	%
1989	2	12.5	9	41	11	29
1990	14	87.5	13	59	27	71
TOTAL	16	100	22	100	38	100

Source: Adjusted according to Ražnjević Zdrilić (2013: 126, 128)

Table 2 shows the comparison of the share of newspaper articles in *Narodni list* and *Fokus* according to the category *Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space* in 1989 and 1990. By analysing the table according to the two researched years, it is apparent that in 1990 more newspaper articles, that are sorted in this category, were published than in 1989, i.e., 71 % of newspaper articles. By analysing the table according to the researched publications, it was established that the youth monthly *Fokus* published more newspaper articles, i.e., interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space than *Narodni list*, even though *Fokus* had a shorter publishing periodicity than *Narodni list*. The above mentioned confirms that the youth journal *Fokus* dedicated more media space to the actors of the socio-political scene of Zadar, Croatia and Yugoslavia at the time.

Qualitative analysis of content

FOKUS

Franjo Tuđman gave his first interview to *Fokus*, namely, several days before his injunctive on public appearance expired. Tuđman was at the time one of the more significant political figures on the Croatian political scene. He was the founder and president of the Croatian Democratic Union and after Croatia became independent, he was elected to be the first Croatian president. His name was also on the notorious “Blacklist” which was mentioned in this paper’s introduction. The interview was published in the fourth issue of *Fokus* on 30 March 1989, titled *There is no escape from history*. The interview discussed the reasons behind founding the Croatian Democratic Union, for which Tuđman stated it was founded as a result of the general crisis that affected Yugoslavia in socio-political and economic terms, and in terms of the relations

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between its nations. He says that they were supported by all layers of the society because of its founding. He stated that for him, the term democracy represents the possibility for everyone to express their opinion, regardless of whether this opinion is the same or different, in respect of the person listening. He also adds: *It is the civil right of any man, even an inalienable national right of every nation to its opinion, national self-determination and secession, as set out by the Constitution of SFRY. A democracy that respects the civil rights of every man and nation is the democracy that this country needs* (Fokus, Bauer, 1989: 9). The interlocutors also touched upon the subject of MASPOK - a movement that unsuccessfully tried to open the door for democratisation in Croatia in the 1970s. He stated that the movement was characterised as chauvinistic and fascist, while also having Ustasha characteristics.

Fokus also published the interviews with two Croatian academics: Ivan Supek and Dalibor Brozović. The interview with Ivan Supek titled *Confidence in the restoration of humanism* was published in the sixth issue of *Fokus* on 18 May 1989. The interview discussed his political engagement while he was a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. However, a special emphasis was put on his scientific contribution in the newspaper article. Thanks to Supek, a Croatian institute named after Croatian scientist Ruđer Bošković was constructed. He was expelled from the Institute because of his disobedience, i.e., resisting the production of nuclear weapons. He actively supported students during the students' unrests which were the result of their dissatisfaction with the socio-political situation in former Yugoslavia. In order to achieve peace, unity and equality in former Yugoslavia he stated the following: *The first and foremost is to understand that the fate of every one of us, of each nation, is inextricably linked to the fate of the entire world. ...Since all the aggressive ideologies brought the Earth to the brink of destruction, our greatest confidence lies in the restoration of humanism which can become the foundation of all nations and all societies* (Fokus, Butković, Škorić, 1989: 4).

Three severe mistakes is the title of the interview published in the seventh issue of *Fokus* on the 17 June 1989 with academic Dalibor Brozović. The interlocutors touched upon numerous subjects in the interview, among which was the current topic at the time, the issue of the Croatian language. Brozović was of the opinion that a clear distinction should be made between the Croatian standard language and the Serbian language. He rejected any kind of connection between HDZ and MASPOK with right-wing forces from the Second World War, stating that this was about completely different ideas that had no common traits. There was also talk about his employment at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar, for which he stated that he was given the opportunity to found his own department, which he built upon later by himself (Fokus, Tokić, 1989: 4).

In the 12th issue of *Fokus* an interview with Dražen Budiša, a participant in MASPOK and one of the founders of the first political party in Croatia, titled *The fate of the country in Serbian hands*, was published. At the time when the interview was held, Dražen Budiša was employed at the National and University Library in Zagreb. Because he participated in MASPOK, the interlocutors touched upon 1971 and the student movements of the time. Budiša was the president of the League of Students of Zagreb and was punished because of his political activity at the time. The socio-political developments in 1971 in Croatia, historically also known as the Croatian Spring, Dražen Budiša characterised as a hint of pluralism in Croatia, and as an example of an independent political organisation of the time, he mentions the League of Students of

Croatia. According to Budiša, the development of pluralism enveloped the whole of Europe, so it was obvious that it will envelop Croatia and Yugoslavia as well. Under the topic of political pluralism, there was also talk about founding Serbian political parties in Croatia, i.e., Vuk Drašković's Serbian National Renewal party, about which Budiša had nothing to object. He said the following about the possibilities of Croatia entering Europe: *I believe that the decision about that, today, is a decision for the Serbian political leadership to make. Its turn towards Europe and democracy would be crucial for the entire Yugoslavia turning in that direction. Under the circumstances, I'm not sure that our chances are great* (Fokus, Luburović, 1990: 5).

