

Albania in the Serbian Media

(January–September 2017)



European
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This research was written within the project “Strengthening co-operation between Serbia and Albania – a view on the media content today in Serbia and ways of shaping positive and informed public perceptions leading to stability in the Western Balkans” implemented by the European Movement in Serbia.

Disclaimer: The views and opinions expressed in this research are solely those of the authors and their associates and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the OSCE Mission to Serbia and the European Movement in Serbia.

All references to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text should be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244.

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EMinS' foreword

It is well known that the media are not simple transmitters, but important – if not crucial – creators of messages and have a pivotal role in creating and swaying public opinion. Their role in democratization is of particular importance; inasmuch as they are free and critical, they also contribute to the overall democratic atmosphere and accountability in a society. For all these reasons, regular studies and analyses of the media are of vital importance for the Western Balkans which, with its transitional structures and hopes of improving state institutions, procedures and rules, is still too fragile and exposed to various influences by political/financial and criminal circles.

This especially applies to, by large understudied, mutual relations and perceptions between Serbia and Albania. Even though Serbs and Albanians are neighbours and the largest nations in the Western Balkans, their connections are still heavily impeded by the lack of knowledge about each other, scarce contacts and mutual cooperation and deeply rooted prejudices and stereotypes, as the EMinS 2015 research amply showed (see: European Movement in Serbia 2015). In addition, another representative recent survey showed that “only 17 percent of Albanians have travelled to Serbia, a fourth of them only in transit” (see: Cela 2015: 10). The media, be they printed, electronic or social, played an important role in the Serbian-Albanian relations in this respect, and will continue to do so. Yet, despite such an important role of the media, mutual media monitoring regarding Serbia and Albania has not been subject of systematic studies at all.

In order to bridge this gap and promote cooperation in various fields between Serbia and Albania, the Forum for International Relations of the European Movement in Serbia (EMinS) and the Albanian Institute for International Studies (AIIS) launched the project of the **Joint Centre for Albania-Serbia Relations**, with support of the Federal Republic of Germany. The cooperation between Serbia and Albania has a strategic importance for the European integration of the Western Balkans. Bilateral initiatives, which are of great importance for regional cooperation, have so far been in the shadow. Main obstacles to the establishment of normal and fruitful relations between Albania and Serbia include the lack of knowledge about each other and the lack of opportunity for contact and mutual cooperation.

Bearing all this in mind, the Albanian Institute for International Studies initiated the establishment of a joint centre that would encourage interaction between experts, journalists, researchers, artists and decision-makers of the two countries.

This project has offered a new approach to the improvement of Serbian-Albanian relations inspired by the civil society, and provided new opportunities for mutual contact and cooperation, as well as to the improvement of the knowledge of citizens from these two countries about each other. Furthermore, the project helps young people to fight against mutual prejudice, opens the space for cooperation between the media, fosters the creation of new media coverage that will bring citizens closer to the everyday life in these two countries, and engages decision makers at different levels to contribute to better cooperation between Serbia and Albania through active policies.

In particular, the project aims to create bilateral mechanisms and safe spaces for improvement of relations between Albania and Serbia through various opportunities for discussion, cooperation, social interaction, and working towards common goals. It also intends to empower actors including youth, civil society representatives, the business community, cultural workers and media, to contribute to the improvement of relations between the two countries in various spheres. In addition, it promotes and maintains an informed and constructive public debate in regard to bilateral relations between Albania and Serbia, as well as regional cooperation.

Various activities held so far include public polls on mutual perceptions in Albania and Serbia, round-table discussions, Durres Forum, Tirana Forum, European Academy for Youth, research fellowships for young researchers, journalist exchange, involving the youth, media representatives, representatives of the civil society and business community, as well as political actors and decision-makers. These activities and the project in general resulted in several public events that received positive public and media attention, thus confirming that civil society appears to be the pillar and pivot of reconciliation efforts. As this media study amply shows, they generate mostly positive perceptions in both media and the public and should be strengthened further.

Executive summary

Overall, Serbian media reporting about Albania in the period January–September 2017 is best described as unfavourable, if not outright hostile. In addition to the Kosovo issue that generates most negatively intoned contents in the media, several new issues, such as the “Greater Albania” threat and Albanian question in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia attracted significant media attention in Serbia during the observed period. More precisely, Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama’s statement that if Albanians are denied the EU future, Kosovo and Albania would unite, created a media frenzy in Serbian newspapers that lasted approximately from mid-April to mid-May. The Serbian media and officials dedicated similarly huge and comparably negative attention to another issue related to Albania, albeit indirectly – the so-called Tirana platform. The Tirana platform concerns a plan reached between political representatives of Albanians in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia over their demands to improve the position of Albanians in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, reached under the mediation of Edi Rama in Tirana. Serbian newspapers, *Informer* in particular, but also *Blic* and *Politika* to some extent, had a rather negative attitude towards this initiative that, as their reporters saw it, threatened to erode and divide the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia along ethnic lines. Hence, in fact, most articles mentioning Albania in the Serbian media were actually about Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, not Albania *per se*. Articles about the Albanian political scene were rare, and apart from Edi Rama no other politician from Albania received any serious media attention. The presidential visit of Bujar Nishani received extremely modest reception and attracted writings about tensions and panic rather than about cooperation, neighbourly relations or economic issues.

In addition, this survey also included the analysis of the gender aspect of Serbian newspaper reporting about Albania. It is discussed that gender balance is still a rather distant goal for the Serbian media which, with a partial exception of *Danas*, as a rule treat politics as a dominantly male domain and hence write about and interview mostly men, and ask them for opinions in the role of experts and informants. The exception is given to influential EU political figures such as Federica Mogherini, whose statements involving Albania attracted significant attention and were mostly positively or neutrally portrayed.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the intensification of the presidential election campaign from March to April saw a steep rise in negative writing about Albania. Such negative trend continued in the weeks following the presidential election in early April, but somewhat lessened in May and especially from June onwards, as did the interest in Albania and its affairs altogether. In late June only several relatively short articles reported about Rama’s party electoral victory, and generally the coverage of

the political crisis and opposition protests that predated the election did not get significant space in the Serbian media. In August and September, several articles appeared about Ismail Morina, Albanian arrested in Croatia under Serbian indictment for flying a drone with “the Greater Albania” flag at the notorious 2014 football match between Serbia and Albania. Most news about Morina were related to the possibilities of his extradition to Serbia.

Nevertheless, relations between Serbia and Albania are improving, there are less negatively intoned articles, and such trend is likely to continue. After 70 years of practically non-existent political contacts, Serbia and Albania now have frequent diplomatic and political ties and the countries’ highest officials meet regularly. Newspaper articles in the field of culture, economy and tourism generally have positive connotation, and mutual economic cooperation – albeit still modest – is constantly rising. In addition, negative reporting about Albania is declining. Arguably, Aleksandar Vučić’s late July call to the “internal dialogue” contributed to this positive trend, which is likely to continue, insofar as this dialogue is likely to result in Serbia accepting Kosovo’s factual independence in one way or another. If that happens in 2018, it would remove the “elephant in the room” that constantly overshadows and hampers improvements between Serbia and Albania.

Several initiatives between Belgrade and Tirana were launched or continued in the observed period, which promoted and contributed to improved media, cultural, political contacts and relations. In the media sphere, the most notable was the ongoing project between the Serbian newspaper *Danas* and *Mapo*, the leading newspaper from Albania, where two prominent journalists are exchanging articles in the form of letters. Such efforts should be strengthened and promoted further, and hopefully involve more journalist and media outlets. Another important initiative is the establishment of the Regional Youth Cooperation Office (RYCO) in Tirana, which is expected to follow the German-French model of reconciliation. The RYCO issued a call for youth exchanges in October 2017, with two calls per year planned, and these projects will start to be implemented soon. The RYCO received three mentions in *Danas* in July alone, and hopefully these youth projects will bring more positive media entries as part of their dissemination. Yet another positive initiative is the Joint Centre for Albania-Serbia Relations implemented by the Albanian Institute for International Studies from Tirana and European Movement in Serbia from 2016 onwards. This project resulted in several public events, one of it being a selection of new Albanian literature in the *Danas* cultural supplement *Beton*. This all goes in line with common people’s perceptions that mutual cooperation is important and that cultural, tourism and economic ties should be developed further (see: Cela 2015). Therefore, the economy and civil society should be the pillars and pivots of reconciliation efforts, as they generate mostly positive perceptions in both the media and public.

Introduction

Media outlets in Serbia are mostly privately owned, although there are several media in which the state still has significant ownership, such as *Politika* and *Večernje novosti*. Some media, mostly printed ones, such as the critically oriented weekly *Vreme* and daily *Danas* or fairly recent tabloid-type pro-Vučić oriented daily newspaper *Informer*, are owned by journalists, while others are in the hands of businessmen and media groups. Their main source of funding is advertising – estimated by the Nielsen Agency at around EUR 172 million in 2011 and 2012, and EUR 155 million in 2013 – often through public enterprises and companies with majority state capital (see: Chart 1 below).

will continue to do so. Yet, despite such an important role of the media, mutual media monitoring regarding Serbia and Albania has not been systematic and regular. In fact, only recently some analyses tried to capture reporting about Serbia in the Albanian media and *vice versa*. An important 2013 survey conducted by the Albanian Institute for International Studies (AIIS) from Tirana and International and Security Affairs Center (ISAC) from Belgrade covered media reporting about Albania in the Serbian media from 2011 and 2012, and showed the following: “In total, 1982 articles published in 2011 and 2012 containing the term Albania were retrieved, out of which 1251 for 2011 and 731 for 2012. More than a half of those articles are written on the subject of war crimes committed from 1990 to 2000 (845 in total, of which 709 in 2011 and 136 in 2012).”²

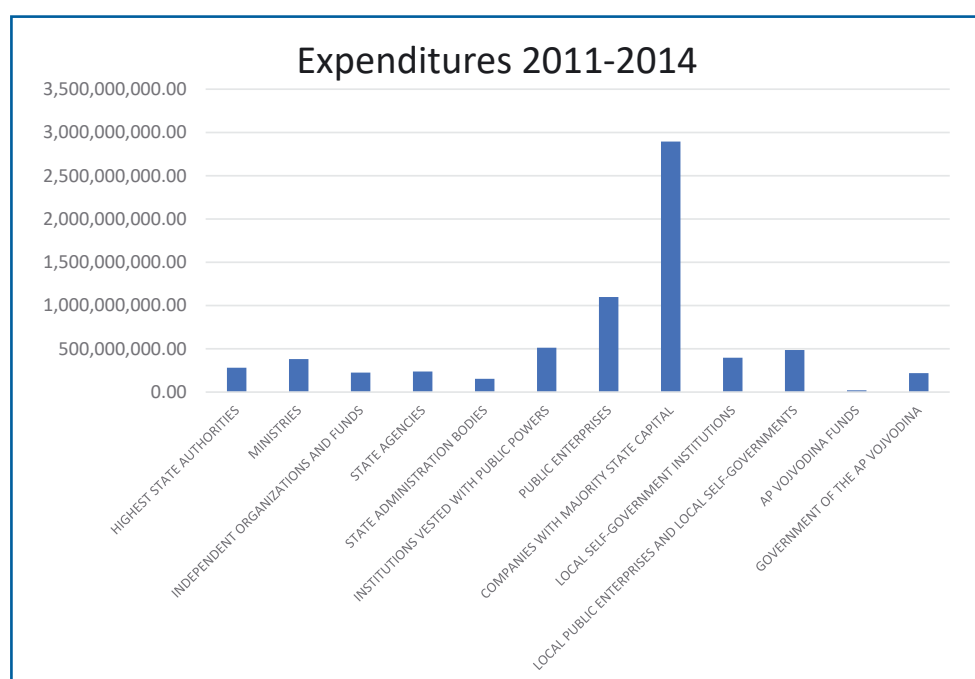


Chart 1 – Advertising expenditures in Serbia 2011–2014
(Source: Serbian Anti-Corruption Council)

Taken in general, the Serbian media in the recent years are marked by shady ownership, political influence and pressures, deteriorating quality of reporting and the rise of tabloids which are lowering professional journalistic standards and dictating the tone of public debates.¹

Previous media analyses of Serbian-Albanian relations

The media, be they printed, electronic or social, played an important role in Serbian-Albanian relations in this respect, and

In addition, the analysis showed that “the two thirds of all the analyzed articles (1287) in one way or another were related to Kosovo (912 in 2011 and 375 in 2012), a total of 226 articles mentioning Albania were written solely on the subject of Kosovo (126 in 2011 and 98 in 2012)... Being an issue of all issues, Kosovo has served as a prism through which the Serbian public construed the world politics in general and Albania in particular... Such a perspective dwarfed all other aspects of bilateral relations... only 54 articles were written about economic cooperation, a fraction of analyzed articles were devoted to sports (35 in 2011 and 27 in 2012), even less about culture – for instance, the most famous Albanian writer Ismail Kadare features in only six articles (one in 2011 and five in 2012), while

¹ The recent Report on the Media of the Serbian Anti-Corruption Agency singled out five major problems: 1) non-transparency of media ownership; 2) non-transparency of financing, economic influence through budget, tax reliefs and other indirect forms of public funding; 3) media privatization and uncertain status of public services; 4) censorship and self-censorship; 5) tabloidization. <http://www.antikorupcija-savet.gov.rs/en-GB/reports/cid1028-2751/presentation-of-report-on-ownership-structure-and-control-over-media-in-serbia>.

² Andi Balla, Filip Ejodus & Megi Llubani, *Albania and Serbia: Perceptions and Reality*, AIIS/BCSP, 2013. http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/albania_and_serbia_-_perceptions_and_reality.pdf.

the rest of Albania's art production was virtually invisible in the Serbian media."³

Predictably, the total number of texts mentioning Albania in the negative context (1196) by far exceeded those with positive (166) or neutral (620) connotation. "On the more positive side", the authors added, "one can notice a sharp decrease in the number of texts with negative connotation from 868 in 2011 to 328 in 2012 and a rise in the number of texts mentioning Albania in a rather neutral context (from 282 in 2011 to 338 in 2012)"⁴ (see: Table 1 below⁵).

Connotation/Year	2011	2012	Total
Positive	101	65	166
Neutral	282	338	620
Negative	868	328	1196
Total	1251	731	1982

Table 1. Connotation

3 http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/albania_and_serbia_-_perceptions_and_reality.pdf, p. 32–33.

4 http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/albania_and_serbia_-_perceptions_and_reality.pdf, p. 40.

5 Source: Balla et al, *Albania and Serbia*.

Methodology

This research relied on a *basic content analysis* in quantitatively and qualitatively assessing media reporting on Albanians in the Serbian media, determining the contextual use of key words and the connotation they generate, and analysing several main case studies by following in-depth the reporting on a given issue over a certain period. This methodology is commonly employed in media monitoring and has previously been successfully applied in several regional studies.⁶ In particular, the data were collected from the Ebart media archive, which is the largest single digital media documentation repository in Serbia. It provides access to complete editions of fifteen daily and weekly newspapers published throughout Serbia, and contains over one million articles from the weekly and daily press as well as a TV and video archive. In order to collect a representative sample and obtain accurate quantitative data, this analysis used a pre-defined series of keywords such as “Albania” (“Albanij*”) Tirana (“Tiran*”), “Šiptar/Šiptar*” (derogatory word for an Albanian), Edi Rama (“Ed* Ram*”) and their derivatives. While these several key words generated the vast majority of articles with reference to Albania, the search also included words such as Shkodra (Skadar, Skadr*), Berat (Berat/Berat*) Vlorë (Valon*), Saranda (Sarand*), Ilir Meta, Bujar Nishani, Ismail Kadare, Lulzim Basha, Sali Berisha and others, in order to ensure that all references to Albania in the media are captured. These key words were initially used to conduct a computerized blind search of articles from the preselected sample. Figures obtained through such an analysis are thus considered to represent the accurate total number of articles with reference to Albania in the chosen Serbian newspapers from January 1 to 30 September 2017. Having in mind the accuracy of the Ebart archive and the method applied here, as well as the number of search words used, this sample should be considered representative for media reporting on Albania in the Serbian media in general.

Due to the fact that the Ebart database has been irregularly updated, this method needed to be altered for the period between mid-July to end-September. All newspapers from this period were read in printed form, which opens the possibility that perhaps some references to Albania were omitted. However, such cases should be quite rare and apply only to minor mentions of Albania. Hence, while there is a possibility of statistical error for this period, it is highly unlikely that any significant and notable articles regarding Albania or referring to it were omitted.

In addition to the quantitative analysis, this research also included a qualitative analysis of relevant articles. In order to get a broader understanding of Serbian newspaper reporting about Albania, researchers drew attention to the context and persons

that Albania was mentioned with. Such approach showed that most references are related to Kosovo and Ramush Haradinaj, Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama, former Albanian President Bujar Nishani, and that gender issues feature prominently in some of them. These aspects of Serbian reporting about Albania were thus expanded into particular sections and described in more detail as exemplary case studies to shed more light on Serbian media reporting about Albania and the Serbian media landscape in general. Additional attention was devoted to positive trends and affirmative voices that promote mutual cooperation, and ways of shaping positive perceptions to advance stability in the region.

The chosen time-frame was a very dynamic one for Serbian-Albanian relations – several events in the region, such as the crisis with the train with inscriptions “Kosovo is Serbia” sent from Belgrade to Northern Kosovo in January; the arrest in France, Serbian request for extradition and then release of former Kosovo KLA leader and Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj from January to April; the visit of Albanian President Bujan Nishani to the majority-Albanian municipalities in southern Serbia in early March; the political crisis and platform for resolving “the Albanian question” in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. All these events greatly influenced Serbian-Albanian perceptions and hampered political relations and cooperation between the two countries. In addition, the Serbian presidential election in April and parliamentary elections in Albania in June spurred a rise in right-wing rhetoric in both countries. After June, the number of articles decreased significantly, and the tone became more neutral. Furthermore, Vučić’s call to “the internal dialogue” about Kosovo, which also means facing the reality over Kosovo’s status, brought additional moderation in reporting about Kosovo and thereby about Albania as well. Finally, Edi Rama, practically the only Albanian constantly present in the Serbian media during this time, apparently did not utter statements that could be termed provocative by Serbian politicians and the media, who are always on alert and eager to exploit them. Still, in August and September a number of articles appeared about Ismail Morina, accused of flying a drone with the flag of “the Greater Albania” at a football match between Serbia and Albania in 2014. Namely, Morina was arrested in Croatia under a Serbian indictment, and Serbia expected him to be extradited to Serbia for a trial. Taken altogether, these results tacitly show the fragility of Serbian-Albanian political relations, where a single fiery statement is enough to launch an avalanche of accusations from both sides. In addition, these relations hugely depend on issues beyond Albania, such as Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and thus indicate the need to monitor both countries’ mutual media reporting closely and continuously.

Our search resulted in 1177 relevant articles. This number of articles has been obtained in the following way – initially, all

⁶ See: Andi Balla, Filip Ejduš & Megi Llubani, *Albania and Serbia: Do perceptions equal reality?*, Albanian Institute for International Studies and Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Tirana and Belgrade, 2013; Sashenka Ljeshaj & Dritan Sulçebe, *Greece and the Albanian-Greek relations in the Albanian printed media 2014*, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/albanien/11319.pdf>.

articles containing the key word Albania were listed; then, the search also included other key words, which resulted in the overall increase in relevant articles. A considerable part of articles *overlapped* in different keywords, for example those containing Albania and Tirana and/or Edi Rama. The total number of articles was then checked individually, in order to avoid mistakes arising from similarities with different words or ambiguous terms. For instance, the Albanian capital Tirana resembles the Serbian word for tyranny (*tiranija*) and the derogatory name for Albanian (*Šiptar*) was also a nickname of a criminal who played a part in the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić in 2003, and still figures rather prominently in the Serbian media. Mentions of Albania unrelated to the country itself, as in the case of “the Palace Albania”, one of Belgrade’s landmarks, were, of course, excluded from consideration.

Representative sample selection

This study monitored four Serbian daily printed media outlets – *Blic*, *Danas*, *Politika* and *Informer*. They were selected on the basis of their reporting and circulation.⁷ *Danas* is at present the only proper daily newspaper which is consistently critical of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party. Its editor-in-chief Dragoljub Draža Petrović has been a vocal and popular critic of Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić. *Danas* was founded by a group of journalists in 1997, and is owned by *Dan Graf d.o.o.*, a publishing entity with ownership shared among 13 persons, mostly journalists who were original *Danas* founders. While *Danas* has proportionally smaller circulation than other main newspapers, its critical edge, oppositional spirit and defiance to tabloidization and sensationalism make it representative for this analysis.

On the opposite part of the political spectrum, *Informer* is one of the most widely read newspapers in Serbia with over 100,000 daily readers and the lowest price of just RSD 20 (app. 16 euro cents) per copy. Its editor-in-chief and 100% owner Dragan J. Vučićević founded *Informer* in 2012, with an unaccounted capital from unknown sources. According to the aforementioned BIRN study, “*Informer* quickly became popular, primarily due to the sensationalist, tabloid content which the publication featured. Due to this type of content, *Informer* counts as one of the least professional, with the highest number of breaches of the journalist ethical code of conduct, as Press Council monitoring shows. The newspaper is widely perceived not just as being close to the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), but also frequently serving as a tool for attacking opponents and critics of the party, both in the political world and among independent media, journalists and civil society groups and activists.”⁸

Several recent studies scrutinized *Informer*’s reporting and described it as irresponsible, false and infringing professional standards. For instance, the analysis conducted by the media analysis website *Cenzolovka* founded by the Slavko Ćuruvija foundation showed that *Informer* announced no less than 12 wars on its front pages in 2017, none of which, fortunately, actually happened nor were likely to happen.⁹ In addition, another study conducted by the Association of Serbian Journalists found 362 pieces of false news on *Informer*’s front pages during 2017. Nevertheless, despite such blatant disregard of journalistic ethics, *Informer* continued to get significant public funding, mainly from local self-governments.¹⁰

Blic and *Politika* are politically and professionally positioned somewhere between these two poles. *Blic* is the single most widely read newspaper in Serbia with daily readership close to 150,000, and their website occasionally reaches up to 500,000 unique daily visits. Founded in 1996, *Blic* had the reputation of being the only oppositional Serbian newspaper at the time, but after the fall of Milošević it gradually became more commercially oriented and softened its edge. As its name suggests, *Blic* provides mostly shorter news and avoids long columns and comprehensive analyses. Its ownership is fully transparent; since 2004, it has been 100% owned by Ringier Axel Springer Media AG, a Zurich-based company founded through a merger of Swiss and German media companies.

Finally, *Politika* is the oldest newspaper in the Balkans, founded back in 1904 by Serbian journalist Vladislav Ribnikar. While its present daily circulation stands at rather modest 68,000, it still enjoys reputation and contains a number of other popular daily and weekly media outlets. Its coverage is comprehensive, articles and analyses are lengthy and it employs a number of influential, usually mainstream or centre-right positioned journalists and public figures. *Politika*’s ownership is shady and has been a subject of disputes, but it appears clear that political parties, covered behind controversial Serbian businessmen and suspicious companies, hold it firmly. According to BIRN: “To date, the state effectively controls the newspaper – even though there should be two directors, representing each shareholder company, only one director, representing the state-held shares in the company, was appointed and is in charge.”¹¹

Therefore, while the selection of four newspapers for this study does not correspond fully to the readership share among Serbian daily newspapers (see: Chart 2), it is representative in terms of grasping the entire political spectrum and being illustrative of the overall Serbian media situation.

7 For more detailed data about circulation, readership and ownership of the Serbian media, see: <http://www.p-rs.rs/2014/10/mein-print-indeks-efikasnosti-dnevnih-novina/> and Media Ownership Monitor Serbia, <http://serbia.mom-rsf.org/en/>.

8 <http://serbia.mom-rsf.org/en/media/detail/outlet/informer/>.

9 *Informer u akciji proizvodnje sukoba: ove godine 12 ratova na naslovnoj*, <https://www.cenzolovka.rs/etika/informer-u-akciji-proizvodnje-sukoba-ove-godine-12-ratova-na-naslovnoj/> (page accessed on 21/1/2018).

