OHR BiH Media Round-up, 12/3/2006

RADIO HERCEG-BOSNA (18,00 hrs)	**TV PINK** (18,00 hrs)	**BHT 1** (19,00 hrs)
Slobodan Milosevic dies	Slobodan Milosevic dies	Milosevic found dead in his cell
EU meeting inSalzburg	Slobodan Milosevic's biography	Carla del Ponte on Milosevic's death
HR at EU meeting	Klarin on Milosevic's death	BHT reporter live from The Hague
Ivanic at EU meeting	ICTY rejected critics	Milosevic's family on his death

NTV Hayat (19,00 hrs)	**FTV** (19,30 hrs)	**RTRS** (19,30 hrs)
Slobodan Milosevic dies	Milosevic found dead in his cell	Slobodan Milosevic died
Feature on Milosevic's rise and fall	Interview with Amir Ahmic	Slobodan Milosevic's biography
Reactions to Milosevic's death	BiH legal expert on Milosevic's death	Reactions from BiH and Region
Live report from The Hague	Feature story on Milosevic's trial	Citizens on Milosevic's death

Oslobodjenje	Slobodan Milosevic died in the Hague
Dnevni Avaz	'Balkan Butcher' died in ICTY cell
Dnevni List	Slobodan Milosevic died
Vecernji List	Death of 'Balkan Butcher'

Nezavisne Novine	Milosevic died

Milosevic found dead in his ICTY cell	
Slobodan Milosevic dies in the Hague	**PINK** – ICTY confirmed that **Slobodan Milosevic,** former president of Yugoslavia and ICTY indictee died at age of 65 in his cell at the ICTY prison in The Hague.Holland police started the investigation and asked for autopsy and toxic examination. ICTY President **Fausto Pocar** order complete internal investigation in accordance with ICTY Statute. ICTY reported that Milosevic's family is informed on his death. Milosevic was indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity in BiH, Croatia and Kosovo. **RHB**, **FTV**, **BHT**, **Hayat**, **RTRS** also covered. **Note**: all electronic media and print media broadcasted/published features on raise and fall of Milosevic, as well as world media (BBC, SKY, Reuters, CNN, and Associated Press). All BiH dailies featured the death of Sloodan Milosevic as their cover splash stories, followed by the report on his life. **Dnevni Avaz** and **Vecernji List** front splashes reported on a death of "*Balkan Bucher*". DA carries special supplement, pgs 31-34 on Milosevic, which includes his life, days spent in ICTY and reactions on his death. VL covers the story on first seven pages.

ICTY rejects accusations for being responsible in case of Milosevic's death	**PINK** – ICTY rejected critics regarding death of **Slobodan Milosevic**, former President of Yugoslavia and ICTY indictee. ICTY Spokesperson said that no one should blame the Tribunal as it took good care of all prisoners, especially Milosevic. ICTY rejected Milosevic's request in February for the medical treatment in Russia. ICTY explained that could not see the reason why Russian doctors could not treat Milosevic in Holland. **RTRS** by Tamara Curuvija – Holland Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Milosevic died by natural cause. Former Prosecutor **Richard Goldstone** said that Milosevic had opportunity to be examined by doctors from Serbia and added that would be surprised if some one would blame ICTY in this regard. There is no official information whether Milosevic's body would be delivered to family and when. Socialist Party of Serbia reported that body would be first transferred to Moscow. **FTV, Oslobodjenje** pg 5 'Tribunal not to be blamed' – also covered.

ICTY Chief Prosecutor Del Ponte: I deeply regret Milosevic's death, since his trial was about to be over	**BHT1** – Chief ICTY Prosecutor **Carla del Ponte** said that she was informed about the death of **Slobodan Milosevic** about half an hour after he was found dead in his cell. She stated: "*I deeply regret Milosevic's death first of all because after three years, the trial was about to be over by the beginning of summer. I also think that it is a pity for all witnesses and victims who are waiting for justice to be pleased. Now, we are expecting the autopsy results to see what cause the death. Everything will be much clear the next day*." Del Ponte added that that crimes, Milosevic was charged with, were not going to remain unpunished, since there were other SCG officials in The Hague, who were about to be sentenced. **Hayat** Semsudin Skejic – Del Ponte stated that all proceedings in ICTY must be continued. She also stated that the death of Slobodan Milosevic is an additional reason for arrest of **Radovan Karadzic** and **Ratko Mladic**. ICTY has announced that Milosevic's autopsy will be performed in The Hague. **RTRS** also covered. **Nezavisne Novine** pg 3 'Justice not satisfied' **Dnevni List** pg 3 'Death is regretted for victims and survivors' – also reported.

