

# THE MEDIA HISTORY OF TANZANIA

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Printed by Ndanda Mission Press 1998  
ISBN 9976 63 592 3

Electronic edition provided by afrika.info

## **Preface**

The media industry in Tanzania has gone through four major phases. There were the German colonial media established to serve communication interests (and needs) of the German administration. By the same time, missionaries tried to fulfil their tasks by editing a number of papers. There were the media of the British administration established as propaganda tool to support the colonial regime, and later the nationalists' media established to agitate for self-governance and respect for human rights. There was the post colonial phase where the then socialist regime of independent Tanzania sought to „Tanzanianize“ the media - the aim being to curb opposition and foster development of socialistic principles. There was the transition phase where both economic and political changes world-wide had necessitated change in the operation of the media industry. This is the phase when a private and independent press was established in Tanzania. Martin Sturmer goes through all these phases and comprehensively brings together what we have not had in Tanzania before: A researched work of the whole media history in Tanzania.

Understanding media history in any society is - in itself - understanding a society's political, economic and social history. It is due to this fact then, that we in Tanzania - particularly in the media industry - find it plausible to have such a work at this material time. This publication will be very helpful especially to students of journalism, media organs, university scholars, various researchers and even the general public. Although various studies had been carried out by Tanzanian scholars about media history, they were not as vast in scope, rich in content and analytic in nature as this one. It is therefore a mirror in which the media industry will see itself to determine how - too old or - old enough it has turned out to be. It is through this publication that Tanzanians will be able to judge - objectively - why the media in the country today behave the way it does. Through this publication, scholars will be able to analyse the relationship between politics and media. Above all, through this publication you will know your own history.

I recommend that the publication should be used as a reference text by journalism students in Tanzania.

Ayub Rioba  
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## **Author's Foreword**

The dissertation in hand is the outcome of rather time-consuming investigations abroad. Preparations for the project started in 1993 when I tried to write a thesis on the linguistic and cultural concepts of journalism education in the East African country. Then, discussions with media professionals revealed that one of the greatest deficits in the training of newspeople was the lack of a written media history. Still in Tanzania, I decided to withdraw my original plan and to design a study on the more relevant topic instead.

In 1994 and 1996, I spent some months in the British Library Newspaper Library in London where most of the important Tanzanian print media are archived from 1916 onwards. In this connection, I owe the library many thanks for the permission to reproduce some of the publications' front-pages for illustration purposes.

Most of the empirical material was gathered during my stay in Tanzania in July and August 1996. Special thanks are due to Ayub Rioba, tutor at the Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ) in Dar es Salaam. He backed the project unstintingly and established many useful contacts. I feel no less obliged to Mzee Idi Farhan from the Zanzibar Department of Festival, Art, and Culture for his invaluable contribution. When Mr. Farhan heard about my research, he wrote a manuscript on the development of the information sector on the island and handed it over to me the next morning. I also want to thank my friends Laetitia Umucyo and Nicolas Nshimirimana who gave me a warm welcome in Tanzania.

I am also indebted to Dr. Graham L. Mytton, former head of the BBC's International Broadcasting Audience Research (IBAR), for his substantial assistance in reviewing the manuscript. Last but not least, I have to give special thanks to Monika for her patience and painstaking proof-reading.

The study was supervised at the Institutes of African Studies and Communication Sciences in Vienna by Professors Dr. Walter Schicho and Dr. Wolfgang Duchkowitsch.

Martin Sturmer  
Salzburg, July 1998



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## **1 Introduction**

The international community observes the democratisation process in Tanzania with suspicious eyes: on the one hand, the liberation of the economic sector predicts promising growth rates, but, on the other hand, the immense social implications are detrimental to many spheres of public life, e. g., the education system or the civil service machinery.

In these difficult days for both the population and the government, the mass media are regarded as important tools in stimulating the discussion on and to enable the citizens to participate in „Mageuzi“ (Change), as the democratisation process is commonly called in Swahili. Nevertheless, communication scientists and international journalists' associations claim that the media sector of the East African state is not yet ready to perform these roles for three reasons:

- 1** Tanzania's mass media are heavily urban-based. Although about 70 % of the population live in rural areas, both electronic and print media focus on the country's economic and political centre, Dar es Salaam. In the three-million-inhabitants metropolis, nearly 80 % of Tanzania's periodicals appear, and, moreover, all primary television and radio stations are located there.
- 2** The major proportion of the news people lack experience in mass communication. Due to „Mageuzi“, the mushrooming of the media sector has led to an increasing need for journalists, and, thus, to a strong competition. The number of media workers raised from 600 in 1992 to more than 3,000 in 1996, but only a few of them graduated from one of the country's two journalistic training facilities, the state-run Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ) in Dar es Salaam or the Catholic and Mwanza-based Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC). Hence, professional ethics often remain unconsidered, and outrageous hoaxes resulting from scoop-hunting are the order of the day.
- 3** One outcome of the above-mentioned situation is that the elected government under Benjamin W. Mkapa fears the country's disintegration. Mkapa, an ex-Minister of Information, founding director of the national news agency SHIHATA, and former editor of the party papers, still uses undemocratic means to put strain on the media. At the time of research (July/August 1996), four newspapers had been banned from publication; in at least three cases, the judgement was more than dubious. In addition, the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission had revoked radio and television licences from altogether twelve stations.

The roots of these grievances lie in the country's history; in fact, Tanzania's actual communication system has to be regarded as the legacy of its past. Thus, it is hoped that the study in hand will not only be a valuable contribution to the training of Tanzanian media workers and journalists, but also that it will join and enliven the debates on the organisation of the country's mass communication sector. In order to attain these ends, Harry Pross (cf. 1992, p. 12) demands that media history has to be a universal history. Only then, it is in the position to explain the constituting potential of communication for a given society.

Hence, media history has to give up what Winfried B. Lerg (cf. 1988, p. 133) calls its tiresome fixation on the media; it must incorporate the basic elements of journalistic processes instead: the communicators, the contents, and the recipients (cf. Lerg 1992, p. 78). Furthermore, attention has to be paid to intermediary factors, such as the policy, the law, the economy, the culture, and the technology of communication (cf. *ibid.*, p. 79).

These demands influenced the organisation of the present study. After the elucidation of both the system-theoretical approach and the methodological framework, the work provides extensive discussions on the following periods of Tanzania's media history: The Press of German East Africa (1890 - 1916), Tanganyika under British Administration (1916 - 1961), From Independence to Democratisation (1961 -1996). The development of the mass media on Zanzibar (1888 - 1996) is outlined in a separate chapter since the island's communication sector has never corresponded to that of the mainland. Each of these sections is arranged in a similar order: in addition to the detailed description of the media in the respective period, portraits of leading journalists/editors try to provide an in-depth knowledge of the prevalent political, cultural, and socioeconomic circumstances. Moreover, the legal prerequisites and the realisation of media laws are explained. At the end of each main chapter, there is a press register listing the publications available in the respective period. Altogether, 986 Tanzanian newspapers and magazines comprising the period from October 1888 to July 1996 entered these records.

What remains are the definitions for the objects of investigation. Although interpersonal communication and traditional media still play an extraordinary role in African nations, the study places the „classical“ mass media, namely the press, radio, and television, in the centre of interest. A common problem in the analysis of communication systems in developing societies is that most often the

terminology of the Western social sciences is not applicable. Hence, it was decided to use the official interpretations as laid down in the relevant law gazettes. Accordingly, the Zanzibar Newspaper Act defines „newspaper” as

*„(...) any printed matter containing news or intelligence, or reports of occurrences, of interest to the public or any section thereof, or any views, comments or observations thereon, printed for sale or distribution and published periodically or in parts or numbers and intervals not exceeding three months, but does not include a visiting or business card, bill-head, letter heading price list, annual report, trade circular, trade advertisement or other legal or trade or business document.” (Zanzibar 1988, p. 1)*

And, in reference to The Broadcasting Services Act,

*„‘broadcasting service’ means a radiocommunication service in which the transmissions are intended for direct transmissory reception by members of the general public (...).” (The United Republic of Tanzania 1993, p. 3).*



## 2 African Mass Media Systems and Their Functions

### 2.1 The State of Africa Communication Research (ACR)

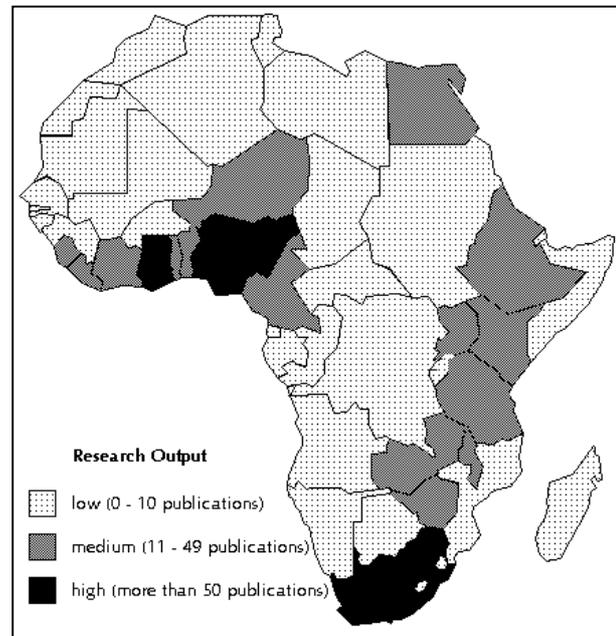
Without any dramatisation, it has to be admitted that communication research on Africa is in an acute crisis. As can be derived from the map beside, the international scientific community has focused on a few crucial countries, such as Nigeria, Ghana, and South Africa, whereas the vast majority of African states has been neglected so far.

