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**FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN AFRICA:
AN ANALYSIS OF SIX AFRICAN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES**

By

Alex Lupyana Mwakikoti

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Sociology Department

1992

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ABSTRACT

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF SIX AFRICAN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES

By

Alex Mwakikoti

Many African countries have been known by the Western world as having the lowest rating when it comes to human rights and freedom of the press. Previous research have looked at mass media and human rights in Africa in general, but have not dealt in detail as to what constitute this control. Further, little has been done to find out the impediments of freedom of the press which have led these countries to press violations.

Based on the analysis of six African British Commonwealth countries from 1982 to 1991, this study suggests that governments in these countries have had a share of control of the press, leading to different magnitude of violations of the press. Countries considered for this study are Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia.

While the above countries signed the United Nations' International Bill of Human Rights of 1948, and the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights (also called Banjul Charter) of 1981, this study indicates that these countries have constantly violated the principles set forth in these documents, especially the article on freedom of the press.

The study suggests reasons for the control of the press and compares press freedom of these countries based on country constitution, violations, and reports from research institutions, especially those dealing with human rights. There are apparent reasons which are fundamental historical, social, political and economical impediments,

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Alex Mwakikoti

which have led these countries into a position of tight control of the press. This study suggests that these governments should critically look at the suggested impediments and create room for the freedoms of the press and human rights which are imperative rights to the citizens in a country.

This study contributes to the broad literature on the freedom of the press and human rights in Africa and certainly in African British Commonwealth countries. It also provides a platform for discussing relevant steps toward promotion of freedom of the press in Africa and throughout the world.

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**This dissertation is dedicated to
dear journalists, editors and publishers in Africa
who have been denied of their freedom to express their ideas without fear;
to all who strive to bring human rights and justice where it is unknown.**

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I wish to recognize William Ewens, Chair of my dissertation committee without his guidance, I would not have timely finished this study; Joseph Straubhaar, for his academic excellency and contribution on the subject, he helped to shape the study to its right direction. I take pride to recognize David Wiley, who kept me abreast on the current issues in the fast changing Africa. I am indebted to the late Jay Artis whose health failed him and died during the process of this research. His constructive advise toward this research are highly appreciated. To James McKee, for his wisdom and unmatched great experience in diverse issues in developing world, and for his practical guidance toward this study. It is my pleasure to acknowledge Cindy Herfindahl for taking time from her busy schedule to proof read this work.

I wish to acknowledge Professor William Cote of Journalism department, and Michael Bratton, professor of Political Science, at Michigan State University for their continue interest and suggestions toward this study. Peter Kareithi, journalist, lecturer at Washington University and a friend, for his suggestions on this study and for sharing his experience as a journalist who was many times jailed for the reasons of seeking justice through the press.

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My sincere thanks go to all organizations which allowed me to go through their records for the materials used in this research. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge Leonard R. Sussman, Senior Research, International Communication, Freedom House in New York, whose discussion on issues related to violations was of great benefaction toward this study. Kim Brice, researcher on Africa for the Committee to Protect Journalists, also in New York, who was very helpful in locating related materials, suggesting other sources and organizations relevant to this study; J. Paul Martin, Executive Director, Center for the Study of Human Rights, Andrea Massar, Program Coordinator, and Pauline Kim, Administrative Assistant, all in New York, who helped provide sources of other organizations which were helpful to this study.

The workers at Michigan State University libraries, especially the reference and documentary areas, who helped in locating important data either in the library or elsewhere in the country for this study, all are greatly appreciated.

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Department of Commerce under the Center for Urban Affairs at Michigan State University. Truly, they contributed toward the successful completion of this study.

I will not do justice if I cannot recognize my wife, Christina; my two daughters Adventina and Ruthy, and my son Adam whose cooperation can be understood only by those scholars with two teenagers and a pre-teen son, undertaking a graduate study program at such ion.

Suffice it to say that, I recognize all of you for giving me encouragements, suggestions, views, et cetera toward this research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On November 12, 1990, more than a dozen scholars, political leaders and media personnel from Africa, met at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan, and discussed "Democracy, Political Pluralism and Human Rights in Africa." It was noted at this symposium that in 1990 more than 20 African countries had experienced political unrest, with some political party-leaders calling for political pluralism in Africa.

An important issue raised at this symposium, though lightly discussed, was the freedom of the press in many of the African government-controlled media. Some of the panelists and participants contended that many African governments were not sincere and that they censored most of the information disseminated to citizens. This situation raised questions which leads to the proposed study, namely, freedom of the press in Africa.

The Problem:

The African press has been suggested of being highly controlled by its governments, and that this control has limited the freedom of the press in the region. What needs to be known is whether this is the case and what reasons, if any, have led to this situation.

The Purpose:

The purpose of this research was to substantiate the allegation that the African press is heavily controlled by their governments, to spell out some of the factors that may have led to the impediment of freedom of the press in Africa, through the mirror of developmental concept of press, otherwise called "Third World Concept."

Selection and Rationale for the Six Countries:

Six African Commonwealth countries were selected for the study for the period of ten years from 1982-1991. The study approached the issue from the human rights vantage point and compared findings in these six countries. Countries selected for this study and the year they became independent are Ghana (1957) and Nigeria (1960) in West Africa; Kenya (1963) and Tanzania (1961) in East Africa; and Malawi (1964) and Zambia (1964) in Southern Africa.

Two countries from each of the three broad geographical regions (as indicated above) have been selected for pragmatic reasons. Although these six countries differ in ideology and government structure, they are very similar in a number of ways that enable them to be studied in this configuration. One of the major similarities is the colonial heritage. All six countries were under the British colonial administration, and all are members of the British Commonwealth Countries. Second, and connected with the first, is the domination of English as either the first or second language and a major means of communication for government and or business transactions.

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in England, with a few exceptions those who were educated in the United States; hence, the heritage of some elements of the Western thought in their government structure. Fourth, almost all of the six countries have inherited the British system of law and order. Fifth, these countries have had time to develop a history on Human Rights and Press Actions that they can be studied together historically. These reasons are sufficient enough for these countries to be studied together as selected countries of the African British Commonwealth.

Up until 1991, there were 20 countries and islands in the African continent which were members of the British Commonwealth. Six of these are islands (Mauritius, Seychelles, St. Helene, Ascension, Tristan da Cunha and Gough) which form only about 1,000 square miles combined. Apart from the fact that these territories are so small, with the exception of Mauritius and Seychelles, the rest of the islands are still dependent to Britain. These factors exclude these territories from being considered in this study. The questions the study is asking cannot be adequately addressed by either a dependent territory or a small region without more information. Three other countries which have been excluded for the same reason are the Gambia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The other countries, Namibia and Zimbabwe could not be included in this study because they only recently became independent and have not quite developed their history in human rights and press actions to be included in this study for the period indicated.

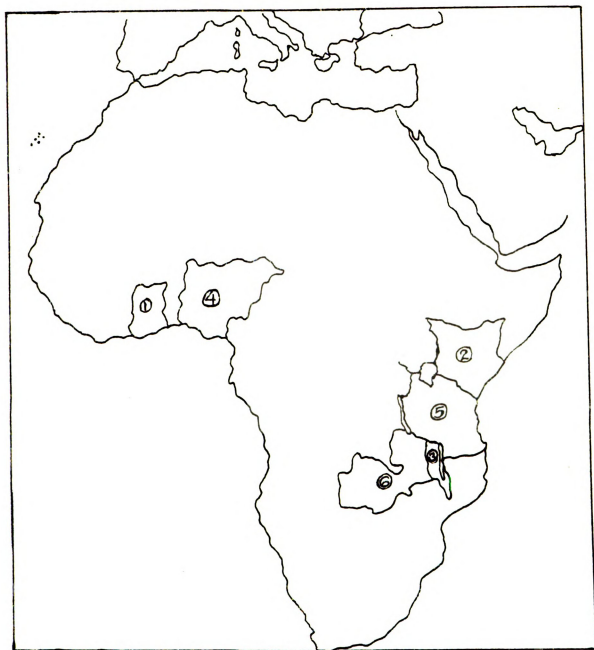


Figure 1 The Six African Commonwealth Countries

(1) Ghana (2) Kenya (3) Malawi (4) Nigeria (5) Tanzania and (6) Zambia

Significance of the Study:

Although there are studies done on the press and human rights in Africa, many of those studies on press have generally concentrated on the media and development as noted by Domatob (1987), Mboho (1987), Ansah (1981), Mwakikoti (1986) and others. Most of those studies in human rights, including An-Naim, et al (1990), Forsythe (1989), Howard (1986) Shivji (1989) et cetera, have looked at human rights in general with some sporadic connection with the press. This study focuses on an issue which has been lightly researched that is, government control of the press and identifying factors that have led to the limitation of freedom of the press in Africa.

The freedom of the press in Africa, which must be studied together in its context and historical setting, must include not only the source of information, but also the media, ownership and control. This conceptual framework must also include issues surrounding human rights activities, political, economic and social parameters if the forces behind the freedom of the press are to be explicated.

This study does not only document the freedom of the press and human rights in the African British Commonwealth Countries, but also contributes to the literature on the freedom of the press in developing countries by suggesting reasons for the apparent controlled press. To a certain extent, such information will provide a platform for policy makers, scholars and others toward discussions which would lead to protection of the freedom of the press under human rights in Africa and elsewhere.

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Limitation of the Study:

First, this study is not exhaustive. Second, the study is limited to the six selected African British Commonwealth Countries. Thus, findings for this study will primarily apply to these six selected countries. Third, reasons for elimination of other African British Commonwealth countries are noted above; that is, some of those countries are still dependent to Britain, are newly independent, and or are too small and would cause difficulties in getting the needed information this research is seeking. Further, for pragmatic reasons, the study must be comprehensive enough, and yet be manageable.

Orientation:

This study will make reference to the International Bill of Human Rights of 1948 and to the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights (also called Banjul Charter) of 1981. The 1948 Bill has been revised several times and does accommodate the six countries. As members of the United Nations, all these countries signed the International Bill of Human Rights upon their joining.

The study of the freedom of the press in the African British Commonwealth countries will reflect the period since the independence of these six countries. But for management and comparative purposes, a ten-year period (from 1982-1991) constitutes the basic era and focus for this study.

References to the press in this research include all print and non-print media. But for the purpose of this research, newspapers are the main focus. Any reference to television, radio, magazines, books, journals, cinema, video et cetera, are limited and used to support basic information gathered from the above medium.

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The following are the divisions of this study. Chapter two provides a review of the literature on both theoretical as well as empirical approaches. The four theories of the press as presented by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963) have been discussed here. The revision of these theories and their applicability in this research have been noted. Of special interest is the developmental theory or "Third World Concept" which have been discussed and suggested later, how it can apply to this research. While discussing literature on freedom of the press in the commonwealth countries in Africa, some examples have been included here from other countries for clarification and for comparison purposes.

Information on the background of the British Commonwealth of the Nations has been discussed in chapter three. Included here is a discussion on the Commonwealth origin, membership, significant duties and institutions that bind the Commonwealth countries together. Included in this section is information on the background of each of the six countries; Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia. Each country's geographical location, social, economic and political orientation and education have been discussed. Tables of significant socio-economic indicators of these countries have been included in this chapter.

Chapter four provides information on the research questions, hypotheses and research design. The methods used in this research have been explained. The process of gathering and measuring of data is explicitly explained in chapter five.

The subject of the press in the six countries has been discussed in the sixth chapter. This chapter contains information on press-government relationships; ownership

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of the media, statistical figures on newspapers, radio, television et cetera. Issues related to Human Rights and Country Constitutions, with the highlight on freedom of press, especially on the article dealing with press freedom have been discussed and compared in chapter seven. Here the International Bill of Human Rights as related to the freedom of the press is discussed. This throws more light in substantiating the allegation that the press in Africa is very much government controlled.

Chapter eight deals with research findings. Press freedom impediments which have led to violations of press freedom are discussed in chapter nine. These suggested impediments include historical, political, economic and social factors. Chapter ten summarizes and concludes this study. With this orientation, the following chapter is a review of the literature.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Theoretical Framework:

A descriptive study of this kind on the press freedom in Africa, needs a theoretical foundation on which to anchor its design, analysis and interpretation. Thus, the study applies press theories or their elements as described below.

Siebert et al (1963), suggest that a national political system has not only an impact on the press system and the freedom of the press, but also on the very content thereof. These authors contend that there are four basic theories of the press. These are authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet-communist and Social responsibility.

Authoritarian governments see the press (whether government or private controlled) as a government supporter in its policies through legislation, censorship, press laws et cetera. Even though this theory is Western, and the oldest in its inception (in the 16th and 17th century), it seems that versions of it still exists in some of the African British Commonwealth Countries.

On the other hand, libertarian theory suggests that the press is there to inform, entertain, discover truth and check on how the government is doing. The libertarian insists on the model of the press sanctions, press freedom and non-interference in press editorial policies. The soviet-communist or totalitarian theory suggests that the press is

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there to serve the government and the party, so much that to be able to do this, the press must be controlled by the government. This theory, as the name suggests, was conceived by Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought. This theory is a modern offshoot of the authoritarian model that began in the 16th century.

Finally, the social responsibility theory was developed in the United Kingdom and in the United States in the 1900s as an adjustment of the libertarian theory, with the principle that the press is there to inform, entertain, and sell as well as to raise conflict to the plane of discussion. The weight was more on social responsibility; that is, the press was to perform societal functions as opposed to being controlled by say, a government or a party.

It is important to note here that these theories have undergone some revisions, adding what Hachten (1981) calls revolutionary and developmental. Revolutionary theory is said to be the press of a people in disagreement with the existing governments' ideology, which should be overthrown. On the other hand, the developmental theory (or as it is sometimes called, Third World concept) holds that the individual rights must be subservient to the needs of the government. In other words, the government must hold superior to individual needs as the government is in need of the press to support its national building activities.

Merrill's (1974) construction of models of the "four theories" developed what he considered "the best concept." Briefly, he suggests that "the only theory which emphasizes freedom instead of control or 'direction' is libertarianism" (p. 37). He formulates a triangular model which indicates social responsibility as a step in the

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direction of either an authoritarian or communist system. In his model, journalistic freedom (libertarian) is in control of media, and is placed above authoritarian/communist and social responsibility.

Perhaps one of the recent and most significant revisions of these theories (original theories) is by Altschull (1983) who reduced and looked at the Western model, Soviet-communist model, and Third World theories, as being linked with market, Marxist and advancing respectively.

Altschull maintains that under all these three models, press functions as an agent of those who exercise political and economic power. He argues that the ideology of the machinery which finances the press is the one who determines the press content. This is an important aspect which may lead to the understanding of why there is control of the press. Together with political and economic issues, social issues will need to be included in discussing the function of the controlled press.

In 1983 and 1989, Picard suggested another addition to the above theories, calling it 'democratic socialist theory.' Picard suggests that under this press model, preservation of diversity of ideas and permission for the state to promote the successful functioning of the press in the democratic process is to be given priority.

Another important aspect of press theories which has dominated discussion in UNESCO is the call by developing countries to what has been known as the New World Information Order (NWIO). It is a dialogue seeking a compromise solution that will ensure that international understanding is promoted through cultural contacts and a balanced flow of information in place of the one-way flow resulting in what has been

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Ansah (1986) suggests that dependency is one of the reasons for the position African leaders have been holding in the New World Information and Communication Order debate. He says "developing countries are consumers of the communication products of the affluent industrialized countries, in terms of technical equipment and programs, especially in the electronic media. This increases the economic and cultural dependence of Third World countries and is at the core of the debate on a new world information and communication order" (pp. 57-58).

The role of the press in this debate is very important in view of the African media structure and press freedom. For example, some scholars including Stevenson (1988) have noted that the press have assigned itself a new role. Importantly, it has to promote development, protocol news, et cetera, an argument which have strengthened development journalism.

Development Journalism has been defined as the coverage of news beats that are new in concept and designed to be relevant to social and economic changes without direct confrontation with the government news managers. Alot (1982) is one of the main proponent of development journalism. He says that the role of journalism should be "to guide, inform and provoke development among the masses in general..." (p. 202). Thus a new look at news as a process and not only as an event, to be sure, is a move away toward looking at news as an event. He proposes that news should involve teaching and instruction on areas of development in general.

Further, Bofo (1985) suggests that development communication is to aid and

enhance the process of socio-economic, political and cultural change. But he also sees the concept as "government say-so journalism." The government as machinery and the leader of the press "dominate the synchronic, hierarchical and centralized information systems in African societies, have the prerogative of determining what is political and socially desirable information to transmit to the bulk of the population. Often the information transmitted is political in nature, propaganda-laden and has minimal significance or relevance for development" (p. 87).

While this author is not in disagreement in all the components comprises development journalism, his concern is the reduction of journalism to teaching and instruction and being a support to government programs, which does not leave room for constructive and objective reporting and democratic criticism of the power that rules. Instead of development, it is likely that countries insisting on this narrow approach of communication may not progress to the height they would otherwise want to reach. As such, this author is in agreement with Galliner (1978) that the "role of the press is not only to inform people, but also to scrutinise government policies and the government itself." (p. 122).

Applicability of Press Theories in the Research:

Siebert, et al (1963) came to the conclusion that "The press always takes on the coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted" (pp, 1-2).

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Although there is a general agreement on the press theories as suggested above, that they could operate in any social situation; the point of disagreement however lies in the applicability of a specific theory to a given country. For example, Brownlee (1984) argues that any press system is likely to contain elements of several of the theories, but adds that they could also be usefully applied to specific press systems to help "identify variables that do, in fact, contribute to the degree of freedom permitted by a government" (p. 157). She also suggests that these press theories or concepts could be examined in transitional societies that are experiencing unsettling political upheavals, intense economic and social changes, and those whose press system is intertwined with the political system.

The countries under investigation in this research have been under some political or economic upheavals at various points, and as such, they constitute an important setting for examining the freedom of the press given the above theories or concepts of the press. Each of the above countries may have developed its press based on one or more of the theories discussed above. But, given the historical, economic and political backgrounds of these countries, it is predicted that developmental theory or authoritarian theory of the press will be applied to these countries.

In this study, a discussion on the developmental theory of the press, developmental journalism in reference to the countries in this region, as well as its historical background and the press experience has been necessary. Further, an investigation of the kind of political ideology or ideologies is important, since such background suggests to some extent, what kind of press theory or theories these countries

embrace, given the social, political and economic structures prevailing in this region.

Empirical Framework:

Some research on both human rights and on freedom of the press in Africa has been done to some extent, building a foundation for the present study. Previous studies on both areas have, however, been general and focused on issues not so much related to the present study. With the exception of Howard (1986) who approached her study on comparative perspective of the human rights in the commonwealth countries in Africa, and Odetola (1982) who compared military regimes and development in African societies, many scholars have studied human rights from individual country perspective, studied Africa in general, or approached from the global perspective.

Those who have studied human rights from country perspective include the International Commission of Jurists (1977) who gathered reports on Uganda situations; Kyembe (1977) who also studied what was considered as an inside story of Idi Amin; Martin (1974) assessing personal freedom as it relates with the existing laws in Tanzania; Shivji (1976) in his discussion of the struggles of the class system in Tanzania, arguing that even though it may not be admitted, classes existed even at that time of the one-party state Tanzania; Agunda (1972) dealt with the fundamental rights which seemed not to be recognized during the military rule. This was a comparative study of Nigeria and Sudan; Lule (1982) a study on the human rights violations in Uganda during the time of Milton Obote; and others.

Others have concentrated their study on human rights in Africa in general.

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These include Jackson (1982) studying issues related to personal rule in Africa; Welch, et al (1984) who focused on human rights and development in Africa; All Africa Council of Churches (1976) pointed out in their article some of the factors responsible for the violations of human rights in Africa; Hayfron-Benjamin (1982) who was interested in the court of justice in Africa, and pointed out how needed it is to protect and enforce human rights in the region; et cetera.

Yet others have dealt with the human rights problems globally. This includes Donnelly (1985) portraying the philosophical disposition of the concept of human rights in general; Pollis and Schwab (1979) who studied the position of culture and ideology on human rights; Donnell (1982) dealt with a critique of non-Western human rights conceptions in relationship to human rights and dignity; et cetera.

At any rate, many scholars have approached the study differently. For example, Ajami (1978) approached his study from the world-order perspective, with an emphasis on what he calls a sensitive perspective, that is, economic rights and social justice and the problem of militarization. He is concerned with "linkage between human rights" and "basic economic needs." He insists that the Western countries should embody the doctrine they preach (that is of human rights) to others in their own lives. He contends that the sources of human misery vary from one culture to another. The assumption here is that the human rights organizations in the West are not dealing with what he considers to be the major problems of society, namely, economic needs of the world at large.

While much has been published on human rights, few studies have been on the press in general; those who have attempted to study the press have focused on mass

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media and development in general. For example, Lent (1974) discusses the role of mass media in the developing World, emphasizing that media must be accounted in the programs leading to development of a nation.

Momoh (1987) discussed press and government in Africa and noted that African governments should take press as "true partners in progress since there abound in the press some to the most loyal, patriotic citizens any country can produce." (p. 19). Momoh reaches this conclusion after arguing that the media are offsprings of the society in which they are found.

Sofola (1987) in his study on communication and the national destiny, did not deal much on development but rather on the images of symbolism which are communicated, saying that the destiny of a nation is noted by the nature of what is communicated and digested. Martin and Chaudhary (1983) said that during the colonial era, the press often had greater freedom than it had under the post-colonial regimes. They suggest that more control of the press came hand in hand with the political independence in many African countries.

Sunwoo Nam (1983) suggests that regardless of the ideology of a Third World nation, strong development efforts by ruling elites do not leave much room for a free and independent press in the western tradition. The independent press is not something which the leaders of African countries, and some other developing countries, would be willing to give.

As noted by da Costa (1980) "people know that the role of the governmental communication media is to manipulate public opinion" (p.14). This understanding might

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be based on the old bullet theory (DeFleur, 1970) which did not put into perspective the activeness of the audience. As noted by Severin and Tankard (1997), the past research has been one-sided in conceptualization in that the question asked was "What the mass communication was doing to the audience member?" to the exclusion of another important question, "What does the audience member do with mass communication?" This developed into the information seeking behavior by individual, which indicate that the audience in the society is no longer passive, but is active, making selection of useful information in reducing one's equivocality.

Many other organizations have taken a lead in the study of freedom of the press worldwide. These organizations are discussed further in this study, indicating that there has been a growing interest among people to provide freedom of expression in all parts of the world. This seems expected, given how internationalized the world is today. Electronics have allowed individuals to interact almost at anytime, and at any place. Thus, it is easy to follow what is happening in Japan, China, or in Togo, and exchange ideas with one another from one end of the world to another.

The organizations which have dealt with media and or press freedom worldwide include Amnesty International. Through its report, *Amnesty International Report*, information related to the status of the country regarding individual violations, especially groups under the prisoners of conscience, have been widely studied for about 30 years.

Freedom Review, published by Freedom House, is "dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions." Articles of this publication include surveys of freedom worldwide. The organization's special interest in this survey is political rights and civil

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liberties. The study sums its findings in three categories of freedoms of the world countries, that is those which are free, partly free, or not free. In the issue of 1991, the publication includes the 'Survey Methodology' in detail (p. 13-16, see appendix A).

Sussman (1991) for example noted that, although Tanzania permitted independent newspapers and magazines to publish, there was a warning: "... that if the independent publications failed to stop printing 'lies' and 'poorly researched allegations' they would be banned. The threat referred to 'fictitious items, ...un attributed facts and unbalanced coverage,' all to be overcome by surgical censorship." (p. 41).

What Sussman was advocating was the freeing of independent newspaper from the control of politicians who constantly threaten them. His discussions here did not relate to what he discusses elsewhere (see Altschull, 1984) regarding New World Information Order which principally calls for allowing equilibrium and reciprocity in the flow of information.

Sussman insisted that the nations or politicians' threat to emerging independent press could limit the freedom of the press and not boldly stand up to their convictions - thus, limiting human rights and freedom of press in these countries, and that censorship problems may abound. Such a notion would further suggest the kind of press theory in that country, either authoritative theory or developmental theory discussed elsewhere in this study. But first, is chapter three which discusses the background of the African British Commonwealth Countries.

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CHAPTER III

AFRICAN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES: A BACKGROUND

The Commonwealth of nations is an association of 48 current independent countries worldwide, including Great Britain, that recognize the British monarch as the symbol of their free association. These countries were formally part of the British Empire. Although the Commonwealth does not have a defined constitution, central government or rigid contractual obligations in the magnitude of the United Nations, they are governed by what they call the "Declaration of Commonwealth Principles" (See Appendix B).

The Commonwealth has a loose association when compared with the bond that Britain developed with colonies of settlements years ago. After independence, public land, for example (which was one of the major British regulated entities) was quickly transferred into the control of local governments. Today, the legacy of the British rule, British education system, economic bond and other institutions are among the major ties which have remained strong in the Commonwealth.

Within the legacy of the British rule, one sees that the English language stands as a pillar taller than any other. Especially in the African context, where 100 languages can easily be found in one country, one finds English as a unifying means of communication not only within the country, but also across the commonwealth countries

Although the British model of governance is being wiped out in some Commonwealth countries, the elements thereof are still the strength of these governments.

Education is another element of commonality in the Commonwealth. Many of the member countries are still following the British system of education, especially at the university level. As it has been noted, many of the leaders of the Commonwealth countries received their education in Britain, hence, the education structure. The new leaders who have not gone through the British tutelage may hasten the loosening of the Commonwealth bond, especially in education.

An economic bond is one of the oldest, and perhaps the major element which led to the formation of the Commonwealth. Before World War I when British insisted on free trade, many colonies lost their preferences in the British market. The strengthening of the tie was established at the Ottawa Conference in 1932. Since then, the preference established at Ottawa encouraged trade with Britain and the Commonwealth countries.

The choice and affiliation of Britain with the European Common Market (ECM) in 1973 ended most of the intra-Commonwealth preferences. Many Commonwealth countries anticipated this move and opened their eyes elsewhere for trade partners. Yet, Britain has continued to remain the source of bilateral technical assistance, economic aid, and investment consultant for many Commonwealth countries. In recent years, USA and Japan have taken the lead in breaking through to many of the Commonwealth countries in the areas of economic aid, assistance and direct consultations.

While some of the ties stated above seem to be fading away in the Commonwealth countries, certain institutions seem to continue marking the importance of the association.

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One of these is the Prime Ministers' Conferences. These are periodic meetings of the head of governments of the Commonwealth countries. These conferences are informal, yet formal decisions on the Commonwealth membership are made. There are also several other institutions that enable the exchange of information on economic matters, such as the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council, which is composed of finance and economic ministers of various countries. Other institutions include Agriculture and Forestry, Commonwealth Studies, Communications, Education, Health, Information and the Media, Law, Parliamentary Affairs, Professional and Industrial Relations, Science and Technology, Sports, Youth, et cetera.

As an organization with basic British heritage, it is difficult to predict which of the ties will remain, given the influence each of the countries is getting from other countries of the world. The growing linkages of the USA and Japan in these countries, continue to loosen the Commonwealth ties. The legacy, however, will remain for a long time and consultations will probably continue. The English language which has taken root, may not reach an end. The further the nations are move into the "global villagization," the more strong and intense will be the use of the English language.

Country Background

The following is a brief background of each of the countries in this study. In this section, geographical location, economic background, political and historical setting, and educational description of each country are included.

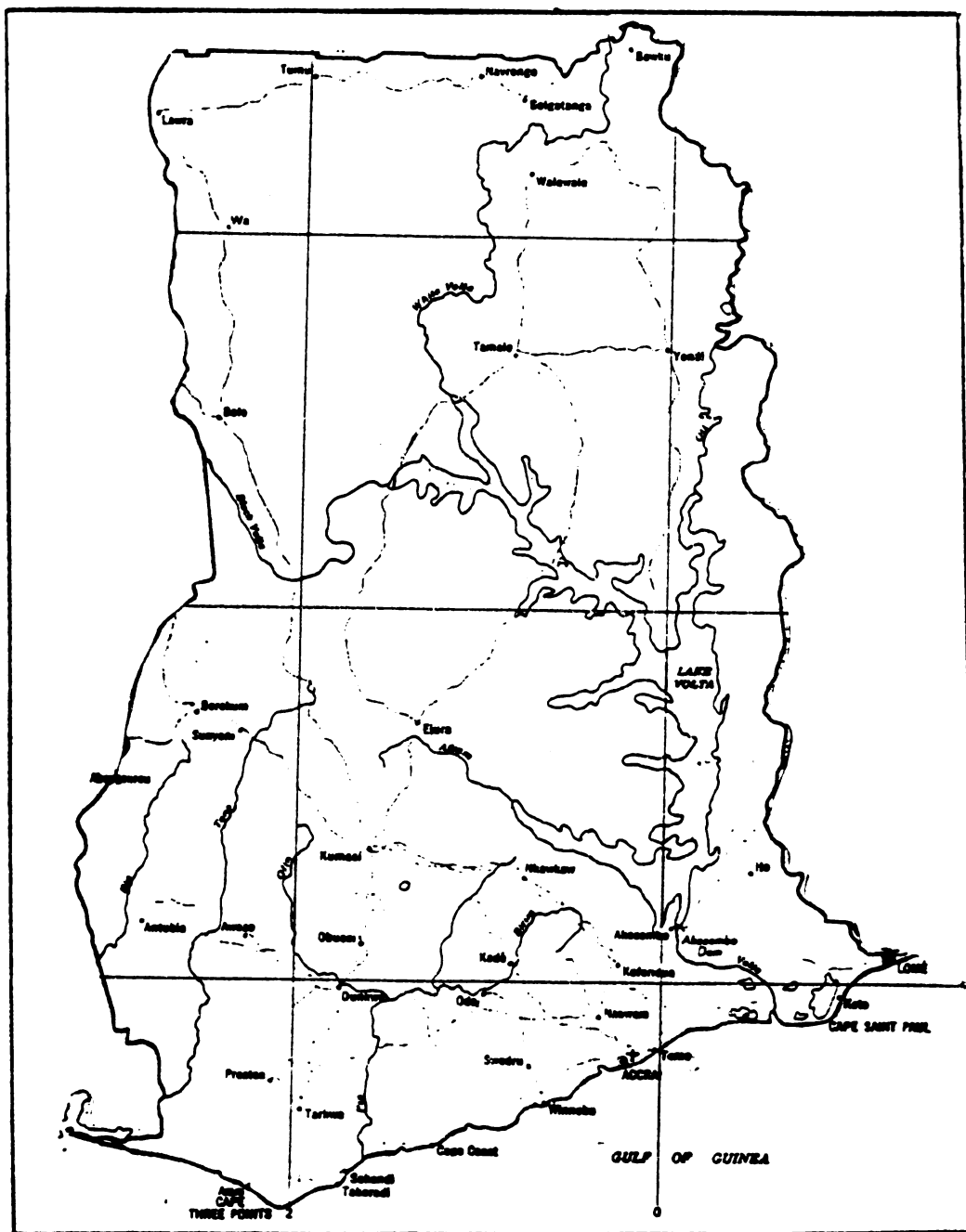


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Geographical Location:

Ghana is located near the Gulf of Guinea, some 400 miles north of the equator. It shares its western border with the Ivory Coast, the northern border with Burkina Faso and the eastern with Togo. The country is 510 miles from the coast to the northern border. The Volta River is the main geological characteristic of the country. Mt. Afadjato is one main features of Ghana, and has the highest peak at 2,905 feet. A coastal plain stretches inland from the Atlantic about 30 to 50 miles.