Reactions of BiH politicians

BiH Presidency on Milosevic's death – Tihic: He would be remembered as negative character; Jovic: Many truths followed Milosevic to his grave; Paravac: Milosevic proved that SCG did not commit aggression on BiH	**PINK** – BiH Presidency Chair **Sulejman Tihic** said that **Slobodan Milosevic** would be remembered as responsible person for breakdown of former Yugoslavia. Tihic believes that Milosevic's death will not have consequences in the Region. Tihic stated: *"Milosevic will be remembered as negative historical character, responsible for bloody breakdown of Yugoslavia, responsible for suffer of all peoples, including Serb people. He was the first President that was indicted for war crimes of genocide. He was the President of country that is indicted before the International Court of Justice for violation of Convention on prevention of genocide. He succeeded to isolate Serb people not only from people in Yugoslavia but broader. All his associates are either in flight or in The Hague."***RHB** – BIH Presidency member **Ivo Miro Jovcic** stated that many truths would follow Milosevic to the grave. **BHT1** By Marina Boskovic – BiH Presidency member **Borislav Paravac** said: *"Thanks to his undeniable arguments and decisive defence, Milosevic managed to prove that Serbia and Yugoslavia did not carry out aggression in BiH, but that a tragic conflict between three people took place*". **FTV**, **RTRS** also covered. **Oslobodjenje** and **Dnevni List**also carry these statements in different articles on pg 4.

BiH Foreign Minister Ivanic on Milosevic's death: This closes one phase of history for all the region	**PINK** – BiH Minister of Foreign Affairs **Mladen Ivanic** said that ICTY has obligation to explain cause of **Slobodan Milosevic**'s death stressing Milosevic's requests for medical treatment that ICTY rejected. *"This event closes one phase of history of all countries of former Yugoslavia… We should think more about future than past."*said Ivanic. **FTV**, **RTRS** also covered.
RS President Cavic: Four persons died in ICTY under suspicious circumstances	**PINK** – **Dragan Cavic**, RS President said that ICTY should report on circumstances of **Slobodan Milosevic**'s death since there were talks on necessity of his medical treatment for long time. He said: *"In any case, one historical figure that was both, praised and criticized is gone from the political and public scene. One epoch is finished. Court process is not finished and that will leave consequences on other court processes. In any case, we will not get decision of the ICTY whether guilty or not. I believe that process…. would clear up much unclearness that in the ICTY presentation of evidences got certain prejudiced judgments."* **FTV** – Cavic said: *"The fact that he is the fourth person which, under suspicious circumstances lost his life in the ICTY sends a poor message to all those imprisoned in the ICTY. Still, ICTY terms have to be met"*. **Hayat**, **BHT1**, **RTRS** also covered.

RSNA Speaker Radojcic regrets Milosevic died before revealing things only he knew; SNSD's Simic: Serbia might face turbulences	**RTRS** by Stela Jungic – Commenting death of **Slobodan Milosevic** RS National Assembly Speaker **Igor Radojicic** expressed his regret that Milosevic did not manage to finish his defence and tell truths and information that he only knew. RS Council of Peoples Deputy Chair **Momir Malic**, sent condolences to Milosevic's family and SPS. SNSD Vice President **Krstan Simic** said: *"BiH in its lawsuit against SCG pinned hopes on Milosevic's conviction for genocide… Serbia might face some turbulences."*

