

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN TELEVISION AND RADIO BROADCASTING IN RUSSIA: A MYTH OR REALITY?

Iryna Ulasiuk, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

ABSTRACT

With the collapse of the Soviet empire the Russian Federation had to decide how to address the issue of linguistic minorities which took on a particular urgency because of the increasing recognition of the threat of extinction faced by many minority languages.

A prerequisite for the preservation of languages is their active use in all written and oral communication¹. Therefore, the importance of newspapers, radio and TV programmes and other electronic media in minority languages can hardly be underestimated.

Russia's media have lived through a stagnant period of state control and involvement followed by the complex and rapid evolution and diversification. The media have mirrored the changing nature of state activities and responsibilities and the turbulent socio-economic and political climate of the times.

How do minority language media fit in this complex process of the formation of the Russia media? What is done at the legislative level in order to secure their position?

This essay focuses on these and other questions and tries to establish the relationship between the right to freedom of expression and language in the broadcasting media in the context of the Russian Federation. It attempts to evaluate legal and political rationales invoked by this state in consideration of the right to freedom of expression and language as reflected in the broadcasting media, questions the feasibility of these rationales and possibly offers alternative approaches.

... nationals belonging to ... linguistic minorities shall be placed in every respect on a footing of perfect equality with the other nationals of the state.²

1. INTRODUCTION

Freedom of expression is among the most important of the rights guaranteed by the international human rights treaties because of its fundamental role in underpinning democracy.

The freedom of expression of every person, including persons belonging to national minorities embraces the right to receive, seek and impart information and ideas in a language of their choice.

¹ PACE Doc. 8126 of 2 June 1998 *Endangered Uralic Minority Cultures*, Rapporteur T. Isohookana-Asunmaa

² *Advisory Opinion on Minority Schools in Albania*, 1935 P.C.I.J. (ser. A/B) No.64, at p.17

Access to the media in one's own language, as part of freedom of expression, is extremely important for minority language speakers for maintaining and developing their linguistic identity and it also 'determines whether minorities have access to social, economic and political opportunities'³.

Furthermore, media is of great importance for the protection and promotion of minority languages themselves. The presence of minority languages in the media, particularly on television strengthens 'its social prestige, which ... is a crucial factor for minority language protection and promotion'⁴.

Unfortunately, practice shows that, minorities come across a number of obstacles in their access to TV and radio programmes in their own language. These result from 'economic circumstances limiting the commercial viability of producing and broadcasting programmes in small minority languages. In some cases, however, it may result from deliberate exclusion, and be part of a political strategy to "protect" one language at the expense of others, for example by means of quotas, restrictions on ownership, refusal of broadcast licences, or discriminatory regulation or taxation'⁵.

What becomes clear from these general observations is that efforts are needed to guarantee a media environment in which a variety of ideas and information can flourish as communicated in various languages.

This is particularly true of countries like Russia, the case study of this essay, unique in its linguistic diversity of more than 150 co-existing languages⁶ and characterized by a complex array of linguistic needs and desires of speakers of minority languages.

While nothing seems to be threatening Russia's dominant language, Russian⁷, one third of all the languages used in the Russian Federation (RF) are in a delicate situation, facing at times the most immediate threat of extinction.⁸

³ OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities official site, available at: <http://www.osce.org/hcnm/23621.html>

⁴ Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Switzerland, Second monitoring cycle, para.118.

⁵ OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities official site, available at: <http://www.osce.org/hcnm/23621.html>

⁶ The official site of the 2002 All-Russia census: <http://www.perepis2002.ru>.

⁷ According to the 2002 All-Russia census, Russian is spoken by 142.6 million (98.3%) of the population of the country

⁸ See Neroznak, V.P. (ed.) 2002 *Red Book of the Languages of Russia*, Moscow: Academia. [В.П. Нерознак *Языки народов России. Красная книга: Энциклопедический словарь-справочник*, М.: Академия].