Yet, the start was promising. When Leo Lowenthal (cf. 1952) edited a special issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly* on International Communications Research in late 1952, the contributors, e. g., Paul F.

Lazarsfeld, Harold D. Lasswell, Joseph T. Klapper, and Marie Jahoda, unisonously postulated the consideration of hitherto ignored regions. Until then, there had been no single scientific analysis of the African mass media (cf. Wete 1992, p. 1).

The political climate in the USA favoured the new field since the propaganda battle between the Soviet Union and the United States for the allegiance of the non-industrial countries had stepped up (cf. Smith 1952, p. 527; Smith 1956, p. 183). In 1949, the US government had launched its first development programme which implied the idea that industrialisation would - irrespective of the sociocultural context - lead to economic growth (cf. Kunczik 1985, p. 13).

During the following years, social scientists played an important role in the elaboration of development theories. In his survey „Trends in Research on International Communication in the United States“, Hamid Mowlana (cf. 1973, p. 83) points out that the quantity of publications dealing with mass media and developing countries reached its climax in the mid-1960s. Most of the studies



**Figure 1:** The State of ACR: Whereas international scientists have put most of their emphasis on countries like Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa, the research output on many other African states has been low in terms of the number of books and articles in international journals (cf. Boafo, Gatura 1994).

related to the category „Communication and National Development“, „Africa“ was rather neglected.

But in the early 1970s, research on developing societies was replaced with an ideological discussion on the role of capitalist countries in the „Third World.“ Particularly in the USA, it became en vogue to criticise the neo-imperialistic character of aid programmes and to call for a reorientation or even the cessation of these projects. The impacts of this intellectual climate on communication research in Africa have been considerable until today. Michael Kunzick (cf. 1985, p. 21) even talks about a paralysation of the Western social sciences which simply ignore unique study fields. In addition, African scholars have not been able to bridge the gap for various reasons. According to the „Directory of African Media“ of Adewale Maja-Pearce (cf. 1995, pp. 354 - 363), there are only 37 research institutions dealing with mass communication on the continent. Among those, only 17 are affiliated to universities. Moreover, the financial situation of these institutions is disastrous in most cases.

Regarding the theoretical and methodological aspects of International Communications Research, Leo Lowenthal wrote in 1952:

*„The ideas sprawl and the movements are random, as might be expected at such an early stage, and we cannot pretend to have defined or systematized this new field. Actually we are fumbling and stumbling (...)“* (Lowenthal 1952, pp. vi - vii).

Unfortunately, not much has changed since Lowenthal’s remark. The absence of innovative theories and methodologies still hinders communication research on Africa.

## **2.2 A Sociological Framework of Mass Communication: The System-Theoretical Approach**

Tanzania’s media history has passed through different political systems with distinctive performances of the respective subsystems, such as economy, legal order, culture, education, or mass communication. The intention to achieve the comparability of the communicative performances over a period of more than 100 years suggests a system-theoretical approach. From the viewpoint of communication history, Winfried B. Lerg (cf. 1995, p. 211) regards system theories as promising explanation models in so far as they question the structures,

intentions, and functions of communication processes in a certain period. Moreover, they provide the opportunity to determine the political performances of mass media to a larger extent, though in a more general manner (cf. Kepplinger 1986, p. 172). This is exactly what the study in hand is aiming at.

The elaboration of the system-theoretical approach is closely related to the work of Talcott Parsons who defines a social system as

*„(...) a mode of organization of action elements relative to the persistence or ordered processes of change of the interactive patterns of a plurality of individual actors.“* (Parsons 1964, p. 24)

Here, the crucial question is: Which tasks have to be fulfilled to assure the stability of the respective system? The existence of certain functions, i. e., the performances or the consequences of actions which contribute to the continuance of a system, is a fundamental requirement and taken for granted. The major problem of this structural-functional approach is its concentration on the internal relations of systems whereas an environmental point of view is neglected (cf. Burkart 1995, p. 431).

As a consequence, newer system theories, such as the functional-structural approach of Niklas Luhmann (cf. 1970, 1984), imply the idea that social systems are able to respond to environmental modifications and, thus, to change their structure. Here, the principle of stability is replaced with the axiom of problem solution, i. e., the survival of a system can only be ensured if it is able to compensate the environmental influences (cf. Rühl 1969, p. 193). The constitutional element of a system is not longer the concatenation of actions but communication which is ensured through the formation of media (cf. Faulstich 1991, p. 168). Consequently, mass media are regarded as tools for the legitimation of power unless it is brought to light that they are untrustworthy instruments serving the ruling system (cf. Saxer 1986, pp. 147 - 148).

Despite some interesting attempts to incorporate system theories into international communication research, such as the concepts of Henner Hess (cf. 1969), Hans Mathias Kepplinger (cf. 1982), or Ulrich Saxer (cf. 1990 and 1995), none of them is really applicable to the African context. Often, these approaches simply ignore the particularities of media systems in developing countries and, thus, lack the potential to explain specific communicative processes.

Therefore, there is a need for the creation of a sociological framework specifically designed for the analysis of African mass media systems. The following typology runs along both historical and political lines whereby the linear character emerged a posteriori. The distinctive feature between liberal and repressive societies is the respect for human rights, especially freedom of expression. Accordingly, Africa's mass communication systems can be divided in autochthonous, colonial, sovereign, and democratic societies.

Despite the great variations in the political systems of pre-colonial Africa, most **autochthonous societies** had a common ground on the basic principles of human rights. Usually, the systems had checks and balances, and even the king or chief was subject to laws. As a result, despotic or absolute power over the people, which were usually organised in primary groups, was something extraordinary. On the contrary, it was quite common that the leaders consulted their counsellors or elected representatives, i. e., the king or chief was essentially a *primus inter pares* (cf. Ansah 1988, p. 19). In the case of the Ashanti in Ghana, K. A. Busia observed:

*„The members of a traditional council allowed discussion and a free and frank expression of opinions, and if there was disagreement, they spent hours, even days if necessary, to argue and exchange ideas till they reached unanimity. Those who disagreed were not denied a hearing, or locked up in prison, or branded as enemies of the community.“* (Busia 1967, pp. 28 - 29)

Werner Hartmann (cf. 1991, p. 102) obtained similar results in his survey on the political system of the Nyakyusa in south-western Tanzania. Accordingly, the power of the chief was very limited; the community was even empowered to reprimand him in the case of failures. Another characteristic of these autochthonous societies was the lack of media in the Western sense. Ayub Rioba, tutor at the Tanzania School of Journalism in Dar es Salaam, describes the traditional communication system in his country as follows:

*„In the beginning there was the news. But there were no modern media through which to pass it on to other people. There was the horn-hooting to inform the community populace that tomorrow there would be a ceremony for annual harvests. There was the horn-blowing to inform the small community that, at the traditional chief's home, a prince was born. There was rumour from one mouth to another and to others that the chief was about to marry a beautiful bride from across the river. There was the drum beating to inform the community that aggressors had invaded their area. There was a way of yelling that informed people that cattle rustlers had*

*swept away a community member's heads of cattle. They understood these communications and life went on.*<sup>1</sup>" (Rioba 1996a, p. 1)

According to Ullamaija Kivikuru (cf. 1990, Appendix 1, p. 13), these traditional media still play an important role in the villages of north-eastern Tanzania.

During the so-called „Congo Conference“, which took place in Berlin from November 15<sup>th</sup> 1884 to February 26<sup>th</sup> 1885, the African continent was - with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia - split up among the European powers. Subsequently, a more or less authoritarian **colonial system** was established in the subjugated territories. In general, the governor personified the law, though the legislature was in the hands of the respective national assembly or the minister of colonial affairs. However, fundamental human rights, such as freedom of expression or political participation, was neither granted „natives“ in British and French nor in Belgian, German, and Portuguese dominions.