The Volta basin covers about 60% of Ghana's total land area, including Lake Volta, which is man-made, lying north of the great Akosombo Dam. Ghana, like many other western African countries, has a coastal plain of moderately fertile savannah of low scrub and tall grass, broken by estuaries or deltas; zones of tropical rain forest providing some of the best soils and farming land where forest has been cleared, and in the north, an open savannah of brush and scattered trees which gives way to the Sahel region in neighboring Burkina Faso.

An estimated population in 1990 by the United Nations was 26,072,000 million with the growth rate of 2.6% annually during 1970-1984. It is worthy noting that over 40% of households in Ghana, as noted by Banks (1991) are headed by women, who dominate the trading sector and comprise nearly 50% of agricultural labor.

Ghana has about 70 languages and dialects. The main ethnic groupings, however, are: Kwa-speaking Akan (Asante and Fante), Mole-Dagban, Ga-Adangbe and Awe. English, as in many other commonwealth countries, is widely spoken in the country as

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Political Setting:

Before the British colonized Ghana, the Asante empire was the dominant power in the region. The Asante empire gained political power over the small polities. In 1701 the Asante had defeated the Denkyira kingdom, and by the mid-1840s its power stretched northward, to Togo in the east, and to the Ivory Coast in the west. The empire encountered the British in 1824 and fended off the intruders. The main conflict with the British occurred in the late 1800's, so much so that by 1900 the British conquered Ghana, and it became one of their colonies.

In 1947 the Western-educated elite in Ghana formed the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) with an intent for the campaign toward self-government. Although Kwame Nkrumah was associated with this movement and gave strength toward seeking complete independence, he was arrested in 1948 by the British accusing him of leading riots over the economic situation. When he was released, and because of the conflict with the conservative UGCC leaders, Nkrumah formed the pre-independence Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1950. On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast and the British Trust Territory of Togoland, which until then was a United Nations Trust Territory, became an independent state within the British Commonwealth under the name Ghana.

On July 1, 1960, Ghana became a republic within the Commonwealth with Nkrumah as the Head of the State and Prime Minister. The railway workers' strike in 1961 accompanied with an unsuccessful attempt on Nkrumah's life in 1962 led to the

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In 1964, after Nkrumah escaped an assassination attempt, he formed a one-party socialist state in Ghana and subsequently was sworn in as life President. His life Presidency, came to an end two years later as he was visiting the People's Republic of China when the army and the police seized power in a bloodless coup d'état, replacing him with General J.A. Ankrah, chairman of the National Liberation Council. McCaskie (1986) says that the coup "emphasized their resentment of Nkrumah's interference with the army, his mismanagement of the Ghanaian economy, his repressive politics and the widespread corruption, intrigue and sycophancy of CPP functionaries." (p. 480).

The NLC adopted pro-Western political and economic policies and harassed supporters of the CPP. Parastatals were privatized, state employees were sacked and the cedi (Ghanaian currency) devaluated. Although Ankrah broke off relations with a number of socialist states, the policies did little to end the economic crisis or provide a real political alternative. In his investigation, Anokwa (1991) suggests that "Whatever the reasons for the coup d'état, ... [it] brought an end to the non-competitive one-party socialist political system of Ghana, and ushered in an era of military-cum-police rule in Ghana and of musical chairs between civilian and military regimes." (p. 22)

The following table, adopted from Anokwa (1991) briefly shows the civilian and military regimes in Ghana since independence (See p. 23 of Anokwa). It is noteworthy, that such abrupt changes in government, politics and the economy (as noted below) must have contributed to the instability not only of the social fabric of the Ghanaian nation, but also to its press, a subject discussed in the following chapter.

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National Liberation
(Military Regime)

Progress Party
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Supreme Military
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Armed Forces
Council (AFRC)
(Military Regime)

People's National
Third Republic
(Civilian Regime)

Provisional National
(Military Regime)

Source: Asokwa (1994)

Table 1
Civilian and Military Regimes in Ghana 1957-1990

Regime	Date	Leader
Convention Peoples Party (CPP) First Republic, 1960-66 (Civilian Regime)	1957-1966	Dr. Kwame Nkrumah
National Liberation Council (NLC) (Military Regime)	1966-1969	Gen. J.A. Ankrah Gen. A.A. Afrifa
Progress Party (PP) Second Republic (Civilian Regime)	1969-1972	Dr. Kofi Busia
National Redemption Council (NRC)/ Supreme Military Council I (SMC I) (Military Regime)	1972-1978	Gen. K. Acheampong
Supreme Military Council II (SMC II) (Military Regime)	1978-1979	Gen. Fred Akuffo
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) (Military Regime)	June 1979-Sept. 1979	Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings
People's National Party (PNP) Third Republic (Civilian Regime)	1979-1981	Dr. Hilla Limann
Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) 1981 to Present (Military Regime)		Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings

Source: Anokwa (1991), p. 23.

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The increasingly vocal, pro-multiparty opposition denounced the debates as cynical PNDC exercise in self-affirmation. Bank (1991) notes that in January 1991 Rawlings instructed the National Commission for Democracy, which had organized the debates, to use their findings along with past constitutions to prepare for a new national charter.

Economic Background:

Ghana's economy is predominantly agricultural. Part of the agricultural sector is geared to the production of domestic food crops such as cassava, tubers (yam and coco yam), plantains and maize. About 60% of the total work force is engaged in agriculture which contributes over 50% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Cocoa is Ghana's principal agricultural product. The fluctuation on the price of cocoa places Ghana at a disadvantage, given the dependency on cocoa as the single most important crop. Apart from agricultural production, fisheries is an important trade within and outside the country.

Manufacturing has dropped dramatically over the years. Manufacturing contributed as much as 25% of the GDP in 1970, but had dropped to 8% in 1985. It is believed that the sector operates at an average of 33% of capacity and employs less than 10% of the total work force.

Mining is an important activity in the Ghanaian economy. Gold produces 80% of mineral earnings and about 15% of the total export earnings. But like other sectors, its production capacity is reduced due to the lack of foreign exchange. Under the

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Economic Recovery Program, Ghana planned to give more attention to mining by implementing a revenue sharing agreement between the companies such as Lonrho and the government.

Basically, Ghana's export is dominated by cocoa and gold. Ghana exports to United States (20.8%), Britain (15.8%), West Germany (10.8%) and Japan (7.7%). Her main imports are from Nigeria (26%), Britain (21%), the United States (10.5%), West Germany (12.3%) and Japan (4.2%).

Education:

In 1984 Ghana introduced a new structure of education consisting of an initial six years' primary education (beginning at six years of age), followed by three years' junior secondary education. As of 1989, students in Junior Secondary School Program had to pay (500 cedis). An examination is administered to all senior students in Junior Secondary School to determine admission to senior secondary school courses, which leads to examination at the Ordinary level of the General Certificate of Education, and technical and vocational courses.

In 1990, the Common Entrance Examination, which was previously used to select senior secondary students, was replaced by the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE). In 1987 enrollment at primary schools was equivalent to 71% of children in the relevant age-group (78% boys; 63% girls); the comparable ratio at secondary schools was 40% (49% boys; 32% girls).

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government in 1988 was estimated at (36,994.7m. cedis) 25.7% of total expenditures. The average rate of adult literacy according to UNESCO in 1990 was 39.7 (male 30%; females 49%). Since 1989, the Ministry of Education introduced a new campaign to improve teaching standards as part of the Educational Sector Adjustment Program.

Kenya:

Geographical location:

With an area of 224,960 square miles, Kenya lies on the west of Somali and the Indian Ocean, south of Ethiopia and Sudan, east of Uganda and north of Tanzania. The country is generally surrounded with water. Running from the central part of the country to the Indian Ocean are Tana and Galana rivers. The other main river which runs from Uganda in the west and pours its water into Lake Turkana to the northwest, is Turkwel. Kenya is also linked with Tanzania and Uganda by Lake Victoria, the largest lake in Africa and a major source of fish for the three countries.

Economic Background:

In Kenya, agriculture provides employment for over 80% of the population with the main export commodities of coffee, tea, fruit vegetables, sisal, pyrethrum and cotton. Agriculture is the dominant mainstay of the economy of Kenya, even though its industries are generally developed. Since Kenya's economy is mostly depended on agriculture, there is always fluctuations of the economy in the country depending on climate variations in world market prices. Likewise, the boom of coffee and tea prices depends on good harvest, which conversely, depends on appropriate weather in the country.

Figure 3 Kenya: Geographical Location

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In recent years, Kenya has been noted as the fastest growing population in the world with the problem of the economy keeping pace. For example, from 1973 to 1985 the population grew by an average of 4% annually. The UN population estimate in 1991 was 25,414,000. The drought that followed 1985 and the poor prices of commodities in the world market in 1987 and 1988 put Kenya's growth at a standstill.

Agriculture: Coffee Kenya's single most important crop and export commodity. The European who introduced the crop dominated in its production until after Kenya's independence in 1964 when the country encouraged the growth of smallholder coffee production. In 1981 for instance, for the first time, the smallholder farms accounted for over half of the area (about 296,400 acres) set aside for coffee production.

Tea is one of Kenya's second most important crops and was the world's fourth largest exporter of high-grade tea in early 1980s. Like coffee, Africans in Kenya through smallholders, have increased their output, and tea is no longer grown only in large estates by Europeans alone. In 1987, smallholder tea production was about 45% of the total tea producers in Kenya.

Fruit and vegetables have seen an increase in production and export in the late 1980s. In 1986 fruit and vegetables earned Kenya a substantial amount of foreign exchange with major markets in Britain and Western Europe. Much of this output was produced by smallholders.

Other crops such as sisal, pyrethrum, cotton, and sugar have received more problems than the others. Although Kenya produces maize, basically for home consumption, the country has occasionally been forced to import due to drought or other

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Industries: Kenya's industry is well developed when compared with some African countries. Many of its industries range from agricultural produce such as foods, sugar, tobacco, and textiles; others range from brewing and baking to refining crude oil and assembling vehicles from parts supplied by international manufacturers such as British Leyland, Fiat, Ford, General Motors, Isuzu, Toyota, and Volkswagen.

Like agricultural products, industry productivity has recently declined due, in part, to the fall of export and rising of import prices. Even though the processes are on local products, materials, spare parts, crude oil and others have to be imported. Kenya, like other African countries, has sought financial and planning aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to overcome its trade growth problems.

Political Background:

The history of Kenya's political situation dates as far back as human existence in this region. Recent anthropological findings near Lake Turkana indicate that the Homo genus of human lived in the region 2.6 million years ago. The Cushites-speaking people, however, are said to have occupied the area from about 1000 BC, and that they traded with the Arabs in Kenya at the beginning of the first century A.D. Both the Bantu and the Nilotic people are said to have moved into the area. The trading between the Arabs and the coastal people activated the Kiswahili language which has thus far become a lingua-franca for the whole of the east coast of Africa and now one of the most widely

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The colonial history of Kenya goes back to the Berlin Conference of 1885 when the European powers first partitioned East Africa into spheres of influence. In 1895, the British Government established the East African Protectorate and later became a British Colony in 1920 with no African political participant until 1944.

Even after Africans were allowed to participate in politics, the government was structured for the interest of the settlers and not for the indigenous population. Throughout the colonial period, African economic conditions declined considerably mostly, due to the alienation of African communities from their farming land. The authorities attempted to control land use in the reserves but this caused minor resentment among the Africans. Under such conditions, the reserves were unable to provide more than a subsistence level of production for the Africans.

After the appointment of Eliud Mathu, an African, to the colony's Legislative Council in 1944, the Kenya African Union (KAU) was formed. KAU wanted to tackle economic issues first then political ones, and it was used by educated Africans in Kenya to demand fertile upland favored by the settlers. The increase of nationalism which nationalists like Jomo Kenyatta, Hastings Banda, Julius Nyerere and others exchanged, led Kenyatta to the founding of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in 1947 as an instrument for both political and economic freedom from the British. KANU became the predominant nationalist organization. About the same time KANU was formed, the Mau Mau movement rose.

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against settlers and African chiefs who supported the colonial authorities. Afraid of the Mau Mau uprising, the government declared a state of emergency in 1952 to stop the movement. With a bloodshed of over 13,000 Africans and 32 British, the movement came to a standstill, and Kenyatta, the leader of the movement, was put into jail in 1956.

When the 1957 election for African members of the Legislative Council was held and Tom Mboya was elected to the post, he refused, calling for a British commitment to full democracy instead of a still heavily weighted council in favor of settler interests. Such refusal was followed by others in the following years as a strategy for democracy.

When the new constitution was established in 1960, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and Daniel arap Moi became the main leaders of the KANU as the main political party. KANU, however, refused to form a government prepared for independence, unless Jomo Kenyatta was released from jail. In 1961, Kenyatta was released and took over the leadership of KANU. In 1963, Kenyatta became the prime minister and on December 12, 1963 became the first President of independent Kenya.

The relationship between Kenyatta, the president, and Odinga, vice-president, did not last long. When on the one hand Kenyatta favored the settlers, Odinga was against them and still fought them on the issue of land reforms. This led to Odinga to leave KANU in 1966 and form a socialist Kenya's Peoples Union (KPU). It was after this time that Kenyatta introduced harsh security laws and used them against the supporters of KPU. Tom Mboya, one of the predominant supporters of Kenyatta (a Luo) was assassinated (allegedly by a Kikuyu) on July 5, 1969. The KPU was later banned and its leaders detained. Any party in opposition to KANU was made illegal (since 1969)

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until 1991 when the discussion of the multi-party system was finally accepted by KANU after the pressure within Kenya was so tense that it seemed impossible to continue to resist opposition parties anymore.

During the time of Kenyatta, the government and political economy was dominated by the Kikuyu, with few Luos (Mboya's ethnic group) and Kalenjin (Moi's group). The president added to his power by encouraging Kikuyu to join the army and offering promotions. This led to unrest of those groups not represented in the government.

In the 1970s, many outbreaks of student opposition to the authoritarian and conservative system in Kenya and to the continued high economic profile of European and U.S. economic interests had increased. Although many members of the parliament used the students opposition to support Kenyatta's ideas, J. M. Kariuki, used it to voice criticism of government policies and the Kikuyu. His criticism, along with others, was silenced by his assassination in March 1975 after he was arrested by the security forces.

Following the death of Kenyatta on August 23, 1978, political activity stagnated, but pockets of resistance to the conservative policies of the government remained largely unchanged. Student demonstrations, which led to the closure of Nairobi University several times in the 1980's, are an example. In the late 1980s, international attention was on Kenya and its internal policies. Amnesty International, for example, criticized Moi's detention of educators, journalists and business people. But Moi reacted in paranoid fashion, accusing the organization, foreign radio stations such as the BBC and Voice of America, et cetera of trying to subvert his government.

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In May 1990, Moi offered his most recent rebuttal to opponents calling for a multi-party system, insisting that such a change would exacerbate a Kenya propensity for tribal cleavage. This was after the assassination of Robert Ouko, the then Foreign Minister, whose popularity was viewed by many as having eclipsed that of the president.

The arrest of the multiparty movement's most prominent advocates in July 1990, former Cabinet Ministers, Kenneth Matiba, and Charles Rubia sparked nationwide rioting. The government's violent squashing of the demonstrations was sharply criticized by domestic and international observers -- but Moi's Administration position did not change--and illegalized Odinga's newly launched National Democratic Party (NDP).

In a whole, Kenya's complication of its politics lies basically on the ethnicity groupings. For instance, the domination of the Kikuyu and a few leading groups in Kenya, have led to the unrest of the non-represented groups in the government. It is this condition which has largely brought about conflict in many issues involving freedom of the press as will be seen later.

Education:

Education in Kenya, especially after President Moi's reform, has followed the system based on eight years in the primary sector, four years in the secondary sector and four years of higher education, otherwise known as 8-4-4.

Kenya, like many other African countries, has shortages of schools, thus thousands of children of school age, have to be turned away annually. According to UNESCO (1990) the country has, however, increased education provision more than

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twenty times over that of pre-independence level for primary education, and slightly over three times that of secondary education. A small percentage find their way to secondary education, and much smaller percentage can penetrate their way to a college education.

The 1980s have been noted as frequent years of college and university closures in Kenya as a result of friction between students and the government. There have been thousands of students who have been detained in these altercations, especially in August 1982 during the coup attempt, where many students were detained. Other students were detained after the November 1987 riots in Nairobi University.

Malawi:

Geographical Location:

Malawi is one of the smallest countries in this configuration. It is 525 miles long and between 48 and 96 miles wide. It is bordered in the north and northeast by Tanzania, on the east, south and southwest by Mozambique, and on the west by Zambia. About 25% of the total area is covered by Lake Nyasa (otherwise called Lake Malawi), with other small lakes and rivers. Since Malawi is a landlocked, far away from the Indian Ocean, most of the country's trade outlets pass through Mozambique. Its estimated population in 1990 by the UN was 8,190,000.

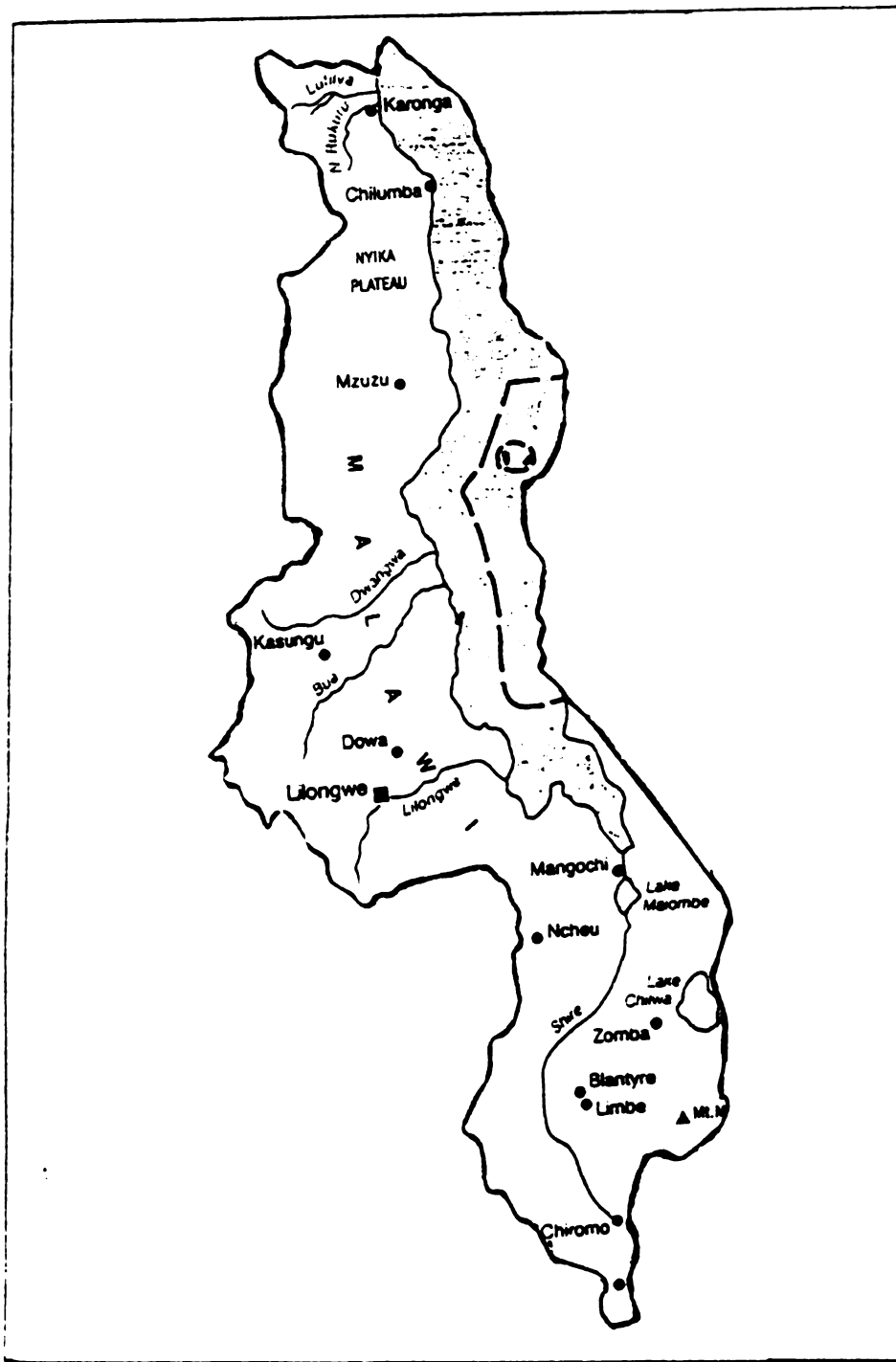


Figure 4 Malawi: Geographical Location

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Economic Background:

Farming is the chief means of livelihood in Malawi which uses about 50% of their arable soil. The Agricultural sector provides about one-half of total wage employment in the country. Former European estates which were established in Malawi after independence, remained in the hands of foreign companies or were taken over by Malawian interests, such as Banda's Press Holdings.

In recent years, the government in Malawi have given an increased attention to industrial development in the national policies. Such move have contributed to a positive outlook by grant-aid donor countries. Livestock and fisheries have been the major subjects of aid-assisted development. Lake Nyasa is a rich source of fish, which is the source of 75% of the people's animal protein intake.

Agriculture: Malawi produces tobacco, tea and sugar as the main cash crops providing a gain of 40% of GDP and 90% of export earning. Maize is the main staple crop. In recent years Malawian cereals have been exported to drought affected areas in the neighboring countries.

Industry: Malawi, like many other countries, is looking for import substitution. Textiles, footwear, food-crop processing, timber and wood pulping are increasingly becoming major substitutes. Manufacturing produces only about 13% of the GDP. Malawi has grown in its attraction to tourists. In 1985 some 45,000 visitors contributed to the country's foreign exchange.

Foreign trade: Ninety-percent of Malawi's export earning is from Agriculture. Tobacco (50%), tea, sugar and coffee are the main earners of the foreign exchange. The

main import is motor fuel. As of 1985, Malawi's export trade partners were South Africa (38%), Britain (15%), Japan (7.7%) and Zimbabwe (6.0%). Import partners were Britain (33.9%), the United States (9.2%), West Germany (8.3%), Zambia 6.4%) and South Africa (6.4%).

Political and Historical Background:

Malawi is seen by historians as a region of considerable migration and conflict among native groups for land and political hegemony, especially following the wake of the enforced exodus of the Ngoni from southern Africa during the rise of the Zulu kingdom. In the 19th century, European interest in the region increased, especially as missionaries such as David Livingstone took close interest in the region. Missionary and trading ventures resulted in competition between the British and the Portuguese. When the British controlled the present Malawi, they imposed taxes, payable in cash, to force the indigenous peoples to engage in paid labor for European settlers and companies. Thus, a forced labor was introduced to ensure a steady supply of cheap labor for settlers and colonial authorities.

John Chilembwe, was one of the first early African nationalists who advocated for the education of Africans, and established an education center for promotion of African training in modern skills and advancement. This activity brought him into conflict with local settlers and the authorities, particularly when he openly criticized attempts to recruit Africans to serve with the British forces. This ended with his death and the death of most of his followers.

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In the 1920s and 1930s, many African movements voiced nationalist sentiments based on religious and educational concerns. The most notable movement was the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) with the aim of opposing the white dominated movement, the Central African Federation (CAF) in 1953. Those who were the founder of the NAC (notably Henry Chipembere, Yatuta and Dunduzu Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi, Kanyama Chiume and Orton Chirwa) called Dr. Kamuzu Banda who lived in London, believing that he would be the right person to help them direct the movement, not only to seek economic rights, but to lead the country toward political independence.

Banda accepted the call and returned to Malawi in July 1958 and championed the lead toward the opposition of the CAF. In 1959 the colonial authority arrested Banda and banned the movement. The London investigation of his arrest and issues surrounding the movement he championed, reached the conclusion that Banda should be released, and Malawi was promised independence. Malawi finally became independent on July 6, 1964 and Banda became the Prime Minister.

Soon after independence, Banda developed into a steadfast conservative leader and quickly rid his government of radicals who had been key figures in the struggle against the Federation and who pushed for independence. Many of those who had invited Banda from London, did not go along with him in his policies. For instance, they saw him being slow in the Africanization of civil services, willing to cooperate with Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique, the apartheid government in South Africa and the white minority regime in southern Rhodesia, and his continued refusal to open relations with the People's Republic of China. Several of his ministers were dismissed and replaced

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Conflicts and uprisings continued as Banda remained resistant to change. Any internal conflict, such as the uprising led by former Home Affairs Minister, Yatuta Chisiza in October 1967, increased his personal power after defeat. Banda continued to be harsh on exiled opponents. For example, Chirwa, the former justice minister, was seized from inside Zambia and brought to trial on charges of treason, along with his wife, Vera. The Chirwas had been founders and leaders of the moderate, pro-socialist Mafremo. They were found guilty of treason and sentenced to death on May 5, 1983. After international appeals, Banda commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment.

In the 1980s, some changes took place in the Malawi's foreign relations outlook. Although Malawi maintains relations with South Africa, Banda was forced by regional and economic circumstances to maintain better relations with his neighbors. For example, Malawi joined the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 and has continued to play an active role. The continued fighting in Mozambique diverted Malawi to increase use of Zambia and Tanzania as alternative routes for transportation, thus increasing relations. Following the death of Samora Machel of Mozambique in 1986, Malawi came under strong pressure from its neighbors to modify its policies.

One question remains for the political leadership in Malawi, since Dr. Banda is 84 officially (but reported as being 91), one wonders who will succeed him. Would the country remain intact after he is gone? Only time will tell. The continued power of Banda, creates an unpredictable future for Malawi governance amidst opposition of

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Banda and those who are established under him. Since independence in 1964, Dr. Banda (as the head of the government) declared himself president for life.

Education:

In 1984 there was an estimated 900,000 children: 44% of six-to 13-year-olds attended primary school in Malawi. Parents have to pay for schooling, which restricts access. In 1986-87 an estimated 2,000 students were attending teacher colleges; fewer than half this number were in technical institutions. The University of Malawi, at Zomba, enrolls nearly 2,000 students. Many education projects in Malawi are undertaken as self-help schemes, with extensive local financing and personal inputs demanded of the people to be served by schools. In 1983-84, there were 14,499 staff and 847,157 primary students; 1,072 staff and 22,145 students in secondary schools; 123 staff and 1,890 students in teachers training; 43 staff and 552 students in technical schools; and 229 staff and 1,961 students at the University of Malawi at Zomba.

Nigeria:

Geographical Location:

Nigeria is the largest populated country in Africa (estimated by the UN in 1990 to be 113,343,000) even though it is only 356,574 square miles. In the west, Nigeria is bordered by the Republic of Benin, to the north the Republic of Niger, with Chad on Lake Chad (part of which is Nigerian territorial waters) in the northeast, and with Cameroon along the eastern borders.

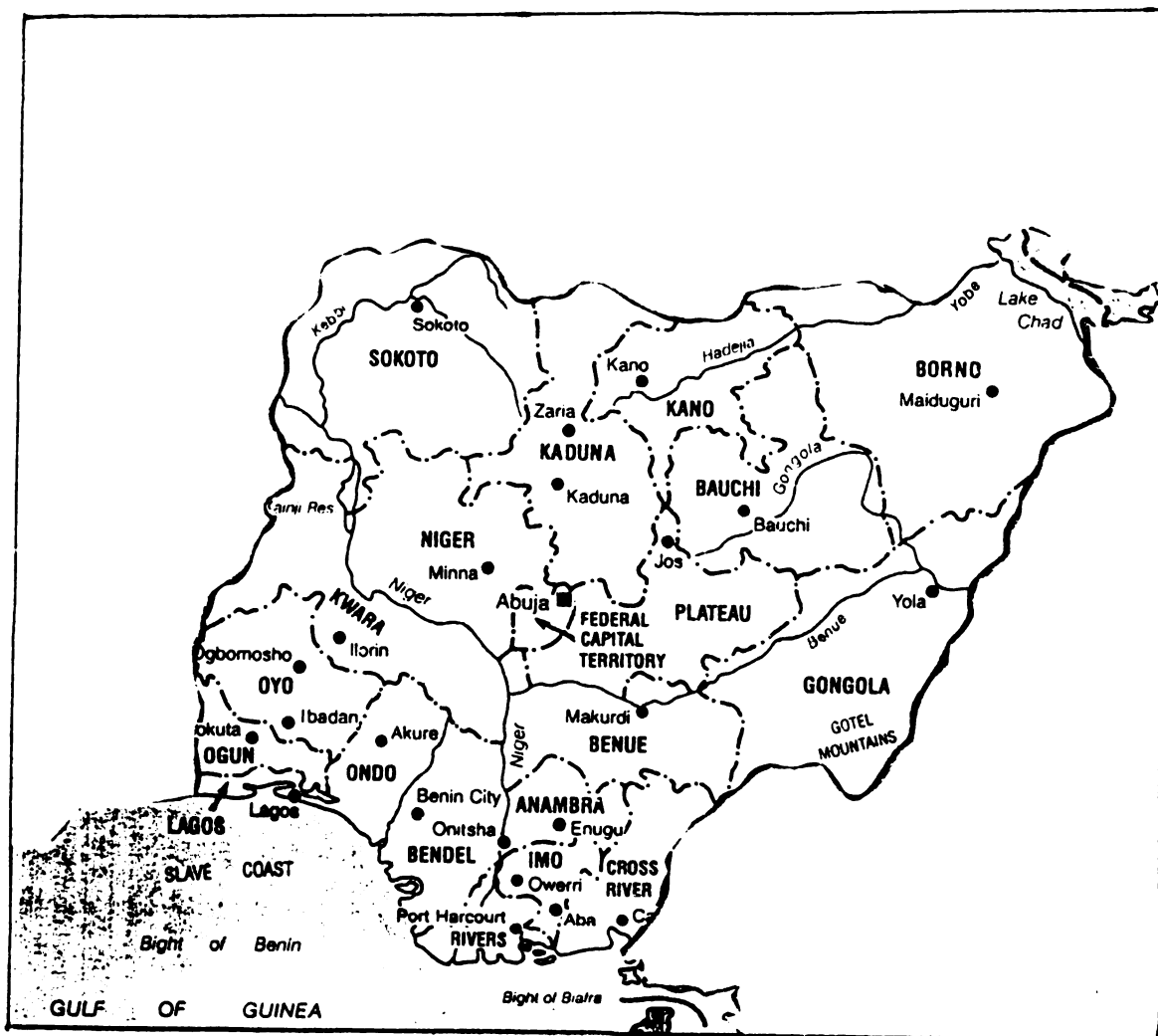


Figure 5 Nigeria: Geographical Location

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The center and south of the country is dominated by the great Niger-Benue river basin, which provides water resources and is the major geographical feature. The Kainji Dam harnesses the Niger in Kwara State and is the principal source of hydroelectric power in the country. Niger, Benue and other rivers are not only important transport routes, but also major sources of fish.