What place is afforded to such languages in the Russian media is not immediately obvious in view of the tremendous changes the Russian media system has undergone over the last 20 years. As Kachkaeva and others indicate:

Television lived through decentralisation, redistribution of property, information wars, the "era of oligarchs", and finally the transfer of ownership of national commercial channels to government controlled holdings. The industry developed, the advertising market grew, programming policy changed, and new channels were launched. The monolithic ideological model of Soviet state television is now being replaced by another model – commercial entertainment-based TV aimed first and foremost at generating profit.⁹

So, how do minority language media fit in this complex process of the formation of the Russia media? What is done at the legislative level in order to secure their position? These are the principle questions that the essay addresses.

2. HIGHER LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN BROADCASTING MEDIA IN RUSSIA

2.1. RUSSIA'S EUROPEAN OBLIGATIONS

The recognition of the importance of the right to freedom of expression in the canon of human rights is borne out at the European level by the Council of Europe's European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). By ratifying the ECHR and FCNM¹⁰, Russia has assumed obligations to protect the freedom of expression of, among others, numerous linguistic minorities that inhabit its territory. More precisely, it agreed to guarantee 'freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers'¹¹ and 'in the minority language.'¹²

2.2. CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

⁹ Kachkaeva, A., Kiriya, I., Libergal, G. (2006) *Television in the Russian Federation: Organisational Structure, Programme Production and Audience*, at p.5. The report was prepared by Internews Russia for the European Audiovisual Observatory.

¹⁰ Russia it has also signed but not yet ratified the ECRML

¹¹ Article 10 of the ECHR

¹² Article 9 of the FCNM

At the constitutional level¹³ there are several particular characteristics which form the background to the Russian state's language policies and are immediately relevant to the language regulation in the media.

These are the guarantees of equality regardless of nationality and language;¹⁴ the right of everyone to use his/her native language, and to the free choice of the language of communication¹⁵; the proclamation of Russian as the state language on the whole territory of the RF¹⁶, the right of the national republics to establish their state languages functioning as parallel official languages of the given territories¹⁷.

Finally, the freedom to express opinions and receive and impart information as the basic democratic value is guaranteed in Article 29 of the Constitution.

While Article 29¹⁸ does not explicitly mention national minorities, it establishes the universal right to freedom of thought and opinion.¹⁹

Obviously the imparting and reception of ideas is only possible where the language of communication is understood. In this respect, not directly referring to it, Article 29 implies the free choice of language of expression and states that expression, whether written or oral²⁰, can never be prohibited on the ground that it is in a particular language.

Article 29(2) further recognises that the media can contribute to seriously worsening the interethnic tensions by inciting hatred and hostility between members of different ethnic groups. Article 29(2) explicitly prohibits such actions together with the propaganda of the linguistic supremacy of one ethnic group over another²¹.

¹³ Constitution of the Russian Federation, adopted on December 12, 1993

¹⁴ Article 19(2)

¹⁵ Article 26(2)

¹⁶ Article 68(1)

¹⁷ Article 68(2)

¹⁸ Article 29 of the Constitution guarantees the freedom of expression in the following terms:

1. *Everyone* shall be guaranteed freedom of thought and speech.
2. Propaganda or agitation, which arouses social, racial, *national* or religious hatred and hostility shall be prohibited. Propaganda of social, racial, *national*, religious or *linguistic supremacy* shall also be prohibited.
3. Nobody shall be forced to express his thoughts and convictions or to deny them.
4. *Everyone* shall have the right freely to seek, receive, transmit, produce and disseminate information *by any legal means*. The list of types of information, which constitute State secrets, shall be determined by federal law.
5. The *freedom of the mass media* shall be guaranteed. Censorship shall be prohibited.

¹⁹ Article 29(1)

²⁰ Reference is made to mass media generally, that is both print and broadcasting media.

²¹ In accordance with Article 282 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation the punishment for such actions ranges from a fine to imprisonment.

These, in brief, are the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of expression which give a context in which minority languages are seen as a constituent part of the said freedom.

3. LEGISLATIVE GUARANTEES OF LANGUAGES RIGHTS IN BROADCASTING MEDIA

Before 2005 the order of the use of the languages in the broadcasting media in Russia was regulated by Article 20 of the *Law On Languages*²².