10 Bogdanović, Nevena, *Pronašli smo 362 lažne vesti na naslovnicama Informera za godinu dana*, Udruženje novinara Srbije, <http://www.uns.org.rs/sr/desk/media-news/55303/pronasli-smo-362-lazne-vesti-na-naslovnicama-informera-za-godinu-dana.html> (page accessed on 21/1/2018).

11 <http://serbia.mom-rsf.org/en/media/detail/outlet/Politika/>.

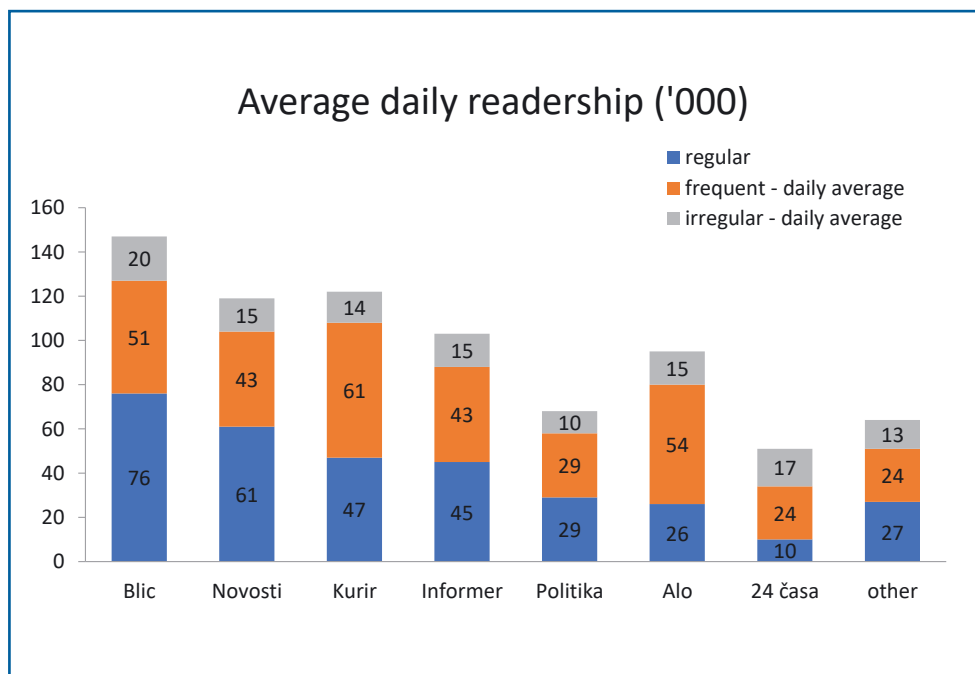


Chart 2 – Average daily newspaper readership in Serbia¹²

Connotation

In determining Serbian media reporting on Albania, in this analysis we relied on a broad distinction between negative, positive and neutral connotation, in accordance with the language, tone and specific word usage. This categorization relies on the following principles:

- article has negative connotation either when it contains words such as “conflict”, “violation”, “distrust”, “mistreatment”, “unresolved”, etc., or when there was a noticeable negative opinion, position or view expressed by the reporter/author of the article;
- article has neutral connotation if moderate language was used and the reporting does not have a vehement tone, leaving the reader without any special negative or positive impressions;
- article has positive connotation when either words such as “cooperation”, “agreement”, “partnership”, “solution”, “friendship”, “improvement”, “support”, etc. were used, or there was a noticeable positive opinion, position or view expressed by the reporter/author of the article.¹³

The category of derogatory connotation has been added to these three categories in this analysis and examined in detail. An offensive connotation applies to the cases of the printed media usage of the word “Šiptar” and its derivatives (such as “šiptarski”, “šiptarskim”, “šiptarskih” and the like). This word is considered offensive and politically incorrect, i.e. words “Albanac”/“albanski” should be used instead, etc. Its promoters usually claim that it actually corresponds to the ethnonym the Albanians use for themselves – Shqip(ë)tar, and that it has been in use for long in the Serbian language. While both claims are indeed facts, linguistic arguments are of no real value here, since what matters is how one group feels by being called in a certain way, and what motifs the other groups has by calling them like that. Namely, it could equally be said that the derogatory word *shkja/shkije/shina* for Serbs in Albanian also comes from an old Albanian word for Slavs. Nevertheless, its current connotation is clearly derogatory. Believing that such derogatory use of the word is a worrying phenomenon, we analysed its presence in four Serbian newspapers in more detail.

Finally, to be sure, while these criteria arguably enable systematic classification and accurate interpretation to a certain degree, it is impossible in this specific case to offer entirely objective distinction and thus one needs to be aware of both the researcher’s subjective judgment, as well as the limits of this matrix inasmuch as it presupposes certain reception on the part of readers which lies beyond empirical findings.

¹² Source: Partner Research Solutions, 2014, <http://www.p-rs.rs/2014/10/mein-print-indeks-efikasnosti-dnevni-h-novina/>.

¹³ See Ljeshaj and Sulçebe 2014, pp. 17–19.

Main findings and analysis

In order to represent the perceptions of Albania in the Serbian press in the period January–September 2017, this section first-ly provides a broad quantitative overview of articles published on this subject, then gives more explanation regarding the con-notation of these articles, and in the last step covers in some detail several key case studies from this period.

General facts and figures

Blic published 24 articles mentioning Albania and/or other key-words in January, 25 in February, 30 in March, 50 in April, 37 in May, 24 in June, 28 in July, ten in August and eight in September. A somewhat similar number of articles mentioning Albania is found in *Danas*: 24 in January, 32 in February, 44 in March, 38 in April, 54 in May, 23 in June, 25 in July, six in August and seven in September. *Politika* published the largest number of articles related to Albania – 51 in January, 52 in February, 68 in March, 91 in April, 93 in May, 62 in June, 50 in July, 20 in August and 19 in September. This is not surprising given that *Politika* stands out amongst the Serbian media in terms of the volume and length of articles. Lastly, *Informer* published only nine and 13 articles in January and February respectively, but then greatly increased its writing about Albania to 31 articles in March, 38 articles in April and 48 articles in May, which then

dropped to 14 articles in June, 15 in July, eight in August and six in September (see: Chart 3 below).

Taken altogether, that gives a figure of 1177 articles published in the four newspapers in the first nine months of 2017 (236 in *Blic*, 253 in *Danas*, 506 in *Politika* and 182 in *Informer* – see: Charts 4 and 5 below). Most articles make references to Albania, while some frequently mention Tirana and Edi Rama as well. References other than these three are very rare –occasionally, the Serbian press mentions Drač (alb. Durrës) – mostly in the context of the planned Belgrade–Durrës highway and Skadar (alb. Shkodër), usually in relation to medieval times when Serbian rulers controlled it. Other politicians apart from Edi Rama, such as the new president Ilir Meta, the opposition leader Lulzim Basha or his older party leader Sali Berisha, are mentioned rarely if at all. Former Albanian President Bujar Nishani received some media attention, mostly prior and during his visit to south of Serbia in early March and again in late April when he expressly granted Albanian citizenship to Kosovo politician and former KLA leader Ramush Haradinaj, who was at the time detained in France under a Serbian warrant for crimes against humanity. The Ebart media archive recorded only two references to the greatest Albanian writer Ismail Kadare and other writers are virtually absent from the search, which tacitly illustrates the paucity of cultural contacts and exchanges between Serbia and Albania.

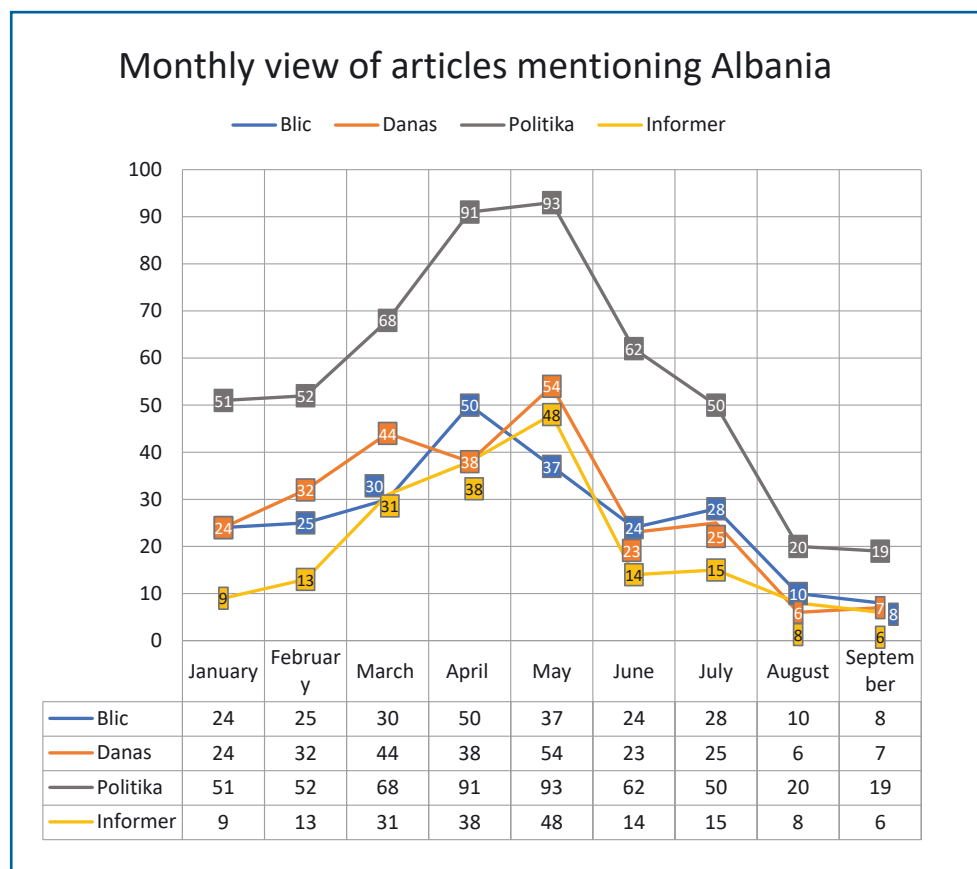


Chart 3 – Number of articles mentioning Albania in four newspapers per month

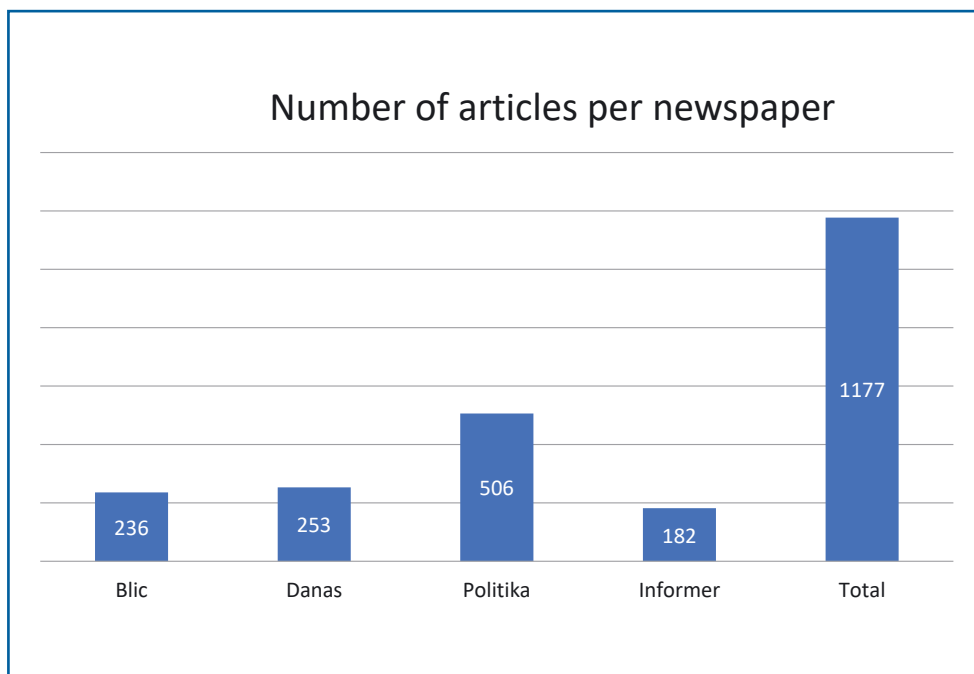


Chart 4 – Overall number of articles mentioning Albania in each newspaper (January–September 2017)

There was apparently an exponential rise in the number of articles mentioning Albania in the Serbian press in March and April, and a similar number of articles in May as well. This can be explained, firstly, by the presidential campaign in Serbia during March, which is usually followed by a rise in right-wing rhetoric which, as a rule, exploits more the Kosovo issue and mentions Albania in relation to that. Secondly, the case of Ramush Haradinaj, who was arrested in January in France under a Serbian indictment for war crimes, and whose extradition to Serbia was expected, got its resolution during April, and news about this filled most of the Serbian press during that month. The only partial exception was *Danas*, which published six articles fewer mentioning Albania in April than in March, but then increased its coverage of Albania in May. Argu-

ably, this is explained by the fact that *Danas* is less prone to nationalistic sentiments and advancing the views promoted by government officials. Nonetheless, even in the case of *Danas* there is an apparent increase in reporting about Albania, which practically doubled in numbers in March and April compared to January and February, and remained exceptionally high throughout May. Especially notable is the case of *Informer*, which hardly mentioned Albania at all in the first two months, but then put it in the forefront as one of its leading subjects in March, April and May, and then again greatly reduced its reference to it from June onwards. Taken overall, all newspapers therefore referred to Albania and the related words mostly in March, April and May, and then reduced their references to it from June onwards.

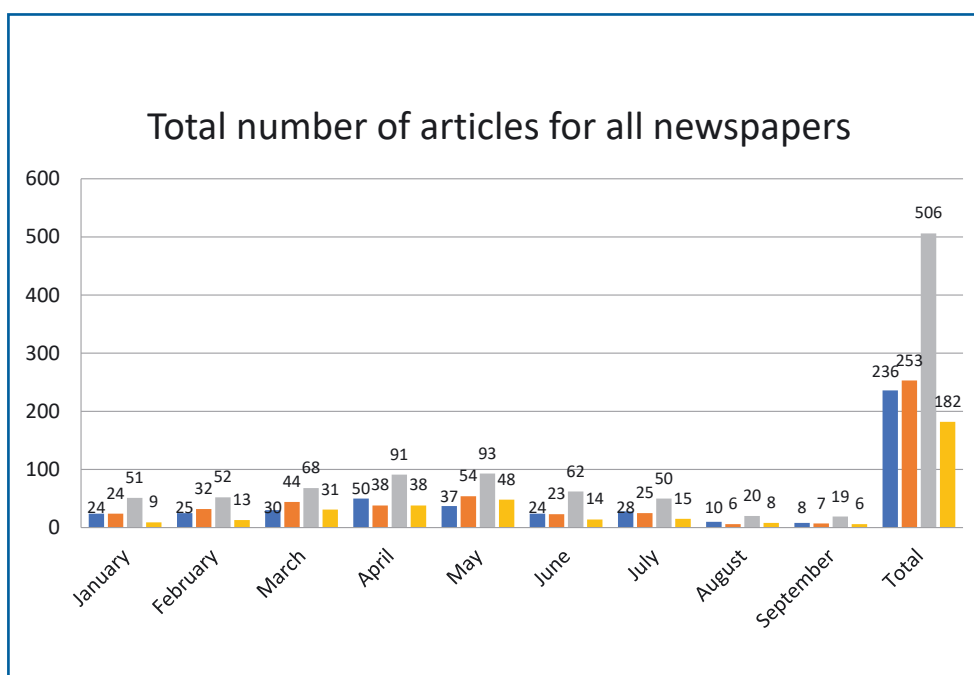


Chart 5 – Overall monthly coverage of Albania in the Serbian press

Derogatory connotation

In the present-day Serbian public discourse, the use of word *Šiptari*, apart from a clearly critical context, obviously has offensive and derogatory connotation.

In January 2017 alone, *Informer* published 20 articles containing the derogatory word *Šiptar*. Only one instance applies to a nickname of a well-known deceased Serbian mobster who took part in the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić in 2003. On two other occasions, editor-in-chief Vučićević used the phrase “Soros-shiptar organisation” in accusing some Serbian NGOs for anti-Serbian activities or opting for further modernization and buying weapons from the Russians for the Serbian Army. All remaining 17 cases relate to Kosovo, with six among those making references to Albania as well. In February, out of 26 articles, two had general derogatory meaning, while the remaining 24 applied to Kosovo Albanians, of which four made a reference to Albania as well.

Such reporting continued and even intensified with the political crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in March and the upcoming early-April presidential election in Serbia, which as a rule sees a rise in nationalist and right-wing rhetoric in the media. Thus, in March, 36 articles in *Informer* contained the derogatory word *Šiptar*. Two instances were unrelated to Albanians, and seven of the remaining 34 referred to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia without mentioning either Kosovo or Albania. The remaining 27 referred to Kosovo, and ten of those also used the term *Albania* and mostly concerned the usage of the phrase “Greater Albania”. In April, *Informer* published 27 articles containing the word “*Šiptar*”. Fifteen of these articles also contained the word *Albania** (see: Chart 6 below). The increase in anti-Albanian sentiments in *Informer* continued in May, when 44 articles mentioning “*Šiptar*” were published; 38

of these referred to Kosovo, and eight of these also mentioned Albania. This tacitly shows a rise in anti-Albanian sentiments in *Informer* in April and May in general, and a derogatory reference to Albania in particular. From June onwards, the use of derogatory terms decreased to 19 in June (four related to Albania), 15 in July (six related to Albania), and to six and five in August and September, with only one case each related to Albania.

During the same period, several other instances of the usage of word “*Šiptari*” were observed in the Serbian media. *Politika*, for instance, used this word in 20 articles, four of which pertained to a context unrelated to Serbs and Albanians, or under quotation marks and in a critical context. Eleven of the remaining 13 articles, however, did apply to Albanians and contained clear derogatory meaning, and one of those applied to Albania as well. Finally, in two more articles, *Politika* quoted public officials who used this inappropriate term in what could be described as latent derogatory meaning. It is worth mentioning that seven cases of derogatory use are from May alone. In June, *Politika* used this word on two occasions and once in July (none related to Albania), and no instances of this term were recorded in August and September.

Danas used the word *Šiptar* in relation to Kosovo Albanians in 21 articles. Overall, practically all instances in which this word is used in *Danas* clearly apply to the critical context of criticizing nationalism of Serbian tabloids, politicians or the general public, apart from a single case where they quoted Serbian officials.

Out of 30 articles from *Blic* containing the word *Šiptar*, 14 concerned the above Serbian gangster and three more a current criminal with the same nickname. In addition, two more from February were about a tragic event when a Serb from Štrpce in Kosovo had a psychotic episode and tried to kill his two sons, killing one and injuring the other one, believing that the

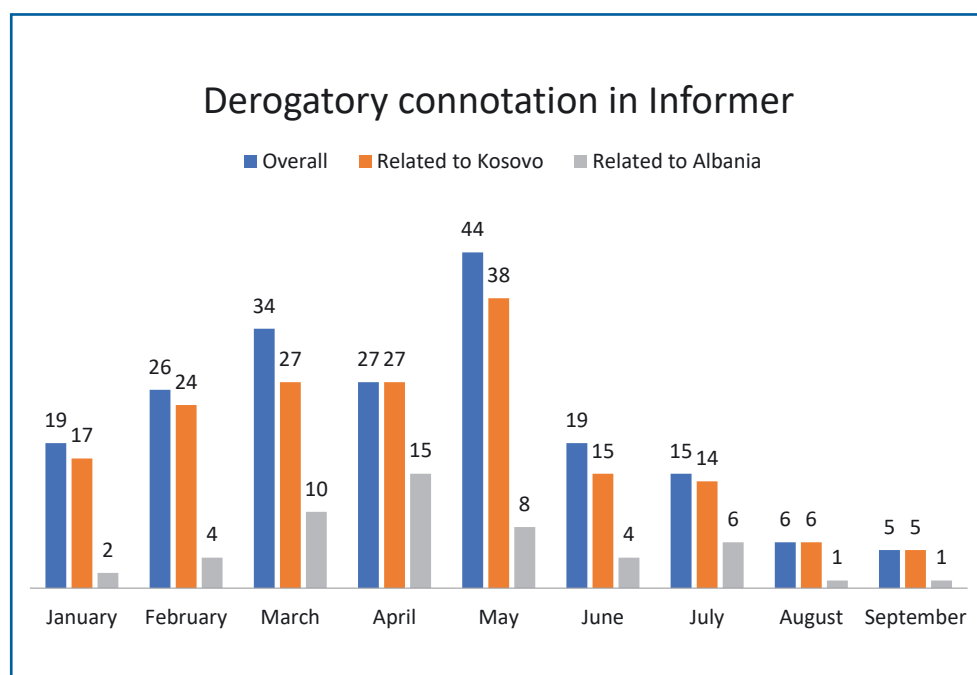


Chart 6 – Use of a derogatory term for Albanians in *Informer* (January–September 2017)

Albanians would come to take their organs and kill them. Finally, another was about stabbing of two Russian football fans in Belgrade, to whom their Serbian opponents in the fight were shouting: “Šiptari, Šiptari.” Out of the remaining seven articles, in three instances it was *Blic* journalists who used the word: one in a critical sense of praising the boost of the economy at the expense of nationalism in the region, and in two instances journalists themselves used it in a derogatory sense. The four remaining instances are quotations from interviews with public figures, three of which used the word in a derogatory sense. Altogether, therefore, there were *stricto sensu* only five instances of derogatory use of the word in *Blic* from January to April, three from prominent public figures and two from journalists. Nonetheless, *Blic* reporting unveils profound prejudices and hostility on a deeper level – Serbian criminals carrying nicknames *Šiptar*, football fans offending Russian Spartak football fan supporters as “Šiptari”, are all terrible reminders of a profoundly negative connotation of that word in the colloquial use. The most disturbing instance of bloody and suicidal biopolitics is the case of a father from Štrpce in Kosovo, by all accounts a good husband, who killed one of his sons and wounded the other, having a fixed idea that “Šiptari” would come to take away, torture and extract organs from his sons. In some way, this is the most apparent and disturbing illustration of the nationalist politics being inscribed into the bodies of common citizens and of the profound hostility that still overshadows Serbian-Albanian relations.

of a derogatory word corresponds to the general political outlook of the newspapers and proximity to the ruling party – thus, *Informer* is in the forefront of this offensive discursive practise, *Politika* applies it relatively rarely but, notably, tolerates its use by its right-wing oriented guest columnists or interviewees, in *Blic* it is found scarcely and almost exclusively in interviews, while in *Danas* it can be said to be practically completely absent. The troubling fact is, of course, that the tabloid-sensationalist newspaper *Informer* has readership that is possibly 20 to 25 times larger than the professionally superior *Danas*. In this respect, therefore, the somewhat increasing presence of the derogatory word *Šiptar* testifies to the perils of the Serbian media, demoting of journalists and erosion of professional standards that mark the current media situation in Serbia and were discussed in some length above.

Gender troubles with Serbian newspapers

The march from the women’s page to the front page is hardly completed.