Economic Background:

Nigeria, like many other African countries, has had economic difficulties; vast developmental needs, mishandled development, ill-managed agriculture and excessive food import dependency among others. For instance, the country's 1980s difficulties are the consequence of many factors, primarily, the dependency on the export of oil (24% of GDP with 65% of government revenues and 95% to 97% of external earnings) and the fluctuating world demand and pricing.

Agriculture: Nigeria is one of the few countries in Africa with less dependency on agriculture. The farming sector is still under-funded. The production of wheat and rice for local consumption has not been developed enough. Peasants cannot produce enough food to cope with the rapid growing urban population of Nigeria, let alone the problem of distribution of what is produced. The decline in agriculture has affected cash crops as well as food supplies. Nigeria is no longer a major exporter of palm oil because of the decline in production. In short, government policies have favored large landowners and major agricultural companies over the important small farmers.

Foreign Trade: Crude oil exports consistently provide over 90% of Nigeria's

earnings overseas. In 1987 for example, these exports brought in about 97% of earnings. Foreign trade balances have been held down by progressive restraints on imports for a long time. Principal trade in 1986 was as follows: Import trade partners include Britain (16.2%), West Germany (13.0%), France (9.6%) and the United States (8.0%); and export partners were the United States (27.6%), West Germany (12.9%), France (8.65%), Italy (8.1%) and Britain (5.0%).

Political and Historical Background:

The trading networks for the coastal communities, and the access to trans-Saharan trade were important factors in determining political and economic power of Nigeria. Portuguese traders came into the country in the 15th century and developed slave trade to the extent that as many as 40 million slaves were taken from the West African region.

The Europeans entered the country toward the end of the 19th century. British rule was established by a mixture of overwhelming military force and divide-and-rule tactics. No nationalism movement was noticed until after the end of World War II. Some of the most notable were Nnamdi Azikiwe's National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroon's (NCNC) and Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group (AG).

Nigeria's first national elections were held in 1952 under the new constitution (the Macpherson constitution under which a house of representatives and a council of ministers were created along with regional assemblies). The older one, Richard constitution, had a direct election of members and the legislative council formed under it had limited advisory powers-nothing more than a national forum for discussing

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problems. This resulted in the regionalization of the parties; the NCNC in the east and the Northern People's Congress (NPC), led by Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello and by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and the Awolowo's AG in the west.

The northerners, however, feared domination by the better educated and more politically experienced east- and westerners. The eastern-based NCNC had the Ibo support who wanted regional autonomy, as opposed to the Awolowo's AG but was interested in the control of the economy, especially the cocoa industry.

During the election in 1959, the legislature was split into three regional blocs, with the NPC having the largest number of seats, but without being the majority. This led to the formation of an NPC-NCNC coalition, with Balewa as prime minister when the country was declared independent on October 1, 1960. The following month saw the NCNC's leader Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the governor-general who became the President of the country in October 1963. Thus, there was an uneasy alliance of Azikiwe as a ceremonial head of the state, and Balewa as prime minister. This led to the assassination of Balewa with other regional premiers in a failed coup of January 15, 1966.

Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwu, the military leader of the main Ibo eastern region, refused to accept the authority of the new regime led by Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon. Ojukwu did not want eastern resources to be used to finance a northern-dominated government staffed by officers seen by the Ibos as having condoned massacres. Later, Ojukwu announced the secession of the eastern region and the formation of the state of Biafra. In attempt to regain control, the fight resulted to the death of 100,000 troops and as many as 2 million civilians, and resulted in famine in the region.

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After the end of the war, Gowon's 12-state federation and the demobilization of the army was reintroduced. Gowon used the oil revenues to create a strong, centralized state and to reconstruct the economy with the aim of handing over the rule to an elected civilian government in 1976. Because of the degree of corruption, General Murtala Muhammad led a coup in July 29, 1975. His main aim was a radical change, to bring to an end all kinds of corruption by first trimming the over-staffed public service sector. Muhammad announced in 1975 that civilian rule would be restored in exactly four years. But Muhammad was assassinated in Lagos on February 13, 1976.

Obasanjo took over and Nigeria put strong pressure on Great Britain and the United States over Rhodesia and South Africa, nationalizing British Petroleum (BP) holdings in Nigeria in 1979. Shehu Shagari's northern-dominated National party of Nigeria won the election and Shagari was sworn in on October 1, 1979 and was in power for four years. Maj. Gen. Muhammad Buhari and a group of officers seized power on January 1, 1984 with a mission to end the deterioration of the economy and halt corruption and crime. In 1985 Buhari expelled nearly 800,000 illegal aliens, about half of them from Ghana. About the same time, the army chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida seized power and appointed a 17-member bureau to work out the timetable for the return to civilian rule of Nigeria.

Babangida set up a relatively enlightened military regime, with some respect for law, human rights and freedom of the press. He encouraged open debate on all major issues, including the economy and the extent of Nigeria's deference to the IMF. He also promised a return the country to civilian rule after the newly appointed political bureau

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had found a "political system which can enable us to aspire to a predictable and stable political future." One of Babangida's aims was to make a constitutional provision to make future coups illegal, even though he himself came to power through a military coup.

Education:

Nigeria undertook a policy of free universal primary education (UPE) in 1976. The greatest impact of the policies of educational development was in the north. UPE had been a policy in the west from colonial times. By 1980, enrollment of children of primary school age had reached 71% and for secondary school 44%. In 1983, 14.4 million children were in primary school and 3.6 million in secondary schools.

A more serious problem is that, graduates from secondary and higher levels have been less easily absorbed into appropriate employment. Adjustments in the system toward teachers', technical and science education have been made since 1982. In 1977, tuition has been free to all candidates gaining admission. However, retrenchment of institutions, facilities, student funding and overseas study support has been imposed as budgetary and aid resources have become scarcer in the mid-1980s. Adult literacy is about 40%. In 1987, 4.9% of total public expenditure was allocated to education. The 1988 budget estimate was for 4.05%.

Higher-degree facilities are offered in Nigerian universities, and some funding of studies at this level abroad is granted. Adult education is provided through community development and university extra-mural departments. In 1985, the National Open

University enrolled its first students.

Tanzania:

Geographical Location:

Tanzania, which has the largest area of water of any African country, is surrounded by waters, with the Indian Ocean to the east, Lake Victoria to the north, Lake Tanganyika to the west and Lake Nyasa (Malawi) to the south. There are also a number of lakes and major rivers within the boundaries of the republic, notably lakes Rukwa in the southwest, Natron, Manyara and Eyasi in the north and the Rufiji, Ruaha and Ruvu rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean from the inland plateau.

Mount Kilimanjaro (19,340) is the highest peak in Africa. The African Rift Valley runs through Tanzania, and the faulting has been responsible for the geographical features such as the Olduvai Gorge, the Rift Valley escarpments in the north and the depressions in which the country's lakes have formed.

In Tanzania, agricultural potential is determined both by the soil structure and the regularity of rainfall or the availability of ground water. Roughly one-fifth of the country receives 30 in. of rain annually with little variation depending on location, but loses much of this through rapid evaporation.

Tanzania is the largest of the countries in the East African and is bordered by Kenya in the North, Uganda to the northwest, Rwanda and Burundi in the northwest, Zaire to the west across Lake Tanganyika, Zambia to the southwest and Malawi and Mozambique to the south. Tanzania's estimated population by the UN in 1990 was 26,998,000.



Figure 6 Tanzania: Geographical Location

Economic Background:

Tanzania's main economy is based on agriculture with cash and food crops. It also has some mining of diamond, gold, coal, and other minerals and a small processing and manufacturing sector. Over 90% of the population derives its living from agriculture, accounting for 80% of export income. The agricultural system, with the exception of some large, European-owned estates, was not well developed, and most peasant farmers were either subsistence farmers or small-scale producers using primitive methods that yielded only a small surplus for sale.

Agriculture: During the Nyerere administration, economic policies centered on encouraging agricultural development while trying to redistribute wealth and to create a village-based, communal agricultural system. Apart from the socialist aims of this scheme, the intention was also to group peasant farmers together to make more efficient the provision for extension, welfare and other services.

Industry: In the late 1970s and 1980s, Tanzania's industries were in collapse, with plants being under-utilized and falling. In 1987, only 30% of industrial capacity was being used and production was falling by about 4% annually. Shortage of fuel, spare parts and raw materials were the chief reasons, although poor management and insufficient investment capital were part of the blame.

Foreign Trade: Due to the above problems, Tanzania saw an ever increasing deficit which was becoming a threat to the economy of the nation. For example, in 1980 the export sector had a negative growth of 7.3%. In 1980 exports totaled \$508 million, but imports were \$1,258 million, leaving a deficit of \$750 million. As of 1986,

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Tanzania's trade was as follows: Import trade partners include the EEC, excluding U.K. (50%), United Kingdom (15%), Japan (14%), and the United States (4%); and the export partners were EEC (60%), United Kingdom (22%), Japan (7.5%) and the United States (3.5%).

In 1986, the Mwinyi administration came to terms with the IMF, the first time since 1980. This helped Mwinyi to launch his economic program which aimed at restoring growth (at 4.5% growth between 1986 and 1991), increase the utilization of industrial stock, expand exports and increase investment, especially through foreign aid. Mwinyi allowed businesses to increase their role in the economy, and relaxed foreign-exchange controls to enable them to use foreign exchange to import goods. The 1985 exports were cashews, cloves, coffee, cotton, diamonds, sisal, tea and tobacco.

Political and Historical Background:

Tanganyika (mainland Tanzania), like many African countries, was a victim of the European scramble for Africa in the 1880s, leading to Tanzania falling into the mouth of German rule in 1885 under German East Africa. Zanzibar (Tanzania island) had a strong Arab influence with Arab Omani traders and rulers controlling much of the coastal trade. Under the domination of the Arab and Shirazi (Persian) rulers, it became a slaving and commercial center for East Africa.

In 1918, Germany lost Tanganyika in World War I and Britain gained control of the country as a trust territory under the League of Nations. The British administered Tanganyika through a mixture of direct rule and control through native chiefs. It was

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not until 1922 when nationalism emerged in the territory with the formation of Territory African Civil Service Association (TACSA). TACSA was not as active as Tanganyika Africa Association (TAA) which followed in 1929 under the leadership of Julius K. Nyerere. In 1945, TAA increased its radical, and merged into Tanganyika African Nation Union (TANU) and Nyerere became its president. The Union first took its demand for independence to the United Nations but then concentrated on campaigning within the colony. Tanganyika became independent on December 9, 1961, with Nyerere as prime minister, and a year later, when Tanganyika became a republic, Nyerere became the first president of Tanganyika.

In Zanzibar, the Arabs formed the first government but were overthrown by the majority of the population in a January 1963 revolution that brought the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to power. The leader of the revolution was John Okello, a Uganda-born Zanzibari. Following the ASP's formation of a government, and with discussions initiated by the mainland, Zanzibar and Tanganyika agreed to merge to become the United Republic of Tanzania in April, 1964, with Nyerere as president and the Zanzibar leader and ASP head, Abeid Karume as vice-president.

Nyerere drew up plans for the formation of a one-party-state, which were implemented in the elections in 1965. In 1967, Nyerere introduced the "*ujamaa*" socialism as a blueprint for development of rural communities, planned to be the basic building blocks of a form of African socialism. The implementation of the *ujamaa* policies over the years, was hampered by the failure to attract sufficient foreign aid and investment, apart from the difficulties of formation of the *ujamaa* villages, which was

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met by opposition especially when some of the people were forced to move from one area to another. The effect of the *ujamaa* policies reduced production and worsened the country's economic and social problems that included a serious drought in 1974-75 and the massive rise in oil prices in the early and mid-1970s, apart from the social frustration of the people affected in this migration.

In 1977, TANU and ASP merged and formed *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) a revolutionary party, with Nyerere as chairman and Aboud Jumbe, as vice-chairman. Despite all the failures and the problems wrought in the *ujamaa* policies, Nyerere's popularity was sustained, and in October 1980 Nyerere was reelected as president with 93% of the vote. Since 1988, the president is nominated by CCM and elected by universal suffrage for no more than two, five-year terms.

In 1983-84 Tanzania initiated major discussion and amendment of the constitution. One of the major items of discussion, and as suggested by some Zanzibaris, was the proposition of a federal constitution with three separate governments for the island, the mainland and the union, and a rejection of the supremacy of the single party, the CCM. Nyerere and the CCM rejected any dilution of party power and the idea of three governments. The result was that Jumbe resigned in January as president of Zanzibar and vice-president of the republic. His replacement was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who was even closer to Nyerere than Jumbe. When Nyerere retired in 1985, the CCM congress adopted Mwinyi as the party's sole candidate for the presidency, and in October 1985 won 96% of the vote as the second president of Tanzania.

Soon after Mwinyi took power, he made an agreement with the IMF conditions

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including the devaluation of the Tanzania shilling, encouragement of the private sector and ending price controls. Within six months of his administration, Mwinyi had concluded a deal with the IMF and had set about reforming the economy. Although Nyerere resigned in 1985 as the president of Tanzania, he was still the CCM chairman until 1989. While in this position, Nyerere became strongly critical of Mwinyi's liberalization measures, particularly those that encouraged private initiative in foreign trade and the loosening of foreign exchange controls. Mwinyi's supporters within the party and government, including Prime Minister Warioba and Finance Minister Msuya, defended the economic reforms on the grounds that reform and rehabilitation were necessary to ensure the building of an equitable socialist system in the future.

Education:

Education in Tanzania has greatly improved since independence. From a base level of about 25% literacy at independence, the government programs have raised the literacy rate to 85%. Almost every village now has a primary school. In 1961, only 500,000 children attended primary schools; in 1984, the figure stood at 3.75 million (95% of the age-group on the mainland, and 98.6% in Zanzibar).

There are approximately 9,000 new entrants to secondary schooling every year and university registration of 3,600. Teacher training colleges produce about 2,000 teachers annually, with the average number per teacher as 53. Expenditure on education accounts for around 10% of the budget allocation.

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Zambia:**Geographical Location:**

Zambia is a landlocked country on the southern African plateau, bordering Tanzania and Malawi to the northeast; Mozambique to the east and southeast; Zimbabwe to the south; Namibia (Caprivi Strip) and Angola to the southwest and west; and Zaire to the north. Zambia's principal physical features are its rivers; the Kafue and Luangwa are the tributaries of the Zambezi, the Zambezi creating a border between Zambia and Zimbabwe, the Luapula which pours its waters into Lake Mweru, and its famous Victoria Falls. Zambia is relatively highly urbanized with 40% of its population living on the Copper Belt and along the "line of rail". The population of Zambia as estimated by the UN in 1990 was 7,912,000.

Economic Background:

In some ways, Zambia is like Nigeria in its dependence on non-agricultural production. Zambia, however, has depended on a narrow range of minerals, mainly copper, which has made Zambia's economy vulnerable to the vagaries of world markets. The agreement with the IMF was dropped by the government in 1987 following food riots and a continuing decline in the living standards of the poorest section of society.

Agriculture: By comparison with mining, rural development is poor and agricultural incomes low, with many peasant farmers at subsistence levels. The sector contributed 14.4% to GDP in 1983. As of 1984, there was a promotion of agricultural production -- even though agricultural crops are mostly for internal consumption. Cash

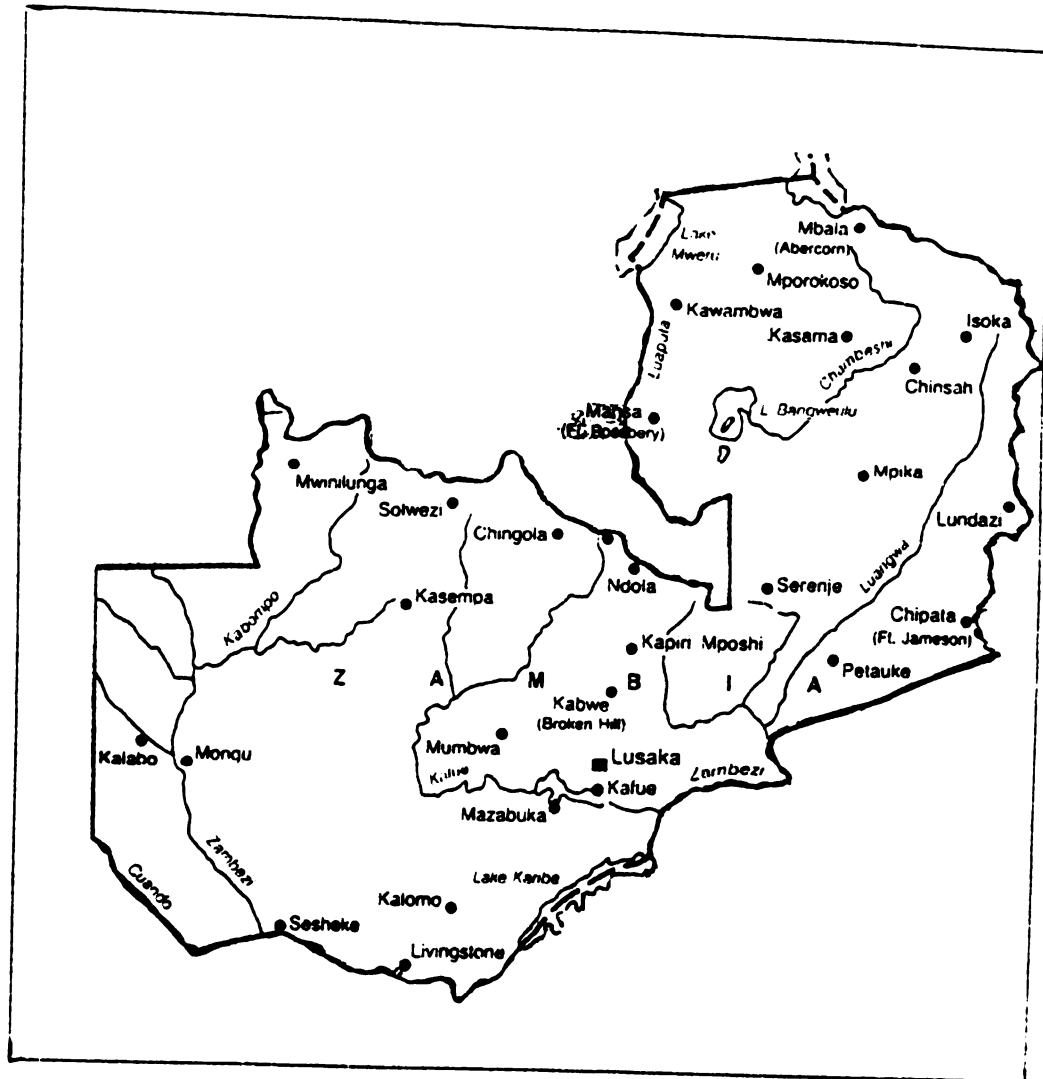


Figure 7 Zambia: Geographical Location

crops are grown mostly on white-owned farms. There is general agreement in government and external aid circles that a permanent decline in mineral, particularly copper, earnings must be compensated for by radically boosting agricultural performance.

Minerals: From the peak of mining production and of world prices after independence, there has been a decline in earnings as prices for copper have declined. In 1982 copper and cobalt prices were half what they were a decade earlier. Subsequent improvements have not been steady. Mining contributes over 90% of foreign earnings.

Foreign Trade: Copper sales and prices produced large foreign reserves into the 1970s. In 1986, the overseas payments deficit had reached \$592 million, while international reserves stood at \$99.9 million. In the same year Zambia's trade balance was in deficit by \$59 million, owing to further falls in copper export volume and prices. Copper continues to contribute 80% to 90% of total export earnings.

Principal trade partners for export: Britain (13.8%), the United States (11.2%), Japan (16.3%), West Germany (8.3%), East Africa (1.2%) and South Africa (0.5%). Zambia imports from Britain (22.4%), the United States (7.0%), South Africa (15.7%), West Germany (7.0%), Japan (5.0%) and East Africa (0.8%).

Political and Historical Background:

Zambia was part of Southern Africa before the entry of the Europeans. Exploration, trade, anti-slaving and competitive external colonizing forces in the 19th century disrupted social development and led Britain to establishing control over the territory. Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa (BSA) Company, chartered in 1889, was

authorized by the British government to administer and legislate for the area of Southern Rhodesia and it extended its activities to the areas further north. The modern state of Zambia has its origins in the revocation of 1899 and 1900 council confirming the authority of the BSA in this territory, and the 1911 conversion of the administration into the British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia.

The British followed a mixed official/unofficial Legislative Council as responsible for the laws of the country. The tentative process of converting these councils into a wholly local and responsible elective system began with appointments and elections in the 1920s.

The first African movements, the Federation of Welfare Societies and the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC), led by Harry Nkumbula, gave way in the late 1950s to the stronger impetus of UNIP, led by Kenneth Kaunda, originally a supporter of Nkumbula. Kaunda cooperated with nationalists in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. They achieved the dissolution of the Federation in 1963 and paved the way for Zambian independent statehood in 1964. This followed an undisputed victory by Kaunda and UNIP at the polls in that year.

During the Zimbabwean and Mozambican liberation war of the 1960s and 1970s, Zambia suffered from the sanctions campaign and was attacked militarily. Periods of disruption of transportation routes also resulted. The generally unfavorable fortunes of the country's mainstay, copper, combined with the demands of development and the regional military and political factors made the course of independence an almost continuous exercise in political and economic crisis management for the Kaunda

government.

Zambia continued to be involved with the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia and the efforts of the frontline states and the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to combat South African destabilization.

In December 1987 violent riots broke out in the Copper Belt in which rioters looted shops and stoned cars and buses. Kaunda claimed that the riots had been organized by agitators. Three foreigners were then arrested and charged with being South African agents. Strengthening his own position, Kaunda in 1988 enlarged his central committee from 25 to 68 seats; the general conference was replaced by a congress.

In July, 1991, shaken by five days of price riots and a June coup attempt led by Army Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe, Kaunda agreed to a voter registration drive and freed a number of political prisoners, including Luchembe and Christon Tembo, the alleged leader of a 1988 coup plot. In September, following a series of manor pro-democracy rallies, the president capitulated to multiparty advocates, and announced plans for multiparty election by October 1991.

Kaunda accepted an election defeat in 1991 when Frederick Chiluba, leader of Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) won the election in October 1991 and became the Second President of Zambia. The election was monitored by, among others, Jimmy Carter, former president of the United States of America.

Education:

In Zambia, primary schooling is free. Although the budget allocations have been high (8.3% in 1984), universal primary education has still to be attained. Some 30,000 schools serve over 1 million students, or about 85% of the relevant age group. About 25% go on to secondary school, at which level 140 schools serve over 100,000 students. About 5,000 students are in 14 teacher training colleges, and some 6,000 are in technical and trade training. The University of Zambia admits 3,700 full-time students and about 700 more part-time and correspondence students. Students in Zambia have periodically been a source of opposition to government policies. Adult literacy is about 40%.

Data on Country Background:

The African British Commonwealth Countries have differences in political ideologies and what constitutes the *best* political ideology in a country. Each country has followed its own kind of political ideology to realize its development. Within each country, there has been some disagreement on the kind of government structure needed. Given the little democratic process available in these countries, many governments have been greeted by coups. This is basically the case of Ghana and Nigeria. Other countries have had attempted coups but have been aborted before maturation.

Table 2.
Type of Government, Official Language, GNP, and Percentage Literacy:

COUNTRY	Type of Govt.	Official Language(s)	GNP in \$s	Literacy in Percentage
Ghana	Military	English	390	53.0
Kenya	Pres. Republic	English Kiswahili	330	59.9
Malawi	Pres. Republic	English Lilongwe	160	60.0
Nigeria	Military	English	370	42.4
Tanzania	Pres. Republic	Kiswahili English	220	82.0
Zambia	Pres. Republic	English	250	75.7

Sources: INTELSTACK. (1991) & Banks (1991).

Table 2 indicates the current type of government in these countries. It also shows the official language used, the GNP and the percentage literacy. Ghana and Nigeria governments have had high frequency of shift from civilian to military governments. Even within these limitations, the GNP seems to rank higher, first for Ghana, followed by Nigeria.

Literacy, however, is almost reversed. Nigeria which ranks second highest in GNP, is the lowest when it comes to literacy (42.4%), followed by Ghana (53.0%) which was the highest in GNP. Tanzania which ranked second to the lowest in GNP, ranks highest in literacy (82.0%), followed by Zambia (75.7%), also low in GNP.

Half of the six countries have two national languages, these are Kenya with English and Kiswahili, Malawi with English and Lilongwe, and Tanzania with Kiswahili and English. The rest of the countries have chosen English as their national language.

Table 3.
Population Growth and Projections

COUNTRY	Percentage Average Annual Growth		Projection Population (1,000,000)		
	1980-1989	1989-2000	1989	2000	2025
Ghana	3.4	3.1	14	20	35
Kenya	3.9	3.4	24	34	62
Malawi	3.4	3.6	8	12	27
Nigeria	3.4	3.2	114	160	298
Tanzania	3.1	3.3	24	34	66
Malawi	3.7	3.6	8	12	24

Source: World Bank: *World Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington, D.C., The International Bank, 1991.

Nigeria is the highest populated country in Africa, even though the area of the country is about the same as that of Tanzania, yet, Nigeria has more than four times the present population of Tanzania.

Zambia is the most urbanized territory of the six countries as noted on Table 4 below. Its population of urban dwellers is about 50%. Malawi is the least urbanized, followed by Kenya.

Table 4.
Population, % of Urban Population and Country Area

COUNTRY	Population	% Urban Population	Area in Square Kilometers
Ghana	14,130,000	32%	239,000
Kenya	23,100,000	20%	583,000
Malawi	7,400,000	11%	119,000
Nigeria	114,471,000	31%	924,000
Tanzania	25,397,000	24%	945,000
Zambia	7,851,000	49%	753,000

Sources: INTELSTACK. (1991) & Banks (1991).

Urbanization in Africa is not a widespread phenomenon. Only in the last twenty years has urbanization grown very fast. All the countries under this investigation have more than doubled its urban population between 1965 and 1989. Note that Table 5 indicates Tanzania having grown about six times at this period, with an average growth of 11.3% becoming the fastest urban growing country in this configuration, as compared with Ghana, for instance, whose growth has been less than 1.5 times, with the average growth of 3.2%.

Kenya has shown the most increase in GDP over the period as indicated on Table 6. It has more than seven times the previous GDP. Ghana had only about two times that of the 1965-1980 period. In agriculture, Tanzania was the only one which increased about 1.5 times that of 1965-1980. Ghana showed an increase, but the rest of the

Table 5.

Urbanization: Growth in Population

COUNTRY	% Urban Pop		% Average Growth		Capital City Pop.		Pop. in cities of 1 million + people		
	1965	1989	1965-'80	1980-'89	1990	1990	1965	1990	1988
					% of Urban	% of Total	% of Urban	% of Total	
Ghana	26	33	3.2	4.2	22	7	27	22	7
Kenya	9	23	8.1	8.2	26	6	41	27	6
Malawi	5	12	7.4	6.3	31	4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Nigeria	17	35	5.7	6.2	19	7	23	24	8
Tanzania	5	31	11.3	10.8	21	7	38	18	6
Zambia	23	49	6.6	6.2	24	12	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Source: World Bank, 1991. *World Bank Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington D.C., The International Bank. 1991.

Table 6.
Structure of Production & Domestic Product in Percentage

COUNTRY	GDP (Mill. \$)		Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services, et cetera	
	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89
Ghana	2,050	5,260	44	49	19	17	10	10	38	34
Kenya	920	7,130	35	31	18	20	11	12	47	49
Malawi	220	1,410	50	35	13	19	(NA)	11	37	45
Nigeria	5,850	28,920	54	31	13	44	6	10	33	25
Tanzania	790	2,540	46	66	14	7	8	4	40	27
Zambia	1,060	4,700	14	13	54	47	6	24	32	40

Source: World Bank. *World Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington, D.C., The International Bank, 1991.

Table 7.
Growth of Production & Average Percentage Annual Growth Rate

COUNTRY	GDP		Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services, et cetera	
	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89	'65-'80	'80-'89
Ghana	1.3	2.8	1.6	0.9	1.4	3.2	2.5	4.3	1.1	5.3
Kenya	6.8	4.1	5.0	3.2	9.7	3.7	10.5	4.8	6.6	4.9
Malawi	5.5	2.7	4.1	2.2	6.4	2.4	(NA)	3.1	6.7	3.3
Nigeria	6.1	-0.4	1.7	1.3	13.1	-2.1	14.6	0.8	7.6	-0.4
Tanzania	3.9	2.6	1.6	4.2	4.2	-1.0	5.6	-1.6	6.7	1.5
Zambia	2.0	0.8	2.2	4.1	2.1	0.3	5.3	2.5	1.5	0.1

Source: World Bank. *World Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington, D.C., The International Bank, 1991.

countries had a decreased Agricultural production. On industry, however, Tanzania reduced over the period by half (from 14% to 7%). Nigeria, had an increase of almost four times that of 1965-1980. In manufacturing, Tanzania also reduced in half whereas Zambia increased by four times that of the previous period. With the exception of Malawi (which did not have data) all others remained constant or reduced their manufacturing capacity.

Of all the countries, Nigeria spent 40% of its Central Government Expenditure on defence--the highest, in fact representing a combination of all the percentage of defence of the other five countries (See Table 8.). Education expenditure was relatively high in all countries in 1989, except Nigeria which reduced from its 4.5% (1972) to 2.8% (1989) as opposed to Ghana with 20.1% in 1972 and 25.7% in 1989.

Health expenditures were very much the same across the board, except for 1989 where Nigeria showed a mere 0.8%. Housing issues have grown from 4.1% (1972) to 11.9% (1989) an almost triple increase for Ghana as opposed to Malawi, which had decreased from 5.8% (1972) to a mere 0.4% (1989). Economic Services has shown greater interest in Nigeria with 35.9% expenditure in 1989 as opposed to Kenya, which has decreased from 30.1% (1972) to 17.9% (1989).

Generally, there has been an improvement in education in both the primary and secondary levels for both male and female (See Table 9.). Obviously some countries have done better in primary education than others. The case in point is Zambia, which has shown an extremely high record in primary education, followed by Kenya. The only country which showed a decrease in primary education for males is Ghana (from 82%

in 1965 to 76% in 1988) for primary education. There has been a noticeable increase in secondary education for females in Ghana and Kenya; Ghana increased from 7% (1965) to 30% (1988) an increase of more than four times; and Kenya increased from 2% in 1965 to 19% in 1988, an increase of more than nine times.

The data presented here suggests on one hand, the struggles for survival these countries are going through. All the six countries have been controlled by one party system for the most part since they got their independence. Others such as Ghana and Nigeria have had frequent change of civilian - military regimes within the short time of their independence.

Economically, they are all struggling to stand. All six countries are poor, with average GNP of less than \$290 (the use of GNP by this author is necessary only because of the lack of better measure, as he does not believe that GNP is a sufficient measure), while the population has been shooting high (with a projection of 272 people in these countries in 2000, and 512 million people in 2025).