During the years of foreign rule, significant mass media systems were formed in anglophone and francophone countries. The colonial policies of both European powers had a severe impact on Africa's media landscapes so that many particularities of the continent's actual communication channels are considered a colonial heritage. The main difference between the two systems was the respective attitude to African culture: whereas the British did not deny the importance of indigenous values in certain fields of public life, the French principles were based on assimilation and centralisation, i. e., politics, economy, and culture became Paris-oriented. Analogous to this policy, the press laws of the motherlands were implemented in the colonies, though interpreted more restrictively. In Great Britain, freedom of expression was an unwritten common law. Then, the only legal apparatus to regulate the foundation of print media was the Newspaper Libel and Registration Act of 1881 which obliged publishers to enter their periodicals into a public record. Seizure of publications was only possible in cases of sedition, defamation, and blasphemy. Similarly, editors in the French regions could rely on the press law of July 29<sup>th</sup> 1881 which - on the basis of the constitution of August 1789 - guaranteed freedom of speech. But since this fundamental right was only granted citoyens français, indigenous newspaper production was very limited. As a result, the development of francophone

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<sup>1</sup> In West Africa, the drum is still an important means of communication. Based on the language code of the respective society, it is able to convey full words and phrases. Likewise, the two-toned horn passes on information to the receivers (cf. Ziegler, Asante 1992, p. 6; Carrington 1949, p. 77).

publications fell behind, and, hence, the early history of African print media was mainly British (cf. Behn 1968, pp. 165 - 166, 174).

The origins of press activities can be traced back to August 18<sup>th</sup> 1800 when the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* appeared for the first time. Struggling with different problems, however, Africa's first newspaper had to cease publication after only three weeks (cf. Alhadeff 1985, p. 10; Hachten 1993, p. 15). Then, in February 1801, *The Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser* was established in Fort Thornton near Freetown, and two decades later, in April 1822, a hand-written colonial organ named the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer* came out in Accra (cf. *ibid.*). These papers mainly contained commercial information, such as the arrival of ships and their cargo, as well as edicts of the government (cf. Aloba 1959, p. 317). The earliest newspaper in an African language, Xhosa, was *Indaba* (News) which was launched by the Lovedale Mission in 1844 (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 12), but „the first really indigenous newspaper in Africa“ (Nwosu 1987, p. V), *The Accra Herald*, was not published until September 1857. The publication, whose owner Charles Bannerman reproduced the original twenty times by handwriting, was renamed the *West African Herald* in July 1859 (cf. Ullrich 1982b, p. 691). The first periodical in a West African language was the Nigerian missionary paper *Iwe Irohin* (Newsheet) which was edited by Henry Townsend in Abeokuta in December 1859. Initially published in Yoruba only, Townsend soon added English translations (cf. Okwudishu 1987, p. 317; Hachten 1993, p. 16). Finally, the earliest daily was the *Rhodesia Herald* which was established in Salisbury (today's Harare) in 1891 (cf. Bald 1969, p. 48).

During the years of foreign administration, broadcasting was regarded as the most efficient medium since it was able to bridge great distances and to reach the illiterates (cf. Ullrich 1980, p. 119). The development of the continent's electronic media cannot be analysed without the consideration of two European institutions: the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the „Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d' Outre-Mer“ (SORAFOM)<sup>2</sup>. Both enterprises were authorised to establish broadcasting systems on their own model in the respective territories (cf. Bald 1969, pp. 55 - 56).

Hence, Africa's first radio station, „Radiodiffusion Algérienne“, was launched in 1925. During the subsequent years, broadcasting commenced in Egypt, Senegal

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<sup>2</sup> In 1962, SORAFOM was replaced with the „Office de Cooperation Radiophonique“ (OCORA).

(both 1926), Kenya (1928), Madagascar (1931), and Nigeria (1932). Algeria was also the first African state which started television: „Radiodiffusion Télévision Algérienne” was inaugurated in 1956, followed by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC, 1959), Egyptian Radio and TV (1960), „Radiodiffusion Télévision Congolaise” (1962), and the Voice of Kenya (1963) (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, pp. 247 - 250). The dependence on European knowledge and technology was even intensified through the completion of special Africa services of the then leading news agencies, the British Reuters and „Agence France Presse” (AFP). The activities of Reuters on the continent can be traced back to 1912 when the South African News Agency commenced working. AFP launched its first news services in Dakar and Antananarivo - both were founded in 1944 (cf. Ullrich 1982a, p. 294).

On the whole, the colonial mass media were centralised and the mouthpieces of the government and/or the settlers. In respect of the indigenous population, the administration regarded a monopoly on the information sector as a central requirement for ruling and educating the society and, thus, restrained the flow of communication. A strong nationalist press could only develop in the last years of foreign reign. The editors of these African papers were the continent’s later statesmen, e. g., Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria (*West African Pilot*), Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah (*Accra Evening News*), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (*Muigwithania* [The Citizen]), and Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere (*Sauti ya TANU* [The Voice of TANU]).

At independence in the early 1960s, most African governments came to power through democratic elections. But after a period of administrative reconstruction, the major spheres of public life were subordinated to the goals of these new and **sovereign systems**. Accordingly, the expectations of African journalism were articulated by Ghana’s first president, Kwame Nkrumah, who regarded the media as an effective instrument in combating imperialism and fostering national unity:

*„(...) our Revolutionary African Press must carry our Revolutionary purpose. This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease. (...) the true African (...) newspaper is a collective educator - a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.”* (Quoted from Domatob, Hall 1983, pp. 9 - 10)

Likewise, Jomo Kenyatta exhorted the press to:

*„(...) positively promote national development and growing self-respect since in Africa it can have a tremendous influence on nation-building. It may constantly inspire or could set out to frustrate the spirit of Harambee<sup>3</sup> or national unity which every young country needs as the fundamental of its progress.“* (Quoted from Domatob, Hall 1983, p. 10)

During the following years, the political opposition was silenced and one-party or military rule adopted. The young nation states pursued authoritarian or even totalitarian policies which were usually elaborated by a president whose style of leadership could be - in accordance to Max Weber (cf. 1956, p. 159) - referred as „charismatic“. Then, African governments, which Francis P. Kasoma (cf. 1995, p. 547) accused of „pressphobia“, strengthened their influence on the media sector by imposing statutory controls. They were convinced that privately owned newspapers would act without responsibility and tend to overstretch the limits of press freedom. Consequently, many politicians believed that uncontrolled journalism would endanger the national integration by creating a climate of discontent and disunity. In this connection, it is noteworthy that in Anglophone countries, particularly in Botswana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the leaders' attitude to the press was more liberal than in Francophone and Lusophone Africa where official government publications or those belonging to the ruling party or military regime dominated the newspaper market (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 537 - 544). But a common pattern in all African states was that a central government department or ministry controlled the mass communication channels. The electronic media were without exception in the hands of the regime in power. Moreover, news gathering and distribution was monopolised by a national news agency.

After the political changes in Europe in the late 1980s, most African countries followed the „advice“ of international donors to adopt the structures of **democratic societies**. Although the political achievements vary from one country to the other, the democratisation process in Africa is still in its infancy. Notwithstanding, the implementation of multi-party policies has led to the formation of more or less potent civil societies, and, as a consequence, it has caused the mushrooming of private newspapers, broadcasting stations, and television units all over the continent. The influence of the state on the communicators is about to diminish. Instead, journalists' associations and media

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<sup>3</sup> „Harambee“ (Let Us All Pull Together) was Kenyatta's post-colonial slogan.

councils have taken the place of the government, and the credo of journalistic ethics has replaced restrictive media laws.

In reference to the freedom of the mass media in a democratic society, there are several international agreements relevant to Africa:

- 1 The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the so-called Banjul Charter, was approved by the 18. Assembly of African Heads of State and Government in Nairobi in 1981, and, subsequently, it came into force on October 21<sup>st</sup> 1986 (cf. Umozurike 1992, p. 3). In respect of communication, Article 9 (Paragraphs 1 and 2) demands that every individual shall have the right to receive information and to express and disseminate his/her opinions within the law. Tanzania signed and ratified the charter on May 31<sup>st</sup> 1982 and February 19<sup>th</sup> 1984, respectively (cf. United Nations, Centre for Human Rights 1990, pp. 7 and 51).
- 2 The participants of the International Conference on Popular Participation and Development Process in Africa (Arusha, Tanzania, February 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> 1990) adopted the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation on February 16<sup>th</sup> 1990. Here, the crucial point is:

*„We believe that for the people to participate meaningfully in their self-development, their freedom to express themselves and their freedom of fear must be guaranteed.“* (Quoted from Kizito [ed.] 1992, p. vii).