Shirley Biagi and Marilyn Kern-Foxworth

Before we scrutinize the gender aspect of newspaper reporting about Albania in the Serbian media, we will present general

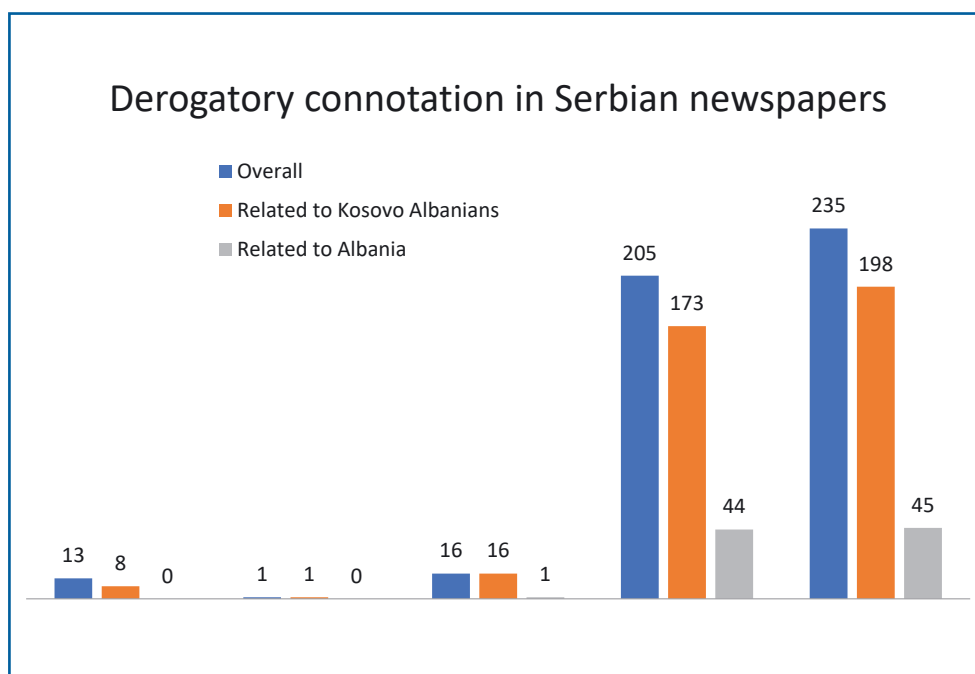


Chart 7 – Use of derogatory word for Albanians in four Serbian newspapers (January–September 2017)

To sum up, while the use of derogatory words for Albanians in most Serbian media (with the notable exception of *Informer*) is extremely rare (see: Chart 7 above), this tendency is nevertheless still present and worrying. In addition, while most cases apply to Kosovo Albanians, some – increasing in numbers – are also related to Albania and, as of recently, to ethnic Albanians from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as well. Moreover, the use

information about the current representation of women in the Serbian media. Several systematic studies in the last decade or so identified the still existing misogyny, stereotypical representation of women and dominance of a patriarchal matrix in the Serbian and regional media in general (Arsić 2000, Blagojević 2005, Bamburać, Jusić and Isanović 2006). Alda Isanović

claims that “the world that journalists see, interpret and reconstruct is a men’s world – the world where the central position in 80% of the cases is occupied by men” (Bamburać, Jusić and Isanović 2006: 59). According to Snježana Milivojević, this particularly applies to politics that still predominantly functions as a male realm (Milivojević 2004: 11–24).

The gender aspect of Serbian newspaper reporting about Albania in the observed period does not depart from the above picture of male domination. What is more, gender perspective can conveniently serve as a litmus test of the general political, ideological and professional perspective fostered by the four newspapers. The way that gender issues are handled tells us a lot about the general editorial, political and professional approach of a newspaper.

In line with the above discussion about low standards of journalism maintained in *Informer*, little room is left for gender balance and subtlety. In terms of personnel, *Informer* on their website lists six editors (the director, editor-in-chief, editor-in-charge, two editors and night editor), all being men. In contrast, five out of eight listed journalists are women. In addition, given that the information published in *Informer* is usually short and unsigned, it is impossible to determine the contribution of female journalists to *Informer* writing with more accuracy.

A vast majority of articles mentioning Albania in *Informer* were male-oriented – that is, their subjects, consultants and experts are men and, if these articles are signed at all, they are mostly written by men as well. In rare instances when foreign female politicians are mentioned, they occupy a negative role.¹⁴ The only exception is Federica Mogherini, whose statement that “working with the Western Balkans, as a region in the heart of Europe, is of vital importance for the EU. That I will say in Tirana, Sarajevo, Prishtina, Belgrade, Podgorica and Skopje” has been reported in a neutral tone (“Federika Mogherini”, 1 March). In distinction, Serbian female politician Nela Kuburović, the Minister of Justice, was positively represented.¹⁵ Overall, *Informer* published a modest number of seven articles referring to Albania with female politicians as subjects (one in February, August and September, two in March and May); three of those were portrayed negatively (Mimi Kodheli from Albania, Hilary Clinton and Madeleine Albright), Kuburović received positive representation twice, while Mogherini was mentioned twice in a neutral context.

While *Blic* is not deprived of the tabloid-type reporting itself, it notably has a number of female journalists, such as Ivana Mastilović Jasnić, Slađana Aničić, Miroslava Brkić, Lana Geođević, Milana Pejić, and their reporting related to Albania

tends to be rather moderate.¹⁶ Overall, *Blic* is certainly more gender sensitive than *Informer*, but still far from adequately representing gender relations. Thus, on the one hand, female subjects and topics in the main text are relatively rare and *Blic*’s supplement *Blic žena* (*Blic woman*) is a source of stereotypes and promotes rather traditional gender roles. On the other hand, female subjects, informants or persons usually occupy a central space in the politics section several times per month, and in some cases women are also involved as interviewees, informants or experts on Albania or the subjects and topics where it is mentioned.¹⁷

Though the content published in *Politika* was more female-related compared to other newspapers, the number of such articles was still proportionally modest. Hence, female politicians or persons were dominant in at least seven articles mentioning Albania in January, five in February, six in March, three in April, seven in May, three in June, two in July, one in August and two in September. Further, female persons that *Politika* dedicated its attention to in articles mentioning Albania, were mainly from Serbia. Serbian public officials, such as Tanja Miščević (19 January), Zorana Mihajlović (21 January), Ana Brnabić (27 August), Nela Kuburović (7 September), were either interviewed or consulted over relevant political questions. *Politika* also wrote about Serbian sportswomen, athletes Ivana Španović and Amela Terzić (23, 25 and 26 February), writers Jelena Lengold and Ljiljana Habjanović regarding Albanian editions of their respective novels (3 January, 26 March, 1 September) and actress Zlata Numanagić who lives in Albania (11 April). In addition, *Politika* also gave space to notable Serbian female figures from the past who have indebted Serbia for their patriotic efforts – architect Olivera Kandić who protected Serbian cultural heritage (8 January), Queen Natalija Obrenović (6 January), writer Danica Marković (12 March) or female heroism in World War I (23 June), as well as historian Elena Guskova who defended the hardline Serbian policy towards Kosovo (4 June).

Female EU officials got less space in the articles referring to Albania, apart from several neutral articles about Mogherini (23 February, 1 March, 3 March, 25 May) or sparse references to Angela Merkel. There were also some negatively intoned articles about EU MP Ulrike Lunacek, who was criticized for pushing Serbia to recognize Kosovo (21 May) and Giselle Wilz, a NATO general in Bosnia, for her strict attitudes (11 January). Female officials from the region mentioned in *Politika* in relation to Albania were Teuta Arifi, the mayor of Tetovo in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (18 March), Majlinda Bregu, an MP from Albania, who expressed her concerns over Haradinaj’s arrest (19 January), and Vera Jovanovska, the Ambassador of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Serbia (31 May).

14 See, for instance, articles: “Albanci i Srbi nas tužakali NATO” (“Albanians and Croats tell-tale us to NATO”, 17 February), “Klintonovi izazivaju rat na Balkanu” (“The Clintons to cause war in the Balkans”, 20 March), “Tači šalje Olbrajtvu i Ahtisariju u Brisel?” (“Thaci sends Albright and Ahtisaari to Brussels?”, 6 May).

15 See articles “Zašto se čuti na pretnje Srbiji” (“Why is there silence over threats to Serbia”, 17 May), and “Nela Kuburović: Morina će imati pravično suđenje”, (“Nela Kuburović: Morina will have a fair trial”, 7 September).

16 See: “Kosovo je pion kog će Putin žrtvovati” (24 January), “Džihadista krvolok ispija kafe na KIM” (5 January), “Da li Tramp uopšte zna gde je Kosovo” (8 February), an interview with Edi Rama (15 August), “Dačić: Ramina Velika Albanija pretnja za mir” (19 April), “Da pretim kao Rama, ‘visio’ bih u Briselu” (21 April).

17 See, for instance: “Rudarski je ovo posao, ali uživam!” (30 January), “Balkanske NATO zemlje ogrezle u kriminal” (17 February), “Dve trećine Srba nije bilo na Kosovu” (15 February) etc.

Finally, several articles mentioning Albania in *Politika* were also related to more feminist or women-oriented topics, such as girls being often forced into child marriages in Serbia and Albania (12 January), mixed Serbian-Albanian marriages (24 February), new laws for the prevention of family violence in Serbia and Albania (28 May), and one anti-feminist article about the unjust Serbian legal system that almost exclusively gives custody to mothers (5 May).

Taken altogether from a gender perspective, articles mentioning Albania in *Politika* are relatively rare, by large male and pro-establishment oriented, with comparatively few foreign politicians and correspondents. For one thing, *Politika* does not lack journalists, nor female ones for that matter, but they tend to be editors and main contributors of rubrics: science, society, culture, elderly people etc., while the desk, world, politics and economy have male editors. Female journalists that contributed more prominently to these topics were Jasmina Pavlović Stamenić, a correspondent from Athens, Biljana Radomirović and Dragana Jokić Stamenković. Occasionally, *Politika* published contributions from other female journalists such as Katarina Đorđević, who wrote about family issues. Nonetheless, the majority of articles mentioning Albania were written by male journalists, and when it comes to politics in *Politika*, it still functions as a predominantly male domain.

Danas should be credited for its apparent efforts in maintaining gender balance. It gives voice to the highest number of European female officials, and also more frequently than other newspapers involves female correspondents, experts and interviewees. Among a number of notable female figures referring to Albania from *Danas*, Federica Mogherini certainly stands out for being mentioned in over 100 articles in the observed period, of which 37 in March when she visited the region, with five of these articles also containing her references to Albania.

Danas also published several interviews with female EU politicians who mentioned Albania, such as Tanja Fano, a member of the EU Parliament (29 June), Angelina Eichhorst, the Director for the Western Balkans and Turkey in the European Foreign Affairs, French Ambassador Christine Moro (19 June), Hedvig Morvai, the Executive Director of the European Fund for the Balkans (12 July), Marilena Koppa, an EU MP (4 May) etc. *Danas* also provided an extensive portrait of Theresa May and wrote about Maja Kocijančič in the context of Albania (16 May). With regard to Serbian female politicians, Ana Brnabić unsurprisingly received significant media attention since she became Prime Minister from late June onwards, and some of the news mentioning her also made a reference to Albania (12, 13 July). Apart from her, Nela Kuburović, the Minister of Justice, was also occasionally mentioned with regard to the Morina case. Jadranka Joksimović (6 and 12 May), the Minister of European Integrations, and Zorana Mihajlović, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure (18 March), were also occasionally consulted about Albania.

Other Serbian female politicians and public figures received little media attention and were not mentioned in the news containing Albania and related words.

Danas was the only newspaper that gave noticeable attention to some overtly feminist, anti-war events that also dealt with the question of war crimes and responsibility where Albania is mentioned, and criticized the obstruction of these events by right-wing groups. Such cases include the Women's Court, organized by the Women in Black and the Center for Women Studies, an international organization dealing with women's suffering in wars (2 June), or the screening of the movie "Albanians are our Sisters" in Niš (24 June). Finally, *Danas* tried to include women in debates – for instance, the discussion "How do you comment on Vučić's statement that Serbs and Albanians should cooperate because in the future there will be more and more Albanians, and fewer and fewer Serbs?" included an equal number of female and male experts (11 August).

To sum up, a short survey of published articles illustrates the argument that *Danas* did make efforts to maintain gender balance or, at least, give women a voice on its pages, ranging from politics, through economy, to culture and other fields. Thus, *Danas* in its cultural rubric reported that a novel of Serbian writer Jelena Lengold was about to be published in Albania (6 January); wrote about the stay of female writer Lejla Kalamujčić in Belgrade, supported by Traduki and partners including the Albanian Ministry of Culture (14 January); mentioned athlete Amela Terzić's run to Skadar in Albania (17 February), interviewed Biljana Vankovska, a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy from Skopje, who mentioned Albania (21 February); reported repeatedly about Mogherini, her activities and statements (23 February, 2, 19, 25, 26 March...). Most of these articles were written by female journalists Ruža Čirković, Lidija Valtner, Marija Stojanović, Jelena Tasić, Snežana Čongradin, Marija Kojčić. This indicates that involving more women as journalists and, more so, as editors and editors-in-chief, results in increased gender sensitivity and attentiveness. However, in order to have a true gender balance and equality in the media, more efforts are needed to break the still dominant patriarchal and nationalist matrix.

Case studies

a. The Haradinaj case

One case that marked reporting about Albania from early January to late April 2017 was the case of Ramush Haradinaj, as a number of references to Albania in Serbian newspapers in the observed period concerned Haradinaj. Therefore, when Serbian readers encountered the term "Albania" in the press, it was often used in this particular instance.

Background

Haradinaj, the current leader of the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo, was a former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA/UÇK) during the conflicts in 1998 and 1999 and then a former Prime Minister of Kosovo in 2005. He was put to trial in 2008 and again in 2012 at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on suspicion of crimes against humanity committed against Serbs, Roma and Albanians in 1998, but was released over the lack of evidence. Serbia, however, kept its separate warrant through Interpol, where Serbia is a member but Kosovo is not, and expected Haradinaj to be sent to Serbia to a war crimes trial.

The Haradinaj case opened in the Serbian media on 5 January, when they reported that he was arrested in France under the Interpol Serbian-issued warrant. The Serbian media continued reporting on all major parts of this case – his release on bail in mid-January but detainment and inability to leave the country, his three-month stay in France and subsequent ruling of the French court that he was to be allowed to return to Kosovo. The final act of this drama was his welcome party in Prishtina and the measures against France taken by Serbian diplomacy. In addition, this case also attracted some attention of officials

Quantitative data

The Haradinaj case attracted significant attention in the Serbian media during this period. *Blic* published 22 articles about Haradinaj in January, of which five mentioned Albania, ten in February (three mentioning Albania), 14 in March (one mentioning Albania) and 33 in April (13 mentioning Albania). *Danas* published 18 articles mentioning Haradinaj in January, of which only one mentioning Albania, eight in February (three of those mentioning Albania), six in March (one mentioning Albania) and seven in April (four mentioning Albania). *Politika* published 26 articles about Haradinaj in January, five of which mentioning Albania; in February, 16 *Politika*'s articles mentioned Haradinaj, with three of those also mentioning Albania. In March, *Politika* published 14 articles mentioning Haradinaj, with only one making a reference to Albania; finally, in April, the decision month, *Politika* predictably increased its coverage, publishing 36 articles altogether about Haradinaj, of which ten mentioning Albania as well. Lastly, in January *Informer* mentioned Haradinaj in 19 articles, of which two mentioning Albania, in 12 articles in February (three of those also referring to Albania), eight articles in March (only one mentioned Albania) and 20 in April, with six of those mentioning Albania as well (see: Chart 8 below).

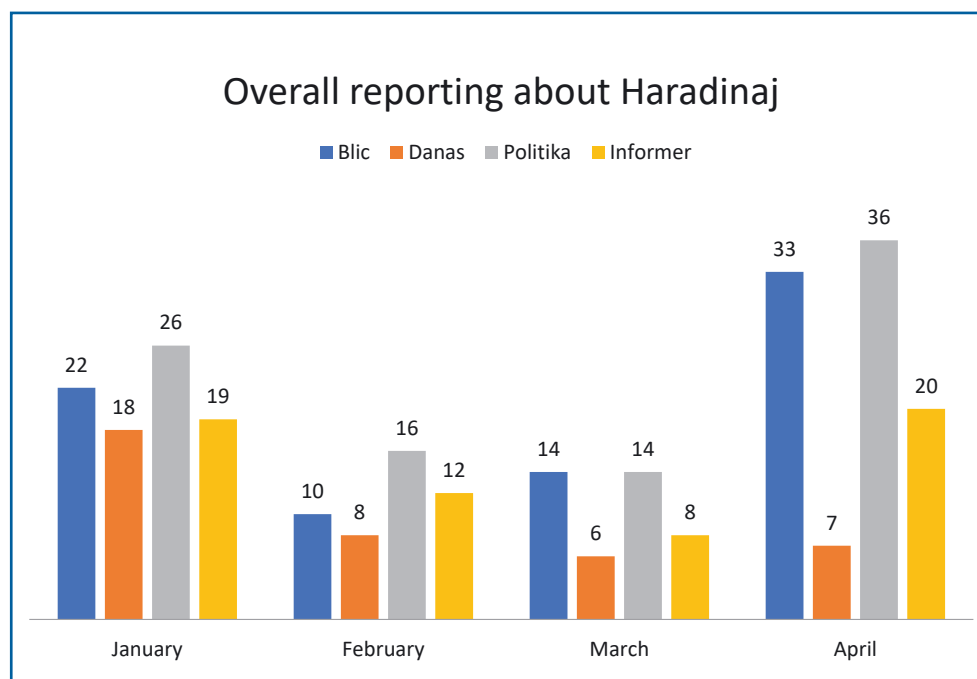


Chart 8 – Overall number of articles about the Haradinaj case in the four newspapers (January–April 2017)

from Albania, who provided help to Haradinaj. Since Kosovo is not an Interpol member, Albania took the role of arguing for his release, and expressly granted him citizenship by a presidential decree, in a move to enable his eventual extradition to Albania. The media also reported about Edi Rama who described his arrest as purely political and later praised Haradinaj and his victory upon his return.

In terms of percentages, the Haradinaj case occupied in *Blic* 25% of all articles mentioning Albania in January, 12% in February, 3.3% in March and 26% in April. In *Danas* reporting on Albania, the Haradinaj case accounted for 4.1% in January, 9.3% in February, 2.2% in March and 10.5% in April. In *Politika*, the share of the Haradinaj case in the overall number of articles mentioning Albania stood at 9.8% in January, 5.7% in February, 1.4% in March and 10.6% in April. Finally, in *Informer*, Haradinaj featured in 22.2% of all articles mentioning Albania, 23% in February, 3.2% in March and 15.7% in April (see: Chart 9 below).

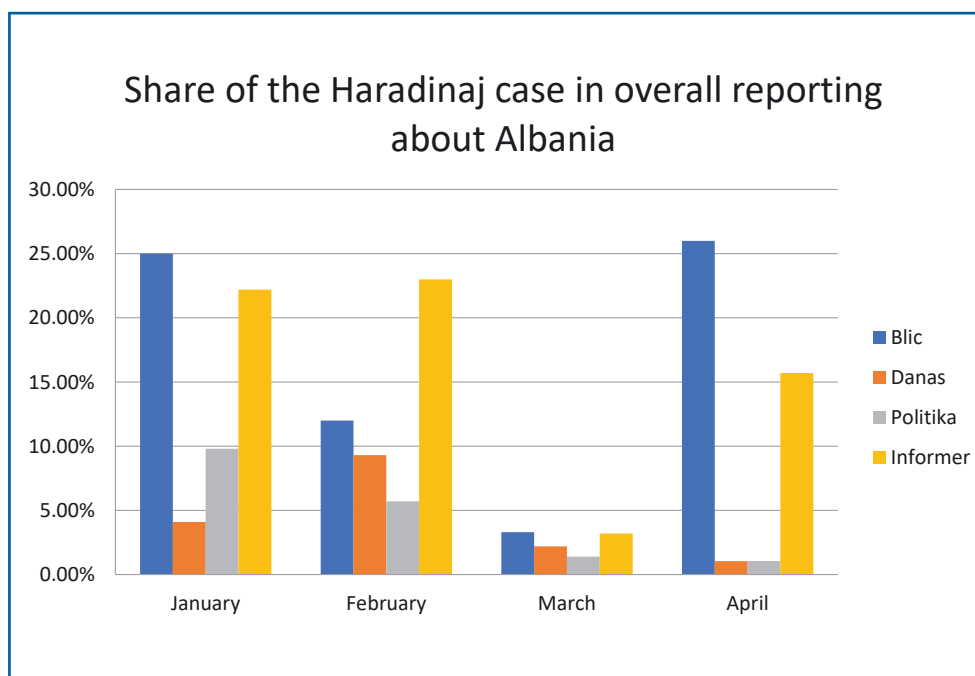


Chart 9 – Share of the Haradinaj case in overall reporting about Albania (January–April 2017)

On the whole, therefore, the Haradinaj case occupied a significant share of all articles mentioning Albania, with *Blic* and *Informer* exploiting this topic significantly more and giving it a larger share in their overall references to Albania.

Reporting

That Serbian newspapers used negative language in their coverage of the Haradinaj case is rather unsurprising. After all, Haradinaj was a commander of an armed group that committed a number of atrocities against Serbs and other ethnicities in Kosovo, and he was already well known to the Serbian public by his intimidation and killings of key witnesses during his trial in the Hague Tribunal.

Yet, there are striking differences in the language and outlook applied in this case by different Serbian newspapers. *Informer* was the vanguard of such reporting. Its articles used the derogatory word *Šiptari* for Albanians, claimed that “the EU supports slaughter of the Serbs”, used titles such as the “European face of evil” (“Evropsko lice zla”), “EU protects the butcher of Serbian children” (“EU štiti koljača srpske dece”) or “Fuck Europe and Haradinaj” (“Evropo, jebo te Haradinaj”), claimed that Albanian lobbyists, mafia and businessmen spent millions to get Haradinaj released, warned about the alleged Albanian terrorist threats unless Haradinaj was released and the like. Such reporting blends perfectly with the popular discourse about Serbian victimhood and injustice and conspiracy theories, which advanced the view of the Serbs as perpetual victims and of the international conspiracy against them, executed by the Western powers and Albanians as their puppets and pets.

Somewhat surprisingly, *Blic* was not much different in their coverage of the Haradinaj case. While *Blic* reporters avoided the

derogatory word *Šiptari* in their writings, their reporting and titles were nevertheless deliberately inflammatory, such as “[They] cut babies’ heads, tortured, shot, raped...” (“Sekli glave bebama, mučili, streljali, silovali”). *Blic* criticized leading politicians from Albania for aiding Haradinaj, occasionally describing their attempt to get him off the Interpol warrant as “an unjustifiable intervention into a sovereign Serbian affair” and labelled the outcome of the affair as the result of millions of euros spent on lobbying by the Albanians.

Politika burdened its readers far less with the description of monstrosities committed by Haradinaj and his gang, and focused more on the slippery and problematic relation between justice and politics. Apparently realizing the outcome of the Haradinaj case from the onset, *Politika* thus oscillated between resignation and a bitter critique of the EU legal and political hypocrisy and a rather mild critique of Serbia’s legal institutions and their repeated failures to present their case against Haradinaj in the best possible way. In the article “A thriller called Haradinaj”, published days after the former KLA leader’s release, journalist Boško Jakšić typically wrote: “The Haradinaj case showed that Kosovo Albanians suffer from the same syndrome like the Serbs, Croats or Bosniaks when one should face crimes committed by the members of their own people, including the ‘heroes’ that brought independence to them... each believe that they suffered the most, and that some other community is the greatest culprit.”

Exceptionally rare were articles that criticized or questioned the official Serbian policy in this case. One such instance was the article “Ramush Haradinaj’s case could bring damage to Belgrade” (“Beogradu može štetiti slučaj Ramuša Haradinaja”), in which *Danas* investigated the possible implications and negative effects of his arrest. *Danas* provided the views of commen-

tator Dušan Janjić, who said that this case “shows a low level of trust in warrants coming from Serbia” in the West and then goes to examine the shortcomings of the Serbian justice system in general and international warrants in particular, which were often issued in 1998 and 1999. This system has been poorly or insufficiently updated and improved since. The *Danas* article concludes with Janjić’s warning that “Serbia could get a legal, international and political slap in the face that it does not need in these perilous times”.