Within this milieu, these countries have found themselves exercising control, not only in political economy, but also in the control of the press in the country. What the leaders of these countries see as answers to political and economical instability, is the mobilization of the mass toward national building by using the press as an instrument toward this goal. They believe that the press is an instrument for social change, and as suggested by Altschull (1984) that it is "critical for journalists to ally themselves with the political forces seeking to build unified nations of sectional, ethnic, linguistic, and tribal components." (p. 150).

While on one hand political leaders are calling the press toward national building - developmental theory - on the other hand they emphasize the need for government control of the media, thus applying authoritarian theory of the press.

This suggests unequivocally, a move by these government leaders toward the path of developmental theory of the press. The emphasis toward national consensus, national identity, and the mass mobilization could partly be a reaction from their historical past, that is, their historical perspective in the struggle in their exodus from the colonial administration and heritage. It is likely then, that these countries have been succumbed by the temptation of authoritarian measures in the process of introduction of developmental concept of the press.

Table 8.
Central Government Expenditure: Percentage of Total Expenditure

COUNTRY	Defence		Education		Health		Housing & Social Services		Economic Services		Others	
	1972	1989	1972	1989	1972	1989	1972	1989	1872	1989	1972	1989
Ghana	7.9	3.2	20.1	25.7	6.3	9.0	4.1	11.9	15.1	19.2	46.6	31.1
Kenya	6.0	12.2	21.9	22.1	7.9	5.9	3.9	2.6	30.1	17.9	30.2	39.2
Malawi	3.1	5.3	15.8	12.3	5.5	7.3	5.8	0.4	33.1	36.9	36.7	37.9
Nigeria	40.2	2.8	4.5	2.8	3.6	0.8	0.8	1.5	19.6	35.9	31.4	56.2
Tanzania	11.9	(NA)	17.3	(NA)	7.2	(NA)	2.1	(NA)	39.0	(NA)	22.6	(na)
Zambia	0.0	0.0	19.0	8.6	7.4	1.3	1.3	2.0	26.7	24.8	45.7	57.2

Source: World Bank: *World Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development*. Washington, D.C., The International Bank, 1991.

Note: (NA) or (na) = information not available.

Table 9.
Education: Percentage of Age Group Enrolled

COUNTRY	Percentage of Primary Education Enrollment						Percentage of Secondary Education Enrollment					
	Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female	
	1965	1988	1965	1988	1965	1988	1965	1988	1965	1988	1965	1988
Ghana	69	79	82	76	57	66	13	39	19	48	7	30
Kenya	54	93	69	95	40	91	4	23	6	27	2	19
Malawi	44	72	55	79	32	65	2	4	3	5	1	3
Nigeria	32	62	39	76	24	48	5	16	7	25	3	7
Tanzania	32	66	40	66	25	66	2	4	3	5	1	3
Zambia	53	97	59	102	46	92	7	(NA)	11	(NA)	3	(NA)

Source: World Bank, 1991. *World Bank Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington D.C., The International Bank. 1991.

CHAPTER IV

HYPOTHESES AND STUDY APPROACH

This chapter has two parts, part one deals with research hypotheses and part two deals with the approach to the study. The first part poses hypotheses which lead to understanding the press control in the selected six countries.

The second section deals with the approach of the study with an outline of the nature of the research and how it was conducted. It also lists and briefly describes organizations that contributed information toward this research where the author visited and reviewed their records.

Hypotheses:

1. The greater the number of independent newspapers, the greater the room of free expression through newspapers in that country.
2. Governments seeking control on independent newspapers will tend to overt censorship and create violations to independent newspapers.
3. Governments having leaders who allow diverse opinions in all newspapers will tend to have more newspapers over a period of time.
4. Governments operating on developmental theoretical framework of the press will tend to assume ownership of newspapers.

5. There are inherent conditions contributing to press control by government leading to impediments of the freedom of the press.

This study proposes that *when a government controls the press, the press in that government will not experience freedom.* By government control it means any exercise a government uses to limit the operations of the press, ownership of the press, collection and dissemination of information, freedom of individual expression, the freedom of providing comments on the information without being afraid, the freedom of differing in opinion, and the freedom of professional exercise especially that of journalists on their duties. Thus, *a government with developmental or authoritarian concept of press, will tend to exert overt power on the press with little flexibility remaining for newspapers.*

2. Approach to the Study:

This study is a documentary research, as such, most of the information was gathered from deposited documents in the libraries or organizations. The approach of the study was followed as described below.

Initially, the researcher approached the Michigan State University Libraries, and used the computerized catalogue to determine the availability of sources related to the subject, namely, freedom of the press in the African British Commonwealth. There was practically no information under this broad subject. It was necessary, therefore, to break the subject into sub-sections such as African Commonwealth countries, Human rights in Africa, Mass Media in Africa, Press in Africa, Human Rights Organizations, et cetera. In this way, some references were found though they did not address the issue directly.

Assistance was sought from the various libraries, including reference, Africana, and documentary and government sections. These helped to direct the researcher's attention to other sources, including inter-library loan, current addresses to human organizations, et cetera.

Although Michigan State University (MSU) libraries constituted a home-base for this research, further investigation led to visiting various organizations discussed below, which formed the major bulk of the information collected for this study. At MSU libraries, for instance, Subject Guide No. 1 provides access to most materials related to telecommunications. Under this guide, subheading such as broadcasting, communication, communication research, freedom of information, government and the press, mass media, telecommunication, television, et cetera, were consulted. Specifically, some of the communication abstracts were referenced in this series.

The Indexes to Periodicals, Bulletins, Social Science Citation Index, Television News Index and Abstracts, Handbooks, Dictionary, Almanac both for national and international were consulted. The libraries also carry government documents which allow to find out information on each of the above country under investigation.

Based on recommendations by librarians and research committee, it was necessary to visit several organizations which are depository of some materials for the research. Thus, in the summer of 1991, the researcher visited organizations which supplied information as noted below. These organizations include Amnesty International, the Committee to Protect Journalists, Freedom House, the United Nations, the Committee of Human Rights Watch, Freedom House, Africa Watch, et cetera, all of which were in

New York and Pennsylvania. There were also other organizations such as Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, and World Bank in Washington D.C.

In each of the organizations, all relevant information to this study was gathered. Most of the information was in the form annual reports, books, journals, periodicals, letters, et cetera. Some interviews were also conducted and summarized and contributed toward the conclusions of the study.

The use of available data or documentary research method calls upon intensive search of various sources. These available sources include, but are not limited to written public record, private documents, the mass media documentation, nonverbal physical evidence, et cetera. Because of the diversity of the available sources of information in documentary research method, the definition of the central concept has been stated, and the problem well defined, to explicitly guide this research.

Validity and reliability are important questions to consider, especially when one uses the available data. Following the principles of Singleton (1988) on available data, this research established how, when, where and who collected the data and for what primary use. This was particularly important when dealing with such organizations as those above. This approach helps to know how valid the data is; likewise, the comparison of the data collected by various sources helped to increase the reliability and the generalization of information.

CHAPTER V

DATA COLLECTION AND MEASUREMENT

1. Data Collection:

It was the purpose of this study to collect information on ownership and control of newspapers, censorship of newspapers, journalists' mistreatment information, government constitution information relevant to freedom of the press and other information leading to government and press relationship in the past ten years (1982-1991) as related to the six selected countries.

The following organizations were consulted and visited in the process of gathering data used for this study. A letter or a call was made to the organization prior to visiting. Arrangements to meet with one of the organizational personnel was made. During the meeting, a short interview was conducted in understanding the background of the organization and the scope of their work. Usually, the interview was followed by an introduction to various literature to help the researcher better understand the organization. Most of the literature was in the form of annual reports, brochures, pamphlets, books, newsletters, et cetera.

While in New Jersey for example, a call was made to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The AFSC was recommended organizations to be visited, noted for their worldwide work on issues of human rights. At their office in Philadelphia, Paul Brink, Information Officer for the Friends, discussed

the role of their organization. A brief interview ended with his reference to a person whom he said worked on African issues (but was on vacation at the time). A student intern at the African Office was glad to discuss current issues related to their work.

Although the Friends' address issues related to human rights, they function more as relief agents and advocates for peace rather than towards general issues dealt with in this study. At the core of their mission, and as far as their International division is concerned, the Friends "opposes war and encourages reconciliation and nonviolent alternatives to conflict." As noted by Brink, the summary of the mission of the American Friends Services Committee is said to be "social justice, peace and human service. Its work is based on a Quaker belief in the dignity and worth of every person, and a faith in the power of love and nonviolence to bring about change." While there were no direct materials related to this research, it was interesting to meet with the personnel who suggested other organizations more appropriate to the study, including their office in the United Nations.

The next organization visited was Amnesty International (AI). Amnesty International has its headquarters in London, and collects information related to human rights from almost all over the world. The information is published in their *Amnesty International Newsletter*, and is also compiled into an annual publication each year. Amnesty International was founded on May 28, 1961.

The author visited the U.S.A. office in New York where he spent several days visiting with other organizations noted below. The author spent about eight hours with the AI office collecting information related to human rights issues and especially

information related to the press freedom of the six countries. Help was provided for copying hundreds of pages from their reports from 1977 through 1991 for a small fee. The author would then go over the material carefully identifying every item which seemed to be relevant to the study.

Limitation of this information is obvious. One of the interests of this research was to identify specific issues, such as how many journalists, editors, et cetera, were killed, detained or otherwise mistreated. It was not always explicit in the reports as to whether an individual was detained, killed, harassed or otherwise, and for what reason, for example. But the bulletin, an update called *Urgent Action*, usually provided detailed information regarding an individual and sometimes, the reason for the mistreatment. A page of an example for each of these two publications are included in Appendix C. Apart from these limitations, AI was one with the most complete sources of information which was brought back to Michigan for analysis.

The other organization visited was A Committee of Human Rights Watch, also based in New York. This committee has a special section or department which deals with the affairs of Africa, called Africa Watch. The Africa Watch publishes a newsletter called *Africa Watch Newsletter* which focuses on special issues in Africa related to human rights. See appendix D (for an example of this publication).

The organization provides details of individuals detained or released from detention. It summarizes issues related to human rights in a given country in Africa. Time spent here was about five hours, collecting materials relevant to the research and talking to individuals doing research in Africa. The staff were helpful in providing

available documents relevant for this research.

The Committee to Protect Journalists was another important organization visited in New York. The organization specializes on human rights violations on the press and journalists throughout the world. The organization is fairly new, yet, it has already done a tremendous job in this aspect. It was delightful to visit with Kim Brice, Associate, Committee to Protect Journalists, who provided insight of the historical background of the organization, and discussed developments to the present.

Perhaps this was one of the most relevant organizations which has gathered relevant information for this research, especially on information related to the violations on the press and journalists. Unfortunately, the organization is new. Although the organization was founded in 1981 to investigate and protest violations of press freedom around the world, it had not yet systematically collected complete material on all countries for this study and for the period from 1982 to 1991.

The Committee to Protect Journalists publishes an annual report called *Attacks On the Press [Year of the Report]: A Worldwide Survey*. Not only does the report list violations, it also lists publications banned, individuals killed, detained, mistreated on their job, et cetera. This is a handy reference for this purpose. See an example of a page of this publication in Appendix E. Unfortunately, only about six complete reports were available dealing with the above countries.

Freedom House is another organization interested and working closely with others on issues related to human rights. The author had a chance to visit their office in New York, and has kept in touch with them for the publications they occasionally produce.

The organization does research and publishes *Freedom Review: Freedom Around the World*. This publication provides surveys and comparative freedoms on political rights and civil liberties. Their theoretical, approach, and scales used to stratify categories of freedom in the world is included in Appendix A as an example as noted above.

In each issue, Leonard R. Sussman, a Senior Researcher of International Communications, provides a section dealing with an update of the press and journalists around the world. Talking with Sussman was one of the rewarding experience in this research. He shared information and suggestions which have proved to be valuable in this study.

Freedom House is one of the most consistent research organizations which has been following press freedom and press violations in various countries. For example, Sussman visits or writes letters to government officials when he knows that violations on the press have been practiced. This is done in attempt to draw attention of leaders in many countries toward press freedom. Throughout the study, the author talked with individuals, watched documentaries, completed interviews, et cetera.

The author scrutinized the documents from the U.S. State Department at Michigan State University which were in the microfiche. Many hours were spent extracting information and comparing it with what other organizations have collected.

Each document, book, pamphlet, microfiche, et cetera was read, analyzed, and carefully compared with others to verify information and not miss any important point, or not to repeat anything which had already been stated. Analyses and comparisons are provided in appropriate sections. Nevertheless, to err is human. If through the reading

of this study one finds an error, it will be appropriate for the person to point out that error to the author for correction. For to see an error and not point it out, one may become more guilty than the author who might inadvertently have seen the error.

2. Measurement:

Human rights in general, has emerged as a topic of serious study in the 1970s. Few organizations have expanded and dealt with the monitoring of the affairs of peoples throughout the world. Among them, Amnesty International (AI), Freedom House, and the United States State Department. The availability of the reports through these organizations has opened up new avenues for empirical based research on human rights abuses. It is important, however, to note the difficulty one faces when approaching the study of human rights abuses empirically. As McNitt (1988) discussed: "... the measurement of human rights abuses is a difficult task. There are strategic, conceptual and empirical problems which must be considered by anyone who wishes to work with these data." (p. 89).

One of the difficulties is the choice of the strategy. That is, whether violations of human rights should be treated as independent or dependent variables. While some scholars have used abuses of human rights as independent variables, as Gurr (1970), Schloutz (1981), Stohl, Carleton and Johnson (1986), Cingranelli and Pasquarello (1985), Pasquarello (1986) et cetera, suggests McNitt (1988), "there is a tendency to reduce measurement of the abuse of human rights to a single indicator variable When treated as dependent variable, the abuse of human rights has been analyzed as a

consequence of [either, economic system, socio-economic factors, military government, dependency et cetera, as noted by Strouse and Clause (1976), Nixon (1960), Henderson (1982), and Chomsky and Herman (1976)]." (p. 90).

Both McNitt (1988) and others admit that it is impossible to adequately test theories about either the causes or consequences of human rights abuses in general when working with data from a single society. The suggestion is that a better study would be developed when using data from regional subsets. That is, collecting data from a region as opposed from one country, as the regional strategy would reduce the degree of political, cultural and economic variation which can be studied.

The other difficulty is that quantitative analysis of human rights requires making normative and empirical judgements; that is, what constitutes abuses of human rights, and how to measure respect for those rights. To take an ideological stand as leading to the understanding of what constitutes human rights and its measure could lead to major errors in providing measurements to such a study. This includes democracy as a measure of human rights in a given territory. McNitt (1988) suggested approaching the study by examining individual practices before employing summated measures. He goes on to say "individual variables such as the number of executions, the use of torture and the number of prisoners of conscience can be analyzed in their own right, and sub-scales can be developed to measure a variety of different categories of human rights." (p. 93).

The concern of empirical difficulties is without doubt in this case. The biases of informants and those collecting the data needs to be noted. Although all three, Amnesty International, the State Department and Freedom House were noted as the major source

of information of violations of human rights, studies such as that of McNitt (1988) suggest that one should consult all of them in balancing the biases that each of them may have in their collection of data.

Further suggestion in the approach of the study of human rights, apart from the use of multiple sources, McNitt (1988) says that it "is advisable to *base our measurements on the descriptive portions of these reports and to ignore the more subjective measures*. Estimates of the extent to which human rights abuses are changing, global categorizations of societies as free or unfree and non-quantitative comparisons between societies should be avoided because of their greater vulnerability to reporter group biases." [Italics added] (p. 95).

It is necessary to summarize here the major data that emerged in this collection. These included the constitution information relevant to press freedom, descriptive information regarding the relationship that exists between government and the press, press laws and censorship, ownership of newspapers, numbers of newspapers, mistreatment of journalists, et cetera. Interest was focused only on the period between 1982 to 1991 as a perimeter of this study.

It is interesting that a lot of changes were taking place in almost all the countries under this study during the time of collection and writing. Most of these changes were related to multi-party approach to governments and democratic system of government. For example, within a year while on this study, Zambia officially moved from a one party system to multi-party system leading to changes in government structure and leadership.

In analyzing the data collected for this study, all efforts have been exercised to follow the above suggestions, especially the use of more than one source of human rights monitoring organizations, before arriving to some conclusions. Thus this research has opted for basing conclusions from descriptive measures as opposed to numbers. It is important to note that any conclusion will be at least at a modest level of precision and can be used only in the discussion in solving the existing problems, namely, the problem of the freedom of the press in the above countries.

As such, a number of possible interpretations are given on a related issue based on the information obtained. This is simply because the available data may have some biases not detected during the original collection. At any rate, it is expected that conclusions of this research provide a platform to the discussion of the process toward the freedom of the press in view of human rights in the African British Commonwealth countries and especially as applied to the above six selected countries. But first, an analysis of press freedom and constitution of the six countries.

CHAPTER VI

PRESS FREEDOM: CONSTITUTIONS' ANALYSIS

In this chapter, an effort is made to briefly compare the two bills of human rights (The International Bill of Human Rights and the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights). Further, each country's constitution, especially the article dealing with freedom of expression, has been discussed, compared and contrasted with each other in an effort to understand further the nature of the press and its freedom in the African British Commonwealth Countries.

The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity Bills

First, a look at the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly Resolution 217A (111) of 10 December 1948. The article of interest to this study is article 19. Article 19 states:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.

Second, is the Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981) adopted by the Organization of African Unity on June 27, 1981 at Nairobi, Kenya (Organization of African Unity Document). Here again, the article of interest is that which falls on Article 9. Article 9 states:

- 1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information.*
- 2. Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinion within the law.*

The fundamental differences in these two articles is the limitation the OAU imposes after proclaiming the rights. First, it does not strongly provide the freedom to express oneself, and further, it limits the very rights it is supposed to present. The clause "within the law" dilutes the whole article, as it does not define what is meant by this famous phrase. Whose law is it referred here, one may ask.

It must be remembered that those who adopted the Declaration of Human Rights into the OAU Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights were government officials representing their respective countries. Such phrasing of an article reflects, in a most profound manner, the kind of governments and positions these individuals were representing. It is possible that these representatives were protecting their position from those who would otherwise want to reveal the truth about government structure.

Each country has its own constitution and as noted above, most of those under this study have had closely similar expressions of the article reflecting the Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

The following description of each country's position on freedom of the press is based on information gathered by the U.S. State Department which was commissioned to research and collect information on various issues, including human rights. Their original source was used for making decisions on issues related to the U.S. government and a given foreign country's relationships. Such information has also been used to

make decisions on providing foreign aid and other assistance by the U.S. government to other countries. As far as this study is concerned, the information gathered helps to determine how close the U.S. State Department has been in line with other information on freedom of the press collected from other sources. It also helps to further substantiate what has been said before in this research.

Ghana

Fundamental human rights and freedoms, including freedom of religion, expression, assembly and association, are entrenched in the Ghanaian constitution of 1982. Ghana has had various constitution suspensions and revisions. For example, the 1979 Constitution, according to EUROPA (1991) was suspended following the military coup of 31 December 1981. The 1982 section of the Constitution as noted in Chapter six which is entitled "Fundamental Human Rights" has the following statement:

"28. (1) There shall be no censorship in Ghana; and no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference, and freedom from interference with his correspondence.

(2) A person responsible for a state-owned medium for the dissemination of any kind of information to the public afford equal opportunities and facilities for the representation of opposing or differing views.

(3) All agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the principles, provisions and objectives of this Constitution and shall uphold the

responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana.

(4) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with, or in contravention of, this article to the extent that the law in question makes provision--

(a) that is reasonably required--

(i) in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health, or to safeguard information the disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security of the state; ..." (pp. 18-30).

Ghana's press related laws date back to colonial times, and as far back as 1894 of the Newspaper Registration Ordinance. These laws required a newspaper editor to send returns of the total circulation as well as the title of the newspaper, the location of its offices, printers and publishers to the then colonial secretary. These laws were inherited by the Nkrumah, who also introduced other press laws.

In 1963 (Udofia, 1982) a Newspaper Licensing Act was passed requiring newspaper publishers to obtain a license, renewable annually, from the government. This act was repealed in 1970 by Dr. K. A. Busia, only to be re-instituted by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong in 1973. Acheampong, immediately after assuming power in 1972, promulgated a decree indemnifying the government-controlled newspapers against libel suits filed by the members of Busia's government who felt they had been damaged by press attack. Private newspaper editors and independent journalists generally felt free to write and publish news and information during General Fred Akuffo's rule. Such an atmosphere was a byproduct of Akuffo's press freedom policy.

The freedom of speech and the press guaranteed under the now suspended 1979 Constitution have been abrogated, but the PNDC Chairman has publicly encouraged people to speak out on local community concerns, though not on government policy. The Government owns radio and television stations and the two principal daily newspapers. Reporting on external events draws heavily from various wire services and tends to reinforce the Government's foreign policies.

The trend of press is that it avoids criticism of the revolution or of Chairman Rawlings and PNDC members. In general, it accentuates positive aspects of the revolution, but does not report instances of corruption and mismanagement. Critics have charged that fear of government retaliation has led to a "culture of silence." Private organizations such as the Ghana Bar Association voice occasional dissent from official policies but are typically denied access to the media and have difficulty reaching the public with their views.

Several privately owned newspapers have tried to be relatively bold in reporting selected issues. *The Pioneer*, one of three remaining independent papers, has at times criticized the Economic Recovery Program. However, many privately owned newspapers, for various reasons, have since closed down. In 1986 the Government limited supplies of newsprint to the independent press, thereby reportedly forcing one newspaper into bankruptcy.

Foreign periodicals such as *West Africa* are sold freely throughout Ghana; there appears to be no attempt to exercise censorship. Western journalists have in recent years routinely accorded visas and press credentials as opposed to the practice of some few

In summary, no censorship is allowed in Ghana as far as the constitution is concerned; opposing views are discouraged; the government calls for news agents for responsibility and accountability on their duties, thus being answerable on issues of diverse opinion.

Kenya

The Constitution of Kenya guarantees freedom of the press for all. In part, it says: 79. (1) Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence.

(2) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of this section to the extent that the law in question makes provision." p. 51. [the Constitution of Kenya]

Like other constitutions, this one also limits freedom on what it calls "reasonably required in the interests of" Then it points out defense, public safety, public order, public morality or public health et cetera. In defining sections of the constitution, especially when it comes to print media, Kenya calls for the media to "serve Kenya's national interests." The press is also exhorted to help in the process of national building, and in unifying the peoples of Kenya. What it is then is the emphasis of "responsible

press" as opposed to "free press" in most cases.

The government has the power to arrest and detain any person, including journalists for violating the Preservation of Security Law. Sedition and libel laws inherited from British colonial government, are subject to wide interpretation. Wilcox (1982) noted that "In 1976 advocates of changing the presidential succession process were warned by Kenya's attorney general that it was a capital offense 'to imagine, devise, or intend the death or disposition of President Kenyatta.' Even to talk of who might succeed Kenyatta was declared illegal." p. 573.

Although the Constitution provides for freedom of speech and press, the exercise of such rights is to some extent restricted. The range of discussion allowed in the Parliament is broad on local affairs, but no criticism of the President is tolerated, and national issues such as foreign affairs are rarely discussed. In 1986 one Member of Parliament, who had twice voted against the constitutional amendment increasing the power of the President over the Attorney General and the Auditor General, was ordered out of the Parliament building by the Speaker for the third vote because he refused to apologize for certain comments he made. He and one other Member of Parliament were briefly held by the police without charge in January 1987.

There is no systematic or formal censorship of the press, although the press practices self-censorship. The press confines commentary within widely understood but legally undefined limits. As an example, the press criticizes government policies and occasionally reports unflattering news about government officials, but never criticizes the President. At times the Government intervenes to tell editors how to handle sensitive

stories. Pressure has been brought on journalists and publications considered to have strayed too far from the government line. Some journalists have been fired by their news organizations, and several imprisoned for seditious activities in the past.

The Kenyan press has reported a number of the Mwakenya case trials, even though these were not announced in advance. In one instance, a Mwakenya trial was canceled when the court apparently realized that members of the press were present. A Kenyan journalist, Paul Amina, known to have covered some Mwakenya cases, was detained in August 1987 under the Preservation of Public Security regulations and held incommunicado. In November 1987, two Voice of Kenya employees were detained without charge, but both were subsequently released.

Government criticism of outspoken clergymen and politicians, as well as the detention provisions of the Preservation of Public Security Act, discourage public exchange of view on some political topics. In 1987 the Government increasingly criticized foreign journalists for alleged bias and prevarication in their human rights reporting on Kenya. On November 4, Western journalists covering university disturbances were beaten by police at the scene of the disturbances and briefly detained, although they had identified themselves as members of the foreign press. A positive sign has been that the Kenyan press has been willing in some cases to deal with such issues as torture and allegations of police corruption and brutality.

Privately owned newspapers and journals are published in Kenya. Newspapers, magazines, and books from abroad are readily available. Books by Kenyan dissidents in self-exile abroad have been viewed by local press and are available in Kenya.

However, in 1986 a Nairobi newspaper published a list of 18 publications that are prohibited in Kenya. More than 100 foreign journalists representing major Western news organizations are based in Kenya.

Kenya has a 10-12 member film censorship board under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Social Sciences. A 10-member television censorship board has established guidelines that govern what can be shown on television. The single television station and all radio stations are owned and controlled by the Government.

In conclusion, the government of Kenya guarantees freedom of the press in its constitution. However, in practice this is not the case. The press practices self-censorship in compliance with the government. On many occasions, the government officials avoid journalists when doing investigative reporting. At any rate, government mistreatment of journalists is hidden under the Preservation of Public Act -- which discourages public exchange of views on some political topics.

Malawi

Up to 1990, the constitution of Malawi contained no guarantee of press freedoms. Most of the decisions are made by President Banda. While there is a National Assembly, most of the nation's policies are decided by the president, who may wish to attend and engage in debates as he wishes, and may refuse his assent to any bill without question.

Media policies are established by President Banda. He has restricted the press when it has fallen short of his expectations. National press laws are established on a case-by-case basis. On October 23, 1967, for example, President Banda unilaterally

announced the imposition of censorship on all publications, including films. Further, the press, especially domestic, is not allowed to criticize President Banda and his policies. When this happens, the publications are banned and the persons involved may be detained indefinitely without trial.

Criticism of the Government and its policies is not allowed, even by the Parliament. The Public Security Regulations make it an offense to publish anything likely "to undermine the authority of, or public confidence in the Government." Although the Life President is in his late 80's, discussion of Malawi's political future after his death also is not permitted. In a recent speech, the President himself addressed the issue, saying he would not name a successor. His remarks were widely reported, but it was clear that their intent was not to limit speculation but rather encourage public debate.

The media do not submit their news items and programs to the Government in advance for approval or censorship, but informal strict self-censorship "guidelines" are understood by the media. The penalty for publishing material which meets with official displeasure can be severe. Journalists have been jailed for extended periods for overstepping these "guidelines." The two newspapers and sole government-owned radio stations have, however, exhibited increasing candor in coverage of international issues. In addition, criticism of the efficiency of some government departments have appeared in the media and Parliament.

Limited freedom of inquiry into the natural and social sciences exists at the university and may include some examination of radical political ideologies, provided this

does not extend to explicit criticism of the Government. The arrest and detention of Professor Mapanje raised new concerns in the academic and intellectual community.

To summarize, Malawi is the only country in this configuration which up to 1990, did not guarantee press freedom. No criticism of the government is allowed, thus, journalists have learned to self-censorship in their activities.

Nigeria

The Nigerian Constitution specifies the freedom of the individual. In part it says: "36. (1) Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinion:

Provided that no person, other than the Government of the Federal or of a State or any other person or body authorized by the President, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatsoever." p. 95. [The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria].

These rights were subject to limitation by laws justifiable in the interests of defense, public order and safety, public morality and public health. Even though they have had changes of constitution in various regimes, the principles have remained. For example, the constitution ensures that the federal government will not be able to silence diversity in the media without the cooperation of the state governments. Even though

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there is a Federal Information Department, it does not play any major role in controlling the media. Press and broadcasting services owned by the government are run by statutory public corporations. It is important to note, however, that the change of the government sets the mood of the press so much as to self-censor.

Following repeal of the August 1985 coup of the previous regime's Decree No. 4, the Nigerian media turned to its position as one of the freest and most active in Africa. The decree authorized numerous media suspensions and imprisonment of journalists for "inaccurate reporting." But the popular and outspoken weekly *Newsweek* (whose founding editor-in-Chief, Dele Giwa, was killed by a letter bomb in 1986) was banned for several months in 1987 for publishing details of a government transition plan.

The modified 1979 Constitution provides for freedom of expression and the press. Political, social, and economic issues are openly discussed. However, officials frequently caution journalists both publicly and privately on their responsibility and the extent of press freedom. In addition, in 1987 the Government took actions against a number of publishers and journalists to limit news reporting that is critical of government policies. Academic freedom is generally respected.

The 1979 Constitution reserves to the Federal and state governments the exclusive right to own and operate radio and television stations. There are no restrictions on ownership of print media, and Nigeria has a lively press. Among the vast array of Nigerian daily newspapers are several privately owned national dailies with large circulations, one daily owned by the Federal Government, and another in which the Federal Government owns a majority share. Some states operate their own daily

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newspapers. In some states privately owned dailies compete with state papers. Several weekly newsmagazines vie for national readership.

On several occasions in 1987 Federal and state authorities interrogated, jailed, or fired editors and reporters of government-owned papers on grounds that they had published articles inconsistent with official policy or otherwise embarrassing to the Government. Triggering these actions were items such as a two-page paid advertisement charging government security forces with bias in handling the religious riots, an erroneously reported trip abroad by the President's wife, and an editorial critical of the Federal Government's removal of two leading directors of government-controlled banks who objected to central bank policies.

In 1987, President Babangida pledged not to revive Decree 4, a curb on the press imposed by the previous military government. However, later in the year the President prohibited any attempts by the media to give publicity to those banned from elective office and to those advocating creation of new states in Nigeria.

The 1979 Constitution includes a provision aimed at preventing disclosure of confidential information harmful to national security. Citing national security among its reasons, the Government closed for five months a leading weekly newsmagazine, *Newswatch*, and briefly detained three of its editors for publishing excerpts of the then-classified Political Bureau report on Nigeria's political future. The editors publicly apologized and stated they had not intended to embarrass the Government. They were not prosecuted.

During 1987 the Government made several other moves aimed at curbing what

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it considers media irresponsibility with national security implications. It impounded an issue of a privately owned newsweek paper for criticizing the firing of the bank officials, continued to require official authorization prior to press interviews of civil servants, limited the quantity of religious broadcasting on television and radio (all government owned) following religious rioting, and prohibited publication of advertisements paid for by religious organizations. A military tribunal hearing a corruption case against a former politician acquitted the publisher, editor, and reporter. In 1987 Federal security authorities temporarily prevented publication of a book about the life of a prominent newsmagazine editor killed by a letter-bomb in 1986.