- 3 The probably most influential agreement is the so-called Windhoek Declaration which was approved during a seminar of UNO and UNESCO on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1991<sup>4</sup>. The formal statement regards censorship as a violation of human rights and a pluralistic press as an indispensable tool in development and democratisation. Most of Africa's information ministers welcomed the Windhoek Declaration, and, on the occasion of a conference in Abuja, Nigeria, in May 1992, they stressed that democratisation was not possible without freedom of the press. Another consequence of the Namibia seminary was the establishment of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in August 1992. The major objective of MISA, which also supports journalistic pressure groups in Tanzania, is:

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<sup>4</sup> Later the year, UNESCO's General Conference proclaimed May 3<sup>rd</sup> the International Press Freedom Day.

*„to promote and defend press freedom and take appropriate steps where such freedoms are violated and to seek to remove obstacles and impediments to the free flow of information.” (Quoted from Rønning 1994, p. 1)*

This brief overview of the major phases of Africa’s hitherto media history reveals that each of the above-mentioned societies was confronted with three major problems whose solution was pursued with different commitments by the respective media system: political inconstancy, cultural and socioeconomic diversity, and underdevelopment. In other words, every communication system had to regulate the following functional imperatives: stability of power, national integration, and social change. Basically, all of these functions are interwoven, and it is difficult to keep them apart.

### **2.2.1 Stability of Power**

Communication experts generally agree that mass media can play an important role in conferring status and confirming legitimacy (cf. Mc Quail 1977, p. 90). One prerequisite for the fulfillment of these tasks is the determination of the following policy issues (cf. Pool 1963, p. 234):

- 1 How much of the scarce resources should be invested in the media?
- 2 Which roles should be assigned to the public and the private sector?
- 3 How much freedom can be allowed or how much control has to be imposed?
- 4 What cultural level should be achieved in the media output?

Probably the most influential modernisation theorist so far as mass media were concerned, Wilbur Schramm, claimed in 1963 that power lay with control, and, thus, he recommended that the governments of developing countries should put greater strain on the mass media:

*„Essentially what happens in national economic development is that a more active national system is created. (...) To bring about the conditions for national development, there must be a great heightening of national goals. Because these are widely discrepant from existing national behaviour, there results a painful amount of strain. Just as communication has been employed to raise the goals, spread the news to them, and widen their acceptance, so now it is employed to raise the level of national accomplishment toward the goals.” (Schramm 1963, pp. 36 - 37)*

Quite apart from the fact that these considerations were contradictory to the then predominant doctrine of the communication sciences which conceded the media only minimal effects<sup>5</sup>, Schramm did not answer the key question: how can the theoretical aspects of power be modified to direct the mass media in practical operation?

Hamid Mowlana (cf. 1997, pp. 3 - 4) defines the concept of power in terms of control over the particular base values as well as in terms of the flow of interchanges between the main sectors of society reflecting the ability to act and to affect something. It comprises two dimensions: the access to necessary resources to act and the ability and will to act. Here, central recognition is given to belief and value systems, which help determine the nature and parameters of action within and by each system.

*„With such a framework one could specify what kinds of actors possessed what kinds of resources for defining, comprehending, and acting upon certain important issues of the day. Thus, power in national and international systems involves more than just the reallocation of economic, political, and technological values and bases. It involves multidimensional factors with authority, legitimacy, and will playing crucial roles.”* (Mowlana 1997, pp. 4 - 5)

Control over a system appears in different forms; it comes from outside the structure of a given communication or media system as well as being exerted from within. Some controls are actual (i. e., formal, legal, technical) others are perceived (i. e., informal and based on unwritten rules and regulations that can be understood only within the cultural and ideological orientation of the system under investigation). Therefore, the variables of control can further be subdivided into four distinct categories (cf. *ibid.*, p. 34):

- 1 Internal actual controls: These are specific rules and regulations such as education, professional qualification, internal rules, and hierarchy created and institutionalised formally by the system itself.
- 2 Internal perceived control: This class applies to systems with institutional boundaries in which social control, peer-group pressure, perceived gatekeeping functions, and unwritten but understood regulations determine the „rules of the game“.

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<sup>5</sup> „The media are more likely to reinforce than to change.” (Klapper 1960, p. 8)

- 3 External actual control: Direct censorship, licensing, and any other external legal, professional, governmental, or institutional factors form this category.
- 4 External perceived control: In every society, subsystems, such as culture, education, and economy, constitute a major set of variables of demands entering a communication system. Wants of readers and audiences, reactions to political and cultural preferences, and pressures exercised by elites and organisations in the society are examples of this type of control.

In most African states, a combination of external and internal actual control can be found, though the first is - owing to democratisation - more and more replaced with external perceived control. Analogous to this development, the major political function of the mass media has moved from persuasion to critical supervision of the performances of the ruling system. Both concepts grant the continuance of a power structure although they are based on different mechanisms.

The primary aim of **persuasive communication** is the manipulation of human attitude. Here, the centre of interest is the message through which the communicator intends to direct the thoughts and actions of individuals (cf. Burkart 1995, p. 436). Among the most influential works on this field are the investigations of the Hovland group which reviewed the major factors in attitude change produced by social communication in the late 1940s and during the 1950s (cf. Hovland, Janis, Kelley 1966). Influenced by Hovland's ideas, Leonard W. Doob made an effort to determine the variables of communication affecting modifications in opinions and actions within the African context. He concluded that *„significant changes are induced by communication when they repeatedly and ultimately provide meaningful rewards.“* (Doob 1966, p. 339)

However, reality has shown a distinctive pattern. If someone scrutinises a post-colonial African newspaper, one thing attracts attention: the high level of exhortation. Many headlines are written in the style of commands requesting the readership to approve of the leaders and to contribute to nation-building. Hence, exhortation is nothing else but Jaques Ellul's (cf. 1968, p. 75) integration propaganda which aims at making people adjust themselves to the conceptions of the ruling class. In respect of mass communication, Ellul writes:

*„To make the organization of propaganda possible, the media must be concentrated, the number of news agencies reduced, the press brought under single control, and radio and film monopolies established. The effect*

*will be still greater if the various media are concentrated in the same hands.”*  
(Ellul 1968, p. 102)

On the contrary, the principal role of the media in democratic societies is the **critical supervision** of the performances of the ruling system or, as James Curran (cf. 1994, p. 84) names it, to act as a public watchdog overseeing the activities of the state. This task is said to override in importance all other functions of the mass media and to dictate the form in which the communication system should be organised:

*„Only by anchoring the media to a free market is it possible to ensure the media’s complete independence from government. Once the media becomes subject to public regulation, it will lose its bite as a watchdog and may even be transformed into a snarling rotweiller in the service of the state.”* (Curran 1994, p. 84)

Taking the demand for the media’s liberation from interference of the state into account, Franz Ronneberger (cf. 1964, p. 297) goes one step further and postulates that the mass media must perform internal control. Otherwise they would be the only political power without guidance.

Other functions of the mass media in democratic societies are outlined by Rainer Geißler and Frank Marcinkowski. Geißler (cf. 1973) assumes that the media must empower the individual to participate in the political decision process. In doing so, they have to act as two-way channels between the grassroots and the political elites. Hence, the creation of transparency, articulation of interests, and pluralistic compensation are the tasks of mass communication in this approach.

Marcinkowski (cf. 1993) considers journalism an autopoietic system. Here, the major function of the media is to enable the self- and cross-observation of societal elements. All functional systems of the society watch themselves and other observers in their environment in the mirror of introspective communication. Thus, journalism maintains relationships among these systems and produces resonance which is the basis for further actions.

### **2.2.2 National Integration**

Soon after independence, many African leaders, such as Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, argued that the imperative of national unity outweighed the value of individual liberty. But the accomplishment of the enormous task of nation building was hampered by the fact that African communities then identified themselves as ethnic units rather than as member of nation states. This tendency, which is rooted in African antiquity, had been reinforced during the years of colonial government (cf. Akhahenda 1983, pp. 89 and 91).

In reference to common social-scientific definitions, integration is understood as the unity of a social system which is achieved through the binding determination of positions and definitions of its interactions. A society can be looked upon as integrated if social positions are clearly described, and their roles are generally accepted (cf. Ronneberger 1980, p. 180). From the optimistic viewpoint of Gerhard Maletzke (cf. 1990, p. 167), mass media are regarded as integrating tools since they assure that an individual looks beyond his/her social group and recognises the society as a whole. The logical consequence is a feeling of cohesion, or - in the terminology of Karl W. Deutsch - national assimilation.

In „Nationalism and Social Communication“ (first published in 1953), Deutsch considers national assimilation as a requirement for modernisation. Growth of markets, industries, and towns as well as division of labor cause a state of social mobilisation which is accompanied by uprooting and uncertainty. Especially in such a situation, the media can be used as political weapons since they offer guidelines to the insecured population (cf. Deutsch 1975, pp. 103, 123, and 181).

The primary role of the mass media in the integration process is the normative fusion of political, socioeconomic, and cultural values. In the scientific literature, the major means to achieve this goal are the utilisation of a national language, an open hostility to enemies of the system, and idolatrous reverence for the leaders<sup>6</sup>.