Overall, the Haradinaj case coverage leaves the impression of a rather poor, sensationalist and inflammatory reporting. The Serbian public remained denied of many sides that would be of interest in this important case – when and how the old indictment was augmented, what about the arguments of the French court about Serbia not satisfying the procedure and requirements regarding the documents, what were the possible and ultimate downsides of this case and so on. There was not a single article or analysis to explicitly warn that the most likely outcome would be Haradinaj’s release and that his martyrdom would skyrocket him into the most popular political player in Kosovo in the upcoming elections. By this clumsy move, Serbia thus effectively did get a slap in the face, just as Janjić warned, and additionally radicalized the Kosovo political scene. In short, the Haradinaj case brought no benefits, and made a lot of damage to Serbia.

Albania and Albanian politicians occupied a marginal role in Serbian reporting about this case, which is in some ways appropriate given their marginal role in the case in general. They featured sporadically, mainly through Rama’s statements about the solely political aspect of this arrest, president Nishani’s express granting of Albanian citizenship to Haradinaj – which was labelled as legally irrelevant (which it probably was), and the then assembly leader Ilir Meta’s informal talks with Kosovo businessmen Pacolli, who was seen as the main lobbyist for Haradinaj’s release. Overall, however, the reporting in this case lacked a proper and comprehensive context of the Kosovar and Albanian political scene, as well as a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of this and related issues in general.

b. The Nishani visit

Background

While the Haradinaj case exemplifies how Albania and its politicians featured in the Serbian media mostly in relation to Kosovo, the visit of then Albanian President Bujar Nishani to Serbia in early March 2017 is arguably more illustrative of the media and public perceptions between Serbia and Albania in particular.

Nishani’s visit was scheduled for 7 March, and was to be the first visit to Serbia of an Albanian president in 70 years. In that sense, it could have been seen or presented as a turning point

or a chance for improving mutual relations, or starting a new era between Serbia and Albania, just as the first visit of Edi Rama to Serbia in November 2014 was deemed historical (rather unjustifiably, it would turn out).¹⁸ However, nothing of that sort happened. Nishani actually came not at the invitation of any highly ranked Serbian official. He was invited by the president of Bujanovac, an ethnic Albanian, to pay a visit to this majority-Albanian town in the south of Serbia. During and after the conflict of 1998 and 1999, there was an armed attempt of the Albanians in that region to spill over the conflict there, with the ultimate idea of uniting with Kosovo, but it ceased in the years after Slobodan Milošević’s downfall, and nowadays ethnic Albanians from the south have local rule and political representation in the Serbian parliament. On the broader level, this region gained significance as it is occasionally mentioned as a possibility for the exchange of territories between Serbia and Kosovo – every now and then, there is someone, usually an American diplomat, proposing that the majority Albanian Serbian south should go to Kosovo and Serb-dominated northern Kosovo should be returned to Serbia.¹⁹

Be as it may, Nishani was not received by any highly ranked Serbian official, nor did he go to Belgrade at all. As it was the peak of the presidential election campaign in Belgrade, no one wanted to risk losing valuable political points by receiving Nishani, neither Serbian President Tomislav Nikolić, nor his likely successor and then Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić. He was greeted in Bujanovac by local Albanians and also visited other prominent Albanian-majority places in the area, and apparently left for Tirana after several hours according to the scarce information provided by the Serbian media.

Reporting

For one thing, Nishani’s visit attracted strikingly modest attention of the Serbian media. *Politika* published seven articles altogether on this topic in late February and early March, six prior to his arrival and one after his visit. *Blic* published a single article prior to the visit without any follow-up of the story and *Informator* also printed only one article after the visit. Finally, *Danas* published four articles on this topic in March, two prior and two after the event. This gives the figure of 13 articles regarding this event in total, which represents a statistically insignificant share of the Nishani visit in the overall reporting about Albania in the Serbian press (see: Chart 10 below).

18 See: Aleksandar Pavlović and Saša Ćirić, *Opportunity On-Hold: Edi Rama’s Visit to Belgrade in the Light of the “Drone Incident”*, <http://www.suedosteuropa.uni-graz.at/biepag/node/121>.

19 The most recent proposal of that sort came from Republican Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, see: “Rorabaher pisao Nikoliću, predlaže razmenu teritorija”, *Blic*, 5/2/2017.

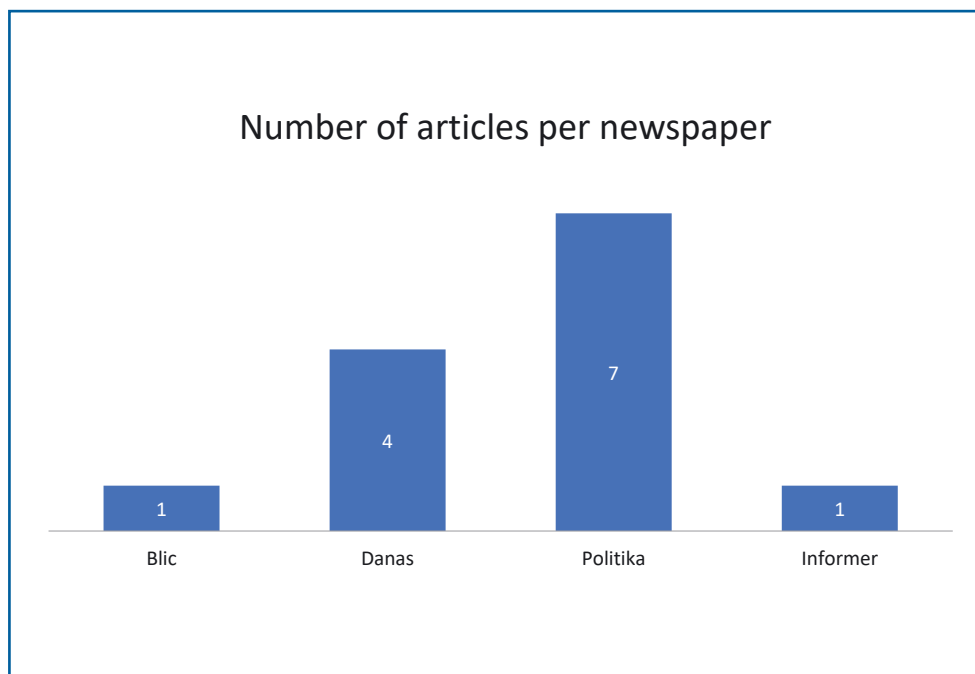


Chart 10 – Number of articles about Nishani’s visit per newspaper

Both articles from *Blic* and *Informer* have negative connotation. *Informer* completely bypassed Nishani’s visit and mentioned it only in an inflammatory (and inaccurate) article about the formation of the Kosovo army. In snipped side news, *Informer* went only so far as to label as “scandalous” that the Serbian anthem was not played during the visit, and to quote Vučić’s statement how that was “not good” and that “we will not allow anyone to endanger our territorial integrity”. In a similarly negative spirit, *Blic*’s article “Let Tuesday pass so we could rest a bit” reports about ethnic tensions in Bujanovac on the eve of the visit. A local Serb, we were told, was troubled by the Nishani’s posters reading “Prezident” and the (unspecified) “irresponsible statements of Albanian politicians”. Both newspapers therefore provided scarce and negative views of this event, without covering it at all in fact apart from a few negative comments in passing.

Politika, for a change, provided more comprehensive and balanced reporting. Weeks prior to the visit, it reported the information from the President’s Office that “during his visit to Serbia, Nishani would not meet with his Serbian colleague Tomislav Nikolić”. The wording here is rather interesting, putting Nishani as the subject of the sentence and therefore suggesting him as an actor in this case, while the more appropriate and accurate form would be to say that Nikolić would not receive Nishani, which actually was the article’s title. *Politika* also mentioned some negative reactions on the political scene, such as right-wing *Dveri*’s concerns regarding the legality of Nishani’s visit. The same day *Politika* published an interview with the Bujanovac municipality president. The interview had no fiery

or provocative elements, and the municipality president expressed his hopes that Albania would help them in the sphere of education and local infrastructure, just like Hungary did for their minority in the north of Serbia. On the eve of the visit, *Politika* also reported the statement of another Albanian leader from the south of Serbia who said that local Albanians were discriminated against and that Albania should protect their rights. The three remaining articles described the itinerary of the visit, reported the views of Serbian officials and the local Serbs who emphasized that “there is no need for tension and panic”, and quoted Nishani’s statements that “Albania does not take part in the decision of another country” and that “it is in the interest of Albania to maintain further cooperation with Serbia”. Overall, *Politika* covered the Nishani visit in some detail and in a neutral spirit, but without providing direct coverage from the spot or offering exclusive material from Nishani himself. This seems to be in line with the official policy of marginalizing this visit on the eve of the presidential election.

Danas also covered this visit neutrally, emphasizing in its articles that “it would have been better if Nishani met with Nikolić as well” and that Nishani consistently stressed the efforts of his country towards improving good neighbourly relations. *Danas* was the only to provide Nishani’s biography prior to the visit and to cover the event in detail, with extensive quotations from his speech in Bujanovac that focused on regional cooperation and economic prosperity. In addition, *Danas* provided statements of local officials but also of common citizens, both Albanians and Serbs, thus presenting this visit in a positive spirit (see: Chart 11 below).

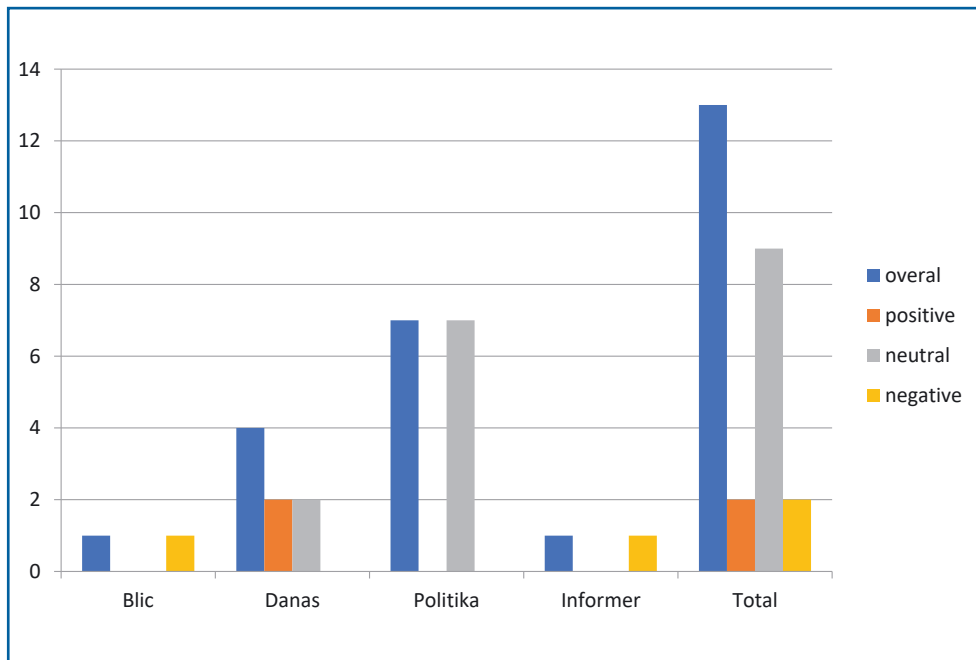


Chart 11 – Total number of articles per newspaper including connotation

Taken altogether, Nishani’s visit occupied a meagre part of the Serbian press overall reporting on Albania and showed their tendency to either completely bypass or minimize it. This was apparently the result of the presidential campaign in Serbia. This sentiment can be best summarized by the words of a commentator published in *Danas*: “It is considered that the Albanians don’t add but take away votes, and in this lies the entire riddle of one calculated, unprincipled politics. And that is why Bujar Nishani is, but Aleksandar Vučić isn’t there”.

c. Looks of Edi Rama and Greater Albania frenzy

Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama is by far the most covered Albanian person in the Serbian media. In the observed period,

Rama featured prominently in all four observed newspapers. In figures, Rama was mentioned in 39 articles in *Blic* (four in January, two in February, four in March, 18 in April, seven in May, two in June and two in July, three in August and one in September), 49 in *Danas* (four in January, five in February, 11 in March, ten in April, five in May, 11 in June, three in July, one in August and one in September), 65 in *Politika* (three in January, seven in February, 13 in March, 22 in April, 12 in May, six in June, three in July, two in August and three in September) and 47 in *Informer* (two in January, four in February, 14 in March, 13 in April, six in May, three in June, one in July, two in August and two in September). In percentages, this means that in overall reporting about Albania Rama featured in 17.5% of all articles in *Blic*, 19.7% in *Danas*, 13.3% in *Politika* and 26% in *Informer*, or in 190 out of 1135 articles altogether (11.9%) (see: Chart 12 below).

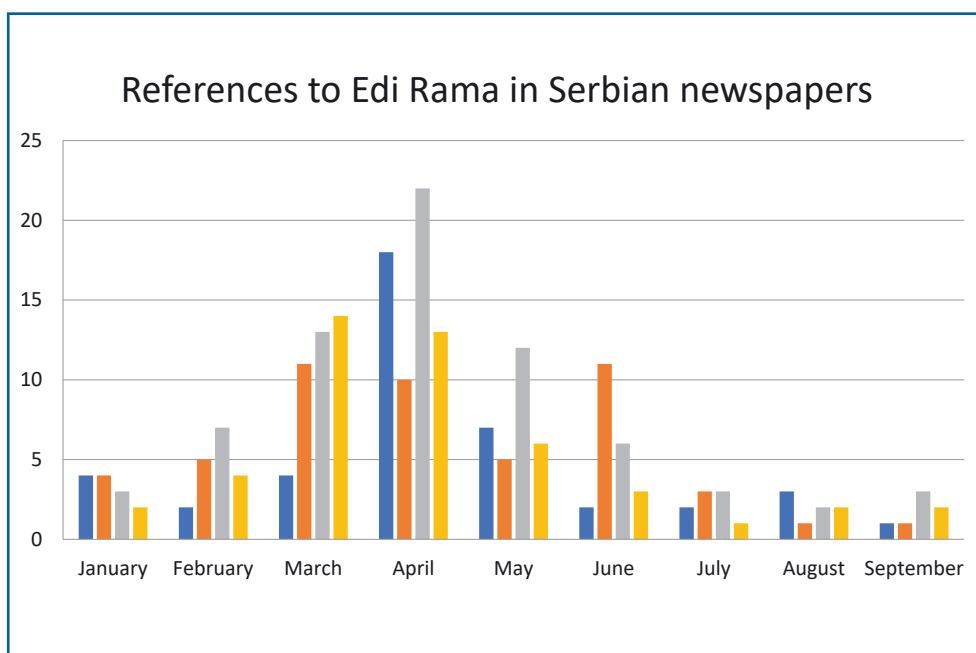


Chart 12 – References to Edi Rama in four Serbian newspapers (January–September 2017)

April was certainly the peak of Serbian newspaper references to Rama. The direct cause for this media frenzy was his statement reported by all four Serbian newspapers on 18 April that “he cannot exclude the possibility of unification of Kosovo and Albania if the EU perspective of the region continues to fade”. Apparently led by a fierce reaction of Serbian politicians, who rushed to accuse Rama and complain about him threatening Serbia and endangering the stability in the Western Balkans, newspapers joined by a number of negatively intoned articles. *Informer* was predictably the strongest in accusing Rama in an article “Rama wants war” (“Rama hoće rat”, 19 April), and later claimed that Rama was a cocaine user and that his Greater Albanian ideas were narcotics-related (“Spahiu: Rama sniffs cocaine”, 18 May). *Politika*, however, while not using such explicit words, gave this topic considerable attention. Starting from the article “New Rama’s provocation” (“Nova Ramina provokacija”, 19 April), in the following days *Politika* dedicated considerable space to Serbian officials such as Vučić, Marko Đurić, the Chief of Government’s Office for Kosovo, and Defence Minister Aleksandar Vulin, all of whom condemned Rama’s statement with fiery statements of their own. Đurić thus called it “the fascist idea of Greater Albania, which was buried forever with the death of Enver Hoxha” (18 April) while Vulin said that “Brussels should know that Greater Albania means war” (21 April). *Blic* also swiftly summoned its own group of Serbian officials to condemn Rama’s statement, including Ivica Dačić, Serbian Foreign Affairs Minister, Nenad Popović, a president of a Russian-oriented political party, who demanded Rama to be declared *persona non grata* in Serbia (20 April), and Tomislav Nikolić, the then still Serbian President, who said that Serbia would defend itself and that he and his sons would go to such a war (20 April).

This was followed by *Politika*’s article about American ambassadors “taming” the Albanians (22 April), and several articles about the Greater Albania idea, which were published as the theme of the week (23 April). In the following weeks, *Politika* continued to publish articles about “Greater Albania” (“Velika Albanija – čas anatomije”, 3 May, “Velika Albanija rastura i EU”, 4 May, “Velika Albanija”, 5 May, etc.), all of which created an appearance of a serious plot or blueprint behind Rama’s statement.

Danas took a somewhat different approach, by asking several experts from various NGOs to comment on Rama’s statement and did not follow this subject further (“Kako komentarišete Raminu izjavu da ne isključuje mogućnost ujedinjenja Albanije i Kosova ako perspektiva ulaska država regiona u EU nastavi da bleđi?”, 20 April). Yet, apart from a moderate tone, they too offered little real difference in their approach; their correspondent mostly agreed that Rama was occasionally exploiting this subject and criticized his neonationalism. What is more, other Albanian leaders readily took Rama’s statement at its face value. Hashim Thaci, the leader of Kosovo Albanians, reiterated the statement in the following days, and Jonuz Musliu, the lead-

er of the Albanian minority from southern Serbia, claimed that there could be no Greater Albania without southern Serbia in it.

As it appears, no newspapers bothered to analyse this statement in full. Namely, Rama was certainly irresponsible, but he nevertheless did mention this unification as an unfortunate possible outcome in case of the weakened EU perspective and support to the entire region. More so, Rama explicitly mentioned Vučić as a positive example. Thus, generally speaking, Rama’s statement was perhaps not entirely deprived of internal use, but its primary target was the EU, and his emphasis on the possible negative outcomes was to prompt EU officials to strengthen their support to the Western Balkans. In that sense, his statement would have been no different from a Serbian official saying that if the EU left out the Western Balkans, the possibility of the unification of Serbia and Republika Srpska would unfortunately increase. Such a statement would hardly raise any eyebrows in the Serbian public sphere. Be as it may, any pro-EU comments on Rama’s statement would have been more appropriate from the Serbian side. But, ultimately, it appears that Rama reached his goal – with such an avalanche of accusations, mutual threats and mentions of war, EU officials probably got an additional confirmation and even better understanding of the regional fragility and the need to explicitly offer it the EU perspective.

The Emperor’s new clothes

Late spring, however, brought more mundane topics arising from interest in Rama’s new casual dressing style. Namely, in May, Rama suddenly changed his formal dressing code into a casual one, and started addressing his followers during the election campaign in a Juventus T-shirt and football wear, but then extended this casual style to his international appearances as well.

Blic wrote in May about Rama’s new casual style and him breaking the diplomatic dress code protocols (“Edi Rama is really relaxing in Brussels”, 25 May, “Rama’s show in Brussels”, 26 May). *Informer* wrote about Rama’s “scandalously” wearing Adidas Skechers with the US Vice-President, and being left out from a joint photo for that reason. The article then continued to remind readers about previous instances of Rama’s unorthodox style on official occasions (“Hit – Albanian Prime Minister scandal-maker: Rama shocked Pence with his sneakers”, 4 August).

Even *Danas* addressed this topic by making a small survey among Serbian politicians about Rama’s unusual style. Most correspondents showed a rather liberal attitude to his style, calling him “a hipster” (“How do you comment on informal style of Albanian Prime Minister on the Trieste summit, where he appeared dressed in white sneakers?”, 14 July). All in all, inasmuch as the Albanian Prime Minister is safely controlling the power in Albania and continuing with occasional unorthodox moves, he is warranted to attract attention of the Serbian press.

Conclusion and recommendations – affirming positive voices

Taken altogether, Serbian media reporting on Albania from January to September 2017 remained heavily influenced by the Kosovo issue. Hence, the vast majority of references to Albania were found in articles about the Kosovo situation and its politicians. Other topics that attracted newspaper attention were the “Greater Albania” threat and Albanian question in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the Tirana Platform for its resolution. The first applies to Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama’s statement that if Albanians were denied the EU future, Kosovo and Albania would unite. The media frenzy in Serbian newspapers over Greater Albania lasted approximately from mid-April to mid-May. The Serbian media and officials dedicated similarly huge and comparably negative attention to the so-called Tirana Platform, a plan between political representatives of Albanians in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia over their demands for improving the position of Albanians in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, reached in Tirana under Rama’s mediation. Serbian newspapers, *Informer* in particular, but also *Blic* and *Politika* to some extent, had a rather negative attitude towards this initiative that, as their reporters saw it, threatened to erode and divide the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia according to its ethnic lines. Hence both cases consistently occupied media attention in Serbia during the observed period and were mostly treated in a negative tone. Articles about the Albanian political scene were relatively rare, and apart from Edi Rama no other politician from Albania received any serious media attention. The presidential visit of Bujar Nishani received extremely modest reception and attracted writings about tensions and panic rather than the ones regarding cooperation, neighbourly relations or economic issues.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the intensification of the presidential election campaign from March to April saw a steep rise in negative writing about Albania. Such negative trend continued in the weeks following the presidential election in early April, but somewhat lessened in May and especially from June onwards, as did the interest in Albania and its affairs altogether. In late June only several relatively short articles reported about Rama’s party electoral victory, and generally the coverage of the political crisis and opposition protests that predated the election did not get significant space in the Serbian media. In August and September, several articles appeared about Ismail Morina, an Albanian arrested in Croatia under the Serbian indictment for flying a drone with “the Greater Albania” flag at a notorious 2014 football match between Serbia and Albania. Most news about Morina was related to the possibilities of his extradition to Serbia. For all practical purposes, the Kosovo paradigm remained the perspective through which the Serbian media refer to Albania. Albanians figure as the usual suspects and politicians gladly use them to score cheap political points; there is

a wall of misunderstanding and ignorance regarding Albania and its politicians; economic issues are rather marginalized. Particularly worrying is the use of the derogatory term “Šiptar” for Albanians, and efforts should be made to prevent such politically incorrect and offensive usage of this word altogether.

The above problems notwithstanding, it appears that relations between Serbia and Albania are improving and that such trend will continue. After 70 years of practically non-existent political contacts, officials from Serbia and Albania meet regularly and mutual economic cooperation –albeit still modest – is constantly rising. In addition, negative reporting about Albania is declining. Arguably, in late July Aleksandar Vučić called for “the internal dialogue” about Kosovo, and it is to be hoped that this positive trend will continue, insofar as this dialogue is likely to result in Serbia accepting Kosovo’s factual independence in one way or another. If that happens in 2018, it would remove the “elephant in the room” that constantly overshadows and hampers improvements between Serbia and Albania.

Several initiatives between Belgrade and Tirana were launched or continued in the observed period, which promoted and contributed to improved media, cultural, political contacts and relations. In the media sphere, the most notable was the ongoing project between the Serbian newspaper *Danas* and *Mapo*, the leading newspaper from Albania, where two prominent journalists are exchanging friendly messages in the form of an open correspondence. Such efforts should be strengthened and promoted further, and hopefully involve other journalists and media outlets. Another important initiative is the establishment of the Regional Youth Cooperation Office (RYCO) in Tirana, which is expected to follow the German-French model of reconciliation. The RYCO issued a call for youth exchanges in October 2017, with two calls per year being planned, and these projects will start to be implemented soon. The RYCO received three mentions in *Danas* in July alone, and hopefully these youth projects will bring more positive media entries as part of their dissemination. Yet another positive initiative is the Joint Centre for Albania-Serbia Relations implemented by the Albanian Institute for International Studies from Tirana and European Movement in Serbia from 2016 onwards. This project resulted in several public events, one of it being a selection of new Albanian literature in the *Danas* cultural supplement *Beton*. Such positive media reception of these collaborative efforts in the field of economy and culture goes in line with common people’s perceptions that mutual cooperation is important and that cultural, tourism and economic ties should be developed further (see: Cela 2015). Therefore, the economy and civil society should be the pillars and pivots of reconciliation efforts, as they generate mostly positive perceptions in both the media and the public.