To summarize, the Nigerian constitution guarantees press freedom, but also specifically prohibits the ownership of radio, television and any other wireless medium by individuals. The government also limits some government issues from being published. At some point, the government restricts press from operation under the guise of being irresponsible.

Tanzania

In part, the Tanzanian Constitution states: "18. (1) Without jeopardizing the laws of the country, everyone is free to express any opinion, to offer his views, and to search for, to receive and to give information and any ideas through any medium without consideration to country boundaries, and is also free to engage in personal communication without interference.

(2) Every citizen has the right to be informed at all times about different events taking place within the country and around the world, events that are important to his life and

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to the livelihood of the people, and also about important social issues. (p. 14).

Freedom of speech and press is provided for under the Constitution but is limited in practice. Tanzanian citizens show few inhibitions about criticizing the political system in private conversations but are cautious in public statements. The mainland Government owns the only English-language daily newspaper, the National Press Agency, and the mainland radio facility. The Zanzibar Government operates a radio and television station.

The Kiswahili-language paper (*Uhuru*), which has a daily circulation of 100,000 is owned by the party. The Newspaper Act, which allows government search and seizure of any publication without a warrant and withdrawal of the license to publish at any time, makes the launching of a private newspaper or magazine extremely difficult. There is a monthly Catholic newspaper with a circulation of 120,000 which covers largely religious news.

The official media, as an organs of the State, usually presents a unified point of view on important policy matters and do not criticize the premises of government domestic or foreign policies. The Government encourages the media to publish articles and letters to the editor criticizing corruption, mismanagement, and economic corporations. Such reporting is not without risk: In 1987 police beat a newsphotographer who was taking pictures of evicted tenants. One weekly newspaper column, *Society and the Law*, was removed when it became too critical of the Government.

Visiting foreign reporters are required to register with the Government and obtain

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a permit. They are then allowed considerable freedom, including access to government and party leaders. Journalists and photographers can fall victim to the widespread fear of South African espionage and have been detained for short periods of time until their bona fides were established.

Academic freedom is officially guaranteed, but in practice most academicians, relying on the government-run educational system for their livelihood, limit their exploration of sensitive subjects. Under the Films and Stage Plays Act, films may be censored, but it is limited by the acute shortage of foreign exchange.

In conclusion, Tanzania provides a guarantee on the press freedom in its constitution, saying that everyone is free as long as the activities are not "jeopardizing the laws of the country". Thus, in practice press freedom is very limited and criticism is not encouraged.

Zambia

The Constitution of Zambia's article relevant to this study partly reads:

"22. (1) Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence." (p. 48).

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According to Howard (1986), the Zambian government introduced a press bill in 1980, making it a punishable offence to write articles critical of the ruling party (UNIP) or of government, thus nullifying article 22. (1) of their constitution above. For example in 1980, following publication in the *Times of Zambia* of an article critical of the government, President Kaunda warned that press freedoms might be curtailed. Subsequently, on October 1, 1982, the *Times of Zambia*, which had long been dominated by the UNIP, was acquired outright from the British conglomerate Lonrho.

In recent times, people have been speaking openly on most subjects, and there is lively debate in Parliament on a wide range of political, economic, and social issues. However, direct negative comments concerning the Head of State, the concept of the one-party state, or the national philosophy, "Humanism," generally are not expressed in public, the Parliament, or the media (at least this was the case up until the presidential election of 1991).

The media regularly report criticism of government activities expressed by sources ranging from elected officials to average citizens. The two national dailies are owned by the Government and the party, and television and radio are state owned. However, they carry substantial commentary critical of party and government performance. An independent biweekly paper, which is sometimes critical of official policies, is published by an association of churches, and two other independent papers focus on mining and financial subjects. While the possibility of censorship of foreign publications and news items exists, it is seldom invoked.

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Briefly then, Zambia's constitution guarantees press freedom. Zambians have taken advantage of this freedom and to some extent, have expressed their views freely. Criticism of elected government officials is expressed in the press by individuals, even though the dailies are owned by the government and the party.

Summary:

The following summaries include information based on each country's constitution as provided by the U.S. State Department. The study of these countries' constitutions on the articles dealing with press freedom indicated the following:

Each country, with the exception of Malawi, has included some guarantee of press freedom in their constitution and yet, this is not practiced. The interpretation of freedom of expression in almost all cases is followed with such clauses as "within the law". What is meant by *within the law* is best described by those who want to use any law to limit others' freedom. In the 1970s for example, Idi Amin of Uganda, killed people in his country, expelling thousands *within the law* he announced over the radio and television. In other words, this loosely phrased clause, allows the country's leader to hide when violations of the press are committed.

The press has in many cases avoided criticism of the ruling party and government, especially presidents. After all, the press is part of what many of these countries have

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created as a ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Thus, those who work for the press are civil servants, working in one of the government departments, thus, they are to protect the established structure.

Ideally, no censorship is allowed in these countries, but the practice is loud and clear. Journalists, as employees of the government are obligated to self-censorship. When journalists do not censor themselves, the government holds them as being irresponsible, and they can be punished; the punishment, however, could be anything from a warning, withdrawal of a check, to even being killed; depending on the magnitude of their committed *crime*.

There is no encouragement of diverse views or opinion on matters of government issues in this region. To some extent, government discussions are done in closed doors, where journalists are not allowed. The use of Preservation of Public Act--which discourages the public exchange of views on some political topics is widely used and limits freedom of expression of the people.

Two countries in this study seem to be unique. One is Malawi, whose constitution did not guarantee freedom of the press (up until 1990). Their concern was the international relationships and not the immediate violations of their constitution. The other country is Zambia whose constitution guarantees freedom of the press and has, to some extent, practiced it. Individuals openly criticize government officials and discuss most government issues. This may explain why it has been among the first country to implement a multi-party system and had what many considered a fair election in 1991.

Throughout the review of the constitutions in these six countries, it has been noted

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that (with the exception of Malawi which until 1990 had not adopted the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or the OAU Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights) they all had in their constitution a provision of human rights and press freedom. It is ironic, however, that all of these countries did not practice what was in their constitution.

Since these countries inherited most of their laws from the British colonial administration, it is possible that they had difficulty in implementing them, given their historical struggle toward independence. Their priority may have been toward national unity and national freedom in the sacrifice of individual rights and freedom. This indicates clearly that their choice was to follow the developmental concept of the press, calling the press to work together with politicians toward mass mobilization for development.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT-PRESS RELATIONSHIPS

In discussing government-press relationships, the study investigates each country's constitution, focusing on the subject of freedom of the press. Within government-press relationships, general characteristics of the press, economic framework, press laws, censorship and government-control are discussed. Together with this, the study includes the count of the number of daily newspapers, circulation and ownership.

While ownership of such media as radio and television are included, they only help provide more information about the nature of the media in general in a given country and its relationship to the government, but are not subject to detailed investigation.

Before going into the description of the government-press relationships in each of the six countries, it is important to lay-out a general trend of the press and governments in Africa. The subject matter deserves treatment of its own, that is, a complete research on the range of elements that encompasses the issues of government and press relationships. Within it, are media ownership in a country which determines the kind of issues that get attention in the media and the kind of reports that can be highlighted. In other words, it is a discussion about two major elements; press freedom and media ownership.

There is a need to know the relationships that exist between press and

government. That is, how positive, fluid and virile the government is in the process of political socialization and economic developments that go hand-in-hand in a society. It is the extent to which a government allows the press to operate in a free atmosphere.

Perhaps a major question in this perspective is to look at how each government in the study ensures the media has a conducive atmosphere to perform not only their tradition role of informing, educating and entertaining the masses, but also that of helping the press to raise societal conflicts to the plane of discussion.

A quick look at the laws these governments are imposing on the media which are privately owned, show an unpleasant picture. Momoh (1987) says, "Many pre-Independence laws enabling action to be taken against private owned media have been enforced by emerging African governments, despite the fact that many a new African leader had, on taking over power, issued statements which committed them to the principles and ideals of free mass media and free expression of opinion." (p. 11).

Many of the emerging national leaders have taken the press as their possession, to the point that, when asked, they would hide themselves under what they call "official viewpoint". When one analyzes what this "official view point" is, one finds that all it means is the pronouncements of the ruling elites, as Wilcox (1975) had once said:

who [the elite] use the mass media to maintain the status quo and orchestrate unthinking public approval of government policies. In such a setting, little attempt is made to reach the masses with information that would improve their daily lives and perhaps arm them with enough knowledge to start questioning rank and privilege. Also inherent in the attitude of the ruling elites is the patronizing concept that only *they* know what is best for the nation-a thought patten left over from the former colonial administrators. [italics added] (p 116).

First, it should be noted here that Africa in general did not have an information

press as it is known in the western world. Africa's colonial past has played an important role in the kind of press that has evolved on the continent. Until the early 1960s, the majority of newspapers that existed in Africa, for example, were owned, written, edited and read by European settlers and by very few foreign educated Africans. The existence of the Africans, therefore, was only seen as a shadow of the European population. Thus, the emergence of African-run newspapers had a mission of counteracting the existing press. They were organs of revolution and dissent.

Such contributing factors may explain why all but one of the African first presidents in the six countries under this study began their political work as journalists or newspaper owners. For example, Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, edited *Sauti ya TANU*, an official organ of the Tanganyika African National Union which he founded, which later became the only ruling party of independent Tanganyika. Jomo Kenyatta (former Johnstone Kamau), the first president of Kenya, started the Kikuyu language monthly *Mwigawathania*, a Kikuyu periodical associated with Kenya's liberation struggle. Hastings Banda of Malawi, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah were all newspaper proprietors before independence. As stated by Merrill (1983), "Theirs has always been an opinion press. Advocacy journalism comes naturally to them" (p. 194).

The press of any country is a reflection of the policies and the structure of the government of that country. The relationships that exist between the press and the government says a lot of how free or how controlled the press is in that country. Below are the historical descriptions of each of the countries and its relationship to the press.

Press in Ghana: Background:

Ghanaian press has over 150 years of history. According to Udofia (1982), *The Royal Gold Coast Gazette*, an official paper in Ghana, was founded in 1822 by Sir Charles McCarthy, the first British governor of the then Gold Coast settlements. African initiatives came some thirty years later, but most of the papers did not survive. The most sustained African effort was shown by Dr. J. B. Danquah, who founded the first daily, the *Times of West Africa* in 1931.

As noted by Udofia (1982), "the British used the press to extend and consolidate authority and influence and model the few literate Ghanaians then perceived as heirs to power and authority" p. 389. For the same reason, *Daily Graphic* was established in 1950 by Cecil King. Further, according to Anokwa (1991), *Daily Graphic* was "to provide profit, to earn foreign exchange for the British owners and to promote British colonial policy in Ghana." p. 31.

The indigenous press was stridently critical of this approach. In 1957 at Ghana's independence, they had 11 papers. Dr. Francis Kwame Nkrumah, a journalist himself, reoriented the press toward socialism and the socialist approach to politics and development. In 1958, Nkrumah established the Guinea Press Limited, the publishers of the government-owned *Ghanaian Times* and *Evening News*, and later introduced censorship in 1960 with the premise that just as the press in capitalist countries is oriented toward capitalism, so shall be the press in revolutionary Africa, be oriented toward revolution. As stated by Udofia (1982) "He [Nkrumah] believed that the mass media should be completely under government control to assure their full utilization and

commitment to the urgent aims of national integration and modernization." p. 389.

In establishing the *Ghanaian Times*, Nkrumah wanted to introduce a paper which would support his government, as Huchten noted regarding the philosophy of the paper: "Our policy will be to support the government in power and wherever necessary we shall criticize it objectively. We believe unalterably that socialist policies of the CPP [Convention People's Party] government are wisely and soundly conceived." p. 168-169. Nkrumah viewed other foreign papers, especially the *Daily Graphic*, as a relic of colonialism and a propaganda tool of the opposition leaders.

In 1960, Nkrumah expressed his dissatisfaction with the adversary role of the *Daily Graphic* and other independent, anti-socialist papers and introduced censorship. Thus the *Daily Graphic* was nationalized and became one of the state owned newspapers. Nkrumah then appointed party functionaries as editors with the intent to promote his socialist ideology.

In 1963 Nkrumah passed a Newspaper Licensing Act to ensure government control of the Ghanaian press. Thus, under Nkrumah, there was a complete rejection of private ownership of the press. As noted by Twumasi (1981), Nkrumah argued "if a newly independent nation is to consolidate its independence and develop in *peace*, it must of necessity resort to the use of methods of a totalitarian kind [*italics added*]" (p. 7).

Thus the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* were organized as government institutions and were placed under the Board of Governors whose members were appointed by the government. This legacy has been passed on to successive Ghanaian regimes.

The government in Ghana plays the most active role in the newspaper industry.

Udofia (1982) made a comment that:

"its [the government] better equipped, staffed, and financed government-owned papers occupy the top echelon in the industry, while the struggling independent and private papers continue to look for some way to make their presence felt. Although the quality of journalism is among the highest in Africa, most of the papers lack good investigative, hard-hitting, straight-ahead pieces." p. 390.

The press in Ghana, as in all of the other countries under this study, is based in urban areas. In the case of Ghana, Accra region, Ghana's capital, constitutes most of its circulation, with a few others in Kumasi and Tema. Thus, the press, and other media in Ghana, are urban oriented.

Economic Framework:

Electronic media in Ghana are the main source of news and information--especially the radio with its varsity coverage. Newspapers are out of reach of many Ghanaians. First, because of literacy, and second, because of economic inability for the citizens to buy copies of the papers.

The majority of Ghanaian newspapers are government-owned. All newspapers, except few local language papers are elitist in content and approach. The emphasize seems to be in the importance of power, formal authority, and reward of being "a loyal, good and law-abiding Ghanaian"

The cost of the newspapers to readers is another limiting factor. Little advertising revenue is generated, adding to the limitation of the production of the paper. The shortage of newsprint (which must be imported) due to the scarcity of foreign exchange,

adds to the number of problems the newspaper industries must face in Ghana.

Censorship

In 1980, Hilla Limann restored libertarian press structure in Ghana and he expressed his views in the inauguration of the 12 member Press Commission on July 25, 1980 as noted in *Democracy and Ghana* (1983) saying:

I shall, as the elected President of Ghana, be forever prepared to submit to the acid test of public judgement the claims of those who may think that they represent the public more than me or any other political leader.... Since the functions of the Press Commission have been clearly spelt out in the Constitution, I can do no more than reassure its members and our journalists that my government will respect, uphold and defend the Constitution and thus do everything in our power to help the Press Commission discharge its obligations, in the overall interest of the public to which we are all to varying degrees accountable." p. 135.

Anokwa (1991) notes that Limann committed himself to accepting the rule of the law and the verdict of democracy in his approach to the press. This liberal approach ended when Rawlings deposed Limann and abolished the Press Commission, calling for the press to "serve as the vanguard of the 'Holy War'". Rawling's administration was noted by the dismissal of editors and journalists and appointing editors he wanted.

The Ghanaian newspapers and journalists have experienced harassments, from civilian and military regimes. Most of the arrests, as in the case of Kasse-Adu, who spent four and a half years in detention in the Fort Ussher prison, was based on what the government said was "destructive criticism of the government."

Under the 1979 Constitution, state-owned media were required to afford equal opportunity and facilities for the representation of opposing or differing views," and the

Ghanaian press was one of the freest and most outspoken in Western Africa. Since the 1981 coup, as described by Banks (1991) "not only radio and television but also the leading newspapers have become little more than propaganda organs of the government." p. 255.

The Ghana News Agency (GNA) is the main source of both local and foreign news. The agency was established in 1957 within the Information Service Department, it became a statutory corporation in 1960, with a board appointed by the head of the state. The agency operates almost exclusively on government subventions.

Table 10.

Ghana's Top Newspapers and Magazines: Ownership, Circulation, Language Published and Frequency

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Frequency
Pioneer	Private	English	100,000	Daily
Ghanaian Times	Govt	English	40,000	Daily
Mirror	Govt	English	85,000	Weekly
Daily Graphic	Govt	English	85,000	Daily
Weekly Spectator	Govt	English	160,000	Weekly
Leading Magazines				
Christian Messenger	Private	English	40,000	Monthly
	Private	English	20,000	Weekly

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991

The dailies in Ghana as of 1990 were *Daily Graphic* founded in 1950, a state-owned newspaper with a circulation of 85,000; *The Ghanaian Times* founded in 1958, state-owned, with a circulation of 40,000; and *The Pioneer*, private, founded in 1939 with a circulation of 100,000. Others include *Weekly Spectator* (160,000 as of 1991) and *The Mirror* (85,000) both government-owned; and the *People's Evening News* (30,000). There are other small underground press and weekly and monthly magazines.

Press in Kenya:

Historically, and up until the late 1980s, Kenya's press has been quite diverse when compared with other African countries. Today there is a growing concern over press freedom in the country as the press is being more and more controlled by the government. The government has power to detain journalists, confiscate newspapers and even ban publications. In most cases, as it is in many African countries, reporters and editors exercise a high degree of self-regulation and restraint to keep out any conflict between government and the press at all levels.

The distribution of the papers in Kenya, again as in many other African countries, is high in urban areas. Nairobi, the capital, has at least half of the nation's radio sets, newspaper circulations, telephones and postal facilities, but has less than 15% of the nation's population.

Kenya's press is predominantly British in its approach. The eighty years of British colonial administration in Kenya produced the press which remains until today.

During the colonial period, the press was geared to the European settlers. One historian has said that local news in Kenya was based mainly on settler life and the world news was about events in or affecting Great Britain.

The British did not forbid the development of an indigenous press among the Africans, but neither did they actively encourage it. As noted before, Jomo Kenyatta was one of the first editors in the 1920s. The indigenous press, such as the paper founded by Kenyatta, was based on a critical role in the development of nationalism and the pressure for independence. When the British realized how powerful the press was in the hands of the indigenous Africans, pressuring toward independence, they considered the press to be seditious and dangerous to the point that they introduced the Emergency Declaration of 1952 and closed fifty African newspapers in Kenya.

The Emergency Declaration introduced new laws including the Printing Presses Ordinance which empowered the government to cancel any printing license of a publisher producing any document prejudicial to peace and good order in the colony. Police were also given the right to search property and seize any printing presses they believed to have been used in the printing of seditious documents. There was also the edict that it was a crime to have a banned publication in one's possession. Individuals would be detained without any formal hearing. Kenyatta was one of those who was detained, though his trial was lengthy and well publicized. When Kenya became independent, the press was thus, weak and almost undefined. Its strength grew only because many foreign companies owned and controlled the press, especially the British.

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monopoly. Many of the newspapers are privately owned and many are financially controlled by Europeans. There is no official censorship, but an unwritten set of rules which bars criticism of the government and its policies.

Censorship

The self-censorship has grown as the freedom of the press has been taken slowly away from editors and reporters. Hilary Ng'weno, one of the most prominent Kenyan journalists, has often called for national press council formed by representatives from the legal, judicial, and academic communities. He noted that the communications council should be a watchdog with a purpose of imposing professional communication standards, especially insofar as they relate to professional ethics. He says (in Wilcox, 1982) "they [journalists] can challenge the system only so long as their challenge does not lead to such a destabilising of the system that all freedoms are threatened." p. 574.

Such idealistic statements are not so much divorced from that of Jomo Kenyatta, the nation's founding father; that press must promote the national development. More recently, Daniel arap Moi has taken an even stiffer measure of banning many small newspapers, journals, books, and imprisoning journalists, apart from others whose freedom of expression has been shuttered. One example is the case of the jailing of the well known novelist, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who was arrested in 1977 under suspicion of endangering public safety. Kenyatta had Ngugi arrested when he tried to produce a controversial play in Kikuyu with political overtones. Even though Moi released him, Moi has banned more publications and mistreated more individuals in search of freedom



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Table 11.
Kenya's Top Newspapers and Magazines: Ownership, Circulation, Language
Published and Frequency:

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Frequency
Daily Nation	Private	English	178,000	Daily
The Standard	Private	English	55,000	Daily
Taifa Leo	Private	Kiswahili	60,000	Daily
Kenya Leo	Party	Kiswahili	40,000	Daily
Kenya Times	Govt	English	35,000	Daily
Leading Magazines				
Drum/ East Africa	Private	English	58,000	Monthly
Parents	Private	English	48,000	Monthly
Weekly Review	Private	English	30,000	Weekly
Kenya Farmers	Society	English	25,000	Monthly

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991.

Kenya's main daily newspaper is the *Daily Nation* (published in English), with an estimated circulation of 178,000, controlled by the Aga Khan Foundation. *The Kenya Times* is published daily in English by KANU with a circulation of 35,000; KANU also publishes a daily Kiswahili paper, *Kenya Leo*.

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The Maxwell Communications group of Britain formed a joint venture with KANU in October 1986, the Kenya Times Media Trust Limited (60% KANU, 40% Maxwell), involving an initial investment of about \$60 million by Maxwell. The new venture was to redesign the KANU papers and establish *The Kenya Times* as the leading paper in East Africa and a wide range of other printing, publishing and communication ventures, including an ambitious new media center in Nairobi. *The Standard*, controlled by Lonrho, is published daily in English with a circulation of 55,000. *Taifa Leo*, the daily nation's Kiswahili newspaper, has an estimated circulation of 60,000.

Press in Malawi:

Malawi has a short history of the newspaper industry. The small newspaper audience has discouraged competition, always a counterpart of a healthy print industry. Limited retail advertising and lack of heavy industries depress support from advertisers. Since 1973, the press has been under the control of the Office of the President. Under Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda's watchful eye, the local national press has been carefully monitored and the foreign press discouraged, and or banned.

Newspapers are geared to the readership of a small indigenous elite and minority middle class who can afford to buy the newspaper daily. English, which was introduced during the colonial era, serves as the medium of communication for the commercial sector, the language of instruction in schools and the lingua franca of the nation's educated elite. English has also been chosen by the government as the unifying force among Malawi's segmented and diverse makeup of ethnic and lingual groupings. But

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Chechewa is widely understood and spoken by up to 95% of the populace. There seems to be no reason why Chechewa wasn't chosen as the medium language of the nation when it is already spoken by the majority in the country.

One of the reasons for an undeveloped newspaper industry in Malawi, is that, before the independence in 1964, Malawi's newspapers were published almost entirely by Western journalists for the colonial settlers, and few Africans had the opportunity to receive training or to work with the press.

The earliest newspaper in the area was the *Nyasaland Times* and *Central African Planter*, founded in 1895. During those days, the British colonial office controlled Nyasaland (which is now Malawi). Later, the European white settlers regarded that their way of life was being threatened by British control. The British-owned paper focused on settler and homeland subjects and scarcely considered Africans; it supported the controlling powers, a characteristic that remains a feature of the press in Malawi.

In 1959, shortly before Malawi's independence, the Malawi Congress Party was created. The same year, the *Malawi News* came into being as the Party's official organ, published in Limbe twice weekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays. The present newspaper, *Malawi News: The Voice of The Malawi Congress Party*, concentrates its coverage on Party affairs, President Banda's activities and development projects.

Christian organizations are active in publishing (Christians are said to comprise more than 40% of the population). Their publications include the Roman Catholic newsletter, *Catholic Church Newsletter*, The Anglican *Ecclesia*, the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa's *Kuunika* (Light), The Watch Tower's *Gongwe La Mlinda*, the

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The Banda administration has kept Malawi isolated politically from most of its neighbors. Too often has Malawi fallen under South African influence for economical reasons. Since Malawi must import all its paper, this has been a burden economically as the cost of paper has been increasing.

Most newspapers are privately owned and operated. There is no formal censorship, but the government's refusal to tolerate any form of criticism was reflected in a 1973 decree that journalists who printed materials "damaging to the nation's reputation" were liable to life imprisonment. The interpretation of the kind of materials was left to the discretion of the president himself.

Table 12.
Malawi's Top Newspapers and Magazines, Ownership, Circulation,
Language Published and Frequency

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Frequency
Daily Times	Private	English	20,000	Daily
Malawi News	Private	ChiChewa	21,000	Daily
Boma Lathu	Govt	ChiChewa	78,000	Daily
Government Gazette	Govt	English	(NA)	Weekly
Leading Magazines				
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

(NA)=Information not available.

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991.

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Cases related to the dispute between Malawi and the neighboring countries are supposed to be taken delicately in their reportage. For example, and as noted by Fisher (1982) "In 1973, after publication of reports of a Mozambique border clashes between Malawian and Portuguese troops, eight Malawian journalists were jailed without trial and the government's chief information officer was arrested. A British journalist was also arrested and deported. A radio news reporter was deported for refusing to broadcast the official government version of the story because he considered it a falsification of the real truth. Shortly afterwards, Dr. Banda announced in the National Assembly that he was introducing legislation to restrict 'lying' journalists and that any journalist who stepped out of line could expect a lengthy jail sentence." p. 608.

As noted above, Malawi operates a number of publications. As of 1990, Malawi had the *Daily Times*, published in English, with a circulation of over 20,000. The weekly *Malawi News* is published in ChiChewa and English and has a circulation of 21,000. Both are owned by Banda's Press Holdings. The Department of Information publishes *Boma Lathu* in ChiChewa (78,000) and *This is Malawi* in English (10,000), both are published monthly; The *Government Gazette* is published weekly. Various commercial and religious periodicals, in ChiChewa and English, have circulations varying between 9,000 and 35,000. Even with private ownership, the press is tightly controlled and strictly censored. Thus, Malawian journalists work under the constant threat of detention.

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Press in Nigeria:

One of the Nigerian press characteristics is its mixed ownership. Historically, the press has its roots in private entrepreneurs and publishers, but it passed almost imperceptibly into government hands during the 1960s and 1970s until today state-owned papers account for the majority of the newspapers and the bulk of the circulation in the country.

From the beginning, Nigerian newspapers were established to fight the Colonial settlers, with the exception of the known first newspaper in Nigeria, *Iwe Thorin* known to have been established in 1859 by missionaries and printed in Yoruba language. But otherwise, as noted in the editorial in March 1881 of *Lagos Times* and *Gold Coast Advertiser*, "We are not clambering for immediate independence, but it should always be borne in mind that the present order of things will not last forever. A time will come when the colonies on the west coast will be left to regulate their own internal and external affairs."

The prophecy was true, but the delay was long. Yet the Nigerian press purportedly used the press toward this end. In 1917, however, Governor Lord Lugard, the architect of modern colonial Nigeria, framed a law giving himself the authority to appoint a press censor, to seize printing presses, to confiscate newspapers and to impose a bond of about \$600 on undesirable publishers, a move which was unwelcome by the Governors' superior in London.

The thriving Nigerian press is probably due to at least two things: the growing literacy among Nigerians, and the ambivalence of the colonial authorities, who did not

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Nigeria's first successful daily (and perhaps the earliest successful daily in the whole of Africa) was the *Daily News*, founded by Herbert Macaulay in Lagos in 1925 which was also the first hard-line political party newspaper. Because of its success, the European traders and others started its rival called *Daily Times*. In 1937, the *West African Pilot* was founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe, who later became the first president of Nigeria. Azikiwe had in *The Morning Post* which he edited, a masterhead slogan proclaiming the ideal that motivated his journalistic career: "Independence in All Things and Neutral in Nothing Affecting the Destiny of Africa."

Zik, as he was known, created a newspaper chain, the Associated Newspapers of Nigeria, known as the Zik Group. When the Zik Group started earning the support of the people, the colonial government, because of its displeasure, frequently attacked it. To show their displeasure, the government banned two of Zik's newspapers. But Azikiwe started the *Southern Nigerian Defender* to replace them.

At the time of independence, Nigeria had three large newspaper chains, two private and one party-owned. But their papers, like in other countries in this study, followed the style of the British newspaper. Nigeria followed British style of newspapers even more closely than any other country. Cecil King, the publisher of the prosperous *Daily Mirror* of London, brought the colonial experience and used it in Nigeria; buying the *Lagos Daily Times* and modeled it to London's *Daily Mirror*. One of the contributions of King was the infrastructure. He built up an efficient bus transportation system in west Africa, basically for his papers, but they also became passenger buses.

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Under the government of both General Agiyi-Ironsi and General Yakubu Gowon, the press retained a high degree of freedom. The reason for this was obvious, as noted by Nwankwo and Kurian (1982): "It [the press] could do so because, in the words of Lateef Jakande, publisher of the *Nigerian Tribune*, 'of three things: the tradition of press freedom instilled by Zik and others, the courage and professional spirit of Nigerian editors and publishers and the good sense of some of those in authority.'"

Since Nigeria has gone through many military government administrations, the press has not always found freedom. For example, journalists can be detained at any time. The case in point is that of Chief Theo Ola, news editor of the *Daily Times*. Every time a journalist was detained, the press did not keep quiet. Unlike other countries in this study, Nigerians cried until some reconciliation was reached.

Reconciliation was not promised at any time in a military government. But a story noted by Nwankwo and Kurian (1982) relating to the July 30, 1973, was one of the historical incidents in the press freedom in Nigeria. On this day, Mineri Amakiri, a reporter on the *Nigerian Observer* at Port Harcourt, was arrested on the orders of the military governor of the River State for reporting on a teachers' strike that unfortunately coincided with the governor's birthday.

Amakiri, was punished with 24 lashes across his back. He had his beard and hair shaved, was locked up for 27 hours and then was thrown out into the street. The media did not keep quiet, but called for reconciliation. Amakiri filed suit against the police officer who carried out the assault and was awarded 5,375 British pounds (about \$12,000). This is perhaps the only case on record of an African journalist successfully

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suing an official in a country ruled by the military and winning a case!

The close and visible association between political-constitutional development and the press makes it difficult for Nigeria to think of politics without the press. Economic problems are a contribution to the otherwise unsuccessful Nigerian press. The list includes Printing machinery, transportation, competition, affordability to poor people, et cetera.

Table 13.
Nigeria's Top Newspapers and Magazines, Ownership, Circulation, Language
Published and Frequency

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Type
Daily Times	Private	English	300,000	Daily
National Concord	Private	English	200,000	Daily
Daily Champion	Private	English	150,000	Daily
Punch	Private	English	150,000	Daily
Daily Sketch	Private	English	120,000	Daily
Nigerian Tribune	Private	English	109,000	Weekly
Nigerian Observer	Private	English	100,000	(NA)
New Nigeria	Private	English	80,000	(NA)
The Guardian	Private	English	80,000	(NA)
Nigerian Chronicle	Private	English	80,000	(NA)
Leading Magazines				
Newswatch	Private	English	250,000	Weekly
Lagos Weekend	Private	English	250,000	Weekly
Headlines	Private	English	205,000	Monthly
Lagos Life	Private	English	155,000	Weekly

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991.

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In summary, Nigerian traditions of energetic and critical journalism have a history from the colonial days. As of 1986 there were 26 daily newspapers, national and state, government and private funded. Circulations range from 400,000 for the *Daily Times* (Lagos), 150,000 for the *Nigerian Observer* (Bendel) and *The Punch* (Lagos), and 100,000 to 800,000 for the *Herald* (Horin), *Tribune* (Ibadan) and *New Nigerian* (Kaduna).