FBiH Politicians reactions on Milosevic's death: HDZ regrets his death before facing sentence	**BHT1** By Marina Boskovic – HDZ Spokesperson **Miso Relota** stated: "*We regret the fact that Milosevic did not live enough to face the sentence he deserved*". Reporter said that in terms of BiH vs. SCG lawsuit for aggression and genocide before the International Court of justice in The Hague, most of the BiH officials agreed that Milosevic's death should have no impacts on it. BiH Minister of Civil Affairs **Safet Halilovic** said: "*Without Milosevic, process before the ICTY has enough legal evidences and arguments to be continued in line with the international law*". BiH NGOs believe that Milosevic's death presents another slap to the ICTY, since great number of issues would remain unanswered. **FTV** – SDP leader **Zlatko Lagumdzija** said: "*I am afraid that at his funeral we will see that his project [The Great Serbia] is feeling bad, but that it is still alive.*" SBiH founder **Haris Silajdzic** "*The Great Serbia project, led by Milosevic, left hundreds of thousands of killed ones while 1.5 billion people had to leave their houses*". Also covered by **Hayat**.
OHR: no change in terms of cooperation with ICTY	**BHT1** – OHR Spokesperson **Mario Brkic** stated: "*The event does not change a thing, the issue of full cooperation with the ICTY still remains crucial*".

Ex Serbian PM Zivkovic: ICTY is to blame for his death; BiH Foreign Minister Ivanic: This would change political ambient; BiH Presidency Chair Tihic: This would not influence BiH lawsuit vs. SCG	**BHT1** By Lejla Zvizdic – Guests of BHT 1 news were BiH Presidency Chair **Sulejman Tihic**, The Chair of Research and Documentation Centre **Mirsad Tokaca**, BiH Foreign Affairs Minister **Mladen Ivanic** and former Serbian Prime Minister **Zoran Zivkovic**. Being asked about death of **Slobodan Milosevic**, Tokaca said that he regretted the fact that Milosevic did not live long enough to be sentenced for crimes he committed. Zivkovic said that the ICTY was to be blamed for his death; he adds that such a serious court should not allow itself such thing. Asked whether Milosevic's death could influence BiH vs. SCG lawsuit, Ivanic said that he believed it would not. Ivanic added that he believed that by Milosevic's death political ambient would be changed. Regarding apprehension of **Radovan Karadzic** and **Ratko Mladic**, whether things are now going to be changed regarding the issue, Ivanic said that pressures on apprehension of the two war crime indictees were now going to be greater. On being asked whether relations in Serbia were going to be radicalised now after Milosevic's death, Zivkovic said that he believed that the death would leave no long-term consequences. Zivkovic added that Milosevic's death would once more make Serbs reiterated story on ICTY being false and that no cooperation should be established. Zivkovic said that court process against Milosevic and BiH vs. SCG lawsuit should not be mixed.

BIH officer in ICTY Ahmic: Current trials not to be influenced by Milosevic's death	**Hayat** by Asim Beslija – In an interview for Hayat, BIH officer in ICTY **Amir Ahmic** says that current trials will not be influenced by death of **Slobodan Milosevic**, adding that in his opinion all other trials might be. Ahmic stated that sentence to Milosevic would have been precedent for all other future trials to Serbian and RS political and military officials. In his opinion Milosevic's death will have no influence to BIH lawsuit against SCG. Ahmic concludes by saying that BIH will continue its efforts to trial as many war criminals as possible and stresses that war crimes do not have a statute of limitation. **FTV** also brings interview with Ahmic who said that according to unofficial information, Milosevic did not commit suicide.
Head of BiH legal team Softic: Milosevic's death would not have consequences on BiH lawsuit against SCG	**Hayat** Asim Beslija – In an interview for Hayat, Head of BiH legal team in BiH lawsuit against SCG **Sakib Softic** said that death of **Slobodan Milosevic** would have no consequences for the lawsuit since BIH team will continue to use evidence provided by ICTY. He adds that in long term BIH had an interest for Milosevic to live long enough to be sentenced. Softic concludes that even with Milosevic's death BIH team will manage to prove that SCG has committed genocide in BIH.

Oslobodjenje op-ed: There is anyway no proper punishment for such criminal in this world	**Oslobodjenje** pg 5, mentioned on cover 'Death does not deny guilt' op-ed by Gojko Beric – Commenting death of **Slobodan Milosevic** editorial reads: "*He died before the deserved punishment, and the only comfort for all persons who suffered [due to his deeds], is that there is no proper punishment for such criminals as Slobodan Milosevic in this world.*"

Reaction of SCG officials	
SCG Minister of Foreign Affairs Draskovic: Milosevic did not live to face justice	**RHB** – SCG Minister of Foreign Affairs **Vuk Draskovic** stated that he is sorry that Milosevic has not lived to face justice. **BHT1**, **FTV**, **RTRS** – Draskovic said that Milosevic ordered many deaths of Serbia opposition leaders as well as Draskovic's family members.
SCG President Marovic: Milosevic's death presents great temptation to ICTY	**FTV** By Senka Vlatkovic – SCG President **Svetozar Marovic** said that the way in which Milosevic died presented great temptation to moral authority of the ICTY. **RTRS** also covered.