Such efforts help in breaking still deep prejudices between the two nations, and aid Serbian readers in realizing that Albania and Kosovo are politically, culturally and even partially linguistically distinct entities. At present, there is still a widespread misperception that the same level of ethnic hatred and hostility exists among Albanians from Albania and from Kosovo. Inasmuch as Serbia and Albania hardly have any troubled relations and with the strengthening of their cultural, economic, tourism and other ties, this deserves a more affirmative and greater presence in the media. Hence, positive trends and affirmative voices that promote positive perceptions and stability in the region are increasing. Still, more positive news about Albania and Serbian-Albanian relations are needed. The exchange of news between media outlets, at least those not so easily prone to nationalist sentiments, should thus be encouraged and supported further. Events that deserve media attention should not aim at attracting *all* media; rather, one should identify a group of positively inclined journalists – and especially female journalists for that matter, and aim at attracting them to continually promote positive contents in their media outlets.

In addition, this survey also included the analysis of the gender aspect of Serbian newspaper reporting about Albania. It was argued that gender balance is a still rather distant goal for the Serbian media which, with partial exception of *Danas*, as a rule treat politics as a dominantly male domain and hence write about and interview mostly men, and ask them for opinions in the role of experts and informants. The exception concerns influential EU political figures such as Federica Mogherini, whose statements relating to Albania attracted significant attention and were mostly positively or neutrally portrayed. In terms of gender approach, the Serbian media are thus still patriarchal,

with men commonly being the subject of news, leaders and generally addressed as experts and informants in all issues regarding politics, which functions as the male domain. Yet, in instances where the female perspective is more present, one is likely to find more moderation and nuances in approach. This indicates that involving more women as journalists and, more so, as editors and editors-in-chief, results in increased gender sensitivity and attentiveness. However, in order to achieve genuine gender balance and equality in Serbian newspapers, more efforts are needed to break the dominant patriarchal and nationalist matrix.

Apparently, the survey shows a rather polarized picture of the Serbian media, with *Informer* being far-right and extremely pro-government, *Politika* and *Blic* being loyal to the ruling elite, and *Danas* being pushed to the margin as a strongly oppositional outlet. Such situation is unfortunate, as Serbian readers deserve to be able to find balanced and critically interpreted content. However, the change in this respect requires political will in improving the media situation in Serbia, which seems to be lacking. In any instance, the analyses of professional journalist associations and independent bodies, even (or, especially when) they demand penalties for irresponsible journalism, need to be implemented instead of ignored.

Taken altogether, these results tacitly show the fragility of Serbian-Albanian political relations, where a single fiery statement is enough to launch an avalanche of accusations from both sides. Since these relations heavily depend on issues beyond Albania such as Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, there is an apparent need for further comparative analyses of countries' mutual media reporting.

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Annex – table with the titles of all articles mentioning Albania and related terms

NEWSPAPER/ JANUARY		Danas	ПОЛИТИКА	
1				
2				
3	KOSOVO IZBACUJU IZ UEFA I FIFA		PEŠAČKO CARSTVO OD TRIDESET LETA “VAŠARSKI MAĐIONIČAR” JELENE LENGOLD NA POLJSKOM	
4				
5	DŽIHADISTA KRVOLOK ISPIJA KAFE NA KIM		NA PROLEĆE POČINJE GRADNJA AUTOPUTA SURČIN-OBRENOVAC	SRPSKA MORA DA PROGLASI KONFEDERACIJU ILI NESTAJE! ISIS KOLJAČ PLANIRA NAPADE NA SRPSKE CRKVE
6	ALBANCI ŠVERCOVALI 10 KILOGRAMA MARIHUANE ZBOG POLITIKE HARADINAJ ĆE TEŠKO ODGOVARATI ZA ZLOČINE BOG POLITIKE HARADINAJ ĆE TEŠKO ODGOVARATI ZA ZLOČINE	MAKEDONIJU NE OPTEREĆUJE ŠTO JOJ ALBANIJA NE PRIZNAJE IME ALBANCI I PRAVOSLAVLJE LENGOLD NA POLJSKOM, DŽELETović NA JERMENSKOM BEOGRADU MOŽE ŠTETITI SLUČAJ RAMUŠA HARADINAJA	1917 - GODINA SRPSKIH NEIZVESNOSTI SRBIJA ĆE TRAŽITI IZRUČENJE HARADINAJA KRALJICA NATALIJA DAROVALA ORMAN DVORSKOJ DAMI SRBIJA ĆE TRAŽITI IZRUČENJE HARADINAJA U SRBIJI SE GODIŠNJE PROIZVEDE MILIJARDU I PO LIMENKI	
7				

8			LETEĆI RAZNOSAČ PLJESKAVICA	
			POLARNA ZIMA U EVROPI	
			TAČIJEVO NAMIGIVANJE TRAMPU I PUTINU	
			OBNOVILA GRADAC, MILEŠEVU, SOPOČANE...	
9				
10	GRUEVSKOM MANDAT ZA SASTAV VLADE MAKEDONIJE	ALBANSKE STRANKE U MAKEDONIJI U OFANZIVI	MOŽE LI DRAČ ZAMENITI LUKU BAR	ŠIPTARI ĆE NAPASTI SRPSKE AMBASADE!
	ALBANCI HOĆE DA ZAUZMU NEKU OD SRPSKIH AMBASADA		DAČIĆ: ALBANSKI POLITIČARI SPREMNI I NA TERORIZAM	
	TUŽILAŠTVO ČEŠLJA ČAK 500 POSTUPAKA ZBOG HARADINAJA			
11		ALBANCI SU POTPUNO IZJEDNAČENI S MAKEDONCIMA	HARADINAJ - ZLOČINAC IZMEĐU OSLOBOĐENJA I IZRUČENJA	
		DAČIĆ: INFORMACIJA STIGLA OD ZAPADNIH SLUŽBI	PEŠKE KROZ SVETU GORU (8)	
		ZMIJA UZ DRVO	DA LI ŽIZEL VILC GOVORI U IME NATO-A?	
12	PACOLI DAJE MILIONE ZA SLOBODU HARADINAJA		SVETSKA BANKA POVEĆALA PROGNOZU RASTA SRBIJE NA 2,8 ODSTO	
			ŠOŠKIĆ I SERTIĆ U UPRAVI KINESKE BANKE	
			ISTOČNA EVROPA ZAVEJANA, ZIMA ODNELA 66 ŽIVOTA	
			GODIŠNJE SE U SRBIJI SKLOPI 2.000 DEČJIH BRAKOVA	
13	PACOLI: SADA GA SKIDAMO S POTERNICE INTERPOLA	MOŽE LI ALBANAC DA BUDE MINISTAR POLICIJE MAKEDONIJE	SLUČAJ HARADINAJ IZ VIZURE TIRANE	EVROPSKO LICE ZLA
			BOŽIĆNA RADOST DECE U RAŠKOJ OBLASTI	

14	POROTA SELA GORI	LEJLA KALAMUJIĆ U KROKODILOVOJ KUĆI ZA PISCE OD FORIN AFERSA DO ŠPIGELA	DOKTOR NAUKA BEZ NOGE, S KARADORĐEVOM ZVEZDOM MESEČNO DONOSILI I PRODAVALI PO DVA KILOGRAMA KOKAINA	
15	20 KILOGRAMA MARIHUANE ZAPLENJENO SEKLI GLAVE BEBAMA, SILOVALI, MUČILI, STRELJALI... ICKO JE KAO BEOGRADSKI VEZIR POD KNJAZOM MILOŠEM			
16		RAMA: SRBI NA KOSOVO SAMO KAO TURISTI		
17		JANJIĆ: MARKO ĐURIĆ JE U NIKOLIĆEVOM TIMU ZA KAMPANJU	NIKOLIĆEVA LAKA ARTILJERIJA HVALA KOLINDI NA BESPLATNOJ REKLAMI	AMERIKANCI PRIZNALI: PODRŽALI SMO ŠIPTARE
18		PALATA PRAVDE BIĆE MUZEJ GRADA KRAGUJEVCA EU ČEKA DA VIDI DA LI ĆE VUČIĆ PODRŽATI NIKOLIĆA	PREDSEDNICA HRVATSKE NE GOVORI ISTINU	KO NAPADNE SRBE, NAPAO JE I RUSE
19	NA VUKA POVIKA, A LISICE MESO JEDU		BREGU: HAPŠENJE HARADINAJA UPLAŠILO REGION MIŠČEVIĆ: HAPŠENJE ZLOČINACA JE POSTULAT VLADAVINE PRAVA VUČIĆ: PROBLEME IZMEĐU BEOGRADA I PRIŠTINE REŠAVACEMO NA MIRAN NAČIN KLAVIRSKI RESITAL	
20			VUČIĆ: DA LI JE NA ALBANSKI DRON U BEOGRADU TREBALO POSLATI TENKOVE PEŠKE KROZ SVETU GORU (17) IBARSKI TENKOVI I VOZOVI	ZIMSKE PROMO CENE „ER SRBIJE“

21	SRAMOTA: ADVOKATI NEĆE VUKČEVIĆA JER NIJE „PATRIOTA“	AMERIČKI BARBAROGENIJE I NJEGOVA REVOLUCIJA TRAMP NA SLOVENAČKOJ VEZI O PROŠIRENJU SE PITAJU VELIKE ZEMLJE I KOMŠIJE	PROTIVNIKA VUČIĆEVOJ KANDIDATURI IMA I U SNS-U	
22	ČETVRTA PO SNAZI BANKA U SVETU OD SADA I U SRBIJI		KINESKI BANKARSKI GIGANT STIGAO U SRBIJU	
23	PUTIN PRIZNAJE KOSOVO U DOGOVORU SA TRAMPOM PREKO POLA SVETA NA DVA TOČKA		VUČIĆ I NIKOLIĆ OČI U OČI S TAČIJEM I MUSTAFOM DVA UGOVORA, DVE KANCELARIJE TITO I SRBI	VELIKI RAČUNI ZA STRUJU SU GREŠKA, VRATIĆEMO PARE!
24	KOSOVO JE PION KOG ĆE PUTIN ŽRTVOVATI	MIGOVI, KOLINDA I ALEKSANDAR		
25			VUČIĆ: DOGOVORENA SERIJA DIJALOGA, DA SE SPUSTI LOPTA“	
26		TS: VISOK NIVO KORUPCIJE U SRBIJI GRADONAČELNIK ZVEČANA: SRBIJA NAS NE NAORUŽAVA	“TREJNSPOTING 2” OTVARA FESTIVAL NOVOG BRITANSKOG FILMA U BEOGRADU OD A DO B	
27	ALBANSKA PROVOKACIJA RAZBESNELA GRKE		GORIVO SVAKE NEDELJE POSKUPLJUJE ZA OKO DINAR SKADARLIJA NAJGOSTOLJUBIVIJE TURISTIČKO MESTO REGIONA	
28		AVIJATIKA U PALANCI BIRAČI SU ILI U MEDIJSKOJ BLOKADI ILI OGUGLALI	SRBI TRAŽE ZAŠTITU OMBUDSMANA ODLIKOVAN NA PREDLOG NEPRIJATELJA.	ALBANIJA PRETI INVAZIJOM NA KOSOVO

29	MNOGO LJUDI SA KOSOVA NAVIJALO JE ZA PARTIZAN		GASOVOD S BUGARSKOM JEDINA ALTERNATIVA ZA SRBIJU
			CINCARI - KRVOTOK BALKANA
			GIGU: HAPŠENJE HARADINAJA NEMA POLITIČKU DIMENZIJU
			DOJČE TELEKOM SVUDA OKO NAS
30	RUDARSKI JE OVO POSAO, ALI UŽIVAM!	MEKALISTER: BEOGRAD I PRIŠTINA DA SE MEĐUSOBNO NE OPTUŽUJU	SRBIJA IMA KLJUČNU ULOGU U ŠIREM REGIONU BALKANA
			POBEDNIK U VELIKOM RATU
31	ALTERNATIVNI BULŠITIZAM		

NEWSPAPER/ FEBRUARY		Danas	ПОЛИТИКА	
1		MASOVNE GROBNICE BILE DRŽAVNI PROJEKAT	NEUBEDLJIVA ODBRANA TITOVOG LIKA I DELA	
		ŽIVOT U NEVREMENU III (17)	DO KADA ĆE PENZIJE BITI PRIVREMENO UMANJENE	
2		KOSOVO NA LINIJI TIRANE, SKOPLJA I BEOGRADA	ZAPLENJENO 13 KILOGRAMA MARIHUANE	ALBANCI PALI SA 13 KILA „TRAVE“
			USTAV I OBLIK VLADAVINE	
			POVEĆANE AKCIZE NA GORIVO	
3		MOGUĆ PRIVREMENI PREKID PREGOVORA SA PRIŠTINOM		
4	PEŠICE PREŠLI ALBANIJU U ČAST PREDAKA	POTPIRIVANJE “POŽARA” PRED KAMPANJU	ZABORAVLJENI POMORSKI VOJVODA	
5	GODINE KOJE BISMO DA ZABORAVIMO			

6	50 NAJMOĆNIJIH U MEDIJIMA	KAKO IZBALANSIRATI ROBNU RAZMENU SA MAKEDONIJOM	TAJNA BLAGA KRALJA PETRA II	SINANI: PROMENA GRANICA IZMEĐU SRBIJE I KOSOVA MOŽE IĆI NA ŠTETU ALBANACA
		KRIMINAL, SIVA EKONOMIJA ODOSE 13 ODS TO GODIŠNJIH PRIHODA PREDUZEĆA		
		SVAKA ESKALACIJA SRBIJI OTEŽAVA PUT KA EU		
		KOMŠIJE, GLEDAJTE SVOJA POSLA!		
7		KOMPOZICIJE NASTALE DOK SAM ISTRAŽIVAO I SLAVIO 'MEU BRASIL'	U KORIST „VELIKE ALBANIJE”	
8	TAKSIRAJU BEZ TX TABLICA I NIKO IH NE DIRA	KAKO KOMENTARIŠETE TO ŠTO JE HAŠIM TAČI POZVAO ALEKSANDRA VUČIĆA NA SKIJANJE NA BREZOVICU?	ZA SRBIJU VAŽNIJA LUKA KONSTANCA OD BARA	HARADINAJ KEŠOM KUPIO SLOBODU?!
	DA LI TRAMP UOPŠTE ZNA GDE JE KOSOVO			
9		CEFTA: EKONOMIJA DRUMOM, POLITIKA ŠUMOM	HAN U SKOPLJU DA PREKRATI MAKEDONSKE MUKE	
			NAŠ ŽIVOT IZ DEVEDESETIH	
10	FIFA: SRBIJA TEK 51.	OTETA DRŽAVA	PRIŠTINA KASNI U TRCI ZA UNESKO	EVROPO, JEBO TE HARADINAJ!
	UBIJEN KRVOLOČNI VOĐA KOSOVSkih DŽIHADISTA	ODLUKA O IZRUCENJU HARADINAJA 2. MARTA	STVARNO I MOGUĆE	
	ZLIKOVAC SIGURAN DA ĆE SE IZVUĆI	OPET NOVI TIM		
11	HARADINAJ I NJEGOVI LJUDI KASAPILI, KLALI, SILOVALI...	ALI AHMETI: PRVO DVOJEZIČNOST, PA VLADA IZVUČENA TELA KINESKIH RUDARA U ALBANIJU	SVI AMBASADORI SAD NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU OSTAJU DO ISTEKA MANDATA	
		ŽELIMO DUELE PREDSEDNIČKIH KANDIDATA		
12	A CIVILNA ZAŠTITA?		HARADINAJ BI PONOVO MOGAO U HAG	
			KARPUŠIN: REZOLUCIJA 1244 NE PREDVIĐA VOJSKU KOSOVA	
13		TURISTIČKI PROMET DONEO 900 MILIONA EVRA PRIHODA	NAJVEĆI DEMOGRAFSKI GUBICI CRNOGORACA, SRBA I BOŠNJAKA	PUTIN: NE DAM VOJSKU KOSOVA

14	FUDBAL I KOŠARKA ISPOD REMEK-DELA NAŠE UMETNOSTI		REČ- DVE O BEKSTVIMA VLADARA	
15	DVE TREĆINE SRBA NIJE BILO NA KOSOVU	OSLOBAĐAJUĆA DRSKOST MARGINE	OD GOLGOTE DO VASKRSA SRBIJE	PAŠIĆ JE ODBIJAO „SALAMA” DOGOVORE
16				
17	ŠAMAR SRBIJI: SAD ČESTITALE TAČIJU GODIŠNJICU NEZAVISNOSTI KOSOVA RAMA: ZAJEDNIČKE AMBASADE S PRIŠTINOM BALKANSKE NATO ZEMLJE OGREZLE U KRIMINAL VE TREĆINE SRBA NIJE BILO NA KOSOVU VE TREĆINE SRBA NIJE BILO NA KOSOVU	“BEOGRAD KOJI NESTAJE” I POIGRAVANJE SA SVETLOM ODABRALA JE PUT KOJIM SE REĐE IDE	PSI RATA IZ SIRIJE ŠVERCUJU NAORUŽANJE ZA TERORISTE U EU	ALBANC I HRVATI NAS TUŽAKALI NATO
18			POKRET SOCIJALISTA: PRIŠTINI PRIKLADNIJE DA 17. MART PROGLASI DANOM NEZAVISNOSTI POČETAK KRAJA ILI KRAJ POČETKA ŽRTVE MAFIJE ZBOG ŽUTE KUĆE DAMIR, MIMI I DUŠKO KERN POHVALIO VUČIĆEVU IDEJU O CARINSKOJ UNIJI DSS: OBELODANITI ŠTA PIŠE NA „PAPIRU”	
19	STEPI SPONA SRBIJE I NEMAČKE CARINSKA UNIJA ZA ZAPADNI BALKAN		VUČIĆEVA IDEJA O CARINSKOJ UNIJI PUT ZA NAPREDAK REGIONA SKULPTURE KAO SVEDOCI PROŠLOSTI	
20	BAKIR IZETBEGOVIĆ KAO DA RADI ZA DODIKA	KROZ MEĐUSOBNU RAZMENU OBAVI SE TRI ČETVRTINE SPOLJNE TRGOVINE	HRIŠĆANI NA METI ISLAMISTA VAŠINGTONSKE PRAZNIČNE ČESTITKE	

21		STEFANOVIĆ: KOSOVO TEŠKO DO PRIJEMA U UNESKO	VELIKA BITKA PROTIV ULASKA PRIŠTINE U UNESKO	KLINTONNOVI ŠIPTARI
22		"KUMANOVSKI REZERVOAR" JEFTINIJI I DO 45 DINARA PO LITRU ĐORĐEVIĆ: NEMA NOVCA ZA VEĆE PLATE	ZBOG IZBORA, PROLAZE „VOZOVI"	BAŠ BIH VOLEO DA SVIRAMO PUTINU
23		MOGERINI POČETKOM MARTA U BEOGRADU	VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ ZA ČEŠĆE SUSRETE MINISTARA KULTURE ATLETIKA DEBITUJE U „KOMBANK ARENI" MOGERINI SLEDEĆE NEDELJE U BEOGRADU	PA NIJE VALJDA I TRAMP ŠIPTAR?!
24	SKANDAL: UGLJANIN SA TAČIJEM U PRIŠTINI OVO JE KORAK KA VELIKOJ ALBANIJI	OD EU 80 MILIONA ZA REFORMU UPRAVE PROTESTI I BOJKOT U ALBANIJI	VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ SE SUSREO SA PREDSTAVNICIMA SRBA U TIRANI UZ DRUŠTVENE MREŽE LAKŠE DO PREKOGRANIČNOG BRAČNOG PARTNERA	MAKEDONIJA ĆE POSTATI ALBANIJA
25	OTKRIVEN TAČIJEV TIM ZA LIKVIDACIJE		UGLJANINOV PRST U OKO SRBIJI PREDSEDNIKA ALBANIJE DOČEKAĆEMO 7. MARTA TITULE BRANE BIBIĆ, ANIĆ I ŠPANOVIĆEVA STARI RATNIK SIBIN O HAJDUKU VUKSANU ZORAN ZAEV NAJAVLJUJE VLADU OKO 10. MARTA	"DELFINI" SA ŠPANCIMA
26	NATO OPKOLJAVA PRAG RUSIJE KOSOVO JE PRIORITET ZA EU		VITEŠKIH TURNIRA I DVOBOJA BILO JE I U SRBIJI ŠPANOVIĆEVA STALA NA 6,96 M	
27	MRAČNE TAJNE „SURČINACA" I „ZEMUNACA"	SRBIJA ČETVRTA PO SIROMAŠTVU U EVROPI	VUČIĆ: NE DAMO NIKOME NEZAVISNOST SRBIJE BEOGRAD NA METI JADRANSKE TROJKE OSLOBOĐENJE I UJEDINJENJE	MAKEDONCI ZABILI NOŽ U LEDA SRBIJI! GEJ BRAKOVI U SRBIJI MOGUĆI OD 2020?!

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KAKAV GENOCID, KAKVE
BUDALAŠTINENATO HOĆE DA ZGAZI
SRBIJU!NEWSPAPER
/ MARCH**Blic****Danas****ПОЛИТИКА**NEZAVISNE DNEVNE NOVINE
INFORMER

1

BOLJE BI BILO DA SE
SREĆE I SA NIKOLIĆEMŠTA ZA SRBIJU ZNAČI
STABILNOSTUSTAŠKI POZDRAV U
FUDBALSKOJ IGRICIMOGERINIJEVA DOLAZI
NA BALKAN DA
AMORTIZUJE TENZIJE

NATO HOĆE KRV!

KONCESIJE SU
KOMPLIKOVANE I NEMAJU
NUŽNO SREĆAN KRAJ

2

MOGERINI: SARADNJA SA
BALKANOM JE PRIORITETMOGERINIJEVA: REFORME
SE SPROVADE ZBOG
LJUDIIVANOV: NE DAM MANDAT
ZAEVU!