Many papers have Sunday supplements. The *Sunday Times* circulation, for example, is 500,000. There are many other ethnic, cultural, business and professional weeklies as well as periodicals. News magazines after the style of American *Newsweek* have become a critical and much followed section of the press.

Press in Tanzania:

The Tanzania press, is a direct reflection of the political philosophy of its nation's economic and political structure. The press is highly centralized and is considered an integral tool in the process of national development. It is regarded as a communication link of the government and the ruling party to the citizens. It is to support all the government initiatives (even if they are not necessarily the will of the people). In a sense, the press is the voice of the government.

Tanzania's press was developed under British colonial rule from 1916. Under the British rule, the governor could prohibit any report or news story thought to be contrary to the *public* interest. News was provided for most of the colonial period by the government's own public relations department, while libel and sedition laws were serious

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obstacles to the development of any indigenous press. For example, Julius Nyerere was jailed by the British for criminal libel. As an editor of a political Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) *Sauti ya Tanu Newsletter*, he wrote that several district officials were guilty of bias and discrimination.

Before, and after independence, Nyerere exploited the press in its fullest sense. He perceived the press as a political instrument for mobilization of the masses. When he introduced the country to follow the socialism path, he also took the press as part of the party and government instrument for the dissemination of political and economic directives in the country.

The press in Tanzania, is an urban phenomena. Dar es Salaam, the capital, is also the hub of Tanzania's journalistic activity. Even though cities in Tanzania comprise 31 % of the nation's population (See Table 4. above), almost all circulation are distributed in Dar es Salaam. All publications are also headquartered here and so, are the large printing companies.

In 1975-78 the literacy campaign reduced illiteracy in Tanzania by nearly 50%. Today, Tanzania literacy is over 80%. This gives a challenge to Tanzania with little press history and meager economy to accommodate the masses in need of information through the printed page.

According to Jengo (1975), "the year 1728 will be remembered as significant in the history of written Kiswahili poetry in East Africa. For it was during that period that the first poem in Kiswahili was written by Mwengo bin Athuman" (p. 3). This may surprise those who may have thought that Tanzania did not enter into the world of

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written records or of literacy prior to the Literacy Campaign of 1973. It is enough to say that Africa, and Tanzania in particular, had mass media in its true sense as long as human existence in that country.

The over 40-year British colonial rule in Tanzania translated, among other things, into making Tanzania's education and culture exemplify that of the United Kingdom; not by any means in a respective way, rather, in a "holier-than-thou" attitude. Before the coming of the British in Tanzania in 1916, the Germans who had colonized the land from 1885-1916 had started some newspapers in Tanzania. One of their earliest newspapers was called *Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*.

The missionaries from the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) who arrived there before, started what is considered the first newspaper in colonial Tanzania at that time, the *Masimulizi* 'The Reporter' as it was called, which started in 1888. The paper was followed by another one called *Habari za Mwezi* 'News of the Month' in 1894, which according to Mytton (1983), appointed Samwel Sehoza, the first Tanzanian Editor in 1908.

The British Governor of Tanganyika invited the publisher of *African Standard* (published in Nairobi-Kenya), to launch the *Tanganyika Standard* for one main reason: "to serve the growing number of the white settlers and administrators in British East Africa." (See Mytton 1983, p. 43). By inviting the production of this paper in Tanzania, the Governor had vested both interest and power over the press. Under his power, as noted by Wilcox (1989), "the governor could prohibit any report or news story thought to be contrary to the public interest." (p. 862). An example was that of jailing Julius

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Nyerere (who later became the country's president) and asked to pay a fine for writing in the newsletter to which he was the editor, that several white district officials were guilty of bias and discrimination.

Tanzania's newspapers were the most influential mass media in controlling the thinking of the Africans. The missionary press, which worked in collaboration with the government, were mainly making the Africans intellectually passive. This was evidenced by the fact that critical comments were not permitted on both the government and the missionary press. According to Jengo (1975), "what was taught and read under the colonial administration was meant to reinforce the acceptance of the status quo. In this way, the belief in established and fixed political and cultural injustices remained unshaken for 43 years of British rule in Tanzania" (p. 23).

Apart from the government newspapers introduced in Tanzania, there were a few known papers which started side-by-side with them. These included the two Kiswahili papers; *Ngurumo* 'Thunder' an independent newspaper owned by the local Asian-African, and *Mwafrika* 'The African' owned by Tanganyika African Association (TAA) which preceded Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) 'A Revolutionary Party.' (Until the end of 1991 before the multi-party system discussions, CCM was the sole ruling party in Tanzania). These papers competed with *Mambo Leo* 'Today's News' which was the colonial government paper with a readership of about 25,000 at the end of World War II.

The government's newspaper, which emphasized British and local news, human stories and Kiswahili poetry; did not allow any criticism in its content. Whether the

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editors were British (as the case was) or Africans, the government did not allow any criticism in their publications. As pointed out by Mytton (1983), "the government press of pre-independent Tanganyika left the country with an important legacy; a tradition of government involvement in the daily, weekly and monthly press which was to continue virtually unbroken" (p. 46).

The legacy of the mass media in independent Tanzania was a sure thing. Having observed how the colonial government worked, the new politicians did not know any better way to dealing with the mass media. Thus, the ownership of the mass media by the government, came as a reaction of the newly independent Tanzania to the colonial administration. As Wilcox (1989) suggests, "Like other African nationalists leader, Nyerere fully exploited the indigenous press to espouse independence. When he became president he continued to perceive the press as a political instrument for mobilizing the masses" (p. 862). To Nyerere, the press was to work together toward this goal; as an instrument of the government for development.

But it was not until 1967 when Nyerere, speaking at Arusha, announced that Tanzania was going to follow the path of African Socialism as a means of national development. All major means of production were nationalized. The press was nationalized too, not because it was a major means of production in the economic sense, to be sure, the press did not bring any money, but it used money from the taxes of the people as part of a government service. The nationalization of the press was only the extension of government control over it, since they considered it to be an important tool and a dangerous one if left in the hands of *unworthy* people.

Today, all the media are owned and controlled by the government and the party (with the exception of a few religious organization papers). But whether owned by the party or government, there seems to be no difference. Those who work for the press (especially the editors and the directors) are appointed directly by the president.

Tanzania, just like many other African countries, made clear that broadcasting was to be controlled by the government, otherwise it would fall under the control of the few wealthy people who would use it for their own commercial purposes rather than in the promotion of the 'national interests.' As one Tanzania member of Parliament stated:

A broadcasting system is a very powerful instrument and it can be a very dangerous instrument if those who are responsible for running it happen to hold different views from those of the Government, and great harm can be done to this country by giving emphasis to the wrong thing paying very little attention to those things which need special attention. It is my view that to avoid this powerful instrument being used by people who may not have the interest [of the public] at heart, this instrument should be taken over by the Ministry of Information Services and run as one of the Government Departments. (See Tanganyika Parliamentary Debates, February 16, 1961).

Press Laws and Censorship

The Newspaper Ordinance of 1968 empowers the president to ban any newspaper if he considers such action to be in the "national interest". What is meant by "national interest" is not defined. Discretion is therefore, left to the president to do whatever seems appropriate. In September 1988, the Zanzibar House of Representatives approved a series of measures authorizing the imprisonment of authors of articles deemed critical of the government.

Ansah (1985) noted that there is a danger for a government ministry control of

the media, and especially when they interfere with the day-to-day supervision of operations. When this is the case, professionalism may get short shrift in the process as the government tends to treat broadcasting and other mass media as a purely civil service function.

Ansah seems not to see a way out for African countries having the press under individuals without government control. Yet a way needs to be found for the press to exercise its rightful duty. It has also been noted that broadcasting has been perceived as the voice of the government, even by the journalists themselves, thus leading to shying away from those topics which are considered sensitive or embarrassing to the government. The result, however, is the eroding of the credibility of broadcasting and of the press as trustworthy media. In many countries people have tuned into foreign media to find out what was happening in their own country; thus, developing a cynical attitude toward their nation's media.

Ansah (1985) speaking in regard to the broadcast, made the following comment:

If broadcasting is too important to leave to the professional broadcasters alone, it is equally true that leaving it entirely to the government in both policy and operations it may lose its impact to the nation. A statutory board composed of government representatives and individuals who have established a reputation for devotion to public service would seem to be a right mix for regulating broadcasting in Africa. (p 9).

Wilcox (1982) noted that the press law of 1968 gives the president the authority to ban any newspaper, or detain citizens, including journalists without benefit of formal charges or trial. But Tanzania's journalists are rarely detained because they are employees of the government and loyal to the party. Libel and sedition laws are in

force, in most part, because they were inherited from the British colonial administrators.

There is no question that there exists a gap created by the British Colonial Press in Tanzania, which is also directly inherited by the present government. The gap between the benefactor of the services of the press, and that of those who are not; and also, the dichotomy of those who live in urban and those who don't. It is a absurd to even think that Tanzania would centralize its press in urban areas where only 31 % of the population live, granted that the present press was to be acceptable by the majority in the country.

It is true that the press in Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, focuses its attention on those in power, especially the president. It seems that in every news bulletin, or on every first page headline of the newspaper, the first mention is that of the president, regardless of the issue. It is generally regarded that whatever the president does is of national important, and as such, is newsworthy. Ordinary people, who work day and night to bring about development in the nation are not noticed. Shija (1989) noticed the need of information/communication creation in Tanzania, to allow a critical look at the work done by the press and the government.

As of 1991, Tanzania's main national daily newspaper is the government-owned *Daily News* (in English), which has an average circulation of 80,000; the Sunday version of the *Daily News*, the *Sunday News*, has a circulation of 60,000 which is weekly. *Uhuru*, the CCM newspaper (in Kiswahili), has a circulation of 100,000 and is a daily, having its sister Sunday edition *Mzalendo* (in Kiswahili). The country's news agency, Shihata, is state-run.

Table 14.
Tanzania's Top Newspapers and Magazines, Ownership, Circulation, Language Published and Frequency

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Frequency
Kiongozi (Leader)	Private	Kiswahili	103,000	Fortnight
Mzalendo (Patriot)	Party	Kiswahili	100,000	Weekly
Uhuru (Freedom)	Party	Kiswahili	100,000	Daily
Daily News	Govt	English	50,000	Daily
Business Times	Private	English	40,000	Weekly
Leading Magazines				
Mfanyakazi	Union	Kiswahili	100,000	Weekly
Elimu Haina	Govt	Kiswahili	50,000	Monthly
Mwisho				

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991.

Press in Zambia;

Before Zambia become independent, newspapers were monopolized by European expatriates, and the meager indigenous Zambian journalistic traditions proved a factor that made government takeover of the press much easier.

For many years, the *Livingstone Mail*, an English-language weekly, founded in 1906 by pharmacist Leopold Moore, served as Zambia's only newspaper. Published primarily for the white colonials, it played a key role in providing news of the settler community and in shaping their opinions.

Zambia's two dailies, the *Times of Zambia*, was started in 1944 by Sir Roy

Welensky under the title *The Northern News*. The Argus Group of South Africa syndicate, purchased it in 1951. By 1958 it grew in its popularity, and circulation (18,000). In the 1950s and 1960s, the *Northern News* opposed British colonialism, promoted continuation of white rule in South Africa, supported federation of two Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Welensky's United Federal Party. The newspaper also cooperated with African politicians who were fighting for independence.

Lonrho, the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company conglomerate, purchased the *Northern News* in 1964 soon after Zambia got its independence. Richard Hall, a friend of Kaunda and a strong supporter of Africans, was named its editor in 1965, at the same time the *Northern News* became *Times of Zambia*. Under the editorship of Dunston Kamana, the *Times of Zambia* became critical of the UNIP politicians and of government inefficiency. In 1975 UNIP threatened to take over the *Times of Zambia*, but lacked the funds at that time.

Zambia is the only country in this series which had no pre-independence press of its own. This was due in part, to the unwillingness of the British colonial administration in training indigenous Zambians as journalists. The Northern Rhodesian Africans were prevented from involvement in journalism. Thus, Zambia entered statehood almost devoid of an indigenous press tradition, or even of journalistic experience.

When British came to Zambia, they established English as the "lingua franca" of the region. English was the medium taught in schools and the language employed in commerce. Today, it remains Zambia's official language amidst Chibemba, Chinyanja, Chitonga, Silozi, Kikaonde, Chilumda and Luvale. English was seen as a unifying

element of these diversified languages. But the Zambia Broadcasting Service makes programs in all seven languages, plus English.

The economic crisis, together with the government control, has kept the press from developing as it should. The sharp price increase of newsprint, and the low foreign currency in Zambia has contributed to the shortage of print industry in the nation.

Until 1991, Zambia was led by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda who, as president, was the head of the state and commander in chief of the armed forces. The country's sole authorized political party, the UNIP, was led by the president.

In 1975, President Kaunda announced the nationalization of privately held land, private hospitals, movie theaters and the *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia News*. These papers and the theaters were all owned and operated by Lonrho. To justify the take-over of the newspapers, as noted by Fisher (1982) "Kaunda accused [the newspapers] of 'irresponsibility' and of running 'unpatriotic and obscene' articles at a time when he wished them to reflect official party and government views." p. 1055.

Journalists' self-censorship is well practiced in Zambia. Often times directives come from the president on whether certain articles can be published or not. When a questionable article is printed, editors responsible may be required to appear before the government officials for explanation. A case in point is that of Naphy Nyalugwe, an editor of the *Times of Zambia* who had to appear before the parliament for such an incident. According to Fisher (1982), "early in 1980 editor Naphy Nyalugwe was forced to read an apology before Parliament for an article critical of government, a pressure designed to elicit self-censorship." p. 1056. Such humiliating treatments are of

no surprise in some of the African countries especially those who have a monopoly on the press.

Table 15.
Zambia's Top Newspapers and Magazines, Ownership, Circulation, Language Published and Frequency

Leading Newspapers	Owner	Language Published	Circul.	Frequency
Times of Zambia	Private	English	66,000	Daily
Zambia Daily Mail	Private	English	45,000	Daily
National Mirror	Private	English	40,000	Monthly
Imbila	Govt	Bemba	20,000	Bi-weekly
Leading Magazines				
Mining Mirror	Institute	English	60,000	Fortnight
Namibia Today	Institute	English	50,000	6/year
Farming in Zambia	Govt	English	50,000	Qrterly
Workers Voice	Union	English	30,000	Bi-weekly

Source: INTELSTACK, 1991. and Banks, 1991.

Zambian government watches the media closely, and the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism controls and operates all the communication media.

There are many periodicals which are published in English and in the main indigenous languages by government, religious and professional bodies. Circulations range between 6,000 and 72,000. Dailies include *Times of Zambia*, published by UNIP in English with a circulation of 66,000, and *Zambia Daily Mail*, also published by UNIP in English, with a circulation of 45,000. Other main periodicals are *National Mirror* (bi-

weekly) with a circulation of 40,000; *Sunday Post* (weekly) independent in English; and *Sunday Times*, published by UNIP in English.

Summary:

All six countries have shown interest in the ownership of press. But when the media are owned by government, freedom of the press is quite diminished. The historical background of these countries indicate that press has been inherited from the colonial administration with its governing laws. The same laws which jailed some of these leaders in their search of freedom, for example, are the ones used today to put into prison those who try to express their views.

When these governments became independent, their main goal was national unity which they figured would be achieved by mobilizing the masses through the press. The press then became an instrument of the political structure. This was important given that these leaders feared the power of the press if it was to be in any other hands but theirs. Thus, a developmental concept of the press with authoritarian elements was embraced from the birth of these nations. The effect of such ownership was without consequences. The next chapter discusses violations which accompanies the control of the press.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESS OWNERSHIP AND VIOLATIONS

This chapter contains a summary and a discussion of the main issues on press ownership and violations of the freedom of press. The first part examines some conclusions on the information gathered from the background and of the African British Commonwealth countries. Second, the chapter discusses the findings from the hypotheses standpoint, and finally, summarizes information from the constitutions of each country related to the freedom of the press from the previous chapters.

The African British Commonwealth Countries:

All six countries belonging to the British Commonwealth were studied on their background and the relationship that exists between the government and the press for the ten-year period, between 1982 to 1991. A study of these countries reveals that they have basically a common historical background, that is the colonial heritage within each, are packages of many positive and negative elements.

For one thing, African culture has been diluted by the emphasis of English as the official language in many of these countries. All six countries have English as either their first or second language; four out of six use English as their official language (Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria and Zambia). Kenya and Tanzania use Kiswahili as their first

language, even though in practice Kenya uses English in almost all government transactions, except in some rural areas (where too, they emphasize indigenous languages such as Luo or Kisii over the Kiswahili).

It was also noted that the press, as well as other channels of information, including radio, television and telephones are an urban phenomenon. Yet, most of the people in these countries do not live in cities. As noted on Table 16. urban population is only between 11% (for Malawi) and 49% (for Zambia), or the mean population of all countries of about 28%. It seems absurd, therefore, to emphasize services, including the press, to the 28% as opposed to the 72% which comprises the bulk of the population in these countries.

Many of the affluent, educated and the elite of the society in Africa are found in urban centers. This is where most government services are provided. The concentration of newspapers in the urban centers, therefore, is not by accident. Here is where you find most readership. Yet the control of what one can read has been part of a government that is in power.

In general, all the six governments, which until 1991 were based on either one-party systems or military controlled government did not provide room for reaction by their citizens. Clauses of "democratic process" in these countries' constitutions did not necessarily provide freedom of expression of ones opinion without fear. To be sure, the background picture of the human rights and press freedom is generally a disappointing one. Human rights and freedom of the press has been limited "under the law". In which case, any government leader could enact a law which would limit such access.

Table 16.
Urbanization: Growth in Population

COUNTRY	% Urban Pop			% Average Growth		Capital City Pop.		Pop. in cities of 1 million + people		
	1965	1989		1965-'80	1980-'89	% of Urban	% of Total	% of Urban		% of Total
						1990	1990	1965	1990	1965
Ghana	26	33		3.2	4.2	22	7	27	22	7
Kenya	9	23		8.1	8.2	26	6	41	27	4
Malawi	5	12		7.4	6.3	31	4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Nigeria	17	35		5.7	6.2	19	7	23	24	4
Tanzania	5	31		11.3	10.8	21	7	38	18	2
Zambia	23	49		6.6	6.2	24	12	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Source: World Bank, 1991. *World Bank Development Report 1991. The Challenge of Development.* Washington D.C., The International Bank. 1991.

This is in agreement with the nature of developmental concept of press which these leaders have taken seriously.

What follows is the revisiting of the hypotheses posed above, and a discussion of what have been found in their relationship as discussed below.

Hypothesis 1. It was suggested that "the greater the number of independent newspapers, the greater the room of free expression through the newspapers in that country."

Table 17.
Ownership of Major Dailies and Total Circulation

COUNTRY	Government Ownership	Circulation	Private Ownership	Circulation
Ghana	Yes	225,000	No	None
Kenya	Yes	75,000	Yes	273,000
Malawi	Yes	78,000	Yes	41,000
Nigeria	Yes	(NA)	Yes	1,020,000
Tanzania	Yes	150,000	No	None
Zambia	Yes	111,000	No	None

Source: Compiled by the author from different sources, 1991.

The data in Table 17 indicate that three countries out of six, have some private dailies. Kenya, Malawi and Nigeria have both government or party and private dailies. But Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia have all their major dailies under the government or party with no major private owned newspaper. This could suggest, among other things,

the long term control of the press by the leaders of these countries, and that it is possible to find relative less freedom of the press when compared with Kenya, Nigeria and Malawi. But much more, it explains the fact that those countries without major dailies, may have taken development journalism more serious, that the government feels responsible to control the press for the benefit of the society.

Table 18
Number of Radio Ownership by Government and Private Entities:

COUNTRY	No. Govt Owned Radio	No. of Private Owned Radio	Total No. of Country Radio
Ghana	3	0	3
Kenya	15	0	15
Malawi	15	0	15
Nigeria	56	0	56
Tanzania	6	0	6
Zambia	11	0	11

Sources: INTELSTACK. (1991) & Banks (1991).

Radio and television are included here to show the magnitude of control these countries have on electronic media. For instance, tables 18 and 19 indicate that radio and television are not private owned in all of the six countries. In the case of Nigeria, as was noted above, the constitution excludes the private ownership of wireless media.

This control of wireless media is not peculiar to military governments, it is a

phenomenon shared by all six countries. While other countries have not spelled this out in their constitutions, private ownership of electronic media is implied. Thus, governments have heavily controlled the media, especially electronic media through ownership. This implies, not only the application of developmental concept of the press, but also showing elements of authoritarian over these media which is in line with development journalism.

Table 19
Number of Television Ownership by Government and Private Entities:

COUNTRY	No. Govt Owned Television	No. of Private Owned Television	Total No. of Country Television
Ghana	5	0	5
Kenya	4	0	4
Malawi	0	0	0
Nigeria	65	0	65
Tanzania	2	0	2
Zambia	2	0	2

Sources: INTELSTACK. (1991) & Banks (1991).

Hypothesis 2. Government seeking control on independent newspapers will tend to overt censorship and create violations to independent newspapers.

Violations of human rights and press freedom is not only a phenomenon of the

African countries. For years, there have been violations of freedom of the press throughout the world. There exists data on this subject, and the following table, Table 20 shows the kind of violations and the number of violations per year worldwide. Almost 4,000 major violations of the press have been committed worldwide in a 10-year period, an average of 400 major violations each year. These violations, which are mostly done to journalists by governments where they operate include killing, kidnapping, arresting, expelling and harassing.

Arrest is the highest frequent violation, followed by harassment, and those who are killed (these figures include journalists killed during war time while working).

Africa, and certainly African British Commonwealth Countries, are not exception. They have taken part in adding to the statistics of these major violations of the freedom of the press during the same period. Table 21 indicates various violations by the African British Commonwealth Countries. These violations are the same as those of the rest of the world, but they also include action on closing a newspaper (one violation), withdrawal of a publication (one violation) and or banning an issue (as another violation).

Based on this table, Nigeria ranks high in the number total violations (141), followed by Kenya (113). Ghana and Malawi follows next with 36 and 23 cases respectively. Tanzania and Zambia have a tie with 12 violations in 10 year period.

It is important to note here that Kenya and Nigeria which had private ownership of newspapers showed highest violations of the press (compare table 17 and table 21). This is in support of what the hypothesis suggests, that is, the leadership in these countries with independent newspapers tend to overt censorship and create violations to

those independent newspapers. Editors and journalists in government controlled newspapers may not face any violations, after all, they censor themselves to be in line with the government guidance.

Table 22 shows political and civil liberties in the African Commonwealth Countries for the period of ten years (1982-1991). This table is included here for comparison purposes only. Freedom House has certain criteria used for determining how free a country is, based on civil political and civil liberties. To understand how, and why Freedom House designates free, partly free or not free, and how accurate this is, one needs to read the methodology used toward this approach. This has been included in Appendix A of this study as was noted above.

Briefly, Freedom House bases their study on civil and political liberties. A checklist for civil liberties, for example has an item on personal social freedoms, which includes aspects of gender equality, property rights, freedom of movement, choice of residence, choice of marriage and family size, et cetera. Political rights checklist include, among other things, the rights of all adults to vote, the extent of people to having choice in determining the nature of the system and its leaders. The reader is encouraged to review such checklist and the methodology used by the Freedom House.

A comparison of these tables may not reveal much information of how free a country is, however, it is interesting to note that by looking at Table 21 one notes that Malawi has zero (0) violations for 1991 and is also designed as a free country (compared with Table 22 for 1991). Alternatively, Nigeria was designated as free in 1984 (in Table 22) whereas, Table 21 shows that it was the leading violator of the freedom of the press

for the same year (1984) than any other country in this study (with 17 violations, almost three times the total violations of the other countries).

Furthermore, numbers may mislead when used as the only measure on such a subject as human rights and press freedom. Many countries may not be willing to provide information when they know that doing so will be to their detriment. The fact that governments control the press and employ their key players, suggest that those employed will more likely follow the direction of the one who signs their pay checks. Thus, journalists play a safe game of self-censorship leading to blanketing most of the press violations unreported.

Hypothesis 3. Governments having leaders who allow diverse opinions in all newspapers will tend to have more newspapers over a period of time.

Data in Table 23 indicates the number of dailies in the country in four different time periods: 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1989. Except for Nigeria, which had an increase from 12 dailies to 31 between 1975 and 1985; and Kenya, with a growth from 2 (1975) to 5 (1989); all others have remained constant, or decreased (only Ghana decreased from 5 in 1980 to 4 in 1989).

Again, this indicates that only Nigeria is the only country in this study which has actually indicated any growth when it comes to newspapers when compared to the other five. And Nigeria have had a history of openness to diverse newspapers. This, however, does not negate the fact that there are violations of the press, as this have been confirms on the hypothesis above.

Table 20
Number of Different Violations of the Press Freedom in Ten-Year Period (1982-1991) Worldwide

VIOLATION	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Killed	9	14	21	31	19	32	46	73	45	62	352
Kidnapped	11	4	5	13	13	10	14	38	16	20	144
Arrest	145	80	72	109	178	188	225	354	168	298	1817
Expelled	23	19	22	9	40	51	24	75	31	22	316
Harassed	59	24	31	76	214	436	46	189	171	123	1369
Totals	247	141	151	238	464	717	355	729	431	525	3998

Source: Sussman, Leonard R. *Freedom Review*. Freedom House, 1992.

Table 21
Number of Violations by Country on the Press Freedom in Ten-Year Period (1982-1991)

COUNTRY	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	TOTAL
Ghana	6	4	5	2	6	3	2	2	2	1	36
Kenya	3	1	0	2	23	2	15	4	30	33	113
Malawi	0	0	0	4	6	5	4	2	2	0	23
Nigeria	4	5	17	2	1	9	28	31	33	11	141
Tanzania	1	0	0	1	1	3	2	0	2	2	12
Zambia	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	6	0	12
Total	14	10	23	11	37	23	52	42	78	47	337
% in years	4.2	3.0	6.8	3.3	10.9	6.8	15.4	12.5	23.2	13.9	100.0

Sources: Amnesty International (various years); Committee to Protect Journalist (various years); Freedom House (various years); U.S. State Department (various years) and Africa Watch (various years).

Note: Press Violations include all mistreatment of the journalists on the job, such as those who are killed, kidnapped, arrested, expelled, detained, harassed, beaten, et cetera. It also include closed newspapers, withdrawal of issues or banned publication, et cetera.

Table 22
Political Rights and Civil Liberties in the Six Commonwealth Countries for a Ten-Year Period (1982-1991)

COUNTRY	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Ghana	f	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf
Kenya	pf	pf	pf	pf	pf	pf	nf	nf	nf	nf
Malawi	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	f
Nigeria	f	f	f	nf	nf	nf	pf	pf	pf	pf
Tanzania	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf	nf
Zambia	pf	pf	pf	pf	pf	pf	pf	nf	pf	pf

Note: f=free, pf=partly free, and nf=not free.

Source: Freedom House. *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1990-1991*. Freedom House, 1992.

Table 23
Estimated Number Daily Newspapers in each Country

COUNTRY	1975	1980	1985	1989	Average
Ghana	4	5	5	4	4.5
Kenya	3	3	4	5	3.75
Malawi	2	2	2	2	2.0
Nigeria	12	15	19	31	19.25
Tanzania	3	2	2	2	2.25
Zambia	2	2	2	2	2.0
Total	24	27	33	45	32.25

Source: Unesco, 1991.

Data in Table 24 reveals that there is very little supply of dailies in this region. The highest circulation of dailies per population is Malawi with 2.2 dailies to every 1,000 people, followed by Nigeria with 1.8 to every 1,000 people. Tanzania is the least among these countries, with circulation of 0.6 or 6 dailies to every 10,000 people, followed by Zambia with 0.7 or 7 dailies to every 10,000 people.

Further, Table 24 shows that all countries publish their dailies in English. Four countries out of six, publish their major dailies in other language other than English. For example, Kenya's other language used in major dailies is Kiswahili, likewise is Tanzania. Nigeria uses other languages which are not indicated in the table, apart from English. Malawi uses ChiChewa as an additional language in its dailies. Ghana and Zambia uses English only in their major dailies as indicated in this table.

The hypothesis that countries with leaders allowing diverse opinion in all the newspapers, has been supported, as these countries have tended to have more newspapers over a period of time as noted above.

Hypothesis 4. Government operating on developmental theoretical framework of the press will tend to assume ownership of newspapers.

Throughout this study, it has been noted that country leaders have opposed direct criticism of either their leadership role or their ruling party. This has limited journalists to any detailed investigative reporting, especially when an issue has some connection with high government officials. To be sure, this has been in line with the claim of developmental concept of the press as noted above.

Many African leaders have used development as a response to the control of the press. According to Ansah (1986), the development concept suggest that "if the media are to be used to build national integration and mobilize the population for development, then the state should play a direct and active part in their functioning." Ansah adds that governments feel that it is their "direct responsibility to provide information to the people as a social service in the same way that they provide services in the areas of health education, and recreation. It can therefore be argued that there is ideological justification for direct state operation of the mass media" (p. 59).

Thus, as it was discussed above, the emphasis of national unity, responsibility of journalists, et cetera, have lead to greater control of the press by these political leaders. Individuals who have tried to voice their views, have been greeted by detention or by the

many other violations discussed in this study which, from these leaders' perspective, are deemed to be appropriate punishment.

Hypothesis 5. There are inherent conditions contributing to press control by government leading to impediments of the freedom of the press.

This author have proposed some of the impediments of the freedom of the press from the African perspective. He suggests that these are based on power structure, which has roots on political, social, historical and economy of a society. These have been discussed at length in the following chapter.

Table 24
Number of Dailies, Language used, and Circulation per 1,000s:

COUNTRY	No. of Dailies	Language in the Dailies	Total Circulation	Circulation per 1000 people
Ghana	3	English	241,000	1.7
Kenya	5	English Kiswahili	352,345	1.5
Malawi	2	English ChiChewa	34,000	2.2
Nigeria	22	English Others	1,890,000	1.8
Tanzania	2	Kiswahili English	150,000	0.6
Zambia	2	English	110,000	0.7

Sources: INTELSTACK. (1991) & Banks (1991).

Summary:

The characteristic of press discussed in this study seem to fall heavily under one theory: the developmental theory of the press, otherwise called "Third World concept." This theory, as noted above, posits that individual rights must be subservient to the needs of the government. That is to say, the government must hold superior to individual needs since the government needs the press to support its national building activities.

Throughout the study of all six countries, there is a chain of agreement which is so consistent, that is, the call by presidents, or other government leaders for the press to support their ideologies under the guise of national unity. To be sure, Akhahenda (1983) pointed out that the imperative of national unity constitutes a central value in African thought and should be considered a guiding principle in any assessment of the condition of the press in the Africa. In reference to Awogus's assertion, he says "The African society is characterized by the idea of community. The individual recedes before the group" (p. 92).

It has been noted hitherto, that African British Commonwealth countries generally highly control the press with minimal variations. Zambia is perhaps the only country which is more tolerant when it comes to the practice of freedom of the press as described in their constitution. The following chapter provides some of the reasons for such control as suggested by the author as factors which impede the freedom of the press in this region.