The instrument of national cohesion mentioned so frequently in popular discussion that it almost has become a cliché is language (cf. Kivikuru 1990, p. 29). Here, the formation of a nation state is linked with the maturity of language

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<sup>6</sup> There are also alternative but usually disregarded integration models. For example, Dean McHenry (cf. 1980, p. 250) ascribes sports great potentials for building new bonds among citizens.

(cf. Deutsch 1972, p. 43; Passin 1963, p. 95). Particularly in Tanzania, politicians have considered mass media suitable tools in the propagation of the Swahili (cf. Sturmer 1995).

Open hostility to the enemies of the system is classed with demagogy or - as it is called by Edward Shils (cf. 1963, p. 64) - rhetorical charisma. The integrating function of this pattern is performed by the media which mobilise the population to fight against both internal and external factors endangering the homogeneity of a given society. Often, the hostility is directed to the West, but it can also refer to national problems, such as illiteracy and poverty.

The third integrating task assigned to African media is the propagation of national leaders. Political disagreements are often viewed as personal attacks on the people in power and, thus, regarded as *lèse-majesté* (cf. Lange 1984, p. 76). In reference to Western viewpoints which often label the continent's newspapers as „what the president did today“ types of publication, Maurice Samwilu Mwaffisi counters:

*„Western critics are amused and somewhat shocked at this blatant praise of leaders in African media. What they do not know is that praise of leaders is anchored in traditional African values.“* (Mwaffisi 1985, p. 7)

Katz, Wedell, et al. (cf. 1978, p. 107) state that this reverence for the leaders is a key to nation building. But they also warn against the creation of a larger than life image which inhibits the danger of an overthrow. This statement leads to maintenances of some experts who regard mass communication as dysfunctional forces in the integration process. The starting point was Hadley Cantril's „The Pattern of Human Concerns“ (cf. 1965) which aimed at the visualisation of problems and interests of the population of 14 states at different stages of development. The study revealed that the citizens of developing countries equated „good life“ with Western life-style. Without doubt, this conformity was the result of the medial distribution of Euro-American values (cf. Kunczik 1985, p. 120).

For Daniel Lerner (cf. 1963), this process is connected with an immense risk: in transporting the Western style of living, mass communication raises great expectations among developing societies - expectations which cannot be fulfilled by politicians in most cases. In other words, the spread of frustration in areas developing less rapidly than their people wish is the outcome of a deep

imbalance between achievement and aspiration. Lerner adopts the formula of the psychologist William James to illustrate this dilemma: Satisfaction = Achievement : Aspiration, Frustration = Aspiration : Achievement (cf. *ibid.*, p. 333). After all, the spread of frustration may lead to aggressions endangering the integration of a given system (cf. Kunczik 1985, p. 125). A case in point was the bring down of the Berlin Wall which was speeded up by the reinforcement of cognitive dissonances through Western media (Farfer 1994, pp. 6 - 7).

Similarly, Robert K. Merton (cf. 1967, pp. 134 - 135) asserts that in societies with an exceptionally strong emphasis on specific goals without a corresponding stress on institutional procedures, the system becomes unstable and there develops what Emile Durkheim calls „anomie“.

In discussing the dysfunctions of mass communication for the integration process, someone must not forget the hypothesis of the increasing knowledge gap. In their essay „Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge“, P. J. Tichenor, G. A. Donohue, and C. N. Olien state:

*„As the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.“* (Tichenor, Donohue, Olien 1970, pp. 159 - 160)

Especially in Africa where the media are extremely urban-based, though 70 % of the population live in rural areas, this concept deserves consideration in the planning of national communication sectors.

### **2.2.3 Social Change**

Commonly, development is understood as a type of directed social change that provides individuals with increased control over nature. Hence, development communication (DevCom) can be defined as communication devoted to planned social change (cf. Rogers 1989, pp. 67 and 72)<sup>7</sup>. In the context of development, mass communication is generally used to encourage the public to support and/or

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<sup>7</sup> More detailed is the definition of James C. Lange (cf. 1984, p. 72) who defines development as a measure of the opportunity that citizens have to obtain an adequate physical standard of living, to determine their own social and intellectual horizons, and to participate in political decisions which affect them.

participate in certain projects. The discussion on the role of mass media in the development process has passed through four major stages:

- 1 Modernisation (1945 - 1965)
- 2 Dependency (1965 - 1975)
- 3 Another Development (1975 - 1980)
- 4 Oramedia/Multiplicity (since 1980)

The **modernisation** paradigm is one of the oldest Western development concepts, and its roots can be traced back to the ancestors of sociology, Auguste Comte and Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon (cf. Kunczik 1985, pp. 34 - 35). But the most influential representative of the growth theories was Walt Wiltham Rostow (cf. 1960) who claimed that any society would - irrespective of its sociocultural and economic context - develop from a traditional into a modern society. Other directions of social change were excluded.

The role of the mass media in this unilinear process, which is sometimes referred as „Westoxification“ (cf. Mowlana 1997, p. 6), was clearly outlined: They should act as both an index and agent of needed change to enable the people to understand and to participate in the new nation and to empathise with those around it (cf. Hachten 1968, p. 101; Otto 1969, p. 32). The debate on the contribution of mass communication to the modernisation process was mainly based on the works of Daniel Lerner, Lucian Pye, and Wilbur Schramm. The three scientists took the imperturbable view that the introduction of modernising institutions, such as schools and mass media, would lead to economic growth and, sooner or later, to democratic political systems (cf. Lerner 1958; Pye 1963; Schramm 1964).

Another theoretical approach, which can be regarded as the social realisation of the modernisation theory, was the diffusion model whose relevance for communication research had been realised by Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernhard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet (cf. 1955) on the occasion of the presidential elections in the USA in 1940. Everett M. Rogers is said to be the scientist who introduced the diffusion model into the context of development. In his influential work „Diffusion of Innovations“, which was first published in 1962, Rogers defined diffusion as

*„(...) the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. Diffusion is a*

*special type of communication concerned with the spread of messages that are new ideas.*" (Rogers 1983, pp. 34 - 35)

The decision to adopt or to reject an innovation was regarded as a mental process passing through five stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. The study culminated in the assertion that mass media were potent instruments in creating awareness of innovations whereas interpersonal communication was more effective in forming and changing attitudes towards a new idea (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 35 - 36). Since mass communication existed in so-called „advanced societies“, Rogers proposed that developing countries should consider the same infrastructural ideas. The diffusion theory is still prevalent today in many DevCom programmes, above all in health and literacy campaigns (cf. Mowlana 1997, pp. 191 - 192).

Generally, the modernisation paradigm has been criticised because of its ethnocentric point of view, the simple classification into traditional and modern societies, and the linear view of social change (cf. Jika 1988, p. 108; Hedebrö 1982, p. 22). But the most basic reason for criticism of the modernisation model is simple: it does not work (cf. Servaes, Malikhao 1991, p. 7). This finding became first evident in the mid-1960s and paved the way for the a new period of DevCom, the **dependency** phase. Servaes and Malikhao (cf. *ibid.*) state that the so-called „dependencia“ emerged from the convergence of two intellectual reasons: on the one hand, the neo-Marxism or structuralism and, on the other hand, the Latin American debate on development that ultimately formed the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) headed by Raúl Prebisch (cf. 1950). As a result of his ECLA report, Prebisch is often considered the initiator of the dependency theory in today's literature (cf. Kunzick 1985, p. 141). Other influential dependistas were Paul A. Baran, André Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Baran (cf. 1957) was one of the first who articulated the interrelation of development and underdevelopment, i. e., he regarded them as the two sides of the same coin. Moreover, Baran presumed that the post-colonial dependence was ensured by the reproduction of capitalistic socioeconomic and political structures in peripheral countries (cf. Servaes, Malikhao 1991, p. 8). Frank (cf. 1969) claimed that direct colonial control had been replaced with neo-imperialistic mechanisms, e. g., development aid and international loans, and that these Western creations hampered the progress of the nation states. Finally, Wallerstein's „World System Theory“ (cf. 1974) looked upon the underdevelopment of the periphery as a basic requirement for the development of the centre (cf. Kunzick 1985, pp. 143 and 148).

From the angle of dependency-theoretical approach, the role of mass communication is strongly connected with the thesis of cultural imperialism (cf. Amupala 1989, p. 10) and the centre-periphery pattern as exemplified in the work of Johan Galtung (cf. 1971; Galtung, Ruge 1965). Galtung's hypothesis can be summarised in four statements characterising international news (cf. Mowlana 1997, p. 44):

- 1 preponderance of centre news events reported in the world press systems;
- 2 larger discrepancy in the news exchange ratios of centre and periphery nations than in the exchange ratios of center nations;
- 3 higher proportion of occupation of the foreign news content in the media of periphery nations by centre news than reversely;
- 4 relatively little or no flow of news among periphery nations, especially across colonial-based bloc borders.