POSETILAC

IVANOV NE DA MANDAT
ZAEVUIVANOV: NE MOGU ZAEVU
DA DAM MANDAT ZA
FORMIRANJE VLADE

3

50 NAJMOĆNIJIH
STRANACA U SRBIJIAHMETI: ALBANSKA
DEKLARACIJA JE IZ
SKOPLJAMIR I STABILNOST, STOP
NACIONALIZMU!ŠIPTARI MAKEDONIJI
PRETE RATOMOVO JE DELO TAČIJA
I RAME, CEO BALKAN
UGROŽEN

MAJSTOR ZA ŠOKOVE

HARADINAJ KUKA: SRBIJA
OD MENE NAPRAVILA
TAOCADIJALOG BEOGRADA I
PRIŠTINE KLJUČNA STVAR

4

SAMO VARNICA JE
DOVOLJNA DA SVE
BUKNESPOLJNO MEŠANJE
I POSLE SPOLJA
NAMETNUTIH IZBORABALKANSKI FITILJI
NE DAMO MAKEDONIJUTERORISTI OVK
SPREMAJU KRVAVI SUKOB
U MAKEDONIJIALBANSKA TAJNA
SLUŽBA KRIJE DOKAZE
PROTIV TAČIJA I
HARADINAJA

VIHORNA VREMENA

TRAŽIH CELO VEĆE
BRATA I NE NAĐOH GA

5

BUJANOVAC SE
SPREMA ZA POSETU
PREDSEDNIKA ALBANIJEJUGOSLAVIJA VEĆI
PROBLEM OD BLISKOG
ISTOKA

6	<p>DA PROĐE TAJ UTORAK, PA DA MALO ODAHNEMO</p> <p>MRTVA TAČKA U MAKEDONIJI</p>	<p>PLATFORMA STVORENA U ALBANIJI JE NEPRIHVATLJIVA</p> <p>TUŽNA TURNEJA</p>	<p>VELIKI RAT I MEGALOMANSKE AMBICIJE</p> <p>PREDSEDNIK ALBANIJE STIŽE TAČNO U PODNE</p> <p>NIŠANI NA JUGU SRBIJE IPAK UZ DOZVOLU BEOGRADA</p> <p>CELOVITOST MAKEDONIJE - IMPERATIV STABILNOSTI BALKANA</p> <p>GRUEVSKI: NE PRIHVATAMO PLATFORMU STVORENU U DRUGOJ DRŽAVI</p> <p>DESET GODINA CEFTA SPORAZUMA</p> <p>PROJEKTOVANA SLIKA „VELIKE ALBANIJE“?</p>	<p>DOKAZANO: ZAEV JE ŠIPTAR</p> <p>GRUEVSKI: ALBANCI BI DA BUDU VLAST, A MAKEDONCI OPOZICIJA</p> <p>HOĆE DA PROMENE GRB, NOVAC, HIMNU I ZASTAVU</p>
7		<p>SDSM PRIHVATIO REZOLUCIJU O GENOCIDU NAD ALBANCIMA</p> <p>SRBIJA ZA DVE GODINE U PRVIH 20 NA DUIING BIZNIS LISTI</p> <p>DVERI: OPASNE NAMERE</p>	<p>ARSIĆ: NIŠANI NE DOLAZI ILEGALNO U BUJANOVAC7</p>	<p>ZAEV PRIZNAO DA PRAVI 'VELIKU ALBANIJU'</p>
8	<p>VUČIĆ I TAČI U KLINČU ZBOG VOJSKE KOSOVA</p> <p>NAČIĆ JELISAVETA ARHITEKTA 1878-1955.</p>	<p>NIŠANI NA JUGU SRBIJE BEZ NAPETOSTI I EUFORIJE</p> <p>PLANOVI ZA RAZVOJ U FIOCI</p> <p>AKO PROĐE PLATFORMA, KOMŠIJE ZOVEMO BJRM?</p>	<p>NIŠANI KAO FAKTOR (NE) MIRA NA JUGU SRBIJE</p> <p>BALKANSKE ODLUKE I PODRŠKE</p>	<p>IVANOV APELUJE NA VELIKE SILE DA SPASU MAKEDONIJU</p>
9			<p>DUI: ZAEV SPREMAN DA PODRŽI TUŽBU PROTIV SRBIJE</p> <p>MAKEDONIJA - OPSTANAK ILI NESTANAK</p>	<p>ZAEV PRISTAO DA TUŽI SRBIJU ZA GENOCID</p> <p>BALKAN JE BURE BARUTA</p>
10		<p>ISTOK POGORŠAVA STVARI NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU</p> <p>KOJI JE VAŠ SLEDEĆI POTEZ?</p>		<p>PUTIN USLOVIO ERDOGANA</p> <p>ZAEV HOĆE SILOM DA NAPRAVI VLADU</p>

11	OPOZICIJA ĆE UĆI U MEĐUSOBNI RAT POSLE IZBORA DVA MILIONA EVRA LAŽNIH NOVČANICA	NEZDRAVI UTICAJI NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU	MUDROST UZDRŽAVANJA JEFTINIJE GORIVO JOŠ DALEKO	I TURCI PROTIV ŠIPTARA U MAKEDONIJI
12			SEĆANJE NA DANICU MARKOVIĆ (8)	
13		ZAŠTO JE IDEJA O BALKANSKOJ CARINSKOJ UNIJI NA DUGOM ŠTAPU BIO JE FORUM, A NA FORUMU...	NEĆEMO OSUĐIVATI DRUGE NARODE OD PRIZRENSKE LIGE DO TIRANSKOG SPORAZUMA KOMPOZICIJA ARSENIJA JOVANOVIĆA NA DOJČLAND RADIJU	AKO ALBANCI SAD NE ODUSTANU, IZBIĆE RAT
14		SRBIJA SE OŠTRO PROTIVI STVARANJU VOJSKE KOSOVA NI GRČKA NIJE OSUDILA ALBANSKU PLATFORMU	IVANOV: NISU OTKLONJENE PREPREKE ZA DAVANJE MANDATA ZAEVU	MAKEDONIJA KLJUČA
15	BEOGRAD NA 138. MESTU SUPERGRADOVA NA PLANETI		NOVI PROTESTI U MAKEDONIJI SRPSKI PREMIJER BEZ STRAHA PUTUJE U SARAJEVO	RAMA: MAKEDONIJA JE ALBANSKA DRŽAVA
16	HAN I VUČIĆ DOGOVARAJU AUTOPUT NIŠ – PRIŠTINA PUCALI NA VLASIJA, SRBI SLEDEĆE METE MANJE PREPREKA ZA BIZNIS SA TIRANOM	SRBIJA 74. U SVETU PO VLADAVINI PRAVA “ZAPADNOBALKANSKA ŠESTORKA“ UDRUŽUJE SNAGE	AMERIČKI SENATORI: ZAUŠTAVITE DŽORDŽA SOROSA DRŽAVNI RAZLOG U MAKEDONIJI HAN: PODRŽAVAM VUČIĆEVU IDEJU O CARINSKOJ UNIJI TRI LICA SAMOĆE IZMIŠLJENI GENOCID SRPSKI PRIVREDNICI U TIRANI	SRAMOTNO IVANOVA POREDILI S MILOŠEVIĆEM
17		JOHANES HAN: NE IGRAJTE SE VATROM VUK JEREMIĆ: ODLASKOM ALEKSANDRA, ODLAZI I ANDREJ VUČIĆ	ZAPADNI BALKAN IMA EVROPSKU PERSPEKTIVU	ATENTATOR PRAVI STRANKU U PREŠEVU ZORAN ZAEV JE VEĆI SRBOMRZAC OD TAČIJA

18	POPOVIĆ PROTIV AUTOPUTA REM ZABRANIO SPOT „VUČIĆU, PEDERU“	MIHAILOVIĆ: JEREMIĆ NEOZBILJAN ALEKSANDAR VUČIĆ O JABUKAMA, KOSOVU I DRUGIM TEMAMA	ALBANCI U MAKEDONIJI NIKADA NISU CRTALI NOVE DRŽAVNE GRANICE MIR I REGIONALNA STABILNOST PROFIT GASI BALKANSKO „BURE BARUTA“ PREKO SVETA DO SOLUNSKOG FRONTA	BRAĆA RUSI ŠALJU ZVEZDU U TOP 8
19	KO KAŽE DA ĆE BITI DRUGOG KRUGA		SUKOBI ZA JEDNOKRATNU UPOTREBU	
20	HRVATI JAČI OD NAS SAMO NA PAPIRU DSS: VLADA RADI PO DIKTATU	POPOVIĆ: BIĆE SRPSKA ZASTAVA U PEĆIPIŠE: LIDIJA VALTNER	VELIKI PROBLEMI U VELIKOJ DRŽAVI ISKRIVLJENI POGLEDI NA MAKEDONIJU	KLINTONOV IZAZIVAJU RAT NA BALKANU
21	NORVEŠKA NAJSREĆNIJA, SRBIJA NA SREDINI ZAŠTO JANKOVIĆ VREĐA NEMAČKU? MEKALISTER: RUSIJA SE U SRBIJI MEŠA U SVE ŽIVO	ALEKSANDAR POPOVIĆ: LICEMERNA JE VLAST KOJA SRBE PREDAJE TAČIJU NORVEŽANI NAJSREĆNIJI NA SVETU I HAN PRIMETIO STRANO MEŠANJE BLATO BERLIN 2016.		BIZNISMENI PALI SA TONOM SKANKA
22	MLADI PRAVNICI POBEDILI U TIRANI	LJUDI, MRŽNJA I PROCENTNI POENI	NAŠI INTERESI U MAKEDONIJI: STABILNOST I SRBI DA LI ĆE BITI OBELEŽENA GODIŠNJICA NATO AGRESIJE POPOVIĆ: GRAĐANI MORAJU BITI SLOBODNI OD EU KOMESARA	VIŠE OD 100.000 LJUDI PROTIV ŠIPTARSKJE VLADE
23	TERORISTI „OKA NARODA“ NIŠANE I ČELNIKE SRPSKIH OPŠTINA		SKOPLJE PROTESTIMA DOČEKALO I ISPRATILO JOHANESA HANA	MAKEDONCI IZBACILI JOHANESA HANA IZ ZEMLJE NEĆE DA IM EU KROJI SUDBINU
24	OBRADOVIĆ: PROTIV DIJALOGA U BRISELU	NASTAVAK ISTRAGE		

25		PESNIK I GENOCID	TEŠKI BODOVI IZ TBILISIJA	AKO SE RASPADNE EU, IZBIĆE RAT NA BALKANU
		RASPAD EU MOŽE IZAZVATI RAT NA BALKANU	SPINOVANJE ALBANSKIH POLITIČARA U MAKEDONIJI	
26	PRIVREDA PREUZIMA GLAVNU ULOGU		“ZAPIS DUŠE” NA ALBANSKOM	
			SAN O „FILDŽAN-DRŽAVI” NA BALKANU	
			PREDSEDNIK S KIČMOM	
27		VUČIĆ DANAS U MOSKVI, NAREDNIH DANA I NA KOSOVU?	POTOMCI DŽINGIS- KANA U BEOGRADU	
		ZORAN ZAEV: LAŽ JE DA ĆEMO TUŽITI SRBIJU ZA GENOCID	TAJNE APISOVOG FOTOGRAFA PO(R)UKE IZ 1999.	
28	OTVARA SE ARHIV ALBANSKE TAJNE POLICIJE			
	ZAŠTO TREBA GLASATI ZA VUČIĆA			
29		MARKS, ENGELS I TITO	SRBIJA - NEOTKRIVENI DRAGULJ BALKANA	ŠIPTARSKI ISLAMISTI KROJE VLADU U MAKEDONIJI
		PRILAGOĐAVANJE: SRBIJA I MODERNA OD STREPNJE DO SUMNJE (3)	NOVI PROTEST INICIJATIVE ZA ZAJEDNIČKU MAKEDONIJU	
			EVROPSKI POKRETI: PRETE NOVI SUKOBI NA BALKANU	
30		DANICA DRAŠKOVIĆ: SRBIJA OTVORENO SLUŽI RUSIJI	MIGRANTSKI TOKOVI I SRPSKE STRANPUTICE	
			PREKRAJANJE GRANICA ZAPALILO BI BALKANSKO BURE BARUTA	
31		SRPSKA LISTA U SKUPŠTINSKIM KLUPAMA	PREDSEDNIK UEFE DANAS U POSETI FSS	PUTIN UZVRAĆA UDARAC
			REZOLUCIJA O GENOCIDU, KAO UVOD U MOGUĆE PODELE U MAKEDONIJI	
			BRISSEL NEĆE SLOMITI ĐORĐA IVANOVA	

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ПОЛИТИКА



1	MAKEDONIJI PRETI NOVI KUMANOVSKI SCENARIO			PUTIN UPOZORAVA: NATO KREĆE U LOV NA SRBIJU
2	SRBIJA NASTUPA PRVA NA EVROSONGU		EDI RAMA: BRIGA ZBOG SLABOSTI EU	
3		PLAVI BALONI OBOJILI NEBO		ŠIPTARI SPREMAJU RAT U MAKEDONIJI
4	BERIŠA SE HVALI DA JE NAORUŽAVAO OVK RAMA: U CRNOJ GORI SE OSEĆAM KAO KOD KUĆE	RAMA: U CRNOJ GORI KAO KOD KUĆE	RUGOVA, TAČI I BAKALI POSTALI LIKOVI U ROMANU IVANOV: MAKEDONIJI NE TREBA UCENJENA VLADA RAMA: U CRNOJ GORI SE OSEĆAM KAO U ALBANIJI OSNOVNE ŽIVOTNE NAMIRNICE SKUPLJE 10 ODSTO	U CRNOJ GORI KAO KOD KUĆE "BISER BOJANE" OBARA REKORDE
5	BEOGRAD MEĐU NAJJEFTINIJIM GRADOVIMA NA ČITAVOJ PLANETI		ŠPIJUNSKI I OSTALI FOTO-APARATI	ALBANAC ŠVERCOVAO HAŠIŠ SRBI ĆE USKORO VRATITI KOSOVO!
6	ALBANSKI HULIGAN UHAŠEN, OPET ZBOG DRONA			
7	EKONOMIJA SPAJA BALKAN	U SRBIJI 570.000 LJUDI RADI NA SIVO	SVETSKA BANKA: TRI DOBRE VESTI ZA SRBIJU VUČIĆ PRIHVATIO POZIV SI ĐINPINGA DA POSETI KINU PESNIK KOJI JE VOLEO ŠOPENHAUERA	
8		PROMOCIJA KNJIGE "NAROD I NJEGOVE PESME" RIGELSA HALIMIJA	U VOJNIČKOM ROVU SLAVIO SVETOG ALIMPIJA KAKO SAČUVATI IDEJE? U JUNU JASNA SLIKA O ROMIMA U REGIONU	
9	JEDNA ISKRA DOVOLJNA JE DA ZAPALI CEO BALKAN		JEDNO TRŽIŠTE ZA 20 MILIONA LJUDI	

10	TURIZAM BEOGRADA I SRBIJE U MINSKU	EPS-U NUŽAN PRILIV NOVCA, A NE ČUVANJE SOCIJALNOG MIRA	KRČMA NA GLAVNOM DRUMU	
11	ŽENU SU MI SILOVALI, MUČILI ME STRUJOM, A SRBE SU KLALI		ALBANSKA OPOZICIJA TRAŽI DA RAMA PODNESE OSTAVKU	MEKEJN: SRBIJA JE SILA POMIRENJA U REGIONU IMAM MALU PENZIJU, ALI TO NIJE KRAJ SVETA
12	POČAST HEROJIMA BRAĆA HARADINAJ GOSPODARI ŽIVOTA I SMRTI U METOHIJI	GOŠA - PRIMER KAKO DRŽAVA NE FUNKCIONIŠE	MANCO: EU IMA OBAVEZE PREMA ZAPADNOM BALKANU MAKEDONSKA DRŽAVA NE MOŽE DA SE FEDERALIZUJE	AMERI SE SVETE RUSIMA PREKO CRNE GORE SRBIJA JE SLEDEĆA 'NA UDARU' NATO?!
13			GABRIJEL: JASNA POBEDA VUČIĆA NA IZBORIMA	
14	SRBI ZVANIČNO MANJINA U ALBANIJI	KAKO KOMENTARIŠETE TO ŠTO JE ALBANIJA OMOGUĆILA SRBIMA STATUS NACIONALNE MANJINE? POVRATAK ZELENE SALATE	ŠVERCOVALI ŽIVU NA KOSOVO I METOHIJU	
15		ČADEŽ: DVCIFREN RAST TRGOVINE SA ALBANIJOM	USKRS KADA JE KRUNISAN SRPSKI CAR PRIZREN, GRAD SA TRIDESETAK SRBA NA PRAZNIK PADALE BOMBE MAKEDONIJA, NAŽALOST, MOŽE DA SE FEDERALIZUJE	
16				
17	TAČI GOSPODAR DROGE, ŠVERCA ORUŽJA I GORIVA PRVI PATRIJARH USTOLIČEN 16. APRILA 1346. GODINE	FINSKA NAJSIGURNIJA DRŽAVA NA SVETU	STAZA KROZ PRIRODU DUGA STOTINU KILOMETARA	
18	EKREM LUKA, KRIJUMČAR ŽENA I SPONZOR TERORISTA	PRILAGOĐAVANJE: SRBIJA I MODERNA OD STREPNJE DO SUMNJE (17)	PLAVA KRV, OLIMPIJSKI ŠAMPIONI I OSTALI PRADEDA BOLJI I HRABRIJI OD BETMENA I SUPERMENA	

19

DAČIĆ: RAMINA VELIKA
ALBANIJA PRETNJA ZA
MIR

KELJMENDI KONTROLIŠE
PUT DROGE DO EVROPE

GLASANJE U JUNU ILI NA
JESEN

MMF: SRBIJU ČEKA RAST
OD TRI Odsto

RAMA HOĆE RAT!

TAŠMAJDANSKI PARK U
POLUTAMI

“MILANOVIĆ
INŽENJERING” GRADI
VODOVODNE SISTEME U
ALBANIJU

NOVA RAMINA
PROVOKACIJA

NETRPELJIVI ZBOG
VLASTI

20

LAŽNI GENERAL KRVAVIH
RUKU

NE ZVECKAMO ORUŽJEM,
ALI ČEMO DA SE
BRANIMO

POPOVIĆ: RAMA JE
PERSONA NON GRATA

KAKO KOMENTARIŠETE
RAMINU IZJAVU DA
NE ISKLJUČUJE
MOGUĆNOST
UJEDINJENJA ALBANIJE
I KOSOVA AKO
PERSPEKTIVA ULASKA
DRŽAVA REGIONA U EU
NASTAVI DA BLEDI?

TAČI: AKO EU ZATVORI
VRATA, ALBANCI U
JEDNOJ DRŽAVI

ALBANIJA U PRVOM
KRUGU BEZ
PREDSEDNIKA, NIJE BILO
KANDIDATA

21	<p>ČAK 80% HEROINA STIŽE U EVROPU STIŽE PREKO KOSOVA</p> <p>SKANDAL: MUSLIJU HOĆE DA PRIPOJI I JUG SRBIJE KOSOVU I ALBANIJI</p> <p>DA PRETIM KAO RAMA, „VISIO“ BIH U BRISELU</p> <p>DAČIĆ: ALBANCI DA ODMERAVAJU REČI</p> <p>SRBI I ALBANCI ZAJEDNO KRIJUMČARILI DROGU</p>	<p>ALBANI: ADENAUER JE LICE DEMOKRATSKE NEMAČKE</p> <p>VUČIĆ SA ZVANIČNIKOM BUNDESTAGA</p>	<p>VULIN: BRISEL MORA DA ZNA DA VELIKA ALBANIJA ZNAČI VELIKI RAT</p> <p>MUSLIJU: BEZ NIŠA NEMA VELIKE ALBANIJE</p> <p>VUČIĆ: PUSTE ŽELJE EDIJA RAME</p> <p>DIJALOG U KRIZI JER NA STOLU NIJE ONO ČEMU SE PRIŠTINA NADALA</p> <p>VELIKOALBANSKI PLAN - PRETNJA I ZA MAKEDONCE I SRBE</p> <p>NOVI GAZDA „HEMOFARMA“ NEĆE OTPUŠTATI RADNIKE</p> <p>VUČIĆ: FINANSIJSKA INJEKCIJA ZA RAZVOJ ODBRAMBENE INDUSTRIJE</p> <p>UHAPŠENO DEVET OSOBA, ZAPLENJENI DROGA I ORUŽJE</p> <p>GRČKA PODRŽAVA BORBU SRBIJE ZA KULTURNO NASLEDE</p> <p>“ZELENI” DANI SLOVENAČKOSRPSKOG PRIJATELJSTVA</p>	<p>PALI S DROGOM VREDNOM 62 MILIONA</p> <p>JONUZ MUSLIJU PRETI ‘VELIKA ALBANIJA’ DO NIŠA!</p> <p>NATO HOĆE INVAZIJU NA SRBE</p> <p>TUŽE OBAMU I SOROŠA ZBOG MAKEDONIJE</p>
22	<p>MUSLIJU MORA U ZATVOR ZBOG RUŠENJA DRŽAVE</p>	<p>ALBANCI U BEOGRADU</p> <p>VULIN: POZIVI NA BALKANSKI RAT</p>	<p>TRST - SPONA SRBA I ITALIJANA U RATU I MIRU</p> <p>TAŠTINA KLASNIH RAZLIKA</p> <p>VULIN: MUSLIJU POZIVA NA RUŠENJE USTAVNOG PORETKA</p> <p>LIČNA DOKUMENTA (1)</p> <p>A MOJI VATROGASCI...</p> <p>AMERIČKI AMBASADORI ZAUZDAVAJU ALBANCE</p> <p>VELIKO PRESTROJAVANJE KULTURE</p>	<p>“VELIKA ALBANIJA” ZNAČI RAT NA CELOM BALKANU</p> <p>ALBANSKI POLITIČARI PRETE „VELIKOM ALBANIJOM“. EU I SAD ĆUTE. ZAŠTO?</p>

23	SRPSKI ŠINDLER NEOPREZNI RAMA I NEPAŽLJIVI MUSLIJU	POLITIČKIM MASKAMA LAKŠE DO CILJA	DVOSTRUKI ARŠINI BRISELA ZA BALKAN	VULIN: NE MEŠATI ŽRTVE I DŽELATE	ALBANSKI, NE EVROPSKI SAN	OD EVROPEJCA DO POLITIČKOG KABADAHJE
24	DAČIĆ DANAS SA HANOM, TRAŽIĆE REAKCIJU NA OPASNE IZJAVE VELIKA ALBANIJA, SULUDI PROJEKAT KOJI TRAJE VEK I PO	NEMA PODELE TERITORIJE NA JUGU ALEKSANDAR VUČIĆ: SUPROTSTAVITI SE ZLU FABRIKOVANE IZJAVE ZBOG PROTESTA	CRNA GORA I NATO VELIKI PODVIZI „MALOGA” ČOVEKA	MILORAD DODIK JANKOVIĆ U BRISELU TRAŽI PREMIJERA!?! CIA: BALKANU PRETI RAT SVIH PROTIV SVIH		
25	ZASTAVA VELIKE ALBANIJE U SKOPLJU NIKOLIĆ IDE KOD DODIKA U POSLEDNJU POSETU RAMUŠ HARADINAJ DOBIJA ALBANSKO DRŽAVLJANSTVO HAN: UCENE MOGU DA SE OBIJU RAMI O GLAVU	HAN: MIRNI PROTESTI SU PRIHVATLJIVI	DAČIĆ: BALKAN TRAŽI ZAJEDNIČKE INTERESE, A NE POVRATAK U PROŠLOST DVA SATA O POLITICI I BEZBEDNOSTI HARADINAJ DOBIO DRŽAVLJANSTVO ALBANIJE HAN: NEPRIHVATLJIVE SU IZJAVE KOJE PRIZIVAJU PROMENU GRANICA BRISEL PRETI SANKCIJAMA ĐORĐU IVANOVU OPASNE PORUKE „NAVIJAČA”	ZLOČINAC POSTAJE DRŽAVLJANIN ALBANIJE? EU ZBOG ŠIPTARA UVODI SANKCIJE MAKEDONIJI IZJAVA DANA PROVOKACIJA ZASTAVA „VELIKE ALBANIJE” NA UTAKMICI		
26	STRANE SLUŽBE UMEŠALE PRSTE U VELIKU ALBANIJU UBICA VOĐE „DELIJA” DIGNUT U VAZDUH SUTRA DAN ODLUKE: DA LI ĆE POBEDITI PRAVDA ILI POLITIKA DVA LICA ALBANACA	LJUTNJA ZBOG VOJSKE I VIZNE LIBERALIZACIJE RADIKALI TRAŽE SEDNICU O PRETNJI VELIKOM ALBANIJOM RETORIKOM SE BALKANSKI PROBLEMI NE REŠAVAJU, SAMO SE ODLAŽU	DRŽAVLJANSTVO ALBANIJE NE MOŽE DA UTIČE NA ODLUKU O IZRUČENJU HARADINAJA BAUK AUTOKRATIZMA ŽIVKOVIĆ ZAHTEVA DA 48 DEMONSTRANATA UDE U ZGRADU SKUPŠTINE VUČIĆ: STRANE SLUŽBE UPRAVLJAJU ALBANCIMA	TAČI NAPAO EU I JOHANESA HANA ERDOGAN SPREMA RAMU I TAČIJA ZA RAT NA BALKANU VUČIĆ: INOSTRANE SLUŽBE GURAJU 'VELIKU ALBANIJU'		