It states, in part concerning radio and television broadcasts, that,

1. ... broadcasts of all-Russian TV and radio programmes are conducted in the Russian language as the state language of the Russian Federation.
2. In the mass media of the subjects of the Russian Federation, the Russian language, the state languages of the republics, as well as languages of the peoples living on their territories are used.
3. In translating and dubbing cinema and video production, the state language of the Russian Federation, the state languages of republics and other languages are used, taking into account the interests of the population.

Thus, the law specifically provided that the all-Russian TV and radio programmes are to be conducted in the Russian language and completely excluded the use of minority languages in federal radio and TV programming.

In 2005 Article 3.1(9) of the adopted *Law On the State Language*²³ also prescribed the mandatory use of the Russian language in:

... the activity of all-Russian, regional and municipal organizations of television and radio broadcasting ...

However, unlike *the Law on Languages*, it made an important reservation: it provided for the use of languages other than Russian

... for the activity of organisations of television and radio broadcasting ... founded specifically for the purpose of performing television and radio broadcasting ... in the state languages of the republics of the Russian Federation, other languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation or foreign languages ... subjects of the federation²⁴.

This represented, 'an improvement on the wording of Article 20 paragraph 1 of the 1991 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation'²⁵.

²² *Law On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation* No. 1807-1, adopted on October 25, 1991

²³ Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 53-Φ3 of 1 June 2005

²⁴ Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of national Minorities, Opinion on the Russian Federation, ACFC/INF/OP/I(2003)005, Strasbourg, 13 September 2002, para.76

With regard to the regional broadcast media, the order of use of the languages is determined by both the federal legislation and the legislation of the subjects of the Russian Federation²⁶.

Thus, at the federal level, Article 20(2) of the *Law on Languages* provides that together with Russian other languages given an official status as well as non-official languages spoken by people residing in the given administrative subject of the Russian Federation may be used.

At the regional level, the relationship of ethnic minorities with the state, with the dominant national groups in the given region and with the media has evidenced a quite predictable problem: in their search to protect the declared state language, some republics have either introduced regulations allowing only for the use of Russian and the language of the titular nation in the public TV and radio of the subject of the federation,²⁷ or have introduced very high thresholds for the use of minority languages in the media.²⁸ These practices have been deemed by the Advisory Committee under the FCNM as ‘not suitable for regions with a large number of residents who have other minority languages as their language’ and ‘too restrictive’ in nature for the prevailing circumstances.²⁹

Furthermore, Russia’s European obligations require that national minorities should have the opportunity both to access the state-run, mainstream media in their language as well as to create and use their own media.

As Moring indicates,

The minority language speakers are frequently faced with questions about whether to offer their own services on separate radio stations or television channels with very meagre resources, or rather to resign broadcasting of programmes in their languages to slots on a service offered in the majority language. The latter situation prevails.³⁰

²⁵ Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Second Opinion on the Russian Federation, ACFC/OP/II(2006)004, Strasbourg, 2 May 2007, para.180

²⁶ RF Law on Languages, Article 20(4)

²⁷ Article 28 of the 1992 Law of the Republic of Buryatia on the Languages of the Peoples of the Republic of Buryatia

²⁸ Article 19 of the 1996 Law of the Republic of Tatarstan on the Languages of the Peoples of Tatarstan allows the use a minority language in the media if the minority in question accounts for a majority of the population of the given territory.

²⁹ Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Opinion on the Russian Federation, ACFC/INF/OP/I(2003)005, Strasbourg, 13 September 2002, para.77

³⁰ Moring T.(2007) *Functional Completeness in Minority Language Media* in Cormack, M., Hourigan, N. (eds.) *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, Multilingual Matters:138, at p.14

The two options deserve our attention.