SCG officials ask for SCG medical experts to take part in Milosevic's autopsy	**BHT1** – By Vesna Simic, Belgrade – Reporter said that beside SPS, the Chair of National Council for cooperation with the ICTY **Rasim Ljajic** asked for SCG medical experts to take part in **Slobodan Milosevic's** autopsy. Milosevic's lawyer asked for autopsy to be carried out in Moscow, since Milosevic's family doubts in results of investigation, carried out in The Hague. Place and date of Milosevic's funeral are still unknown. There is possibility for his family to ask for Milosevic to be buried in Russia. Serbian Prime Minister **Vojislav Kostunica** said that he regretted the fact that Milosevic died and added that he was going to ask the ICTY to submit him with a report on his death. **FTV**, **RTRS** also reported. **Oslobodjenje** pg 5 'He was killed in the Hague' by Branislav Boskov, Belgrade – article carries reactions of several SCG officials, all covered electronic media. **Dnevni List** also covered reactions from SCG.

Milosevic's lawyer: He would never killed himself; Milosevic's advisor: Milosevic was poisoned?; Family blames the ICTY for his death	**BHT1** – **Slobodan Milosevic**'s lawyer **Steven Kay** said that Milosevic would never commit suicide since he was decisive to see the outcome of the trial. **RTRS** – Kay said that Milosevic had heart problems but worked hard on his defence being aware of risk he was taking, adding that not only Milosevic was supposed to be on trial but former BiH Presidency Chair **Alija Izetbegovic** and Croatian President **Franjo Tudjman** as well. **BHT1** –Milosevic claimed that he was attempted to be poisoned in the ICTY and Russian Embassy to The Hague was informed about this on Friday, said Milosevic's advisor, Belgrade lawyer **Zdenko Tomanovic**. **Hayat , RTRS, Nezavisne Novine** pg 3 'He doubt he was poisoned' – also reported. **BHT1** – **Slobodan Milosevic**'s wife, **Mirjana Markovic** blames ICTY for her husband's death. The Tribunal killed my husband, said Markovic for CNN. Milosevic's brother, **Borislav Milosevic** also blames ICTY for his brother's death. **RHB**, **Hayat**, **RTRS** also reported. **Oslobodjenje** pg 5 ' The Hague killed my husband'
Milosevic's Socialist Party officials said Milosevic was killed in ICTY	**RHB** – Member of Milosevic's Socialist Party **Zoran Andjelkovic** stated that Milosevic was killed in ICTY since ICTY authorities wouldn't allow Milosevic to go on treatment in Moscow. **BHT1** – Socialistic Party doubts that Milosevic passed away due to hearth attack and asks from Serbian experts to take part in autopsy. Milosevic's political party believes that he should be buried in Belgrade. **Hayat**, **FTV**, **RTRS**, **Hayat** also reported.

SRS Vice President Nikolic: ICTY decided to deprive Serbs of their rights	**BHT1** – SRSVice President **Tomislav Nikolic** said that someone decided to deprive Serbs of their rights in The Hague. Two recent deaths, which took place in the ICTY, open question on what goes on in the ICTY and what is going to happen to the rest of the indictees. **Hayat** also reported.
Serbian President Advisor: ICTY has problems	**RTRS** by Stela Jungic – Advisor to Serbian President **Jovan Simic** said ICTY has problems considering the fact that **Milan Babic** recently committed suicide. Serbian Justice Minister **Zoran Stojkovic** said: "*It is a fact that it was about sick man who asked for medical treatment. Milosevic was told that has good treatment. This case proves that there was no good treatment.*" **Hayat** also covered.