Expressis verbis, the media are looked upon as one-way bridges on which Western values and ideas are carried into developing countries. Whereas modernisation theorists regarded internal factors, e. g., shortage of capital or management, as hindrances to social change, the dependistas assumed that the origins of underdevelopment had to be sought in external factors, more precisely, in the global structures. They argued that the domination of the periphery by the centre occurred through a combination of several power components, such as military, economy, politics, and culture. Therefore, the only alternative for developing countries would be to disassociate themselves from the world market and to attain self-reliance, both economically and culturally. Several attempts were made to achieve these ends, e. g. the formulation of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1974 and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in 1976. Another case in point was the demand for „Development Journalism“ which was first articulated by the research personnel of the University of Los Banos/Phillipines. Here, the mass media should be utilised to reduce social inequalities. After the creation of the Press Foundation of Asia in 1967, this conception also made its appearance in the public discourse (cf. Kunczik 1986, pp. 263 - 264).

Criticism of the dependency paradigm has been three-fold: First, developing countries are too weak in economic respects to operate autonomously. Second, the theory is so closely based on the social structure of Latin America that it is not

really applicable to other developing regions. Third, dependencia focuses on the causes for underdevelopment but does not offer well-devised solutions.

As a consequence, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, which was named after the Swedish UN general secretary and Nobel prize winner (1905 - 1961), elaborated the concept of **Another Development** (AD) in 1975. On the one hand, the approach took the dependency-theoretical demand for NWICO into account, but, on the other hand, provided clearly defined recommendations for its realisation. AD emphasised the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels - individual, local, national, and global (cf. Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation 1975). This precondition led to a strategy not merely considering the grassroots but largely emanating from them (cf. Servaes 1995, p. 30). Here, the role of communication was the „conscientisation” of the people to ensure their full participation in the decision-making process. This task was regarded as a prerequisite for the achievement of a need-oriented, self-reliant, and endogenous society being aware of the potential of local ecosystems (cf. Anonymous 1976, p. 10). The participatory model is based on the ideas of Paulo Freire (cf. 1972). The Brazilian educationalist insisted that subjugated peoples had to be treated as mature human beings in any political process. This concept implied dialogical communication (cf. Servaes 1995, p. 31). But since education from the top could never be a dialogue, Freire refused the use of mass media. Consequently, he utilised alternative medial techniques for his literacy campaigns, such as photography, slide projection, and tape recording (cf. Grossenbacher 1988, p. 29).

Whereas the modernisation approach has been considered to be US-American, dependencia to be Latin American, and the concept of Another Development to be European, the fourth and actual stage has often been marked as African, mainly because of the dominant role of West African communication researchers and their **Oramedia** ideology (cf. Kivikuru 1990, p. 19). According to its most renowned proponent, Frank Owu Ugboajah (cf. 1987, p. 197), Oramedia are understood as Africa’s traditional and old-established communication media. Due to the high acceptance and credibility of the Oramedia, they are successful in establishing interpersonal contacts, and, thus, they can be used for mobilisation purposes in DevCom. Here, the conventional mass media are regarded as supplementation since they are able to draw the people’s attention to development initiatives (cf. *ibid.*, p. 199). The domain of the Oramedia is the rural

sector where about 70 % of Africa's population live and interact (cf. Jefkins, Ugboajah 1986, p. 156).

Unfortunately, no skillful research has been conducted on the effectiveness of Oramedia in African development until today. But an idea how it could work provides the survey of Suresh Chandra Sharma who investigated the interrelation of communication and development in four villages in Rajasthan in the mid-1980s. The study reveals that mass media are more effective among people with a high socioeconomic status (SEC), whereas „folkmedia“ have a greater impact on individuals with a low SEC (cf. Sharma 1987, pp. 170 - 171). Owing to scholars like Jan Servaes, the Oramedia approach is nowadays also accepted by academics in Europe and America. Hence, it is to be hoped that further research will supply the required empirical data and a more profound theoretical foundation. Servaes' own **Multiplicity** model goes in this direction (cf. Servaes 1995, p. 26):

- 1 All nations are dependent upon one another. Consequently, internal as well as external factors inevitably influence the development process.
- 2 Development has to be studied in a global context in which both centre and periphery as well as their interrelated subdivisions have to be taken into consideration.
- 3 More attention is being paid to the content of development which implies a multiplicity of approaches based on the context and the basic, felt needs, and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at divergent levels.
- 4 There is no universal model for development. Each society must create its own strategy.

By now, it is evident that no all-embracing view on development is on offer. None of the above-mentioned theoretical perspectives has achieved and maintained explanatory dominance; each of them still finds support among scientists, politicians, international organisations, and the general public. A revitalised modernisation perspective, in which some of the errors of the past were eradicated, has remained the dominant paradigm in practice but becomes increasingly more difficult to defend in theory. Although the promising Oramedia/multiplicity approach has gained ground in academic spheres, it is still looked upon as playground of visionaries by the planners of development strategies (cf. Servaes, Malikhao 1991, p. 13).



### **3 Methodological Aspects**

In carrying out research on developing countries, scientific investigators are usually confronted with two major problems: first, the lack of relevant material, and, second, the socioeconomic distance from the object of inquiry.

To start with the latter and more difficult problem, it has to be admitted that most of the Western surveys on ACR have been conducted from ethnocentric perspectives. Here, the problem often has not been the ill-will of single investigators to ignore the particularities of the field of research but the inability to approach the task with adequate skills and techniques. Interesting methodological attempts, such as the „Natural Sociology“ of Schatzmann/Strauss (cf. 1973) or Molefi Asante’s „Afrology“ (cf. 1987, pp. 16 - 17; 1989, pp. 60 - 61), have not yet entered the discipline of communication science. Consequently, the basic requirement for successful social sciences, i. e., to reveal the social environment of the objects of investigation, has often remained a secret (cf. Lamnek 1988, p. 18).

The Tanzanian government tries to safeguard the performances of scientists from abroad by demanding an official research clearance. The clearance is issued by the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) after the qualifications of the applicant and the usefulness of the proposed work for the United Republic were assessed. The scheme includes both hindrances and benefits: on the one hand, the evaluation process lasts several months and is costly, but, on the other hand, admission to all relevant institutions and archives is granted in the case of a successful application. Moreover, COSTECH assigns a so-called „professional sponsor“, i. e., a Tanzanian scientist who supports the foreign researcher in his/her project. A separate but similar system is used on Zanzibar.

This arrangement was so fruitful for the study in hand that general methodological considerations can be deduced from it. Ayub Rioba, ex-journalist and now tutor at the Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ), was heart and soul for the survey so that the gathering of data and the establishment of contacts was easily to manage within a few weeks time. Furthermore, he assisted in designing the study by pointing out its priorities and verified the results of interviews and discussions.

Summing up, it may be said that the general demands for multidisciplinary approaches (cf. Ochola, p. 52) or Paul F. Lazarsfeld’s (cf. 1952, p. 488) demand

for the co-operation with „area specialists“ are not enough. The social environment of the object of investigation will remain hidden unless a member of the inquired society is incorporated into the research process. In other words, studying the communicative behaviour and performances of international communities can only be successful if the analysed objects - or at least parts of them - become results-evaluating subjects.

Another common problem of investigations on developing societies is the lack of relevant material. Most often, the outcome of these sometimes really deplorable conditions are insufficient comprehension and wrong assertions. Hence, Ulrich Saxer and René Grossenbacher (cf. 1987, p. 234) suggest the combination of methods, i. e., the utilisation of different methodological techniques should enable the researcher to verify his/her data. Consequently, the findings of the present study are based on a qualitative content analysis of a sample of 58 Tanzanian newspapers covering the period from 1888 to 1996, interviews with 27 of the country's leading media professionals, and the extensive analysis of primary sources in the Tanzania National Archives (Dar es Salaam), the Public Record Office, and the Newspaper Library of the British Library (all in London). The secondary material used in this work was mainly found in the libraries of the TSJ in Dar es Salaam as well as in the London-based Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICS) and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). In fact, this approach has resulted in a tight information-gaining process.

## 4        **The Press of German East Africa (1890 - 1916)**

### 4.1      **The Origins of the Tanzanian Print Media**

The story of the beginnings of the Tanzanian press is the story of a delay. While Richard Francis Burton and John Hanning Speke were having their altercations whether Lake Victoria was the headwaters of the Nile or not, journalism had already become a profession in South Africa and in British West Africa.

But due to the intensified Christianisation efforts during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of African-language papers increased enormously, above all in the missionary societies' centres of South Africa, such as Johannesburg and Durban. Therefore, it is not astonishing that the first newspaper of Tanzania, *Msimulizi* (The Storyteller), was published by the Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) on Zanzibar in 1888 (→ 7.1).