First, the presence of national minorities in the mainstream media is provided through the Russia's national radio and television broadcasting company – VGTRK- which has slots for broadcasting by regional radio stations and television channels, and whenever applicable they broadcast in the national language of the region³¹. However, since the end of 1990s the VGTRK has been re-organised with the aim of centralising programming and financing structures. In 2004 the Government has adopted a resolution³² by which as part of the reorganisation, the VGTRK's regional stations (GTRKs) have lost their status as financially and administratively independent units and become subdivisions of the Moscow-based holding company rather than independent legal entities.³³ Thus, all funding for local VGTRK affiliates now comes through the Moscow organization.

The reform, has also presumably resulted in 'the 'centralizing' of its programming and radically reducing the amount of locally produced informational programming available in the regions.'³⁴ 'local broadcasters were reduced to mere retransmitters of the programming produced in Moscow'³⁵. As a result, in some regions 'the amount of broadcasting time available for regionally produced programs has 'been considerably reduced, with particular implications for transmissions in minority languages.'³⁶ On a nation-wide scale, regional GTRK air time decreased from 900-1,200 hours a year to 590 hours.

³¹ McGonagle, T., Richter, A. (2004) *Regulation of Minority-Language Broadcasting*, IRIS plus, Legal Observations of the European Audiovisual Observatory, Issue 2, p.6

³² Resolution № 111 of 26.02.2004 *On the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company* [Постановление от 26 февраля 2004 г. № 111 О Всероссийской государственной телевизионной и радиовещательной компании], available at: <http://www.government.ru/content/governmentactivity/rfgovernmentdecisions/archive/2004/03/02/5392268.htm>

³³ Freedom House report on Russia 2005, available at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=47&nit=366&year=2005>; See also *Statement of the Union of the Journalists of Russia* of 24.02.2005 [Заявление Союза журналистов России], available at <http://www.grani.ru/Society/Media/Television/m.85107.html>; Melnikov, M. (2005) *Russia: Authorities vs. Media*, a Weekly Bulletin, Issue 4 (107), January 18-24, Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations

³⁴ *Journalists Alarmed About Reorganization Of State Broadcasting...*, RFE/RL Newslines, 05-02-24

³⁵ NGO Shadow Report (2006) *On the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Russian Federation*, para. 239

³⁶ Nyman, A.-S. (2006) *Russian Federation: The Human Rights Situation of the Mari Minority of the Republic of Mari El: A Study of the Titular Nationality of One of Russia's Ethnic Regions*, Joint Report of two NGOs, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and Moscow Helsinki Group, at p.33

In 2005, following a parliamentary enquiry, air time was reportedly added to certain regional GTRK³⁷, however, the general approach regional broadcasters still needs further clarification.

Second, with regard to the establishment of the broadcasting companies, the *Law on NCA*³⁸ in Article 4 envisages the possibility for a national-cultural autonomy ‘... to create mass media ...’ and ‘to receive and disseminate information in its national (native) language’. And it further stipulates that this could be done in the order established by the legislation of the Russian Federation.

Neither the *Law on NCA* nor the *Law on Mass Media*, however, presupposes the application of any special regulatory norms in order to ensure access to broadcasting outlets for minorities.

The *Law On Mass Media* requires that the language in which a mass medium is going to be broadcast should be specified by the founder of a media outlet during the registration process.³⁹ The language indication does not influence the outcome of the registration process, although, interestingly, the Law requires re-registration if the broadcasting language is changed.⁴⁰ It means that if a broadcaster would like to add an additional language, for example, a minority language, to its broadcasting service, it would have to be re-registered according to the same procedures by which it was originally registered. A simple notification procedure⁴¹ would save time and would definitely look more attractive for a potential minority language broadcaster.

The *Law On Mass Media* and a number of government resolutions also establish the general conditions of issuing and canceling broadcasting licenses⁴². Regrettably, neither the law nor the resolutions directly address the conditions that would facilitate minority participation in creating broadcasting media.

In all fairness, the law presupposes that the licensing of sound radio and television broadcasting is carried out on a non-discriminatory basis. Nevertheless, while there are no legal obstacles to obtaining licences for broadcasting in a language other than

³⁷ NGO Shadow Report (2006) *On the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Russian Federation*, para.240

³⁸ Federal Law No. 74-Φ3 of 17.06.1996 *On National Cultural Autonomy*; NCA is defined as the form of the national-cultural self-determination. It is organised as an association of citizens of the RF who consider themselves to belong to certain ethnic community with the aim of the independent solution of the issues related to preservation of their identity, development of language, education, and national culture (Article 1).