27	NOVA PROVOKACIJA MUSLIJUA: MOJ PREDSEDNIK JE EDI RAMA	“SMRT ŠIPTARIMA“ NA IZLOZIMA PEKARA U ALEKSINCU I ŽITKOVCU	VUČIĆ I NIKOLIĆ SA PREDSEDNIKOM ŠVEDSKOG PARLAMENTA	SPRSKI PREMIJER JE PRAVI DRŽAVNIK
		ZA IZRUČENJE NEVAŽNO ŠTO JE HARADINAJ DRŽAVLJANIN ALBANIJE	SKOT: RAMINA IZJAVA MOŽE IZAZVATI POLITIČKU LAVINU	SAD I BRITANIJA KORISTE TURKE I ALBANCE ZA RAT
		MUSLIU: NARAVNO DA JE RAMA MOJ PREDSEDNIK	GRČKI MEDIJI: RAMA KAO SULTAN ERDOGAN	PACOLI PRIPREMIO 250 MILIONA EVRA DA KUPI JUG SRBIJE
		VELIKA ALBANIJA I PROTESTI PROTIV DIKTATURE	ALBANSKA OPOZICIJA TRAŽI PREMIJEROVU “GLAVU”	
		TAČI: U SRBIJI NA DELU MILOŠEVIĆEVA PROPAGANDA LJUTNJA ZBOG VOJSKE I VIZNE LIBERALIZACIJE		
28	POLITIKA PRE PRAVDE: KOLJAČ NA SLOBODI	PRAVOSUĐE IGNORIŠE UBISTVA U DOLINI REKA	ISTORIJA SRPSKO-BRITANSKOG (NE) RAZUMEVANJA	VUČIĆ: PRAVDA I ISTINA ĆE POBEDITI KAD-TAD...
	NOSIO PANCIR ZBOG „ŠKALJARACA“	OSLOBAĐANJE HARADINAJA POLITIČKI MOTIVISANO	TRILER ZVANI HARADINAJ	HARADINAJ SLOBODAN EU ŠTITI KOLJAČA SRPSKE DECE!
	BLIC HIT	RADIKALNI ALBANAC	MIRIS JORGOVANA U DOLINI KRALJEVA	KLAN HARADINAJ NUDI MILIONE ZA VUČIĆEVU GLAVU
	PONIŽENI I UVREĐENI	U OBRAČUNU POVREĐEN ZORAN ZAEV	NEMA PRAVDE ZA ŽRTVE RAMUŠA HARADINAJA	EDI RAMA
			BEZ IZRUČENJA	POČINJE RAT U MAKEDONIJI?!
			BATAKOVIĆ: VREME JE ZA NOVU OSOVINU SRBIJE, GRČKE I BUGARSKE	

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BALKANSKA ISKRA

GLAVNI AKTERI POLITIČKE
SCENE MAKEDONIJE

TUŠEVLJAKOVIĆU
EVROPSKA NAGRADA ZA
KNJIŽEVNOST

TALAC

ANDREA LORENCO
KAPUSELA: KAKO JE
PROPALA NAJSKUPLJA
ZAPADNA MISIJA

DEZERTER I MARATONAC

LEVIČARSKA
POTEMKINOVA SELA

POLITIČKI LIDERI
BOJKOTOVALI IVANOVA

META: KONFLIKT U
SOBRANJU POLITIČKI

VUČIĆ: SRBIJA STABILNA
I MIRNA

VREME PACOVA NA
BALKANU

CRNOGORSKO „DA”
NATO-U

NAROD NEMA NAMERU
DA PREDVA VLAST NATO
KOALICIJI

NEJEDINSTVO VLASTI
I OPOZICIJE POSLE
PUŠTANJA HARADINAJA

BRISSEL TREBA
DA PRESTANE SA
LICEMERSTVOM PREMA
SRBIJI

ZAPAD NA SILU DAJE
MAKEDONIJU ŠIPTARIMA

MAKEDONSKA KIČMA

HAOS U HRVATSKOJ
MINISTAR POLICIJE TRAŽI
BUNU

TERORISTI OVK
SPREMAJU SE ZA RAT U
MAKEDONIJI
MAKEDONSKI SCENARIO
PRETI I NAMA U SRBIJI!

ACA AUTOBUS,
CENTARFOR, DISIDENT,
PLEJBOJ I RUDAR

30

SRBI U MAKEDONIJI
BIĆE UGROŽENI AKO SE
POPUSTI ALBANCIMA

HARADINAJEVI SRBI

NEMA POMILOVANJA ZA
UBICE DECE

GLAVNI AKTERI POLITIČKE
SCENE MAKEDONIJE

POLITIČKA ODLUKA KOJA
SE NARUGALA PRAVDI

U MAKEDONIJI MIRNO I
NEIZVESNO

POSTDIPLOMCI NA
DUNAVSKOJ ŠKOLI

SRBIJA PREPOZNAJE ZLO

DOGADANJE APRILA

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ПОЛИТИКА



1

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3	MAKEDONIJA NA PREKRETNICI	DŽAFERI: PRIHVATITE REALNOST	DŽAFERI BEZ KLJUČEVA KABINETA PREDSEDNKA SOBRANJA	OD MAKEDONIJE PRAVE ŠIPTARIJU
			„VELIKA ALBANIJA” - ČAS ANATOMIJE	SAD PREKO MAKEDONIJE PRAVE ‘VELIKU ALBANIJU!’
			NEMOĆ EVROPSKIH EMISARA	PALI SA 825 KILA ‘TRAVE’
4	OPERACIJA SKOPLJE KAO PRIPREMA ZA BEOGRAD	KOPA: NACIONALIZAM NIJE NAPUSTIO REGION	UDARI NA BEOGRAD IZ PRIŠTINE I SKOPLJA	BALKANU PRETI RAT SRBIJI POD HITNO POSLATI S-300, AVIONE, TENKOVE
	PROVOKACIJA: ZAEV BEZ POVODA NAPAO VLAST U BEOGRADU	SRBIJA PROTIV SVOJIH GRAĐANA	MAKEDONIJU TREBA SHVATITI KAO OPOMENU	ZLO HARADINAJ ZOVE NA NOVO KLANJE, A EU ČUTI!?
	ALBANSKA ZASTAVA U SOBRANJU DIGLA BURU	KORAĆ: VULIN DA NE IZAZIVA TIH POLA MILIONA GRAĐANA	MAKEDONIJA I SUDBINA BALKANA	ZAEV NAPAO VUČIĆA, TVRDI DA SU ZA SVE KRIVI SRPSKI NACIONALISTI?
		KORAĆ: VULIN DA NE IZAZIVA TIH POLA MILIONA GRAĐANA	„VELIKA ALBANIJA” RASTURA I EU	DŽAFERI UNEO ALBANSKE ZASTAVE U PARLAMENT
		IVICA DAČIĆ: BEZ ZVANIČNE REAKCIJE	DŽAFERI U KABINET DONEO ALBANSKE ZASTAVICE	ŠIPTARI PRETE ZAEVU DALI SMO TI PARE ZA „VELIKU ALBANIJU”, SAD JE I NAPRAVI!
5		OVAJ TEKST JE FIKCIONALAN	STANKOVIĆ I MUSLIJU O SITUACIJI NA JUTU SRBIJE	U SRBIJI UMEREN RIZIK POSLOVANJA
		LEVIJATAN	„VELIKA ALBANIJA”	SRBIJA I HRVATSKA DA PODELE BOSNU
			OPASNE IZJAVE ALBANSKIH LIDERA O UJEDINJENJU	PONELE GA EMOCIJE, PA UNEO ALBANSKE ZASTAVE U SOBRANJE
			NEPRAVDE FEMINISTIČKOG PRAVOSUĐA	
			DŽAFERI BRANI ALBANSKE ZASTAVICE, ZAEV OBEĆAVA UNITARNU MAKEDONIJU	

<p>6</p>	<p>ČERUPANJE SRBIJE</p> <p>PRETE VELIKOM ALBANIJOM ZBOG IZBORA</p> <p>„POD MAČ, BATO“, PA SKOK KROZ PROZOR</p> <p>„POMOĆ PRIJATELJA“</p>	<p>POSTJUGOSLOVENSKI SCENARIO</p> <p>ŠUTANOVAC: SRBIJA NE TREBA DA POTPISUJE NIKAKAV SPORAZUM</p> <p>JOKSIMOVIĆ: DOKUMENT BEZ ZAHTEVA</p> <p>ŠTA SE DEŠAVA U TROUGLU VUČIĆ, EVROPA, RUSIJA</p>	<p>PRETI LI DOMINO EFEKAT</p> <p>PISMO HRABROG RATNIKA</p> <p>ZAEV RAZGOVARAO SA GRČKIM ŠEFOM DIPLOMATIJE</p> <p>ZAEV PONOVO TRAŽI MANDAT, PREDSEDNIK NE POPUŠTA</p> <p>STANKOVIĆ: NA JUGU SRBIJE STABILNO</p> <p>ONA I ON</p>	<p>ŽELEZNJAK: CENTAR U NIŠU DA DOBIJE DIPLOMATSKI STATUS</p> <p>SRBIJA: EU DA ZAUZDA ŠIPTARE</p> <p>TAČI ŠALJE OLBRAJTOVU I AHTISARIJA U BRISEL?!</p> <p>SAD I EU GURAJU MAKEDONIJU U RAT</p> <p>AKO ALBANCI KRENU NA SEVER KOSOVA SRBIJA ULAZI U RAT! A RUSI ĆE POSLATI ORUŽJE I SPECIJALCE</p>
<p>7</p>	<p>SINOVI MUSLIJUA NAPALI VLASNIKA TV “SPEKTRI”</p>			
<p>8</p>		<p>SRBIJA NAJBOGATIJA ZLATOM NA BALKANU</p>	<p>ATINA UPOZORAVA NA OPASNOST IDEJE VELIKE ALBANIJE</p> <p>DRECUN: TAČI TESTIRA TEREN ZA RAZMENU TERITORIJA</p>	<p>OLOŠ ACA RODIĆ ZA RAČUN ALBANACA NAPADA SRBIJU</p> <p>ŠIPTARI VEĆ PRIPOJILI SEBI MAKEDONIJU</p>
<p>9</p>	<p>TIJANA BLISTALA NA CRVENOM TEPIHU</p> <p>POKRET HISTERIČNIH SELEBRITIJA</p>	<p>„SISTEMI“ GRUEVSKOG I VUČIĆA NISU VEČNI</p>	<p>DAN POBEDE ZA POBEDNIKE I PORAŽENE</p> <p>VUČIĆ: IMAĆEMO I MI POMOĆ LJUDI IZ SVETA U DIJALOGU S PRIŠTINOM</p> <p>„VAZDUPLOHOVI“ PONOVO LETE</p> <p>NIKOLIĆ: SRBIJA PRIVRŽENA DIJALOGU</p> <p>MASAKRIRANJE ISTINE (1)</p> <p>DŽAFERI UKLONIO ZASTAVE ALBANIJE IZ SVOG KABINETA</p> <p>OBELEŽAVANJE DANA POBEDE</p>	<p>VOKER IMA PLAN ZA “VELIKU ALBANIJU”</p> <p>PACOLI PRIZIVA RAT NA KOSOVU</p>

10	BIVŠI ŠEF OEBS SANJA VELIKU ALBANIJU	„AKO RUSIJA BUDE POŠTOVALA PRAVILA EU - NEĆE BITI PROBLEMA“	VUČIĆ: RAČAK JE BIO FABRIKOVAN	ŠIPTARSKI LOBISTA VOKER: HOĆU 'VELIKU ALBANIJU'!
		SUBJEKTIVNI OSEĆAJ	AKADEMIJA POVODOM DANA POBEDE	VUČIĆ: BORIĆEMO SE!
			PRIŠTINA ZABRANILA ĐURIĆU DA OBELEŽI DAN POBEDE U MITROVICI	
11	RADITI NA MEĐUZAVISNOSTI	INFORMER NAJAVIO 12 RATOVA	SRBIJA O VOKERU 16. MAJA U SAVETU BEZBEDNOSTI UN	BLOKIRANA VUČIĆEVA IZJAVA O VOKERU
	VOKER TRGOVAC SMRČU	DIJALOG ĆE BITI ODLOŽEN I OTEŽAN	KONGRESNA DELEGACIJA NA BALKANU PROVERAVA OBAMINU POLITIKU	KLAĆEMO SRPSKU DECU!
			I SRBI GLASALI ZA PAD MUSTAFINE VLADE	SRBIJA SE ŽALI UN ZBOG PRETNJI VILIJAMA VOKERA
			LJUBIŠA DIKOVIĆ NA KONFERENCIJI NAČELNIKA GENERALŠTABOVA BALKANA	TRAMPE, IPAK JESI SRBIN!
12	SAD JE ZA POSTOJEĆE GRANICE NA BALKANU	JADRANKA JOKSIMOVIĆ: DO KRAJA JUNA OČEKUJEMO OTVARANJE JOŠ DVA POGLAVLJA	BRISEL GUBI AUTORITET U PRIŠTINI	HOĆE HARADINAJA ZA PREMIJERA, HOĆE RAT
	ALBANSKI PREDSEDIK NA KOSOVU	ŠANSA ZA UDRUŽIVANJE SNAGA U REGIONU	OKAMENJENI U KOSOVSKOJ ZABLUDI	DŽAFERI DAJE PENZIJE TERORISTIMA OVK
		VUČIĆ: SPREMNI ZA DUBLJU EKONOMSKU INTEGRACIJU REGIONA	MASAKRIRANJE ISTINE (4)	
		ODRŽIMO REKOM ZA BOLJU BUDUĆNOST	VUČIĆ: TEK ĆE BITI REČI O VILIJAMU VOKERU	
		VULINOVA DEMONSTRACIJA	ŠEST ZVEZDICA NA ZASTAVI KOSOVA - REGIONI „VELIKE ALBANIJE“	
13	MRZE SRBE ZATO ŠTO MNOGO VOLE PARE	NOVA VLAST TRENUTNO BEZ POSLA	PADA CENA GORIVA	MAKEDONIJU VEĆ PRETVORILI U ŠIPTARIJU
			KAKO JE TAJO GAZIO PREKO ALBANIJE	HARADINAJ PRETI: SRBI, UZEĆEMO VAM I NIŠ!
			ZAŠTO JE DEDA ZAPLAKAO	SVAKI DRUGI SRBIN DEBEO!
			HARADINAJ PRETI OTIMANJEM TREĆINE TERITORIJE SRBIJE	
			MASAKRIRANJE ISTINE (5)	

14	ALBANCE SMO POGREŠNO PROCENILI I POTCENILI		MASAKRIRANJE ISTINE (6) SARA NA UVAC DOLETELA PO MLADOŽENJU PADAJU MASKE ALBANSKA OPOZICIJA TRAŽI POŠTENE IZBORE AGENT CIA KOJI JE ISFABRIKOVAO „RAČAK” HARADINAJEV BRANILAC NEPOTREBNA JE BILO KAKVA PODELA U SRPSKOM KORPUSU	
15	ALBANCI NAM NEĆE UZETI NI MILIMETAR TERITORIJE	PLAVA KITA	SUDAR VOKERA SA ZVANIČNOM POLITKOM AMERIKE I RUSIJE	MUSLIJU PRETI SRBIJI I TRAŽI KEŠ IZ BUDŽETA
16	HARADINAJ PONIŽAVA EU	PATRIOTSKA FARBANJA SAGLASNOST VUČIĆA SA PUTINOM KOCIJANČIĆ: ŠTETNO POLITIČKO UPLITANJE U SUSEDNE DRŽAVE DVA SRBINA I SRBENDA	PRIPADNICI VS NA VOJNOJ VEŽBI U ALBANIJI NEĆE BITI NIKAKVE „VELIKE” ALBANIJE OKAMENJENI U KRAJU ISTORIJE BRISELSKI SPORAZUMI I „MAKEDONSKI SCENARIO”	MUSLIJU NAŠIM PARAMA PLAĆA 'VELIKU ALBANIJU' PUTIN: SRBIJI JE MESTO U EVROAZIJSKOJ UNIJI! HARADINAJ MOLI: AMERI, POMOZITE NAM PROTIV SRBA!
17	MMF: SRBIJA ĆE U 2018. IMATI RAST PRIVREDE 3,5 ODSTO	FRANCUSKI RIK MENADŽMENT NEZADOVOLJSTVA	A OD KUMA - ALMODOVAR JONUZU MUSLIJU MALO 13 MILIONA DINARA OD SRBIJE	ZAŠTO SE ĆUTI NA PRETNJE SRBIJI?! TAČI BI DA PIŠE NOVU ISTORIJU!? HARADINAJ SLAVI NA KOŠARAMA!?
18	RUSI: VELIKA ALBANIJA U ZAVRŠNOJ FAZI	PEHAR SAJMA NISU HAJDE DA VIDIMO KO LAŽE DAČIĆ ILI IZNENAĐENJE - NEKO KO NIJE U VLADI	ZAEV DOBIO MANDAT ZA SASTAVLJANJE MAKEDONSKE VLADE	SPAHIJU: RAMA ŠMRČE KOKAIN!
19	BUJANOVAC, PODELJENI GRAD	MAKEDONSKI RASPLET DAČIĆ: KORISTAN SUSRET U BRISLU	UVOZIMO KROMPIR IZ ALBANIJE I EGIPTA, A BACAMO IVANJIČKI	HOJT JI: PUTIN NAGOVARA DODIKA DA OTCEPI RS

20	<p>VUČIĆ: IDEJA VELIKE ALBANIJE VEOMA JE OPASNA PO REGION</p> <p>BENZIN JEFTINIJI ZA DVA DINARA PO LITRU</p>	<p>BRANKO RUŽIĆ: NE POSTOJI DOGOVOR - VUČIĆ PREDSEDNIK, DAČIĆ PREMIJER</p> <p>PRAVO NA REPLIKU</p>	<p>POČAST HEROJU SA KOŠARA</p> <p>VJAČESLAV VOLODIN 5. JUNA U SRBIJI</p> <p>KOSOVSKA (NE)ISPISANA ISTORIJA</p> <p>DAČIĆ: SVEDOCI SMO GOVORA I ZLOČINA IZ MRŽNJE</p>	<p>BRINU IZJAVE O 'VELIKOJ ALBANIJ'</p>
21	<p>SRBIJA NAJJAČA, AL' SE NATO PITA</p>		<p>ŽENA S HILJADU ZADUŽENJA</p> <p>U PROTEKLIH PET DANA GORIVO POJEFTINILO ZA 3,5 DINARA</p> <p>ZAHVALNI SMO RUSIJI, ŽELIMO DOBRE ODNOSI S AMERIKOM</p> <p>MIROĐIJA U TRI BALKANSKE ČORBE</p>	
22	<p>IZ VELIKOG TRNOVCA DROGA SE KRIJUMČARI U EVROPU</p>	<p>MISLI MAKROREGIONALNO, DELUJ LOKALNO</p> <p>BETON ZABETONIRAO VELIKU ALBANIJU</p>		
23	<p>ZVEZDA: IZBEĆI RENDŽERS, ZAObIĆI DINAMO U LE</p> <p>PARTIZANOV PRVI RIVAL VARDAR, ŽALGIRIS, DAČIJA...</p>	<p>EKIPA I STRUKA KOVAČI SVOJE SREĆE</p> <p>ILIR DEDA: VELIKOM ALBANIJOM OPSEDNUTO VOĐSTVO SRBIJE</p>	<p>SKOT LUKAVO IZJEDNAČAVA „VELIKU ALBANIJU” SA „VELIKOM SRBIJOM”</p> <p>PRVI FORUM O KULTURNOM NASLEDU KINE I ZEMALJA ISTOČNE I CENTRALNE EVROPE</p> <p>TEST ZA „CRNO-BELE” SU KVALIFIKACIJE ZA LŠ</p>	<p>KFOR POMAGAO OVK DA VADE ORGANE SRBIMA!</p> <p>ROGOZIN: RUSIJA ĆE ČUVATI GRANICE SRBIJE</p>
24	<p>MOGERINI: ZAUSTAVITE TENZIJE POD HITNO</p> <p>TRAMPOV SPECIJALAC ZA BALKAN</p>	<p>EVROPA BI MOGLA DA ZALUPI VRATA ZAPADNOM BALKANU</p>	<p>STIŽU NEIZBEŽNE RATE I TEŠKO RAZDUŽIVANJE SA „DAJNERSOM”</p> <p>POSLANICI PITALI O NATO-U, ODKB-U, GAŠIĆU I VOKERU</p>	

25	EDI RAMA SE BAŠ OPUSTIO U BRISELU	PREDSTAVLJENA „DISHARMONIJA“ MOGERINI: ZAPADNI BALKAN JE KLJUČAN ZA UNIJU TRAMPOV SPECIJALAC ZA BALKAN SAD INTERESUJE ODNOS SRBIJE PREMA RUSIJI, EU I KOSOVU	SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (2) VRATA EU OTVORENA ZA ZAPADNI BALKAN AHMETI: PLATFORMA IZ TIRANE SAMO DELIMIČNO U VLADINOM PROGRAMU	
26	RAMIN ŠOU U BRISELU	BRISELSKA VEČERA UBICE IZ KAFIĆA „PANDA“ OSTALE NEKAŽNJENE CRNA GORA SLEDEĆI DOMAĆIN SAMITA	RUSKI GAS „TURSKIM TOKOM“ DO SRBIJE PROBLEMATIČAN REGION OD KLJUČNOG ZNAČAJA SRBIJA OŠTRO REAGUJE NA IZVEŠTAJ NATO-A ODBRANA NIŠA SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (3)	ALBANAC NE DA SERGEJA SRBIJI! RUSIJA ĆE OSVOJITI I RS I SEVER KOSOVA
27		SNS JE ODLUČUJUĆA ZA STABILNOST U SRBIJI	SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (4) POLA VEKA POSLE: REVOLUCIONARNA 1967. GODINA	
28	TVORCU NAŠE PROPASTI		OD 1. JUNA NASILJE U PORODICI NEĆE MOĆI DA SE SAKRIJE SREDNJOŠKOLAC ČUVA TRADICIJU SRPSKOG I MAKEDONSKOG NARODA OTVORENA IZLOŽBA „SRBIJA- RAT I PLAKAT“	
29			VOKERU SAM IZNEO NAŠ PLAN I ZAHTEVE BEOGRADU	
30		DAN SENDVIČA	NAJVAŽNIJA SRPSKA KNJIGA	U BEOGRADU SKUP 142 KOMPANIJE

31	HARADINAJ: SRBIJA JE NAŠ NAJVEĆI NEPRIJATELJ	POBOLJŠAN REJTING SRBIJE	NE UVOZIMO ŽIVINSKO MESO IZ BRAZILA	PAMTIĆE ME KAO ŠREDERA
	U EVROPI NEMA VIŠE PET LAKIH KOMADA		GORIVO I DALJE POJEFTINJUJE	RAMUŠ HARADINAJ
	NASLEDNIKU OSTAVLJAM PUNU KASU		ČOTRIĆ NA ALBANSKOM	
			MAKEDONSKA AMBASADORKA POZVANA HITNO NA OBJAŠNJENJE U MSP	
		SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (8)		

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1			GRADIĆU SRBIJU SPRAT PO SPRAT	DAĆU SVE ZA SRBIJU
			RUŽIČASTI MAJ	
			DEŽURNI KRIVCI	
2		PROSTOR ZA SVEDOČENJA ŽRTAVA RATNIH ZLOČINA	GLOBALIZACIJA JE KAO SLOMLJENO OGLEDALO	
			SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (10)	
			SRBIJA OSPORILA NATO IZVEŠTAJ O REGIONU	
			DELIO TIKVICE DA IH HE BI POKLONIO TRGOVCU	
3	POLICIJA DA SPREČI NEMIRE	SRPSKA AFRIKIJADA U DOMU VS	SRPSKA DECA U VELIKOM RATU (11)	
4	POTOMCI SRPSKIH DEČAKA IZ ŠKOTSKE ODRŽALI SEĆANJE		KOSOVO U UN BIĆE SIGNAL ZA UJEDINJENJE SVIH ALBANACA	
	VUČIĆ I IVANOV OŠTRO SA ALBANSKIM PREDSTAVNICIMA		VUČIĆ I DAČIĆ NA SAMITU LIDERA JUGOISTOČNE EVROPE	
5	BIRATE ZLOČINCA ZA PREMIJERA, HOĆETE VELIKU ALBANIJU		SVE VIŠE MLADIH BEŽI IZ BIH	
			SRBIJA DOBILA AMBASADORE ZAŠTIĆENIH PODRUČJA PRIRODE	