Fokus' Kosovo associate, Naser Breca Jashari, interviewed Adem Demaqi, an Albanian writer. The interview was published in the 15th issue of Fokus, titled *Force never stopped progress*. Demaqi was also called the European Nelson Mandela, and he was famous for the fact that a large number of his living years were spent in jails and three unfounded proceedings. He also touched upon the human rights violations, using himself as an example, stating that the defendants were found guilty while the investigation was still going: *While I was in jail, I realised that they were incarcerating people in other places as well, in the exact same manner in Croatia and in Vojvodina. I think that everybody, except Slovenians, had some kind of lists according to which they would convict and arrest people, whether they were guilty or not* (Fokus, Breca Jashari, 1990:12). Demaqi stated that the political prisoners' mass release at that time, 107 of them, including him, was the result of the global public's pressure, but also the result of the process of democratisation that slowly started to envelop Yugoslavia at the time. He advocated for proclaiming Kosovo an independent republic and for the Albanian nation to be equal to the other nations in Yugoslavia. According to Demaqi, Serbia was, particularly through the media, advocating the thesis that Kosovo is a Serbian colony.

The last interview published in Fokus, analysed by the qualitative analysis of content in this paper is the one with the president of the Serb Democratic Party in Croatia, Jovan Rašković. In the interview titled *Nationalism is a communist fabrication*, published in the 16th issue of Fokus, there was talk about the first sitting of the multi-party Parliament, which emphasised freedom and democracy, according to Rašković. Regarding HDZ, he pointed out that there is an Ustasha core within the party by using the statement of Šime Đodan from HDZ as an example. He also addressed the probability that the Croatian Parliament will redefine the Croatian state as the Croatian nation's national state, stating that his party will react to such a decision because they believe that Serbians belong to Croatia since ancient times and that the Croatian Constitution should acknowledge the sovereignty of Serbians in Croatia (Fokus, Selimović, 1990:12).

NARODNI LIST

Narodni list published an interview with Ivo Karamarko, a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In the interview titled *The Yugoslav leadership weakened*, published in the 7639th issue of Narodni list, the interlocutors discussed the current situation in Yugoslavia at the time, stating that there were open conflicts between certain republic leaderships. Karamarko also commented on the political and economic situation in Yugoslavia at the time: *... the economic situation in Yugoslavia is becoming more difficult, politically complex and socially tense than ever before. The inflation's consequences were increasingly devastating and mass gatherings and protests increasingly often, and the number of those who live at the edge*

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of existence also increased (Narodni list, Opačić, 1989: 3). He also addressed the Party, stating that unity still prevails in it and that it will keep on fighting for the development of socialist, democratic and non-aligned Yugoslavia. Regarding Milošević, as one of the creators of the idea of establishing Greater Serbia, he said that Milošević should take the multinational nature of Yugoslavia more into account during his public appearances. According to Karamarko, nationalism and national homogenisation represent a danger to the entire Yugoslavia. At the end of the interview, there was talk about the preparations for the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Ivo Karamarko believes that this Congress shall have a great meaning for resolving the socio-economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia.

*Narodni list published an interview with Branko Greganović, the president of the SSOJ Federal Conference Presidency in the 7649th issue. In an interview titled *Why don't we stop lying to each other*, the interlocutors discussed diverse current topics of the time, democracy, pluralism, state of law and the abolition of democratic centralism. According to Greganović, there is a political, social and trade union pluralism and tolerance which aren't ensured: *Legalisation of pluralism, legalisation of a society of conflict and establishing institutions that balance those relations are merely an essential condition announcing the possibility of tolerance and reasonable dialogue. But, which by itself, doesn't guarantee it (Narodni list, 7649, Kučina, 1989: 4). As well as the previous interlocutors analysed in this paper, Greganović believes that Yugoslavia can't develop as a modern European state as long as there is a political crisis present. He also touched upon the changes in the new Constitution: *The new constitution should be written based on the Declaration of Human Rights, with its basic principles being: the freedom of people and citizens, social and trade union pluralism, direct secret elections and federalism (Narodni list, 7649, Kučina, 1989: 4).***

Besides to people from the political life in Yugoslavia at the time, *Narodni list* also gave the media space to people from the religious life. In the 7664th issue of *Narodni list*, an interview with the Archbishop of Zadar, Marijan Oblak, was published under the title *I'm not a pessimist (Narodni list, 7649, Marinković, 1989:15)*. The reason behind the interview with this interlocutor was the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of "Branimir's year", that was commemorated in the town of Nin, next to Zadar. Seeing that a large number of the faithful gathered at the anniversary, archbishop Oblak clarified that the anniversary didn't represent a national gathering and homogenisation, but rather that this religious ceremony is commemorated every first Sunday in September, since back in 1979. He pointed out that the democratisation of the society at that time increased people's religiosity and free expression of religious sentiments. The readers were also able to find out from the interview that in certain churches in Zadar County, Holy Masses are organised in French and German during the tourist season.