Other reactions

Foreign officials on Milosevic's death	**BHT1** By Sasa Delic – Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regrets the fact that the ICTY did not allow **Slobodan Milosevic** medical treatment in Moscow. The EU reminded that Milosevic's death did not mean that Serbia should not extradite other war crime indictees to the ICTY. NATO Secretary General **Jaap De Hoop Scheffer** said that he regretted the fact that justice would not be met. EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy **Javier Solana** said that he hoped that Milosevic's death would turn SCG towards future. The last Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachov** said that the ICTY made a huge mistake but not allowing Milosevic to be medically treated in Moscow. **FTV**, **RTRS** – Austrian Foreign Affairs Minister **Ursula Plassnik** believes that death of Milosevic will not cause changes in the Region in the political sense. British Foreign Affairs Minister **Jack Strew** expressed hope that Milosevic's death would help Serbia to solve problem with past. Strew added that hopes that Serbia would continue to cooperate with the ICTY. French Foreign Affairs Minister **Philippe Douste-Blazy** said that one of the main actors in the Balkans wars of 20th century is gone and that feels sympathies with victims of Milosevic's policy.Russia Foreign Affairs Office expressed regret regarding the ICTY decision to not to allow Milosevic's medical treatment in Russia. First Deputy Chair of the Russian Duma **Lyubov Sliska** said that ICTY abolished Milosevic's right to live and that responsible persons should resign. Holland Foreign Affairs Minister **Bernard R. Bot** said that it is sad for the victims of Milosevic's policy that trial would not be continued. Berlin did not give comments as well as US President **George Bush**. **Nezavisne Novine** pg 2 'New beginning for Serbia' by Agencies

Holbrook on Milosevic's death	**Hayat** – Creator of Dayton Agreement **Richard Holbrook** stated that death of **Slobodan Milosevic** is a remarkable day for BIH. Holbrook stated that everyone in BIH especially Serbs must realize that Milosevic destroyed BIH. He added that Milosevic supported **Radovan Karadzic** and **Ratko Mladic** and allowed former Yugoslavia to disintegrate with great suffering and victims.
Former HR Ashdown worried that minor instability could appear in region	**Hayat** – Former HR **Paddy Ashdown** stated that **Slobodan Milosevic** lead his people and country from one defeat to another. He also stated that certain foreign leaders believed for too long that Milosevic is a solution rather than the cause of the problem.Ashdown added that he was worried that a minor instability period could appear. Former NATO Secretary General **Lord Robertson** stated that Milosevic cheated justice. He also stated that now when Milosevic is gone Balkan will be able to recuperate. Former UK Foreign Secretary Lord **David Owen** stated that Milosevic should have lived long enough to hear his sentence. He added that entire world would have benefited from that sentence. He concluded by saying that ICTY trial lasted too long and that the sentence should have been made a year ago. RTRS
Srebrenica Women welcome Milosevic's death	**BHT1** by Hatka Hamidovic – Srebrenica Women welcomed information on **Slobodan Milosevic's** death. Featured women said that he deserved to die. By peaceful protests, Srebrenica Women held in Tuzla, they once more stressed their support to the lawsuit BiH filed against SCG for aggression and genocide before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. **FTV** also reported. **Oslobodjenje** pg 5 'He avoided sentence for crimes'

RS PoWs: Milosevic's death is tragedy for all Serbs	**RTRS** by Stela Jungic – RS Prisoners of War believe that death of Milosevic is tragedy for all Serbs and accused ICTY for not allowing Milosevic to go for medical treatment to Moscow.
Reactions on Milosevic's death in Croatia	**RHB**, **FTV** – Croatian President **Stjepan Mesic** stressed that he is sorry that **Slobodan Milosevic** has not lived to serve his punishment and Croatian Government announced that Milosevic's death is the end of the hardest era for this part of Europe, adding he is to blame for all the wars in former Yugoslavia. **Hayat** – Mesic also feels that it will be difficult for Serbia now to fight for Europeanization and against those who are in favour of Milosevic. **BHT1** By Duska Jurisic – A statement on Milosevic's death, issued by the Croatian Government, reads that thanks to his aggressive politics, he started a war machine, which caused sufferings of hundreds of thousands of people. Croatian SDP leader **Ivica Racan** said that he regret the fact that he was dead since his trial for great war crimes had been interrupted. Featured Croatian citizens regretted the fact that he died before he was sentenced. **Hayat** – Advisor to Croatian Prime Minister **Mate Granic** stated that Milosevic was one of the biggest criminals of our time. He also stated that he is sorry that Milosevic hasn't lived to see the end of his trial. **RTRS** also covered. **Oslobodjenje** pg 4 and **Dnevni List** pg 3 carry same headline 'Too bad he did not receive deserved sentence'