³⁹ Article 10

⁴⁰ Article 11

⁴¹ It is envisaged in the case of a change of location of the editorial office, for example.

⁴² Articles 31,32

Russian, the licensing authorities have never adopted any special measures that would encourage and facilitate access to broadcasting in minority languages for persons belonging to national minorities.

It might be recalled that responsiveness to the needs and interests of the minority communities has become a standard feature of the licensing regime in many European states⁴³. The RF still needs to improve its legal and political attitudes towards it.

Finally, linguistic minorities are of course eager to have access to independent television channels. However, television is a very expensive medium and its creation requires support from central and regional governments. Here, the relationship between the state and the media in Russia is rather contradictory.⁴⁴ Ideally, priority was given to the most vulnerable segments of the broadcasting market, e.g. media for national minorities. Parts 3 and 4 of Article 15 of the 2003 version of the *Law on NCA* declared that

In the federal programs of the financial and organisational support to mass media, assistance to the media of national-cultural autonomies shall be included.

In the programs of the subjects of the Russian Federation and local programs of financial and organisational support to media, assistance to the media of national-cultural autonomies can be included.

These provisions were repealed in August 2004.⁴⁵ The intention of the federal authorities to refrain from granting financial aid to minority media has been recently confirmed by the amendments to Article 16 adopted in February 2009.⁴⁶

Hence, the underlying reality in Russia remains that minority language media are primarily supported at the level of the subjects of the federation as part of relevant regional programs. Federal support has so far been rather limited.

⁴³ See, for example, Advisory Committee Opinion on Hungary, para.32; Advisory Committee Opinion on Sweden, para.41; Advisory Committee Second Opinion on Sweden, para.85; Advisory Committee Opinion on the UK, para.62

⁴⁴ Richter, A. (2002) *The Russian Press After Perestroika*, in Price, M., Richter, A. Yu, Perter K. (eds.) *Russian Media Law and Policy in Yeltsin Decade, Essays and Documents*, Kluwer Law International, at p.11

⁴⁵ Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 122 of 22 August 2004

⁴⁶ Federal Law of the Russian Federation No. 11-Φ3 of 9.02.2009 *On Amendments to Article 16 of the Federal Law on National Cultural Autonomy*
Article 16 says

The financing of the activities related to the implementation of the rights of the national cultural autonomies is provided at the expense of national cultural autonomies themselves, their establishments and organisations, private persons, and from others sources not prohibited by the law.

The federal organs of executive power may support federal national cultural autonomies at the expense of the federal budget in accordance with the budgetary legislation of the Russian Federation.

The organs of state power of the subject of the Russian Federation support regional and local national cultural autonomies at the expense of the budget of the subject of the Russian Federation in accordance with the legislation of the subject of the Russian Federation ...

The organs of local self-government can support local national cultural autonomies at the expense of the local budget in accordance with the municipal legal acts ...

4. CONCLUSION

The establishment of a balanced media system that would head the democratization process in the country was the officially declared priority of the Russian media reforms. However, the actual situation in the Russian media during the years of reform has remained ‘highly controversial, relentlessly reflecting all political, economic and social problems that the country has faced’.⁴⁷

What emerges from the above analysis is a media system subject to enormous state centralisation in broadcasting and, from the perspective of national minorities, one that is fragmented, unbalanced and unstructured, in addition to being under tensions caused by political factors and to being out of step with social demands concerning the role that media should play in a democratic society.⁴⁸

While the ‘theoretical’ Russian legislative framework generally lies within the European standards on the use of languages, its practical implementation in the media has proved to be inefficient.