His media space in *Narodni list* was also given to the president of the Serb Democratic Party at the time, professor Branko Marjanović, published in the 7602nd issue in the interview titled *Against the abyss of strife and hate (Narodni list, 7602, Opačić, 1990a: 4)*. He mentioned the assault on Miroslav Mlinar, the president of the Party Committee of the Serb Democratic Party as an example of the bad position of Serbians in Croatia, also known in the media at the time as "the Benkovac case". He also addressed the aspiration of Croatians for sovereignty, stating that he is not against it, but that he sees Croatia as a common homeland of Croatians and Serbians, and that their

relationship should not be a master and servant one. He sees Yugoslavia as a federation, not a confederation.

The interview with professor Romano Meštrović was analysed as an example of an interlocutor from the Zadar socio-political scene who was the president of the Municipal Committee of SKH-SDP, titled *We don't want to lag behind HDZ* and published in the 7618th issue of *Narodni list*. Professor Meštrović addressed the political scene in Croatia and Yugoslavia at the time, stating that the changes happened fast and that the adjustment to a newly elected government and multi-party democracy is still going on. He stated that unlike HDZ, which according to him, won the first parliamentary elections in Croatia by playing the national card, SKH-SDP will base its programme on human rights and freedoms of citizens. Regarding the relations between HDZ and SKH-SDP on a local level he pointed out: *I start from the presumption that the progress of Zadar and Croatia is in all of our hearts and based on that, as much as possible, we should seek cooperation that will result in fruits of labour with more quality. By cooperation I mean critical dialogue and that means clearly showing certain disagreements and letting the public to be the judge* (*Narodni list*, 7618, Opačić, 1990b: 5).

Narodni list published an interview with professor Davor Aras from Zadar, a member of the Council of the Parliament of FR Croatia. The interview was published under the title *Stronger than the hell of Lepoglava* in 7604th issue. Aras chronologically described his childhood, education, imprisonment in Lepoglava penitentiary and his current membership in the Council of the Parliament of FR Croatia. He was a prisoner in Lepoglava for five years for being one of the organisers of the illegal organisation HORA (Croatian Revolutionary Liberation Army). About his life in prison, he said: *I quickly experienced what imprisonment is, and the suffering caused my health to rapidly get worse and worse. (...) Through advocating and interest of the international and national public, particularly International Amnesty, an early stay of sentence was approved in February 1979 (after five years of imprisonment* (*Narodni list*, 7604, Kučina, 1990: 4).

Conclusion

The processes of transition, liberalisation and democratisation have marked the history of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Almost all countries had the exact same path in achieving these processes. On the other hand, Yugoslavia was specific, primarily because it was politically structured as a federation that consisted of republics. Croatia was one of those republics. The weakening of the communist regime that ruled in former Yugoslavia slowly led to the possibility of developing Croatia's democratisation, from a political, social and economic point of view. The increasing animosity between certain republics within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia resulted in its dissolution, and every republic had to achieve its independence. The Socialist Republic of Serbia, led by Slobodan Milošević, developed the idea of creating a Greater Serbia, according to which Croatia would be a part of Serbia and not an independent state. Because of this idea, Croatia had to achieve sovereignty the hard way, because its priority was defending its territory from the aggressor. It was not until after the ending of the Homeland War in 1995 that Croatia could develop and carry out the processes of transition, liberalisation and democratisation with more intensity. The subject of this paper were newspaper articles published in the form of a newspaper interview with public figures of the

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Yugoslav media space at the time, on the pages of Zadar local newspapers *Fokus* and *Narodni list*. The research was conducted precisely on printed media from Zadar because Zadar, in the history of the world, except for its natural and cultural-historical sites, is also known as the town with the longest media tradition in Croatia. This was the town where the first newspapers in Croatian were published – *Kraljski Dalmatin* back in 1806. Based on the results of the research it was established that both researched publications, the weekly *Narodni list* and the youth monthly *Fokus* published interviews on their covers with numerous local and national actors of the Yugoslav socio-political life at the time. By following the political and other turmoils on the territory of Yugoslavia, they chose people who marked certain events in former Yugoslavia as their interlocutors, mostly political actors (members of certain political parties/organisations/associations; political prisoners) and social actors (college professors/academics included in political developments, religious representatives). Considering one of the current topics at the time, about conflicts between the nations and animosity, their media space was given to Serbian nationals, i.e., presidents and members of certain Serbian political parties that were founded in Croatia after political pluralism was introduced and first democratic elections were held in Croatia. Based on a qualitative analysis of content, the research results have shown that the youth journal *Fokus* enabled the public appearance of political actors who were prohibited from making an appearance in public at the time because they were characterised as nationalists by the political leadership of Yugoslavia at the time. Interviews with Franjo Tuđman, the first president of the Republic of Croatia and Dražen Budiša, the founder of the first political party in Croatia - HSLHS, are stated as an example. Research has established that both researched newspapers actively monitored socio-political developments in Zadar, Croatia and Yugoslavia and according to that, they invited people as their interlocutors, with whom they've analysed, commented and criticised and in that manner, informed their readers in detail about the socio-political situation at the time on the territory of the entire Yugoslavia.

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