Although *Msimulizi* was a rather successful innovation on the island, it lasted two years until the first attempts to launch a mainland paper took place. In mid-1890, *Mtenga Watu* (The Converter) was issued by the UMCA Central Station on Likoma island (cf. *Msimulizi*, No. XII, p. 443). In fact, the first mainland periodical was only an offspring of *Msimulizi*, and, thus, the readers were not satisfied with the paper's quality at all. Whereas *Msimulizi* was respectfully called „Mzee“ (The Elder), *Mtenga Watu* was nicknamed „Mtoto“ (The Child) (cf. *ibid.*).

Encouraged by the achievements of *Msimulizi* on Zanzibar, the UMCA missionary Woodward expressed his wish to launch a quarterly Swahili paper for the Usambara region in autumn 1891:

*„I also hope to start a quarterly magazine of general information, its purpose being to encourage reading and a desire of knowledge. I think we are just at the stage when it would be useful.“* (Quoted from Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1892, p. 25)

Later that year, the first issue of *Maongezi na Maarifa* (Entertainment and Information) came off the presses in Magila. Unfortunately, no copies are available today, and, hence, nothing is known about its contents. But considering the topics of diverse African missionary publications at that time, it can be assumed that the paper merely focused on religious items.

At the end of 1892, another Usambara quarterly was issued in Magila. The unnamed publication, which is only mentioned in Anderson-Morshead’s „The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1859 - 1896”, was printed in Bondé, a vernacular spoken in the area (cf. Anderson-Morshead 1897, p. 7). Hence, the UMCA press of Tanzania comprised four newspapers which were mainly produced by African teachers employed with the missionary society. According to the UMCA report of 1892, this fact was „(...) surely sufficient in itself to silence the gainsayers of the capabilities of the African races.” (Universities’ Mission to Central Africa 1892, p. 7) Nevertheless, none of the mainland papers got out of the experimental stage, and it is believed that they all disappeared during the years 1892 and 1893.

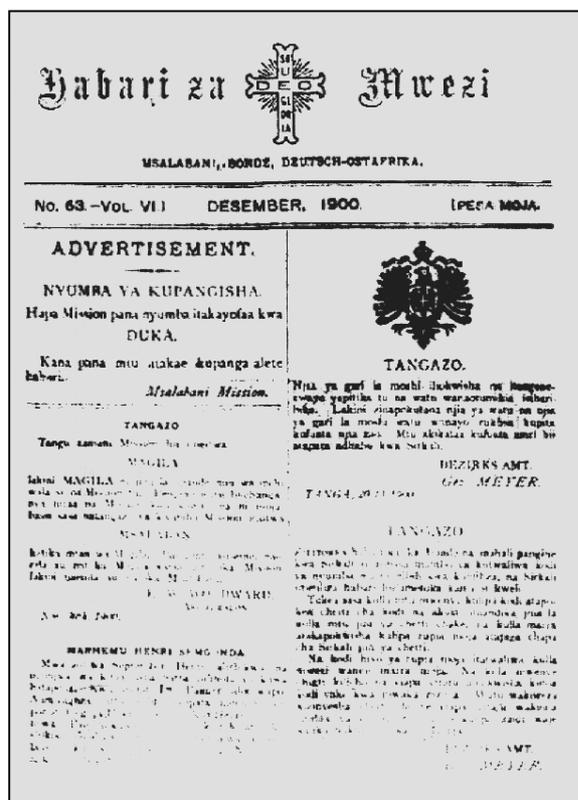


Figure 2: The first real newspaper of German East Africa - *Habari za Mwezi* (from Lemke 1929, Tafel 1).

But the former editor of *Maongezi na Maarifa*, Mr. Woodward, was convinced that the territory was in need of both an informative and educative magazine. After he had become archdeacon, Woodward launched the - in then circumstances - professionally designed Swahili monthly *Habari za Mwezi* (News of the Month). The paper, which was first published in Magila in 1894, can be regarded as the first real newspaper of the mainland - an opinion which is also shared by media experts, such as Nkwabi Ng’wanakilala (cf. 1981, p. 16) and Graham L. Mytton (cf. 1976, p. 135). At the very beginning, *Habari*

*za Mwezi* ran only religious articles, but after negative responses from the readership, secular items were printed, too. Nevertheless, its contents often were of European origin and did not serve the needs of the indigenous population. A case in point was the publication of Dante’s „Divina Commedia” (cf. Lemke 1929, pp. 19 - 20). Consequently, *Habari za Mwezi* temporarily ceased publication in 1907 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 20). An African preacher, Samwil Sehoza, totally

renewed the monthly and republished it in 1908. Hence, Sehoza became the first African editor in the history of the mainland press, and he succeeded in his plans to increase the paper's circulation. But in 1916, the First World War stopped the production of *Habari za Mwezi*. Then, the monthly had a print run of 6,000 copies per issue (cf. Scotton 1972, S. 30). No other print media had achieved such broad distribution throughout the German colony by that time.

## **4.2 Government Press vs. Settler Papers**

The African continent was split up among the European powers during the so-called „Congo Conference“ which took place in Berlin from November 15<sup>th</sup> 1884 to February 26<sup>th</sup> 1885. Even before the final declaration was signed by the representatives of the involved countries, Carl Peters, the pioneer of German East Africa, had already obtained a territory comprising 140,000 square kilometres by fraud (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 39; Loth 1985, p. 32). Then, on February 27<sup>th</sup> 1885, the German government handed over a protection letter to the „Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation“ (Society for German Colonisation) which put the territory under the supremacy of the Kaiser. On April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1885, the „Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft“ (German-East-Africa Society), an organisation of imperialistic agitators led by Carl Peters, was officially recognised. As a result, more expeditions aiming at the extension of the territory set out for the hinterland (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 39 - 40).

After border agreements with Great Britain, Portugal, and the sultanate of Zanzibar, the German administration was confronted with the so-called „Bushiri Riot“. In 1888, rebels occupied the most important towns along the coastline, except Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. The German government headed by chancellor Bismarck decided to recruit mercenary troops which put down the revolt after a bloody campaign in 1890. On November 20<sup>th</sup> 1890, Berlin and the DOAG agreed to transform the protectorate into a colony<sup>8</sup> (cf. Iliffe 1979, p. 91; Herzog 1986, pp. 42 and 45).

Although the German domination in Tanganyika had been stabilised during the 1890s and the administrative system was developing rather successfully, both

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<sup>8</sup> The international recognition of this decision was granted in the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of July 1<sup>st</sup> 1890 which adjudged the islands of Zanzibar, i. e., Unguja and Pemba, to Great Britain, while the German Reich obtained Heligoland (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 45).

settlers and government had yet failed to establish a newspaper serving their interests. Hence, until 1899, official and private announcements had to be published in the British organ *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate* (→ 7.2). The story of the foundation of the first German newspaper and its owner Willy von Roy will be told in the following portrait.

#### **4.2.1 Portrait I: Willy von Roy and the DOAZ**

When Willy von Roy immigrated into German East Africa in 1898, the entire „newspaper market“ was in the hands of the UMCA. This situation was rather dissatisfying for the German government, and, thus, Otto Stollowsky, an administrative officer and close acquaintance of Governor Eduard von Liebert, suggested the publication of a German-language paper to von Roy (cf. Osterhaus 1990, p. 5). Von Liebert was soon persuaded, and, after a short period of preparations, the first edition of the weekly *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (German-East-African Newspaper), hereafter known as DOAZ, came off the presses on February 26<sup>th</sup> 1899 (cf. Prakke, Lerg, Schmolke 1970, p. 530).

From the beginning, the DOAZ was a mouthpiece for the German planters and farmers. To ensure the paper's autonomy, von Roy published administrative declarations in a separate supplement named *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Official Announcer for German East Africa) which appeared on March 16<sup>th</sup> 1900.

Besides a leading article and a feuilleton, the DOAZ carried the following standards:

- „Aus unserer Kolonie“ (From our Colony): stories on German East Africa;
- „Telegraphisches aus Heimat und Ausland“ (Cable News from Home and Foreign Countries): reports from Europe via the Zanzibar-based Reuters bureau;
- „Berliner Telegramme“ (Telegraphs from Berlin): news from the Reich's capital;
- „Aus Daressalam und Umgebung“ (From Dar es Salaam and its Surroundings): Local News;
- „Witterungs-Uebersicht“ (Weather Forecast);
- „Anzeigen“ (Advertisements).

This mixture proved to be very successful. In 1902, the DOAZ had already gained a print run of 1,000 - then signifying the hurdle for a single newspaper's circulation (cf. Prakke, Lerg, Schmolke 1970, p. 530). Furthermore, supplements, such as the monthly *Das Ostafrikanische Waidwerk* (East African Hunting), met the settlers' interests in practical information (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 40).