6		KAKO SMO DOZVOLILI DA HEROJI POSTANU SENKE MALIĆI: DIZANJE PRAŠINE PRED NOVU FAZU DIJALOGA	DAČIĆ: SVI OSUDILI PONAŠANJE TAČIJA NA SAMITU „BRDOBRIONI”	RAMA I ZAEV DOGOVORILI UDAR NA SRBIJU! ŠEF CIA: NAPRAVITI I 'VELIKU ALBANIJU' I PRAVOSLAVNU UNIJU
7	ZRINJSKI I VARDAR SU MINE		ŽIVE OD KAMENA, A ŽELJNI ASFALTA „BERLIN PLUS” NIJE ZAMENA ZA ČLANSTVO U EU	
8	PRIJATELJSKI PRIČAM SA TIRANOM I PRIŠTINOM EVROPSKA UNIJA DAJE SRBIJI PARE DA RUSIJA NE BI OJAČALA UTICAJ		ĐUKANOVIĆ: EVROPSKA PERSPEKTIVA PROTIV VELIKE ALBANIJE ZLATO SRBIJE	KREĆE DŽIHAD NA BALKANU
9		SRBIJA OD 1997. DO 2017. - DVE DECENIJE TRAGANJA ZA BOLJIM ŽIVOTOM NEMAČKA NEDVOSMISLENO ODBIJA IDEJE O PROMENI GRANICA NA BALKANU	HVALA RUSIJI! „AVAZ”: EU DAJE JOŠ DVE MILIJARDE ZA BALKAN	U OKOLNIM ZEMLJAMA IMA 1,9 MILIONA SRBA
10	PIREUS BANKA ODLAZI SA BALKANA	SALVETE SU OPET U MODI PREMIJERKA KOJA SE NE PREDAJE	JELI OVAS IZ KONJSKE BALEGE	
11	SRBI U AFRICI		DAČIĆ: EU JE OPIJUM ZA ZAPADNI BALKAN IZBORI U TAMNOM VILAJETU	
12	DŽIHADISTI SA BALKANA TEMPIRANA BOMBA GRCI HOĆE DA PRODAJU VOJVOĐANSKU BANKU	SA 18,8 TONA ZLATA SRBIJA LIDER NA BALKANU	BEOGRAD U CRVENOM - VELŠANI UŽIVALI U SUNCU I PIVU ISLAND POBEDIO HRVATSKU U BUJANOVCU ŽIVI MANJE OD 12.000 ALBANACA	
13		DANAS PROJEKCIJA DOKUMENTARNOG FILMA „TUCOVIĆ I DRUGI” U PANČEVU VERUJEM DA JE MILOŠEVIĆ IMAO DOGOVOR DA SE ODREKNE KRAJINE	DEMOKRATIJA KAO SREDSTVO KONTROLE	

14	KURTI PREMIJER PRE HARADINAJA		DOGOVORENO MORA DA SE SPROVODI	
			ŠTA JE STVARNI SRPSKI IZVOZ	
			NATO MIRI ATINU I SKOPLJE	
			HVALA JAKŠIĆU!	
15			TRIDESET OSAM HRANITELJSKIH PORODICA SPREMNO DA PRIMI DECU MIGRANTE	TIBOR JE UMRO ZA SRBIJU I SVE NAS!
			VUČIĆ: TIBOR CERNA JE JEDAN OD 108 VELIČANSTVENIH	
16	PRVI HELIKOPTERI STIŽU POČETKOM 2019. GODINE	NAŠ, COCA-COLA ALJOŠA	HOJT JI: SAD BRINU ZBOG RUSKOG CENTRA U NIŠU	
			MAKEDONSKI PRIMER	
17	SRBI IMAJU NAJEFTINIJU STRUJU, A MAKEDONCI HRANU	OČEKUJE SE BLAGI RAST KAMATA	TADIJA SONDERMAJER, TVORAC „AEROPUTA”	LAŽNI CRNOGORSKI PRINC NAMAGARČIO EVROPSKI DŽET-SET
	SARADNJA VODI REGION NAPRED	KAD MRAK LEGNE NA ZEMLJU	TEATAR APSURDA	
18	ŠERIF GRADI ZVEZDIN TIM ZA LIGU EVROPE		ILJIR META: EDI RAMA U LOŠIM ODNOSIMA SA SVIM SUSEDIMA	
			BOMBARDOVANJE SRBIJE SLIČNO JE NAPADU NA NAGASAKI	
			NA „LINIJE VATRE” IZMEĐU SAD I RUSIJE	
			ALBANSKI SAN	
19		MORO: EVROINTEGRACIJE SRBIJE NE IDU SPORO	DANAS U NIONU ŽREB ZA FUDBALSKE EVROKUPOVE	MNOGI SU KRIVI ZA AGRESIJU NA SRBIJU
				ZAEV OKRUŽEN MAFIJAŠIMA
20		ANGELINA AJHORST: REGION JE POTREBAN EVROPSKOJ UNIJI	STUDENTI UB LISTOM PROTIV ULASKA SRBIJE U NATO	
21		GORAN JEŠIĆ: NISMO U REDU ZA ČESTITANJE	ERDOGAN: IDEJA „VELIKE ALBANIJE” NEPRIHVATLJIVA ZA TURSKU	DONALD TRAMP PROTIV TZV. 'VELIKE ALBANIJE!?'

22	ŠESTORICA SA BALKANA RATUJU ZA EL ASADA		KARPENTER: AKO NA BALKANU IZBIJE KONFLIKT, SAD NE SMEJU DA SE MEŠAJU	
23	SRBIJA I UNIJA PRONAŠAO SAM ZAJEDNIČKI JEZIK SA KONJEM	BERLIN ŽELI DA OŽIVI „EVROPSKU PERSPEKTIVU“ BALKANA	DABOVIĆ: KOKAIN NIJE MOJ GRUPNI PORTRET BEZIMENIH HEROINA UVREDE I OPTUŽBE NA SEDNICI SO BUJANOVAC DAČIĆ: SRBIJA SPREMNA DA SE POVEZUJE	
24	HARADINAJ ŽELI DA ZAPALI BALKAN	UDARNA DESNICA DRŽAVE	PISMO EMANUELA MAKRONA DIJASPORA U ČORSOKAKU	
25			ALBANIJA: KONTROLA ILI REFORMISANJE SISTEMA ERDOGAN UPOZORAVA TIRANU	
26	PARTIJA EDIJA RAME POBEDNIK IZBORA PRIORITET JE DIJALOG SA SRBIMA NA KOSOVU PUTINOV KGB DRUG JE RUSKI ČOVEK ZA BALKAN	STRANKA RAME FAVORIT INAUGURVANIJA	SOCIJALISTIČKA PARTIJA POBEDNIK IZBORA U ALBANIJU (NE)ZABORAVLJENI VELJKO PETROVIĆ	SRBINA KOJI JE POGINUO U SIRIJI SAHRANJUJU U MOSKVI
27		PET ZADATAKA ZA EDIJA RAMU		RODIĆ SAD RADI I ZA ŠIPTARE!?
28			SAD: SRBIJA ULOŽILA NAPORE PROTIV TRAFIKINGA, ALI NEDOVOLJNE OD BALKANSKE UNIJE SVI ĆE PROFITIRATI AUTORITET NOVE SRPSKE POLITIKE GRČKA PROTESTUJE ZBOG VELIKOALBANSKOG SPOMENIKA U TIRANI ALBANIJA: RAMINI SOCIJALISTI OSVOJILI 48 ODSTO GLASOVA	

29	TANJA FAJON: „NAORUŽATI“ SE NAJBOLJIM KADROVIMA	SRBI ČEKAJU KONAČNE REZULTATE PRVE OPTUŽNICE PROTIV OVK MOŽDA VEĆ IDUĆE SEDMICE	BEZ VIZA PUTUJEMO U ČAK 111 ZEMALJA
30	OTKRIVAJU TAJNE CARIČINOG GRADA	U MAKEDONIJI DIZEL JEFTINIJI SKORO 55 DINARA NEGO KOD NAS	

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1	KANADANI OTVARAJU RUDNIK U SRBIJI		PRVE OPTUŽNICE NAKON FORMIRANJA VLADE KOSOVA BOŠKOVIĆ: CRNOGORSKO ČLANSTVO U NATO-U JE OD NAJBOLJEG INTERESA ZA RUSIJU	
2			HOD IZMEĐU ZAPADA I ISTOKA	
3			VUČIĆ I TAČI U BRISELU	
4	„RUSKA VOJSKA UBILO KASAPINA SA KOSOVA“			RUSI UBILI ŠIPTARA, KOLJAČA ISIS
5	ALBANCI SPROVADE PLAN, SRBI MORAJU DA SE UKLJUČE		BALKANSKA RUTA	
6	REGION NEĆE DOSTIĆI EU NI ZA 30 GODINA BALKAN JE KOCKARSKI STO SA MALIM ULOGOM	STEFANOVIĆ: PRIJAVILI SMO SVE, NISAM ČUO ZA TE FIRME	UGLJANIN PRAVI „NAUČNI SKUP O SJENIČKOJ DEKLARACIJI	
7		NAŠA EVRO-PODOBNA DIKTATURA		TIHONOV: TRAMP BI HAOS NA BALKANU!
8	VREME JE ZA SUŠTINSKE POLITIČKE ISKORAKE		STEVAN O STRAHOTAMA NA PLATOU KAJMAKČALANA EULEKS TRAŽI HAPŠENJE KRIVACA ZA MARTOVSKI POGROM	IZJAVA DANA
9				

10	KRVAVA ISTORIJA SRBA I ALBANACA	DIMITRIJE KONJOVIĆ, TVORAC IKARUSA	KO NAS KRADE BLAGO SREBRNE PLANINE	
11	EVROPA GUBI ZAPADNI BALKAN	GLAVNA TEMA - TURSKI TOK	KOLAŠINAC SE VRAĆA TAKMIČENJIMA U NOVOM PAZARU NAFTA POSKUPELA, GORIVO JOŠ JEFTINIJE	VUČIĆ: ERDOGAN U SRBIJU DOVODI 150 BIZNISMENA
12		BRNABIĆ I DAČIĆ DANAS U TRSTU MORVAJ: BERLINSKI PROCES JE SADA NAJVAŽNIJI FORMAT EU ZA REGION PRINOS MANJI, ROD KVALITETNIJI	RAMA: GASOVOD TAP IĆI ĆE PREKO KOSOVA SRBIJA, ZEMLJA SA UMERENIM RIZIKOM POSLOVANJA	SRBIJA STABILNA ZA INVESTICIJE
13		USPEŠAN PRVI INOSTRANI NASTUP ANE BRNABIĆ	NOVA INICIJATIVA ZA BALKAN PODRŠKA JEDINSTVENOM EKONOMSKOM PROSTORU	
14	FUDBALSKI MENADŽER KOJI ĆE ZAKOMPLIKOVATI SITUACIJU	BALKANSKA PRESTONICA ATLETIKE SVAKU TREĆU MEDICINSKU USLUGU SAMI PLAĆAMO	DVOSTRUKI STANDARDI A. LOJPURA	
15	ALBANCIMA JOŠ NISU SVESNI DA IMAJU DRŽAVU	DEBATA O ODSUSTVU DEBATE	PRIVIDAN UTISAK O BROJNOSTI ALBANACA POSETIOCI DOKUMENTE U "BOROSANAMA"	AMERIKANCI NAM PRETE PUČEM PARTIZAN PROTIV GRČKE ZVEZDE
16	KUPUJU POVRĆE I NA KOMAD		SRBIJA MEĐU SAMITIMA	
17		PAROVIĆ: PRIPREMAMO SE ZA IZBORE U BEOGRADU I ARANDELOVCU	DA RATOVI REČIMA NE IZRASTU U NOVE ORUŽANE SUKOBNE	
18			STRUČNOST ISPRED POLITIKE, SLUČAJ „FIJATA” BALKANSKI POPISI	

19	IZA BORBE ZA BALKAN CUCI GAS MLADI IZ CELE EVROPE O TOLERANCIJI		SRBIJA JE FAKTOR NESTABILNOSTI JER IMA INTERESE I IZVAN SVOJIH GRANICA PENS: SAD PODRŽAVAJU SRBIJU NA PUTU KA EU	
20		EKOLOŠKE KUĆE OD SLAME	RATNI CILJ POSTIGNUT ZA KONFERENCIJSKIM STOLOM SMANJUJE SE KORPUS SRPSKOG NARODA U OKRUŽENJU REGIONU JE POTREBAN MARŠALOV PLAN	
21	ALBANAC PALIO KOD PODGORICE, NA LUŠTICI ZAPALJENE GUME	ČETIRI FILOZOFA NOVE ATLANTIDE AMELA I HARVI	KAPLANOVI DUHOVI	GRCI OBJASNILI HASIJU DA JE KOSOVO SRBIJA
22		ZA BOLJU SADAŠNJOST I BUDUĆNOST	IZNENADILO BI ME DA KOSOVO BUDE USLOV ZA EVROPSKU UNIJU POTOMCI RUSKIH IZBEGLICA NEGUJU SECANJE NA PATRIJARHA VARNAVU APISOV KRAJ HANIBAL ANTE SRPSKA	JONUZ MUSLIJU KAŽE DA SU ALBANCI U SRBIJI UGROŽENI
23			SRPSKI STUDENTI KRECU NA KRSTARENJE KROZ EU	
24	KVALITET I SNAGA BRENDA VELEMAJSTORI ZA GRADNJU ZAPADNI BALKAN IZMEDJU CETIRI VELIKE SILE	NIKO NE ZNA ŠTA TRAMP HOĆE NA BALKANU I U SRBIJI	BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA ZEMLJA SA NAJZAGADJENIJEM VAZDUHOM U EVROPI	ŠIPTARI RUŠE ZAEVA ZBOG KOSOVA!
25	KOVACEVIC: MORAMO DA PRODJEMO CRNO-BELE	PENS DOLAZI U POSETU CRNOJ GORI	VECINA U BIH PODRZAVA EVROPSKI KURS ZEMLJE PODRSKA ISLAMSKOJ DRZAVI UKIDA ALBANSKU NACIJU?!	

26	SAMO POLOVINA SRBA KORISTI INTERNET KOSOVO	KO SU LUDVIG I HANA HIRSFELD	RAMA: BUDUĆNOST I DOBROBIT NARODA IZMEDJU MITA I STVARNOSTI VLAST TREBA DA PRIPADA LOKALNIM SAMOUPRAVAMA DIPLOMATSKI STATUS SRHC U NISU VAZAN ZBOG FINANSIJA SRBI DRUGI U REGIONU PO BROJU MOBILNIH	
27	SANKCIJE RUSIJI RAZBESNELE EU GLASNO RECI ISTINU O KOSOVU		MALE SANSE KOSOVA ZA CLANSTVO U UNESKU	MUSLIJU DOBIO 40 DANA ROBIJE TRAMP ODJAVIO SIPTARE!
28	HRVATI ZRTVE SUKOBA RUSIJE I SAD DIJALOG, JER MI DECE ZA RAT NEMAMO	ČLANSTVO KOSOVA U INTERPOLU DOBRO ZA SRBIJU NIJE SVE U BROJKAMA, NESTO JE I U VUCICU	EVROPSKA KOMISIJA O SRBIJI: BUDZET DOBRO, RAST USPOREN POBOLJSANA KREDITNA KLIMA U SRBIJI	MUSLIJU: NEK ME HAPSE, NE BEŽIM
29	POBOLJSAN KREDITNI REJTING REFERENDUM	ALBANSKI PAZL BALKANSKA TURNEJA SEKSPIROVSKA PRICA O KRALJU ROSINJE		AMERI BEZE SA KOSOVA!
30	MLADIĆ KOJI JE UPRAVLJAO DRONOM NA UTAKMICI BIĆE IZRUČEN SRBIJI		MORINA "NA ČEKANJU" UPOZNAJU EVROPU S VRECOM NA LEDJIMA DIJALOG O DIJALOGU	
31	DIJALOG O KOSOVU JE NAS ISPIT ZRELOSTI		ZAEV U SARAJEVU TEST ZA SRBIJU PESNIK ZLOSRECNE SUDBINE	AFERA DRON.HRVATI IZRUČUJU OPASNOG ZLOČINCA. SPAJDER- ŠIPTAR USKORO U SRBIJI. ALBANCI NAM PRETE RATOM! BIVSI KAPITEN CRVENE ZVEZDE PROLUPAO

**NEWSPAPER
/ AUGUST**

1		MORINA TRAŽI AZIL U HRVATSKOJ	IZ EVROPE NAJVIŠE PRIPADNIKA ID IZ BIH, KOSOVA I ALBANIJE	ISMAIL MORINA OD HRVATSKE TRAŽI AZIL
			INICIJATIVE OD TRSTA DO PODGORICE	
			MORINA TRAŽI AZIL DA NE BI BIO IZRUČEN SRBIJI	
2		„SLUČAJ DRON SRBIJA TRAŽI OD HRVATSKE ISPORUČENJE ISMAILA MORINAJA, A ON AZIL U HRVATSKOJ; ŠTA BI BILO DA JE NA DRONU BILA MAPA VELIKE SRBIJE“	MERA SAMOODBRANE	
			AMERIČKI POTPREDSEDNIK U NAJMLAĐOJ ČLANICI NATO	
			PLAĆA LI MAKEDONIJA CENU ULASKA U NATO PREKO LEDA SRBIJE?	
3	MODNI KRIK EDIJA RAME	„ŠKELJZEN: BRANIO BIH PRAVO NA ISTICANJE ZASTAVE“	PENS – RUSIJA HOĆE NA SILU DA CRTA GRANICE NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU	
4			SRBIJA U JADRANSKOM ZAGRLJAJU	HIT ALBANSKI PREMIJER PRAVI SKANDALE. RAMA PATIKAMA ŠOKIRAO I PENZA
			KROZ UNUTRAŠNJI DIJALOG DO KONCENZUSA O KIM	
5				
6				
7			„POLA JUGOSLAVIJE“ U BORBI ZA EVROPU	
8	SRPSKO-ALBANSKI NARKO-KLAN ŠVERCOVAO DROGU U EVROPU			
9	OVO SU PUTEVI MARIHUANA		SVEDOK GOLGOTE SRPSKOG NARODA	
	POREKLO ALBANKE			
10			SPUTNJIK: DAUT HARADINAJ NA PRVOJ OPTUŽNICI SUDA ZA ZLOČINE OVK	

11	UBICA, TERORISTA I DLIER DROGE	„KAKO KOMENTARIŠETE IZJAVU VUČIČA DA SRBI I ALBANCI TREBA DA SARADUJU ZATO ŠTO ĆE ALBANACA U BUDUĆNOSTI BITI VIŠE, A SRBA SVE MANJE?“	KAPLANOV NAKNADNI GLAS ZA BOMBARDOVANJE SRBA	AFERA DRON. ALBANCI MOLE: NE DAJTE MORINU SRBIJI
12	POSTOJE DOKAZI ZA ZLOČINE 160 ČLANOVA OVK		UKINUTA ODLUKA O IZRUČENJU MORINE VLADA MAKEDONIJE UKINULA UREDBU O JEZIKU ČLANSTVO U EU, PA O TRAJNOM REŠENJU	ŠIPTARISANJE. HRVATSKA NAM NE DA MORINU
13			DIJASPORA GLEDA U MATICU	
14			RAZUMNO O KOSOVU	
15	OSEĆAM VUČIČEVU ODLUČNOST DA REŠI KOSOVSKI PROBLEM			
16		SRBI SA JUGA POČELI DA LETUJU I U ALBANIJU		
17				
18				
19	MORINI AZIL ILI GA IZRUČUJU			HRVATSKA ĆE MORINU IPAK IZRUČITI SRBIJI?! EDI RAMA PODRŽAVA KRIMINALCA
20				
21				
22				
23				PACOLI GURA RAMUŠA HARADINAJA DA BI BIO ŠEF DIPLOMATIJE
24		SRBIJA NAJVEĆI IZVOZNIK NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU		
25				
26				
27	EDI RAMA DOČEKAO PREMIJERE IZ REGIONA U BELIM PATIKAMA		BRNABIČEVA: MAKEDONIJA NEUTRALNA OKO PRIJEMA KOSOVA U UNESKO	

28	REGION U ŠKOLI ZA ULAZAK U EU		
29		RAMA PREDSTAVIO NOVU VLADU	
30			MORINA MOŽE DA BUDE IZRUČEN SRBIJI
31			

NEWSPAPER /
SEPTEMBER

Danas

ПОЛИТИКА



1			"ZAPIS DUŠE" PREDSTAVLJEN U SKADRU	
2			VUČIĆ: SLUČAJ MITROVIĆ TREBALO DA POKAŽE KO ODLUČUJE NA KOSOVU APEL PROTIV NASILNE ALBANIZACIJE NA JUGU KOSOVA	
3	OŽILJCI NA DUŠI HEROJA SA KOŠARA ZASTAVA VELIKE ALBANIJE, POTOP I PREKID U ZABGREBU	ALBANCI I SRBI I ALBANCIMA I SRBIMA JE POTREBNA KATARZA	ZBIRKA PRIPOVEDAKA ISMAILA KADAREA	
4				
5				
6	SPUTNJIK: PRIMENJUJE SE TIRANSKA PLATFORMA		SAD POKLONILE ALBANIJI ŠEST "HAMVIJA STOILKOVIĆ: VLADA ZAEVA POČELA PRIMENU TIRANSKE PLATFORME O ALBANSKOM JEZIKU	HRVATI NAM IPAK IZRUČUJU MORINU?
7	TRAMPOV SPECIJALAC PRITISKA SRBIJU DA SE OTRGNE OD RUSIJE DNK I SVEDOCI TERETE MORINU		KUBUROVIĆ: AKO GA IZRUČE, MORINA ĆE IMATI FER SUĐENJE	NELA KUBUROVIĆ: MORINA ĆE IMATI PRAVIČNO SUĐENJE OČAJAN SPAJDER-ŠIPTAR PISAO ALBANSKOM PREMIJERU; ADVOKATI: MORINA DŽABE TRAŽI POMOĆ OD ALBANACA
8				
9			MORINA PISAO RAMI	

10	HARADINAJEVI NAPREDNJACI	ALBANCI I SRBI 2 TAVORENJE I TALJIGANJE	
11	GUBITNIK		BAŠTINA SRPSKIH RATNIKA: OD MATHAUZENA DO KAJMAKČALANA
12		MOGUĆ SASTANAK BEOGRAD-PRIŠTINA- TIRANA	
13			PRVI PUT OD 1999 VLAST U PRIŠTINI ZAVISI OD SRBA RAKIĆ GARANTUJE BRZO FORMIRANJE ZSO
14			SUD: MUSLIJU NEĆE DOBITI 16 MILIONA
15			ČUVANJEM IMOVINE SRBIJE ČUVA SE I SRPSKI NAROD NA KIM
16			SUVERENITET I SARADNJA BALKANSKIH NARODA
17			
18	RAMA: SRBIJA NEDOSTAJE NA NATO MAPI		ALBANSKA RIVIJERA UMESTO KUĆA GRČKE MANJINE
19		ALBANSKA GOLGOTA I ALBANSKA RIVIJERA	
20			INTERVJU: ISTORIČARI PIŠU ZA ONE KOJI HOĆE DA ZNAJU
21			
22			VUČIĆ: SRBIJA SE VRAĆA U SVET
23			
24			POVRATAK JE I KADA MLADI NE ODLAZE S KOSOVA
25			TUŽILAŠTVO U BG-U ZAVRŠILO ISTRAGU: SRBI I ALBANCI DILOVALI DROGU
26			RAMA LOBIRAO ZA KOSOVO U UN

27	
28	SRPSKA LISTA PREPREKA TAČIJEVOJ VOJSCI RAMI I HARADINAJU NEOBJAŠNJIVA BLOKADA KOSOVA U UNESKU
29	
30	VOLITE OTADŽBINU KAO ŠTO ALBANCI VOLE AMERIKU