CHAPTER IX

FACTORS IMPEDING THE FREEDOM OF PRESS IN AFRICA

African countries (especially those under this study), in an effort to work together with the rest of the world, decided to sign the International Bill of Human Rights within which is to be found Article 19 on the freedom of expression. This article declares: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers."

Years have passed since the signing of this Bill, yet, little has been done to curtail violations through the silencing of those who would otherwise bring change in the country. To a large extent, this has halted participation in the development of society. Boyle (1988) has said:

Freedom of expression and freedom of information are not only basic to the development of the human personality, but are essential for full democratic participation in society. Without full information, the citizen cannot criticize policy. Without a voice and the right to put forward views, the citizen cannot contribute to political and social change. It is because the media are the chief vehicles of communication and publicity that their freedom and independence is vital. (pp. x-xi).

In this chapter, the author suggests some factors which are impediments of the freedom of the press in the six countries and are major causes of violations of the press, among other rights. In order to provide freedom of the press and reduce these

violations, it is not enough to prune the branches, that is, to call government to stop these violations, but it is important that the problem is attacked from its root. Violations are the outcome of the established, well settled problems. But the root of the problem must be discovered and discussed.

Factors impeding the freedom of the press in any country are not in isolation. These factors, while they may or may not be consciously cherished, are very well established and they are linked together. Historical, social, political and economic factors are major contributors to the impediment of the freedom of the press in this region. These factors are linked together, as the figure below suggests, so that they cannot easily be separated one from another. It will also be noted that in defining and explaining this phenomenon there is always an interaction and intertwining of these elements. Power is an element which ties all these together.

Power:

Generally, power is defined to mean possession of control, authority or influence over others; or the ability to act or produce an effect upon something. In this case, it is the control domination and or the use of elements surrounding historical events, social issues, political ideology and economic situation to one's interest.

Power, as a hub in this configuration, controls the event of the society. History provides self-esteem and power to individuals as one tries to forge into the future. Social elements provide individual acceptability in a society or organization. Political ideology is a powerful tool to those who assimilate public positions, and economy is power which

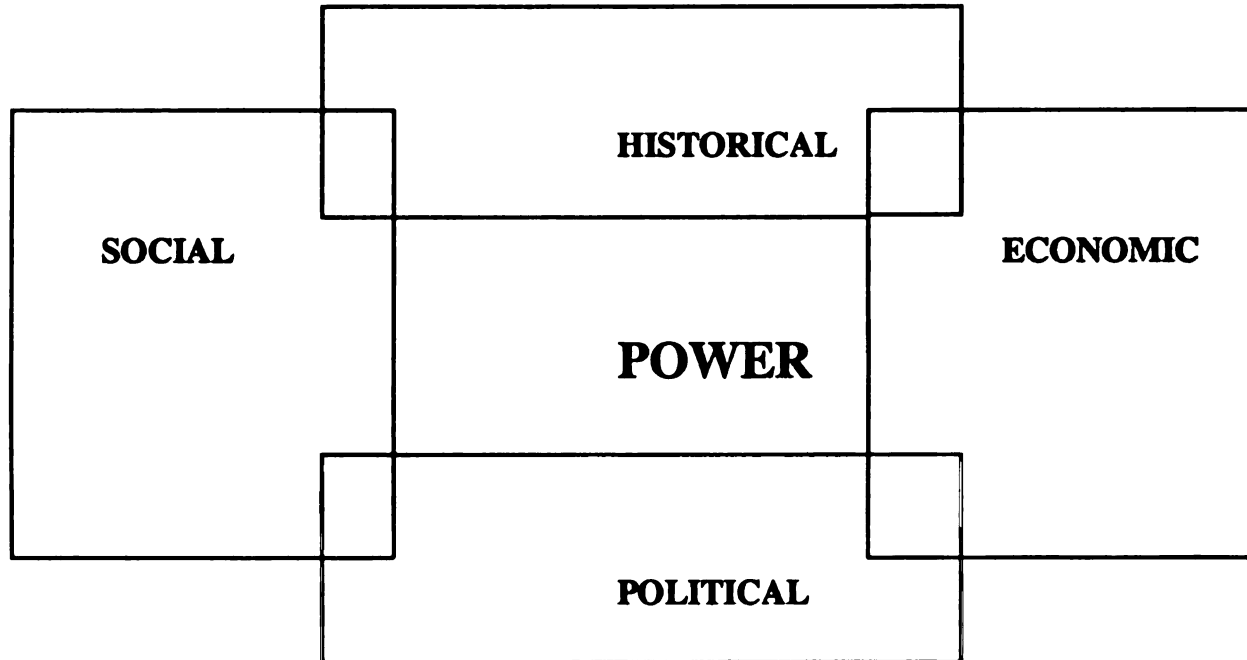


Figure 8 Configuration of Press Impediments

Note: This figure shows the inter-relationship that is between the various impediments of freedom of the press illustrated by **power**, which, in this analysis, is the center of all other impediments. There is a connection and dependency between power and history, power and economic, power and political, power and social; likewise, there is the interdependence of social-historical, historical-economic, economic-political, political-social. The bottom-line is that, each element is connected to the other, and cannot be separated and individually divorced from the rest of the elements without leaving a vacuum in the paradigm.

unites both the rich and the poor. These elements are so important in the society that, as illustrated below, it is difficult to discuss one without the other.

Historical:

History indicates that the press in Africa was not used to inform, as a "watchdog", or as a critical vehicle to an established government. Indigenous Africans did not know press in the sense it is known in the West. The press, in most cases was established by the colonial administration (see below under political) for their own use, basically to perpetuate their sphere of influence in the region. The press was later adopted by Africans, especially after independence, following very much the same format in content and structure as that of the colonial administration.

It is no accident that the Kiswahili word for a newspaper, for example, is *gazeti*, from *gazette* meaning *a government periodical with legal notices, news of appointments, promotions of officers and officials et cetera*. The connotation of the word *gazeti* does not reflect news or information in a journalistic sense; that is critical and balanced new-coverage in a society. The Kiswahili speakers in this case, had the disadvantage of understanding *what* a newspaper was, except as known from the above icon; that is, a newspaper being an information channel derived from, and about an established government structure reports. Thus, a newspaper was a government publication for the promotion and operation of its propaganda.

Obviously, this is not to say that Africans did not have press or media for information dissemination. Africans have used tradition means of gathering and

transmitting information. These include talking drum, drama, songs, stories, theater, poems, riddles et cetera. Among others, Africans often used a talking drum. A drum was used as one of the most sophisticated means of information. Sophisticated in a sense that a drum would be beaten in a certain way to express a certain message leading to an appropriate action. Thus a drum beat, calling people to arm themselves for a war, had a beat different from that which called people for celebration. Every mundane matter had a different beat of drum, and people were expected to differentiate among them, or else, messages would be distorted.

At any rate, the drum was one of the instruments of mass communication devise, used and understood in society in many parts of Africa. The use of the press in the West, opened a new era for fast dissemination of information, not only in the West, but in Africa as well. Technological advancements have taken different pace in different societies. Yet technology has improved to some extent in all parts of the world, that in almost every place, there is some kind of written language, used and understood in that society.

Technology, with its tremendous advancements, has its limitations. Africa for example, has lost most of its tradition, cultures of information dissemination to the point of no return. While tradition is important, one cannot in this age of electronics pretend to hold technology back. To try to do so, is to hold advancement and development to a standstill which could otherwise be aided by technology.

This argument is important given that some have suggested and called nations to go back to their traditional past. By so doing, they not only remain stagnant on

development, but rather they take one step backwards in development. The case in point, as related to the press, is that of Tanzania. Up until a few years ago, Nyerere had said that the use of some electronic equipment was a luxury which could not be accepted in Tanzania. This included television studios, television sets, modern electronic devices et cetera.

One could understand Nyerere's position. His interest was to protect and manage foreign exchange which was truly meager and use it for "development" projects. On the other hand, one needs to evaluate the country's budget and find out what these "development projects" were. It is not all that important to discuss the detail of this reasoning here, but it is important to say that management of resources was, and has been, one of the major stumbling blocks for development in many countries in Africa. Any suggestion of going back to traditions, using crude equipment for development in disguise for modern technology being luxurious, is to run away from the real problem - that is of management of funds and appropriate prioritization of the budget in a nation.

The case of human rights and freedom of the press is similar. Hiding under historical and cultural blankets to refuse the rights of individuals to express themselves in the written page, does not seem to have any logic at all. Yet, such has been some of the move by some countries. To be sure, even though in the African setting, there was a tradition of centralized governments based on ethnic group structure and that leaders or "kings" had power divinely ordained, so to speak, yet, the kings were subject to the obligations of the society.

As expounded by the All African Council of Churches (1976):

The king held his position for the people. If his performance was not satisfactory, if he became mad or corrupt or unfaithful, he was removed and replaced. *There was little room for dictatorship or absolute power.* Power was in one way or another attributed. Decisions could not be taken without some form of prior consultation with counsellors or other representatives of the people, such as the elders who were the repository of wisdom and tradition.
p. 44.

Many African leaders today, have not drawn lessons from these traditional kings of the past, but they have drawn lessons from the immediate past, the colonial administrators. The colonial administration interest of the colony was, for the most part, interested in the raw materials for the mother country, the United Kingdom. The leaders of today however, have their interest in squeezing not raw materials from the country, but rather investing power unto themselves for their own interest. Thus, they monopolized the press as a protector for their own advantages. Suffice it to say that the immediate colonial history has aided individuals in power, thus, enhancing history as one of the impediments of freedom of the press in Africa.

Social:

It is almost impossible to separate the historical context and the social fabric of a society and that of the press. Practices of a hundred years ago of any social setting in any African country (or any country in that matter) are not the same today. Societies are not static as a geographic square mile. Societies change through interaction. Today, interaction between societies is one of the most dynamic occurrences in modern society ever experienced at any time in history.

The press in a society is primarily present to identify, discuss, and challenge,

issues related to that society. Thus, the press is a clear reflection of what kind of society exists at a given time in a given geographical area. Within the society is a language, among other elements. This is the tool which unlocks the code toward effective communication. If the mission of the press is to inform, entertain, and be "a watchdog" then it will strive to use the most common language used by the majority of the people in that society. This is essential if information is to be understood by the receiver and the communication is to be complete.

It is ironic, therefore, for a press to use a language known by few people in the society instead of using the language used by the majority. A case in point is Malawi, which has chosen to use English to provide basic news to the few people in the society who speak English. One wonders why the Malawi press would choose to use English spoken by a few people instead of using Chechewa for example, which is understood by 95% of the Malawians. One explanation lies on the fact that language has played a major role, from the colonial past, as one of the impeding factor for the freedom of the press.

Granted that language is a unifying element in the many indigenous languages in Africa, yet a transition from indigenous languages to English needs to be done gradually. As many people learn to use English as their primary means of communication, other languages could be used less. It is true that English unifies, not only within the country, but also internationally. But it must be remembered that a transition into English involves all people in the country. In the example given above (which could apply to many other countries), English is used as a symbol of power, for the educated, the elite

in the society--the educated who must be the rulers of others in the colonial model.

The English language was seen in the colonial administration as the language of the elite, one of the learned. The superiority of English over any African languages in Africa is still cherished by many. Using a language not understood by many, yet publishing information in that language, could mean that the information remains private; private only to the public, but public to the elite. This has clearly contributed to the impediment of the freedom of the press and curtailed the involvement of citizens on issues of public interest and development in general.

The other impediment within the social aspect is literacy. Newspapers have not had a wide circulation in the last decade or so, partly, because the majority of the people in the study region did not know how to read and write. To complicate the issue, some newspapers were, and are still produced in English, whereas the people in a society have learned how to read and write in a different language. In recent years, many literacy campaigns have taken place to involve adults in education. The challenge of the press then is to involve these newly literate by providing them with newspapers written in the language they have acquired if they are to keep up with what has been learned.

Political:

Perhaps politics is a single major power factor that has led to the impediments of the freedom of the press in Africa. Obviously, and as stated above, it is difficult to untangle these factors and put them separately. It is difficult to discuss the historical, social and economical situations without including politics in the paradigm. Politics have

played a major role in the press in Africa as noted above.

Many press laws in all the countries studied are a by-product of the political machinery of the British colonial administration. The British left a press legacy in each of these countries which have been to date, hardly broken, especially as these laws are also cemented by their language - English. Even though there are evidence that British press laws were applied to British African colonies, the enforcement thereof, to a large degree, have been left in the hands of local authorities, especially after the change of power control after independence.

It is true that colonizers made no significant attempt in promoting an intellectual climate in which press freedom would be a natural part of the countries' politics in Africa. Few journalists were educated, but to a larger extent, political dissidence was met by prosecution and restriction. In such situation, creation of press freedom and political debate was without subsequent political conflict. It was in this environment that press was inherited by the independent African countries.

Throughout the study of all six countries, it was noted that the ownership of the press was British, either as a government, or by foreign investors who without doubt, worked closely with the government administration. Such close ties with the government led to the fact that censorship by the press owners was inevitable if such linkage was to continue. In other words, either the government censored information to be published by these independent investors, or the government instructed their journalists and editors to censor information deemed "unsuitable" in a larger "public" eye.

The impact of such relationship was a long lasting one. It was not so much that

which was taught in school, but more so, what was observed by the indigenous Africans that had a great impact in their lives. As noted above, all of the six first presidents of these countries, except for Kaunda, were journalists or owners of publications. Their publications became revolutionary platforms for propagating messages for independence.

To these freedom fighters, the press was deemed to be the quicker means of mobilizing the masses toward action. Their drum was well chosen, and the strategy well developed. They used the language of the people, and used local political leadership. After gaining independence, most of these leaders discovered how powerful the press (and media in general) was. Having reached the highest position, they chose to inherit the same press laws left by the departing colonial administration; laws which had in the first place detained some of them (such as Nyerere and Nkrumah) for the same reasons of voicing their views through the press. Today, such laws are continually detaining journalists and those who would like to make their views known.

Together with the colonial press laws, new laws have been added. Most of the added laws are not for the protection of their nation, as it is sometimes claimed, but for the protection of their power. For example, President Rawlings of Ghana made a law after gaining control of the country, a law suggesting that it was unlawful to stage a coup. To many, this seems strange when, in fact, he himself obtained power through a coup.

It can also be argued that those who are in political power, whether they follow socialist, military or semi-democratic ideology, see themselves as kings or chiefs in the same historical patterns of the kingship in either Africa, or in the similitude of royal

family in England; they probably think that they are to be treated as such, being served and not serving the people (when in fact they earnestly promised to serve people during their political campaigns). The only difference between the traditional African kings and the leaders of today, is only the name; presidents and not kings. Better still, African kings listened to the counsel of the elders. The modern 'kings' would like to have the final word in all mundane matters of the society.

In many African countries, presidents have held an absolute power. Unless people, and this means the majority of the citizens, design a person as "president for life" anyone or a few people declaring such, is in grave violation of individuals' rights to decide who shall govern them. The case in point is Dr. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi who, soon after independence, declared himself "president for life". Although other leaders have not verbally declared themselves as presidents for life, some of their practices seem to proclaim it loud and clear.

Uncontrolled power leads to systematic repression, terror, generalized suspicion and fear, and widespread spy networks. In some of the countries above, even family members cannot openly discuss issues related to politics as they may not know "who they are talking to" even among brothers and sisters. In most cases, such powerful leaders have enacted laws and regulations, imprisoning citizens or their competitors under the loose pretext, assassinating one another out of suspicious of threat of their own position and power.

The political position of some of the leaders has been a shelter to many personal gain. To some extent, even department ministers are there to serve the president rather

than concentrate on development. Such power have lead to introducing press laws which are basically for self-serving and protection, and thus, exonerating the impediment on the freedom of the press.

Economic:

Most of the countries under this discussion are economically poor. From the previous study, it has been noted that most of those newspapers which started before independence in these countries were started by foreign investors, such as Lonrho of London, Agha Khan of India, et cetera. Few newspapers with very rudimentary appeal were started by indigenous Africans before independence. Even those which started did not survive. The reason was economic poverty.

The economic factor did not only affect the newspaper owners, it also affected those who wanted to subscribe. Newspaper companies were more affected given that they could not get the raw material needed for the production of their newspapers. Particularly were spare parts for the presses, and modern equipments for the industries. Further, economic conditions have resulted in inadequate domestic training of journalists and investments in news media; inadequate financial resources resulting from insufficient advertising revenues due to conceptual understanding of the press as a service of the government structure. These and other factors have deteriorated the press industry in all the six countries, and in Africa in general.

The other important effect of economy is subscription payments of newspapers. The priority of individuals was not reading newspapers (after all, most of them didn't

know how to read and write; further, most of the papers were in the language they would not understand), their priorities were basic needs; food, shelter and clothing.

Another aspect, related to economy was the infra-structure of a territory. For example, very few roads connecting cities were all season roads. Since many newspaper industries were centralized in major cities, or in one city in a country, distribution of newspapers to other cities proved to be one of the major setback for newspaper development; hence the inability of the people to know what was happening. It is not unusual for example, for a Sunday newspaper to arrive to its final destination on Friday in some parts of a country. This problem means that even the reader who would like to contribute on an issue, if this was permitted, would take a few weeks before the editor would receive such a response on an issue which by now might be dead. Thus, transportation (let alone postal problems) system was, and in most places, is still very difficult and underdeveloped.

Centralization of printing companies is another limiting factor. Many printing companies for the newspapers were centralized in capital cities (such as Nairobi in Kenya, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Lusaka in Zambia et cetera) as such, few people would never know what is going on in the country. This centralization of the press means that few people can have privilege of getting information through the press. That is to say, urban residents are the benefactors of the press. Although radio solved some aspect of this problem, the problem of one-way information, from the government to the people through the radio, with less or no feedback magnifies this problem.

Further, radio does not provide background information on issues as the

newspaper does, nor does it give in-depth analysis of given issues, especially when the use of telephone is also a limiting factor in these countries. Thus, the centralization which is to some extent is dictated by the economy, has contributed to the limitation in the press freedom in many places in Africa.

The other side of the coin is that political power is seen at play on the issue of economy. Governments take advantage of the economic situation in the nationalization of press. Further, the strict laws and regulations to the press ownership has led many small newspapers to go out of business. For instance, the restriction of newsprint importation which requires a written permit from the government in many countries, have curtailed many of the press operations, forcing some newspapers to close. Thus, power has been exercised even in the economic poverty for the control of the press.

Within the same line, is the response by government leaders on why they think control must be done. For instance, they argue that given the existing problems such as poverty, disease, illiteracy and ethnic conflict facing these countries, freedom of the press has little room among the priority of the government. This author would argue that first, there has been these problems before independent. More so, many of these problems have not reduced even with the controlled press. Second, the availability of problems should provide a forum for the people to discuss and find out solutions for these problems. One of the ways toward such open discussion is the freeing of the press to let individuals express their feelings.

Editors and journalists in some of these countries have device codes which they use to discuss issues of the government with great safety. For example, the use of

figurative language, a love story, cartoons, parables, et cetera, describing a country and the problems it is facing. Many of these countries have waited patiently for democracy of the press and they are beginning to voice up their concern.

In summary, power is a very critical issue and is the root of the problem of the controlled press. Power is being used through social elements, such as traditions, language (especially English) in limiting the masses in accessing information which is available to the elite. Political ideologies have invested power and interest to the point of introduction of laws and regulations which limit information of importance to the press and to the public in general. Historical heritage has been used by some leaders as a means of blind-fording those who would otherwise move into the modern age of technology. Both political and economic factors combine to give the state a certain advantage in the production and distribution of information in Africa. Yet there has been strong control of the press.

These factors have contributed, and continue to contribute to the impediment of the freedom of the press in Africa. Even within these limitations, many have found ways to voice their concern, and yet, their voices have been met with an iron rod. Journalists, among others, have been tortured, killed, detained and otherwise mistreated in these countries. It is only through the removal of these impediments that society can provide an environment where individuals receive respect and truly enjoy the freedom of the press, an essential need of any human being.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusion:

The purpose of this study was to analyze the freedom of the press in six British African Commonwealth countries identifying violations of the press in the past ten years (1982-1991). It was also the task of this study to suggest some apparent reasons which have led to violations of the freedom of the press as impediments of the press in Africa. Countries selected for this study are Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia.

The background of these countries and especially their histories and relationships of the press and the governments were analyzed. Further, the study looked at various organizations which have collected documents in regard to press freedom, and human rights in general. These organizations include Amnesty International, U.S. State Department, Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists, Africa Watch, et cetera.

Information included in the literature, discussion with people, and interviews, indicate that African British Commonwealth countries, truly, do highly control the press. Even though these countries have in their constitutions articles which provide freedom of the press (except for Malawi), the practice is completely contrary to what their constitutions suggest. Zambia was noted to have minimally provided freedom of the

press and practice it.

Further substantiation of the control of the press is verified by the number of violations of the press which have been committed by these countries. One element one needs to remember is that, even though figures are presented in this findings, these are not the main basis for evaluation. For example, many countries cannot provide information such as the number of journalists killed in a country, detained or otherwise mistreated, as such information is not for their advantage. In other words, there may be many journalists killed or mistreated in various manners which this research cannot be able to know, since the information was not revealed. Further, in some countries, less mistreatment of journalists have been noted. This could be so because in most cases, journalists themselves must censor what they produce for their own protection.

Thus, this study concludes, and as noted in the above hypotheses, that these countries have been shown to highly control the press. Some of the countries have shown some tolerance in allowing private major dailies to operate. These are Kenya, Malawi and Nigeria; at present Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania do not have any major dailies which are private. And that these fundamental historical, social, political and economic impediments must be addressed before any freedom of the press can become a reality in these nations.

This author subscribes to the notion that development journalism, developmental concept of the press and subservience theory, all spring from authoritarian theory of the press in a new setting (geographical region) and in a new era. Theories which have been perpetuated by government leaders who are interested in power and not in criticism and

any kind of investigative reporting.

Even though there are control of the press, it should be recognized that the people, especially the elite, find their way in getting information from outside their country. For example, BBC, VOA, CNN, and other newspapers across the world are available to them. Thus, the need to seek information outside their own country in order to find out what is happening in their own country.

Implications:

Since it is true that the above countries do highly control the press, it is important that ways be found that will bring about freedom of the press. Although international organizations are doing their best in trying to influence the leaders of these countries to bring about freedom of the press, lasting solutions will have to develop from within the country.

African countries, under the Organization of African Unity, need to work toward the freedom of the press through an independent, non-political organization that will monitor and work closely on the issues of violations of the press without fear of sovereign power.

It would be important for the African countries to formulate comprehensive press policies based on their constitutions that take into consideration the social, cultural, economic and political aspects. Such policies should reflect the freedom expressed so clearly in their constitutions allowing freedom of expression to all.

Each country should strive to use the nation's most understood and most used

language for the press. This would allow individuals to express themselves more fully as they seek to contribute to their country for its development; thus exercising their freedom of expression.

Some governments in this discussion have lost the trust of their people by continually hiding information from journalists who are doing investigative reporting. When people seek information from outside sources about their own country, their trust of the press in the country is diminished.

A good example of this is the fact that many Africans tune to BBC, VOA, Radio Russia, et cetera and read from the foreign press to learn about what is going on in their own country. It is understood that at the time of war, for example, almost all countries practice some degrees of press censorship. But the argument here is that, when this is a day-to-day occurrence, those who control the press lose the trust of the citizens. The trust diminishes further when the government begins to ban press passes to some events and or to withdraw publications circulated.

Further Studies:

A pragmatic study on the freedom and function of the press within the framework of development journalism involving journalists, legislators and policymakers could be useful. This could help to redefine development journalism in the context of the UNESCO discussion on the NWIO.

African tradition media have not received much attention by scholars of the press. It would be important to look at interpersonal networks, oral narratives, drama or folk

theater, talking drums, games, poems, dances et cetera. Questions on the need of using these media together with the modern media, seeking the effectiveness given the nature of the message, et cetera could reveal some of the variables on communications which have not taken much into consideration.

Other suggestions for future study in this area could include research orientation which could interview journalists from these countries describing how it is like working for a government owned newspaper and balancing their profession without being influenced by political ideologies.

The other study could address the need of newspapers as a communication within the political social and cultural setting of each country.

Granted that newspapers are one of the modern ways of dissemination of information in many countries of the world today, a study could focus on multi-channels of information, including traditional channels such as talking drum, drama, stories, word-of-mouth et cetera in attempt to find out an appropriate channel or a combination thereof in the dissemination of information in a given cultural setting in these countries.

Suffice it to say that there are many needs of press oriented research in the developing countries, and certainly in Africa. This study has provided questions which need to be addressed in future study; namely, the pressing need for freedom of the press in Africa.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Survey Methodology of Freedom House

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Survey Methodology

Joseph E. Ryan

During 1989, the world became simultaneously more free and less free. Some countries, such as Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union, improved in political rights and civil liberties. Others, such as Colombia and Sri Lanka, became less free due to increased levels of violence. In Africa, the Sudan lost freedom following a coup, while Algeria allowed the development of new political parties. China and Burma crushed their prodemocracy movements, thereby halting and reversing their moves towards reform. Freedom House has summarized such developments each year since 1973.

The purpose of the *Comparative Survey of Freedom* since its inception in the 1970s has been to provide an annual evaluation of political rights and civil liberties everywhere in the world. The *Survey* attempts to judge all places by a single standard, and to point out the importance of democracy and freedom. At a minimum, a democracy is a political system in which the people choose their authoritative leaders freely from among competing groups and individuals who were not chosen by the government. Putting it broadly, freedom is the chance to act spontaneously in a variety of fields outside the control of government and other centers of potential domination. Normally, Westerners associate the adherence to political rights and civil liberties with the liberal democracies, such as North America and the European Community. However, there are also such Third World democracies as Costa Rica and Botswana. In another case, Western Samoa combines political parties and competitive elections with power for the *matai*, the heads of extended families.

Freedom House does not view democracy as a static concept, and the *Survey* recognizes that a democratic country does not necessarily belong in our category of "free" states. A democracy can lose freedom and become merely "partly free." Peru and Colombia are examples of such "partly free" democracies. In other cases, countries that replaced military regimes with elected governments can have less than complete transitions to liberal democracy. El Salvador and Guatemala fit the description of this kind of "partly free" democracy. (For an explanation of the designations "free," "partly free," and "not free," see the section on The Map of Freedom below.)

Just as democracy is not a static concept, the *Survey* itself adapts to changing conditions. Readers of the previous editions of the *Survey* will note that the ratings of many countries and related territories have changed since 1989. Events have changed some ratings, but other changes reflect methodological refinements developed by this year's *Survey* team.

Definitions and categories of the Survey

The *Survey's* understanding of freedom is broad, and encompasses two sets of characteristics grouped under political rights and civil liberties. Political rights enable people to participate freely in the political process. By the political process, we mean the system by which the polity chooses the authoritative policy makers and attempts to make binding decisions affecting the national, regional or local community. In a free society this means the right of all adults to vote and compete for public office, and for elected representatives to have a decisive vote on public policies. A system is genuinely free or democratic to the extent that the people have a choice in determining the nature of the system and its leaders.

The *Survey* employs checklists for these rights and liberties to help determine the degree of freedom present in each country and related territory, and to help assign each entity to a comparative category.

The checklist for political rights asks whether (a) the head of state and/or head of government or other chief authority, and (b) the legislative representatives, are elected through free and fair elections. Freedom House considers the extent to which the system offers the voter the chance to make a free choice among competing candidates, and to what extent the candidates are chosen independently of the state. The checklist asks specifically whether there are fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities, fair polling and honest tabulation of ballots.

The mechanics of the election are not the only concern. We also examine whether the voters are able to endow their elected representatives with real power, or whether unelected elements reduce or supercede this power. In many Latin American countries, for example, the military retains a significant political role, and in Morocco, the king maintains significant power over the elected politicians.

A fully free political system must allow the people to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and the system must be open to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings. The *Survey* looks for the occurrence of a significant opposition vote, *de facto* opposition power, and a possibility for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections. The definition of political rights also includes a country's right of self-determination, and its citizens' freedom from domination by the military, foreign powers, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies, economic oligarchies or any other powerful group.

204 Finally, the *Survey* examines minority rights and sub-national political power: Do cultural, ethnic, religious and

other minority groups have reasonable self-determination, self-government, autonomy or participation through informal consensus in the decision-making process? Is political power decentralized, allowing for local, regional and/or provincial or state administrations, led by their freely elected officials? (For entities such as tiny island nations, the absence of a decentralized system does not necessarily count as a negative in the *Survey*.)

For traditional monarchies that have no parties or electoral process, the *Survey* gives discretionary credit for systems that provide for consultation with the people, encourage discussion of policy, and allow the right to petition the ruler.

Freedom House does not have a culture-bound view of democracy. The *Survey* team rejects the notion that only Europeans and those of European descent qualify as democratic. The *Survey* demonstrates that, in addition to those in Europe and the Americas, there are free countries with varying kinds of democracy functioning among people of all races and religions in Africa, the South Pacific and Asia. In some South Pacific islands, free countries can have competitive political systems based on competing family groups and personalities rather than on European or American-style parties.

Civil liberties are the freedoms to develop views, institutions and personal autonomy apart from the state. The checklist for civil liberties begins with a requirement for free and independent media, literature and other cultural expressions. In cases where the media are state-controlled, but offer pluralistic points of view, the *Survey* gives the system credit. The checklist also includes the rights to have open public discussion and free private discussion, and freedom of assembly and demonstration. Freedom House looks for evidence that a country or territory allows freedom of political or quasi-political organization. This includes political parties, civic associations, ad hoc issue groups and so forth.

The *Survey* considers whether citizens are equal under the law, have access to an independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary, and are respected by the security forces. Freedom House does not mistake constitutional guarantees for the respect for human rights in practice. The checklist also includes protection from unjustified political terror, imprisonment, exile or torture, whether by groups that support or oppose the system, and freedom from war or insurgency situations. Freedom from war and insurgency situations enhances the liberties in a free society, but the absence of wars and insurgencies does not in itself make an unfree society free.

The standards for civil liberties also include free trade unions and peasant organizations or equivalents, free professional and other private organizations, free businesses or cooperatives, and free private and public religious expression and free religious institutions.

The checklist for civil liberties has an item on personal social freedoms, which include such aspects as gender equality, property rights, freedom of movement, choice of residence, and choice of marriage and size of family. The *Survey*

also rates equality of opportunity, which includes freedom from exploitation by or dependency on landlords, employers, union leaders, bureaucrats or any other types of denigrating obstacles to a share of legitimate economic gains. Equality of opportunity also implies a free choice of employment and education. Extreme inequality of opportunity prevents disadvantaged individuals from enjoying a full exercise of civil liberties. Typically, desperately poor countries and territories lack both opportunities for economic advancement and the other liberties on this checklist.

The final point on the civil liberties checklist is freedom from extreme government indifference or corruption. When governments do not care about the social and economic welfare of large sectors of the population, the human rights of those people suffer. Gross government corruption can pervert the political process and hamper the development of a free economy.