Reactions on Milosevic's death in Kosovo	**BHT1** By Sasa Delic – Report brings feature on reactions of Kosovo citizens to **Slobodan Milosevic's** death. While Kosovo Albanians say that Milosevic should have faced the deserved sentence, due to crimes committed in Kosovo, Kosovo Serbs regretted the fact that their leader passed away. Kosovo President **Fatmir Sejdiju** said that Milosevic's spirit was, unfortunately, still living in Serbia. **Hayat** – Former leader of Kosovo Albanians, attorney **Azem Vlasi** says that there is no person in Europe that instigated so much evil as Milosevic has. Vlasi says that it would have been better if Milosevic were sentenced. He concludes that due to Milosevic's death public has been robbed from a historic legal document where all Milosevic's crimes would have been verified. **FTV**, **RTRS** covered. **Oslobodjenje** pg 4 'God sentenced before Court'
Comments of Sarajevo , Pale, Banja Luka and Belgrade citizens regarding death of Slobodan Milosevic	**PINK** – Citizens of Sarajevo regret that **Slobodan Milosevic** did not live to get ICTY verdict. Citizens of Banja Luka believe that Milosevic was great politician and that it was inhuman of ICTY not to allow him medical treatment in Russia. **BHT1** – In a square in Banja Luka, flowers with message 'To Serb Justice Hero – Slobo Rest In Peace' were placed. **PINK** – Citizens of Pale believe that Milosevic was a good man; they feel sorry for his death and regret that ICTY did not allow Milosevic's medical treatment in Russia. Citizens of Belgrade believe that he should have been tried in Belgrade and that this is a tragedy. They feel sorry for his death but believe that his death is much better than ICTY verdict. **BHT1** – Opinion of SCG citizens differs; while ones regret the fact other said that he deserved to die since he had committed a lot of crimes. **FTV**, **RTRS**, **Hayat** also covered.

Miscellaneous	
BiH Foreign Minister Ivanic at the meeting of EU Foreign Affairs Ministers	**BHT1** by Alenka Bruk – EU confirmed in Salzburg European perspective of the West Balkans states on the basis of individual achievements in meeting terms and obligations of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, pointing out that the membership in the EU was the ultimate aim. BiH Foreign Affairs Minister **Mladen Ivanic** pointed out the issue of visa regime, which was one of the greatest problems, but agreement regarding the issue has not been achieved at the meeting. Ivanic said that he expected a lot more, adding that he hoped that the issue would be solved during the year. EU Ministers pointed out that the West Balkans states should deal more with implementation of European standards. **RHB**, **RTRS** also covered. **Dnevni Avaz** pg 2, mentioned on cover 'Future of all regional countries is in EU' by A.Malagic

Schwarz Schilling at the meeting of EU Foreign Affairs Ministers	**RHB** – EU Special Representative **Christian Schwarz Schilling** participated in the meeting of EU Foreign Affairs Ministers held in Salzburg. Schwarz Schilling stated that there are few things that BiH citizens would be more interested in then ease of visa regime. He stressed that this process should work as a two-way street, which means that BIH authorities and him will have to work on making this process easier. Schwarz Schilling stressed that better visa regime for BIH would be of benefit for EU and BIH. **Dnevni Avaz** pg 2 'Visa regime liberalisation is common wealth' **Oslobodjenje** pg 3 'Visa regime liberalisation inevitable'
BiH Presidency Chair Tihic: EU and NATO officials strongly support European path of BiH	**Dnevni Avaz** pg 5, mentioned on cover 'Next phase of European path depends on cooperation with the Hague' by Admir Malagic – Daily carries interview with BiH Presidency Chair **Sulejman Tihic** after his return from official visits to Luxembourg and Belguim. Tihic said that the result of all the meetings with representatives of NATO and EU is strong support to European path of BiH. Tihic shortly commented his meeting with SCG President **Svetozar Marovic**, agreement on property with Croatia and announced continuation of talks on constitutional changes.