My analysis shows that the apparent linguistic diversity in the media masks a far more homogeneous reality. The position of minority languages in the media now and through recent history has always been closely linked to the strengthening of the state language in the Russian society, its position in public opinion and national language policy and the place of the state-owned media. The broadcasting sector as it stands today is under an obligation to use and promote the State language(s). The introduction of minority languages into the system, unfortunately, has often been incomplete and irregular.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of national Minorities, Opinion on the Russian Federation, ACFC/INF/OP/I(2003)005, Strasbourg, 13 September 2002

⁴⁷ Rozanova, J. (2007) *Public Television in the Context of Established and Emerging Democracies: Quo Vadis?*, International Communication Gazette, Vol. 69, pp. 129-147, at p.134

⁴⁸ Arana, E., Azpillaga, P., Narbaiza B. (2007) *The Role of Networks in Minority Language Television Campaigns*, in Cormack, M., Hourigan, N. (eds.) *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, Multilingual Matters:138, at p.158

Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Second Opinion on the Russian Federation, ACFC/OP/II(2006)004, Strasbourg, 2 May 2007

Constitution of the Russian Federation, adopted on December 12, 1993

Federal Law No. 74-ФЗ of 17.06.1996 *On National Cultural Autonomy*

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No.122 of 22 August 2004

Federal Law of the Russian Federation No.11-ФЗ of 9.02.2009 *On Amendments to Article 16 of the Federal Law on National Cultural Autonomy*

Law *On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation* No. 1807-1 of 25.10.1991

PACE Doc. 8126 of 2 June 1998 *Endangered Uralic Minority Cultures*, Rapporteur T. Isohookana-Asunmaa

Resolution of the government of the Russian Federation No.111 of 26.02.2004 *On the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company* [Постановление от 26 февраля 2004 г. № 111 О Всероссийской государственной телевизионной и радиовещательной компании], <http://www.government.ru/content/governmentactivity/rfgovernmentdecisions/archive/2004/03/02/5392268.htm>

Secondary Sources

Arana, E., Azpillaga, P. and Narbaiza B. (2007) *The Role of Networks in Minority Language Television Campaigns*, in Cormack, M. and Hourigan, N. (eds.) *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, Multilingual Matters:138

Freedom House report on Russia 2005, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=47&nit=366&year=2005>

Journalists Alarmed About Reorganization Of State Broadcasting... , RFE/RL Newslines, 05-02-24

Kachkaeva, A. Kiriya, I. and Libergal, G. (2006) *Television in the Russian Federation: Organisational Structure, Programme Production and Audience*, report prepared by Internews Russia for the European Audiovisual Observatory

McGonagle, T., and Richter, A. (2004) *Regulation of Minority-Language Broadcasting*, IRIS plus, Legal Observations of the European Audiovisual Observatory, Issue 2

Melnikov, M. (2005) *Russia: Authorities vs. Media*, a Weekly Bulletin, Issue 4 (107), January 18-24, Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations

Moring T.(2007) *Functional Completeness in Minority Language Media* in Cormack, M. and Hourigan, N. (eds.) *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, Multilingual Matters:138

Neroznak, V.P. (ed.) 2002 *Red Book of the Languages of Russia*, Moscow: Academia. [В.П. Нерознак *Языки народов России. Красная книга: Энциклопедический словарь-справочник*, М.:Академия]

NGO Shadow Report (2006) *On the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the Russian Federation*

Nyman, A.-S. (2006) *Russian Federation: The Human Rights Situation of the Mari Minority of the Republic of Mari El: A Study of the Titular Nationality of One of Russia's Ethnic Regions*, Joint Report of two NGOs, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and Moscow Helsinki Group

Richter, A. (2002) *The Russian Press after Perestroika*, in Price, M., Richter, A. Yu. and Perter K. (eds.) *Russian Media Law and Policy in Yeltsin Decade, Essays and Documents*, Kluwer Law International

Rozanova, J. (2007) *Public Television in the Context of Established and Emerging Democracies: Quo Vadis?*, *International Communication Gazette*, Vol. 69, pp. 129-147

Statement of the Union of the Journalists of Russia of 24.02.2005 [Заявление Союза журналистов России], <http://www.grani.ru/Society/Media/Television/m.85107.html>