The *Survey* rates political rights and civil liberties separately on a seven-category scale, with 1 representing the most free and 7 the least free. A country is assigned to a particular category based on responses to the checklist and the judgments of the *Survey* team at Freedom House. The numbers are not purely mechanical; they also reflect judgment. The team assigned initial ratings to countries by awarding from zero to two points per checklist item, depending on the degree of compliance with the standard. The highest possible score for political rights is eighteen points, based on up to two points for each of nine questions. The highest possible score for civil liberties is twenty-six points, based on up to two points for each of thirteen questions.

After placing countries in initial categories based on checklist points, the *Survey* team made some minor adjustments to account for factors such as extreme violence, whose intensity may not be reflected in answering the checklist questions. The *Survey* team recognizes that one factor may overwhelm others so that the suggested initial category is not necessarily the most accurate. For example, in a few cases, such as Colombia, the team adjusted political rights ratings to reflect extreme violence. For the sake of better comparative accuracy, the team also reevaluated a few countries, such as Suriname, to reflect the degree of military influence on their political systems. These exceptions aside, in the overwhelming number of cases, the checklist system reflects the real world situation and is adequate for placing countries and territories into the proper comparative categories.

The Map of Freedom

The map on pages 32-33 divides the world into three large categories: "free," "partly free," and "not free." The *Survey* places countries and territories into this tripartite division by averaging the category numbers they received for political rights and civil liberties. Those whose category numbers average 1-2.5 are considered "free," 3-5.5 "partly free," and 5.5-7 "not free." The dividing line between "partly free" and "not free" falls within the group whose category numbers average 5.5. For example, countries that receive a rating of 6 for political rights and 5 for civil liberties,

or a 5 for political rights and a 6 for civil liberties, could be either "partly free" or "not free." The total number of raw points is the factor which makes the difference between the two. Countries and territories with combined raw scores of 0-14 points are "not free," and those with combined raw scores of 15-29 points are "partly free." "Free" countries and territories have combined raw scores of 30-44 points.

The differences in raw points between countries in the three broad categories represent distinctions in the real world. There are obstacles which "partly free" countries must overcome before they can be called "free," just as there are impediments which prevent "not free" countries from being called "partly free." Countries at the lowest rung of the "free" category (category 2 in political rights, category 3 in civil liberties) differ from those at the upper end of the "partly free" group (category 3 in both). Typically, there is more violence and/or military influence on politics at 3.3 than at 2.3 and the differences become more striking as one compares 2.3 with worse categories of the "partly free" countries.

The distinction between the least bad "not free" countries and the least free "partly free" may be less obvious than the gap between "partly free" and "free," but at "partly free," there is at least one extra factor that keeps a country from being assigned to the "not free" category. For example, Zimbabwe (6.4) has a court system that is capable of ruling against the government party on electoral matters, and Bahrain (6.5) has a system of consultation between ruler and subjects, and rights of petition. These are examples of aspects that separate these countries from their respective "not free" neighbors, Zaire (7.6) and Syria (7.7). The gap between "partly free" and "not free" is easier to see if one compares some aspects of Indonesia (5.5) with Albania (7.7). Indonesia tolerates a few political parties, allows public worship, and has some relatively free businesses. In contrast, Albania is a one-party Communist dictatorship, allows no legal religion, and has a totally statist economy.

Freedom House wishes to point out that the designation "free" does not mean that a country has perfect freedom or lacks serious problems. As an institution which advocates human rights, Freedom House remains concerned about a variety of social problems and civil liberties questions in the U.S. and other countries that the *Survey* places in the "free" category. Similarly, in no way does an improvement in a country's rating mean that human rights campaigns should cease. On the contrary, we wish to use the *Survey* as a prod to improve the condition of all countries.

The *Survey* team rated South Africa (6.5) as "partly free" and the Soviet Union (6.5) as "not free." For explanations of the ratings of these special cases, see the accompanying country reports (pages 14-17).

The approach of the Survey

The *Survey* attempts to measure conditions as they really are around the world. This approach is distinct from relying on intense coverage by the American media as a

guide to which countries are the least free. The publicity given problems in some countries does not necessarily mean that unpublicized problems of other countries are not more severe. For example, while the U.S. television networks are allowed into Israel and El Salvador to cover abuses of human rights, they are not allowed to report in Albania, which has far less freedom than the other two countries. To reach such comparative conclusions, Freedom House evaluates the development of democratic governmental institutions, or lack thereof, and also examines the quality of civil society, life outside the state structure.

Without a well-developed civil society, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have an atmosphere supportive of democracy. A society that does not have free individual and group expressions in nonpolitical matters is not likely to make an exception for political ones. As though to prove this, there is no country in the *Survey* that places in category 6 or 7 for civil liberties and, at the same time, in category 1 or 2 for political rights. In the overwhelming majority of cases in the *Survey*, countries and territories have ratings in political rights and civil liberties that are within two categories of each other.

The *Survey* rates both countries and related territories. For our purposes, countries are internationally recognized independent states whose governments are resident within their officially claimed territories. A few internationally recognized states, such as Monaco and San Marino, count as related territories here, due to their officially dependent relationships with other states. With those exceptions, related territories consist mostly of colonies, protectorates, occupied territories and island dependencies. Although many countries recognize the PLO as the government of Palestine, we do not count Palestine as an independent country, because the PLO does not govern a Palestinian state. Similarly, the *Survey* does not give ratings to Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, despite the American recognition of their right to independence. Legally or not, the Soviet government is presently the effective one for these once independent states.

The *Survey* excludes uninhabited related territories and such entities as the U.S.-owned Johnston Atoll, which has only a transient military population and no native inhabitants. Since most related territories have a broad range of civil liberties and some form of self-government, a higher proportion of them have the "free" designation than do independent countries.

The 1990 *Survey* has made some changes in its coverage of related territories. In the past, the *Survey* counted Transkei among the independent countries. This year's *Survey* considers all of the black "homelands" of South Africa to be related territories, not independent countries. Namibia counts this year as an independent country, not a related territory, due to its scheduled transition to independence in early 1990. The new *Survey* team also added some small island territories, such as the Pitcairn Islands, to the list of entities rated. ■

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

DECLARATION OF COMMONWEALTH PRINCIPLES

**Agreed by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
at Singapore, 22 January 1971.**

The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and co-operating in the common interest of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace.

Members of the Commonwealth come from territories in the six continents and five oceans, include peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialized nations. They encompass a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions.

Membership of the Commonwealth is compatible with the freedom of member-governments to be non-aligned or to belong to any other grouping, association or alliance. Within this diversity all members of the Commonwealth hold certain principles in common. It is by pursuing these principles that the Commonwealth can continue to influence international society for the benefit of mankind.

We believe that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind; we therefore support the United Nations and seek to strengthen its influence for peace in the world, and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations.

We believe in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, color, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.

We recognize racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race and racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society. Each of us will vigorously combat this evil within our own nation.

No country will afford to regimes which practice racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgement directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy. We oppose all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and are committed to the principles of human dignity and equality.

We will therefore use all our efforts to foster human equality and dignity everywhere, and to further the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.

We believe that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated. They also create world tensions. Our aim is their progressive removal. We therefore seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society.

To this end our aim is to achieve the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all, taking into account the special requirements of the developing countries, and to encourage the flow of adequate resources, including governmental and private resources, to the developing countries, bearing in mind the importance of doing this in a true spirit of partnership and of establishing for this purpose in the developing countries conditions which are conducive to sustained investment and growth.

We believe that international co-operation is essential to remove the causes of war, promote tolerance, combat injustice, and secure development among the peoples of the world. We are convinced that the Commonwealth is one of the most fruitful associations for these purposes.

In pursuing these principles the members of the Commonwealth believe that they can provide a constructive example of the multi-national approach which is vital to peace and progress in the modern world. The association is based on consultation, discussion and co-operation.

In rejecting coercion as an instrument of policy they recognize that the security of each member state from external aggression is a matter of concern to all members. It provides many channels for continuing exchange of knowledge and views on professional, cultural, economic, legal and political issues among member states.

These relationships we intend to foster and extend, for we believe that our multi-national association can expand human understanding and understanding among nations, assist in the elimination of discrimination based on differences of race, color or creed, maintain and strengthen personal liberty, contribute to the enrichment of life for all, and provide a powerful influence for peace among nations.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Up to 30 June 1990, the following 47 States were members of the Commonwealth of Nations: Antigua, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Botswana, Brunei, Canada, Cyprus, Dominica, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Namibia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. There are two "special members:" Nauru and Tuvalu.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C



**amnesty
international**

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ
United Kingdom

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

**URGENT
ACTION**

AI Index: AFR 32/17/91
Distr: UA/SC
30 May 1991

Further information on UA 79/91 (AFR 32/09/91, 4 March 1991) and follow-ups AFR 32/11/91 (11 March), AFR 32/14/91 (23 April) and AFR 32/16/91 (2 May) - Fear of Torture/Legal Concerns/Medical Concerns

KENYA: Gitobu Imanyara, journalist, lawyer, human rights activist

Gitobu Imanyara, lawyer and editor/publisher of the Nairobi Law Monthly, was released from custody on Tuesday 28 May 1991, and all sedition charges against him have been dropped.

Gitobu Imanyara, arrested on 1 March 1991 and charged with publishing a seditious publication - the Nairobi Law Monthly - was held under armed guard in the Kenyatta National Hospital, where he was transferred from Kamiti maximum security prison on 24 April 1991. He had been taken to hospital following his collapse in court on 19 April 1991, and widespread expressions of concern about his state of health.

Gitobu Imanyara, who was previously arrested in July 1990 and detained for three weeks without charge or trial and was released, re-arrested and charged with publishing a seditious publication (again, the Nairobi Law Monthly), was considered by Amnesty International to be a prisoner of conscience.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION: Airmail letters:

- welcoming the release of Gitobu Imanyara considered by Amnesty International to be a prisoner of conscience, and the dropping of sedition charges against him.

APPEALS TO:

President Daniel arap Moi
President of the Republic
of Kenya
Office of the President
P O Box 30510
Nairobi, Kenya

Mr Amos Wako
Attorney General
Office of the Attorney
General
PO Box 40112
Nairobi, Kenya

COPIES TO:

Mr James Kanyotu
Director of Dept of State
Security Intelligence
Kenya Police HQ
PO Box 30083
Kenya

Mr James Mareka
Commissioner of Prisons
Kenya Prison Service HQ
PO Box 30175
Nairobi, Kenya

Mr Philip Kilonzo
Commissioner of Police
Kenya Police HQ
PO Box 30083
Nairobi, Kenya

APPENDIX D
Excerpts from Africa Watch Newsletter



April 24, 1991

MALAWI

Government releases many political prisoners Jack Mapanje and others still held

Africa Watch welcomes the release of 87 political prisoners in Malawi, including some 25 held under presidential detention orders. The releases represent a significant step by the government towards complying with Malawi's legal obligations under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, which it ratified a year ago. However, in other respects Malawi's performance still falls far short of the standards required by the Charter. In particular Africa Watch remains concerned about the fate of about 19 prisoners still detained without charge at Mikuyu prison, who include the internationally-renowned poet Jack Mapanje.

The release of political prisoners began at the beginning of January, when George Mtafu, Margaret Marango Banda, Blaise Machila and William Masiku were set free:

George Mtafu, who had been held without charge at Chichiri Prison, is Malawi's only neurosurgeon. He was arrested in February 1989 because he had criticized discrimination against civil servants who originated from Malawi's northern region, in particular the forcible redeployment of school teachers to their district of origin.

Margaret Marango Banda, a former announcer with the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, was an official of the *Chitukuto Cha Amai na Malawi* (CCAM), the national women's organization. She is believed to have criticized corruption in the CCAM, which is headed by Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira, the country's "Official Hostess." She was arrested in July 1988 and held without charge at Zomba Prison.

Blaise Machila used to be a lecturer in English at Chancellor College in the University of Malawi. He was arrested in January 1988 for denouncing the imprisonment of his university colleague Jack Mapanje. A schizophrenic, he had made his criticisms while an in-patient at a mental hospital. He was held without charge at Mikuyu Prison, often chained and naked.

AFRICA WATCH

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283 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10017-0104 United States (212) 972-6400 Fax (212) 972-0903 Telex: 910240 1007 FFFK/PSA V
10 Barnard Place Street London SE11 1JL United Kingdom (071) 378-0000 Fax (071) 378-0020 Telex: 0026103927 GVAL L

William Masiku was executive chairman of ADMARC, the agricultural marketing agency, at the time of his arrest in 1987. The precise reason for his imprisonment is not known, but may be connected with criticism of Life-President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's business practices. In the past Banda has benefitted from large unsecured loans from ADMARC.

These four appear to have been released unconditionally - Mtafu has even been allowed to return to his post at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Blantyre.

Since January a further 83 prisoners are reported to have been released. They are believed to have included Thozza Konje, a sugar company manager who, like George Mtafu, had criticized the redeployment of teachers in 1989. A number of other northerners arrested in the 1989 crackdown were among those released, including Mackson Nyirenda, Peter Mkandawire, Luck Mughogho, Davie Mumba, Prince Musuku, Bright Nyasula and Boston Phiri.

Also among those released were the following:

Brown Mpanganjira, the government's deputy chief of information, who had been detained since 1986 for providing information to foreign journalists. He was detained at Mikuyu.

Ian Felix Mbale, aged in his 20s, who was arrested at the border town of Mchinji on January 12, 1981 on his return from Zambia where he had spent Christmas. He was a trainee manager at the Shire Clothing Company in Lilongwe and comes from Chitipa in Northern Region. It was apparently alleged that Mbale had been in contact with exile groups based in Zambia. He was held in solitary confinement in leg irons at Maula Prison in Lilongwe and given electric shock torture at the national police headquarters, before being transferred to D Section at Mikuyu.

Ishmael Mazunda, a member of staff at the Malamulo Seventh Day Adventist Hospital, who was arrested and detained at Blantyre Prison in November 1989. As secretary of the hospital's disciplinary committee he was responsible for expelling a number of students for stealing drugs. One was apparently related to a senior official in the Ministry of Health. The expelled students are alleged to have told the government that Mazunda had made disrespectful references to President Banda in the course of a lecture on the human reproductive system. Mazunda apparently remarked that while an old woman was incapable of bearing children, an old man could still father them. The expelled students claim that he said "the old man" - that is, President Banda.

Owen Ndovi, a Malawian who lives in Zimbabwe, who was arrested in 1984 on a visit to the country. He was detained at Mikuyu.

APPENDIX E
Excerpts from Attacks on the Press

Name	Organ	Date	Incident	DESCRIPTION
				Electoral Council broadcast 10 minutes late.
	RADIO CORPORACION	89/10/09	OTHER	Received a private warning from the Interior Ministry for allegedly joining a Supreme Electoral Council broadcast four minutes late.
JASON BLEIBTREU	SYGMA/WTN	89/11/04	ENTRYD	The Honduras-based reporter, who works with Sygma Photo News and Worldwide Television Network, was denied entry at the border with Nicaragua, despite his possession of a visa. Allowed entry in 1990. Three or four other foreign correspondents also reported difficulties acquiring visas during the same time period.
ANTONIO IBARRA	FREEDOM AT ISSUE	89/07/07	EXPELLED	Authorities expelled the journalist despite his possession of a valid visa.
JOURNALISTS	NEW REPRESSIVE LAW	89/04/21	NRLAW	President signed a new media law that included several restrictive elements and allowed for closure as punishment.
JOURNALISTS		89/10/00	OTHER	The Supreme Electoral Council promulgated ethics regulations prohibiting the media's use of certain types of language, such as words showing disrespect for authorities or insulting candidates.
ANDREW LLUBERES	USIA (US)	89/12/00	ENTRYD	Latin American News Editor Lluberes of the United States Information Agency, part of the US government, applied for a visa in December 1989 and January 1990 and had still not received one by early February 1990.

NIGERIA

	NEW REPRESSIVE LAW	89/01/00	NRLAW	The military government passed a new law repealing a 1978 decree and giving a new Media Council the power to register journalists and to otherwise regulate their profession. The law was widely criticized by journalists.
FEMI ABORISHADE	LABOUR MILITANT	89/02/06	DETAIN>2	The editor of the socialist newspaper was held in connection with an October 1988 article calling for the release of all imprisoned trade unionists. Aborishade has sued the federal government over his seven-month detention.

ATTACKS ON THE PRESS 1989 - CPJ

Name	Organ	Date	Incident	DESCRIPTION
DELE ALAKE	SUNDAY CONCORD	89/04/00	DETAIN<2	Detained for publishing a story that implicated millionaires in the displacement of residents of a Lagos slum. Released two days later.
OLUWAMBO BALOGUN	AFRICAN CONCORD	89/01/18	DETAIN<2	Detained without charge and later released in connection with an investigative report on police atrocities during a police raid on a village in Bendel State.
TOYIN EGUNJOBI	NEWBREED	89/02/00	DETAIN<2	Detained overnight after publication of an article critical of promotions in the Armed Forces.
IKPE ETUKUDO	NEW HORIZON	89/07/04	DETAIN<2	Detained without charge, possibly in relation to an interview with the outspoken lawyer Chief Gani Fawehinmi that was published in the March issue of the magazine.
PAXTON IDOWU	REPUBLIC	89/06/17	DETAIN<	Editor reportedly arrested in connection with various articles on government corruption and civil salary increases. Idowu was eventually transferred to a parent company and later resigned.
2 JOURNALISTS	VANGUARD	89/07/00	DETAIN<2	The editor and advertising manager were reportedly detained for a short period, and the newspaper's premises were searched by police. The paper had reportedly carried an advertisement in which "New-Breed Nigerians," a newly formed group "committed to the cause and growth of Nigeria," accused the police of inefficiency.
6 JOURNALISTS	REPUBLIC	89/00/00	DETAIN<2	Detained following the publication of an article in the June 15 issue that alleged the involvement of the Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, in a money scandal. All six were reportedly released on bail soon after the arrests.
LEWIS OBI	AFRICAN CONCORD	89/01/18	DETAIN<2	Detained without charge and later released in connection with an investigative report on police atrocities during a raid on a village in Bendel State.
TUNDE OGUNGBILE	NEW HORIZON	89/07/04	DETAIN<2	Detained without charge, possibly in relation to an interview with the outspoken lawyer Chief Gani Fawehinmi that was published in the March issue of the magazine.
CHRIS OKOLIE	VANGUARD	89/00/00	DETAIN<2	Detained overnight after publishing allegations that the diplomatic community

APPENDIX F

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DEFINITION OF TERMS AND PHRASES USED

Abuse of rights - Excessive or unreasonable invocation of rights contrary to limitation or restrictions legitimately placed upon them.

Access to information - Freedom of expression as defined in the international standards is not only the right to impart ideas and information but also the right to seek information. This 'right to know' requires greater recognition and protection, and is fundamental to ensuring open and accountable government. In some countries 'freedom of information' is defined as the right of a citizen or a group to have access to information held in private and public authorities files.

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights - The African Charter ratified by thirty-five states (as of November 1987) came into force in 1986. The Charter is distinctive because of its emphasis on peoples' as well as individual rights. The African Human Rights Commission has been established to implement the Charter, and individuals will be entitled to complain to it. The Charter's text does not protect freedom of opinion nor, at least explicitly, the rights to seek and impart information. Article 9 of the Charter read: '1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information. '2. Every individual shall have the right to free association provided that he abides by the law.

Amnesty - The abolition or overlooking an offence of a political nature, such as treason or rebellion--by a government, frequently on condition that the offender resume his duties as a citizen within a prescribed time.

Apartheid - A system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over another racial group of persons and systematically opposing them, such as that pursued in south Africa.

Control of the supply of information to media - Control, constrain and suppression of the supply of information to journalists and other researchers seeking information from public or private authorities is exercised through a number of methods, including the following: control of official press releases and authorized briefings; classification or reclassification of

information; subjection of government officials to a duty of 'lifetime' confidentiality; restriction of the importation and exportation of publications and films; denial or restriction of visas and accreditation for travel within and between countries, access to official or independent source, availability of independent local assistance; and restriction on information to main news agencies and bureaux.

Corruption - Censorship is frequently used to prevent journalists investigating topics which expose corruption and vested interests in government or in financial institutions. Defamation laws may be invoked against journalists to block investigations, and a frequent motive for the killing, detention and expulsion of journalists is investigation of the abuse of public office to accumulate personal gain.

Coup d'etat - A French expression of a sudden, decisive exercise of force in politics, usually involving the violent overthrow of a government by a group of conspirators.

Declaration - A formal and solemn instrument, setting out principles of great and lasting importance. As contrasted with conventions, declarations adopted by United Nations organs are morally but not legally binding upon all member States: they set out international principles and standards with which all States are expected to comply.

Decolonization - The process by which a trust or non-self-governing territory or a territory subject to alien subjugation, domination, or exploitation achieves independence and self-government.

Indigenous people - A term applied to (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) peoples in independent countries who are descendent of the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions. Self-identification as tribal or native is regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining whether a people is to be regarded as indigenous.

Martial law - Government or control by military forces over civilians or civilian authorities in domestic territory. Also a wartime system of government or control established or administered in hostile territory under which

existing civil laws and the normal administration of justice are placed by a system dependent solely on the will of the military commander.

Neo-colonialism - The de facto exercise of economic or political dominance by a strong nation over a weak nation or group of nations without reducing them de jure to colonial status.

Newsprint - Authorities enjoying monopoly control on newsprint and machinery who wish to restrict publications will often try to do so through control of the raw materials or machinery required by publishers. In Ghana, for instance, the Ministry of Information had controlled over the supply and allocation of almost all media equipment and facilities from newsprint to telephones and typewriters. This renders all journalists dependent on government approval. The genuine shortage of paper in some countries in Africa has been used to justify non-publication of the text of national laws such as the Constitution relevant to the protection of human rights. The control of paper supply in sufficient quantity and at the right time means that many newspapers, big and small, faced with the danger of closing down due to lack of paper, prefer to apply a form of self-censorship (see below).

News agencies - The five major international news agencies, *Associated Press*, *United Press International*, *Reuters*, *Agence France-Presse* and *TAAS*, the Soviet news agency, account for the bulk of the gathering and dissemination of international news. A sixth agency, *Inter Press Service*, has consciously responded to criticism levelled at the larger agencies that they emphasize information and ideas that are of concern principally to the developed world. Through the use of mainly local correspondents *Inter Press Service* provides information and news concerned with economic and social development. Regional news agencies include *Xinhua* (New China News Agency), the *Pan African News Agency*, the *Organization of Asian News Agencies*, the *Union of Arab News Agencies*, and the *Caribbean News Agency*. National news agencies are often close to the government and may restrict reporting on domestic affairs to the outside world in compliance with overall government policies.

Sedition - It is everywhere a crime to plot the overthrow of a government or state. However, there is a distinction to be made between efforts to overthrow government unlawfully through violence, and peaceful efforts to advocate reform of government. In many countries, this distinction is ignored. Anyone who by word or deed propounds reform can be made subject to severe penalties, including detention and imprisonment or even death. Legal definitions of what may or may not be considered seditious are often dangerously vague. There are instances in which possession of

publications deemed seditious can result in imprisonment. A political system violates respect for freedom of opinion and expression where it denies the possibility of lawful advocacy of its alteration.

Self-determination - The right of all peoples freely to determine their political status and freely to pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. They many, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to an obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people de deprived of its own means of subsistence.

Self-censorship - The term used to describe the various reasons why journalists, writers and publishers suppress or withhold information themselves which might otherwise be deemed suitable matter for publication. When an editor or journalist with the opportunity to choose feels obligated not to publish, or not to act in accordance with his or her own convictions or sympathies, self-censorship is in operation. It must be considered as an important and pervasive category of censorship. it operates at various levels and is often difficult to identify or monitor. in many countries, press reporting is based on the understanding that coverage of sensitive issues is minimized or dropped and criticism moderated. Such compliance may be secured by threats of dismissal, detention, closure or, in the case of the foreign press, expulsion or refusal to renew a work permit. Low pay contributes to self-censorship. Journalistic sympathies may be fostered by salary increments and gifts from the government.

Sovereignty - The absolute power of an independent State to do whatever may be necessary to maintain its independence and to regulate its internal affairs without interference from, or accountability to, any external authority.

State - A body of people occupying a fixed territory, politically organized under one government, exercising sovereignty over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into international relations with other such entities.

Statutory limitation - A legal provision to the effect that no suit shall be maintained, nor any criminal charge be made, unless initiated within a specified period of time.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Proclaimed in 1948, the Declaration is still the most powerful statement of the global aspiration of respect for human rights. Being a declaration it is not a binding treaty but is widely regarded as having achieved the status of customary international law. Its

provisions have been adopted in many constitutions of the world. Article 19 of the Declaration reads: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right include freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.'

Victims of abuse of power - Persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss, or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that do not yet constitutionally recognize norms relating to human rights.

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

KENYA: THE CASE OF GITOBU IMANYARA

When he arrived at his office on the morning of March 1, eight plainclothes policemen detained Gitobu Imanyara, founding editor of *The Nairobi Law Monthly*. A half hour later Imanyara was taken back to his office, which police searched without a warrant; documents were reportedly confiscated. Still later that morning, police took the editor home and searched the premises.

On March 5 Imanyara was charged with two counts of sedition and failing to register a security fee with the national Registrar of Books and Newspapers. If convicted, he would have faced up to 40 years in prison for the sedition charges alone. But on May 28 Imanyara was released and all sedition charges against him were dropped.

All of the charges lodged in March relate to the February issue of the magazine, which featured the platform of the National Democratic Party (NDP), an unauthorized opposition party launched on February 13 by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a former vice president of Kenya. The Law Monthly was among the first independent magazines to report the NDP's objectives; the nation's three daily newspapers merely alluded to the party about week after its formation.

The issue also ran an editorial entitled "Tribalism," suggesting favoritism toward the Kalenjin, President Moi's ethnic group, in the distribution of public offices. The tribal issue is especially sensitive as President Moi has repeatedly defended the one-party state on the ground that political pluralism would lead to tribal rivalries and jeopardize Kenya's stability.

On March 14 Joseph Njoroge Watoro, a freelance journalist and former information officer, was detained and charged with three counts of sedition in connection with a letter he allegedly published in the *Law Monthly's* February issue. While Watoro's letter did not appear in the magazine, it may have been the source for much of the information in Imanyara's editorial. It is unclear whether Watoro remains in detention.

Since his arrest, Imanyara's health has seriously deteriorated. On April 19 he collapsed in a cell at the Nairobi Law Courts while he awaited a ruling on his bail application. He was taken back to Kamiti Maximum Security Prison outside Nairobi, where he was held in a cell with no bed or mattress. The week following his collapse at the courthouse, Imanyara was admitted to Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi where he underwent tests. According to a medical report released in April, he lapsed into unconsciousness five times during his imprisonment and suffered severe migraine headaches, hypertension and respiratory problems, and may have developed temporary lobe epilepsy. While he was hospitalized, Imanyara was chained to his bed and armed guards were stationed outside his room.

His arrest capped a series of threats against the *Law Monthly* and two other independent monthlies. On February 27 plainclothes police confiscated copies of the *Law Monthly*'s February issue without explanation from Nairobi newsstands along with the February issues of *Finance* and *Society* magazines, both of which had been on sale for several weeks. The February *Finance* ran an article about a meeting of delegates from the ruling party--the Kenya African National Union (KANU)--regarding the KANU Review Committee, which was officially convened last summer to gather testimony from Kenyan citizens and suggest reforms; *Society*'s issue featured interviews with multiparty advocates. In March authorities searched *Society*'s offices for its editor Pius Nyamora, who was not on the premises.

Despite the government's public denunciation and a potential seven-year prison sentence for possession of a "seditious" publication, unconfiscated copies of the *Law Monthly* sold out.

On February 28 Imanyara and the magazine's general manager were assaulted in the street by three unidentified youths. The assailants threw stones at Imanyara and one of them shouted, "This is the man. Let's kill him." Special Branch police who reportedly witnessed the attack did nothing to intervene.

Four other people were arrested in March because of their connection to *The Nairobi Law Monthly*. On March 2 three staff members --J.N.Nganga, Caroline Mburu and Pauline Njuki -- were taken to Criminal Investigation Department (CID) headquarters in Nairobi and questioned for several hours. Dominic Martin, the *Law Monthly* printer, of British origin, was detained for two days and charged with violating the Books and Newspapers Act and residing and working in Kenya illegally. Martin pleaded guilty to the first charge and was fined 20,000 Kenyan shillings (about \$800); the other charges were dropped on April 15. Security police reportedly confiscated 1,000 publications from Martin's business premises as well.

The staff was able to publish and circulate about 160,000 copies of a March issue without interference.

Following the confiscation of their February issue (see above), the *Finance* staff was frequently harassed by authorities.

In a speech at an agricultural show at the beginning of March, President Moi repudiated the magazine's editor, Njehu Gatabaki, as a tribalist. Security police, failing to find Gatabaki later that month, summoned *Finance*'s general manager, Erastus Khandira, for questioning about the magazine's critical editorial stance. Gatabaki's home was searched by police in late March.

the magazine has been out of print since February, unable to replace its printer, Dominic Martin (see above). Several printers have refused to work with the magazine.

On March 25 Nairobi City Commission police beat Charles Maisha and Kavyo Mutinda with sticks as they were photographing a midtown raid on watch sellers and shoe shiner for the daily *Standard*. The police confiscated Maisha's camera, a flash, a press bag and money. Maisha, who identified himself as a journalist, suffered several bruises and was handcuffed. Mutinda was also beaten but managed to escape. Maisha was released after a plainclothes police officer appeared on the scene.

On March 3, senior *Weekly Review* reporter Macharia Gaitho and intern Julius

Bargorett were beaten with sticks by plainclothesmen. The journalists were covering a public meeting between Minister of Energy Nicholas Biwott and villagers in Kerio Valley who, according to the magazine, are seeking compensation for land taken over by the Kenya Fluorspar Company.

The incident began when three men asked Gaitho and Bargorett why they had come from Nairobi to cover the story, searched their car and confiscated film and a notebook. As the journalists were being warned to leave the vicinity immediately, a fourth man appeared and took them to a small room where they were beaten, despite their insistence that they were on assignment. The men told Gaitho he had interfered in matters that were not his concern.

Biwott has denied any knowledge of the incident, but the magazine staff believes the minister wanted no coverage of the contentious meeting. The case was investigated by the CID and the magazine plans to seek prosecution of the responsible parties. According to magazine, at least one of the four men involved in the assault may be part of the minister's security team. The assailants were recently summoned for identification, but they could not be found.

On April 28 police beat four journalist, including Hudson Wainana, a photographer working for *The Standard*, and Joseph Thou Kamako, a journalist with the *Daily Nation*, while they were covering a religious celebration organized by the Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

According to reports, police disrupted the procession in Nyeri's Giगतिका Market; the church had refused to apply for official authorization from the district commissioner, contending that a license was not necessary for a church function. After dispersing several hundred people who had gathered for the procession, the police attacked the four journalists with batons, sending one of them to the hospital with serious injuries. Cameras and notebooks were reportedly confiscated and returned the following day.

The police have reportedly conducted an investigation into incident but no arrests have been made. A statement by the Kenya Union of Journalists demanded a written assurance from Philip Kilonzo, the national commissioner of police, that such an attack would not be repeated.

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