But in 1907, the relationship between Willy von Roy and the German administration changed for the worse. The *Usambara-Post* (→ 4.2.), a weekly for the planters in Tanga, had frequently attacked the administration's colonial policy. But since the paper was edited by the government school in Tanga, the then governor, Freiherr Albrecht von Rechenberg, simply had to order his officers to refuse further co-operation. Thus, the paper's cessation was forced (cf. *ibid.*). Von Roy, „a choleric man“ (Pipping-van Hulst 1974, p. 9), declared his solidarity with the planters and founded the *Usaramo-Post*; a paper which was supposed to bridge the gap. But despite of the DOAZ's financial strength, the *Usaramo-Post* did not survive its first three months (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 40).



Figure 3: The weekly *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was the mouthpiece of the German settlers (from Osterhaus 1990, p. 47).

The incident revealed the entire discrepancy between the colonial ideas of German nationalists and the governor. Von Rechenberg believed that the most promising way to change the territory from an economic liability into a German asset was to promote African agriculture and a Euro-Indian commercial class (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 53). The governor feared that any settlement of Europeans on a large scale would lead to bloody conflicts with the indigenous population (cf. Iliffe 1969, p. 131). In addition, von Rechenberg did not show any sympathies for the German colonial society but for the colony's culture and languages<sup>9</sup> (cf.

<sup>9</sup> Von Rechenberg was fluent in Swahili, Arabic, and Gujerati (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 56).

Scotton 1972, p. 55 - 56). On the contrary, the DOAZ carried articles which were inspired by social-darwinistic ideas (cf. Osterhaus 1990, p. 35):

*„One topic about which the Germans always had altercations with their northern neighbours were the Masai, the ‘warlike’ pastoralists who perhaps more than most of the indigenous peoples had a mind of their own. The Zeitung<sup>10</sup> led the discussion, quoting with approval a certain Bishop Hirth who had known the Masai for decades, as saying: the peace of the country cannot be restored before the last Masai has been exterminated.“* (Pipping-van Hulst 1974, S. 33)

The relationship between the two opponents collapsed when von Roy accused the governor of „negrophilia“ (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 40). And since there was no press law by which the DOAZ’s anti-governmental campaign could have been stopped, the hands of the administration were tied (→ 4.4). Thus, von Rechenberg decided to start his own newspaper. After he had managed to obtain subsidies, the first edition of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* (German-East-African Review), hereafter known as DOAR, was published on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1908 (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 71). Although the paper had adopted the DOAZ’s successful mixture of information and entertainment, it was completely ignored by the German settlers. Instead, it was derided for its governmental services (cf. Osterhaus 1990, pp. 46 - 48). As a result, the administration made every legal effort to harm the DOAZ’s financial situation, e. g., it revoked the 250 governmental subscriptions and the supplement *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika* from von Roy’s newspaper (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 74). In addition, it took over the production and distribution of *Der Pflanze* (The Settler), a supplement which was originally attached to the DOAZ and the *Usambara-Post*, and effected the prohibition of its reprint on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1911 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 84). Consequently, von Roy tried to compensate this loss by launching similar supplements, such as *Amtliche Anzeigen für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Official Announcements for German East Africa) and *Der Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Pflanze*, (The German-East-African Settler) which was edited on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1909 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 91 - 92).

But this was not enough of it. Mr. Passavant, a leading journalist of the DOAR, found out that von Roy was fined because of a bagatelle in 1899. Consequently, an unfactual campaign was started. But the owner of the DOAZ stroke back again and accused high officials of paederasty (cf. *ibid.*, p. 88).

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<sup>10</sup> *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* of July 25<sup>th</sup> 1903.



Figure 4: The governmental *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* vied with DOAZ and lost (from Osterhaus 1990, p. 49).

This was exactly what von Rechenberg had been waiting for. The administration issued a writ, and Willy von Roy was sued for libel. In the lawsuit, the owner of the DOAZ was sentenced to a six months term of confinement, and, furthermore, he had to emigrate from German East Africa. Back in fatherland, Kaiser Wilhelm II. cancelled the warrant of arrest, but he did not grant von Roy's request to return to the colony (cf. Osterhaus 1990, p. 35).

Nevertheless, von Roy managed to keep his influence on the paper alive. In 1911, he appointed Dr. Zintgraff the new editor who used a clever strategy to reach a very influential readership: immediately after his assumption of office, Zintgraff established the „Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung G.m.b.H.“ (German-East-African Newspaper Private Limited Company), and W. Föllmer, the president of the „Deutschnationaler Kolonialverein“ (German-Nationalistic Colonial Association), became the chairman of its supervisory board (cf. Redeker 1937, pp. 110 - 111).

Unfortunately it is not handed down, if the conflict with the DOAZ was responsible for the recall of Freiherr Albrecht von Rechenberg in October 1911. But without the patronage of the governor, the DOAR was not able to survive, and, subsequently, it ceased publication on December 28<sup>th</sup> 1912. The whole inventory stock was passed over to the DOAZ as well as the *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika* and *Der Pflanzler*. The relationship between the editor of the DOAZ and the colonial administration under its new governor, Dr. Heinrich Schnee, returned to normalcy although the paper continued to be a settlers' organ (cf. *ibid.*, p. 120). When Dar es Salaam was occupied by the British army during the First World War, the newspaper's production was moved to Morogoro where the last issue of the DOAZ appeared in August 1916 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 131).

### 4.2.2 Other Publications in the Conflict

Besides Dar es Salaam, Tanga, a coastal town in the north, became the second centre of German newspaper production. Due to lively settlement and the printing facilities of the government school of handicrafts, Tanga provided perfect publishing conditions.

The first paper launched there was the bi-weekly *Anzeigen für Tanga* (Announcements for Tanga) which was published by the above-mentioned government school in November 1901. After three months, Editor Blank, who was also the headmaster of the school, reduced the frequency of publication to once a week. From the start, the newspaper was an advocate of the settlers' welfare and a prosecutor of governmental policy (cf. Redeker 1937, pp. 93 - 94). In 1904<sup>11</sup>, *Anzeigen für Tanga* was renamed *Usambara-Post* and subtitled „Zeitung für die Nordbezirke Tanga, Pangani und Wilhelmstal“ (Newspaper for the Northern Districts of Tanga, Pangani, and Wilhelmstal). Furthermore, on April 28<sup>th</sup> 1906, a supplement named *Der Ansiedlerfreund* (The Settler's Friend) was added (cf. *ibid.*, p. 94).

Due to its oppositional attitude to the government, the Saturday paper was forced to cease publication in 1907. Even Willy von Roy's attempts to take over the *Usambara-Post* ran aground. Five months later, on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1907, the paper was relaunched by a previous leading journalist of the DOAZ, von Horn. Thus, the two most important German-language papers were mentally linked, and together, they formed a broad editorial alliance against the governor. In fact, there scarcely was an issue in which von Rechenberg was not accused of pursuing an un-German policy (cf. *ibid.*).

On August 11<sup>th</sup> 1911, von Horn was succeeded by Josef Deeg who added new but rather short-lived supplements to the paper in January 1913. Both, the *Kilimandjaro- und Meru-Zeitung* (Kilimanjaro- and Meru-Newspaper) and the *Illustrierte Unterhaltungsbeilage* (Illustrated Entertainment Supplement), already disappeared in 1914, whereas the *Usambara-Post* itself was published until June 3<sup>rd</sup> 1916 (cf. Redeker 1937, p. 109).

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<sup>11</sup> 1902 in *Prakke, Lerg, Schmolke* (cf. 1970, p. 530).

Another important paper located in Tanga was *Kiongozi* (The Leader) edited by the government school in 1904. The aim of the Swahili newspaper was the information of the African population, but the matter was not regarded seriously. Therefore, the readers had to wait one and a half years for the second issue (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 21). In the meantime, the school had obtained a high-speed press, and from July 1905 onwards, *Kiongozi* appeared regularly once a month and became highly appreciated by Africans. As a result, the government, which had not given a rap for the information of the indigenous population before, realised that the paper could be an effective instrument in administering the African community and in propagating governmental aims. Subsequently, the administration decided to subsidise *Kiongozi*. With a print run of 2,500 copies, the monthly became the most influential Swahili paper in the centres. Its contents consisted mainly of topics about German East Africa and official announcements, but the newspaper also ran entertaining articles. Many stories were written by African freelancers whose performances induced Hilde Lemke to assert:

„Viele Streichungen an den Berichten durften nicht vorgenommen werden, da man dadurch den Mitarbeiter verärgert hätte, und eine der Haupteigenschaften des Negers seine große Empfindsamkeit ist.“<sup>12</sup> (Lemke 1929, p. 65)



Figure 5: *Kiongozi* was the first governmental newspaper which aimed at the information of the African population (from Lemke 1929, Tafel 3).

<sup>12</sup> „Too many deletions in the articles were not possible, since those would annoy the contributors, and one of the negroe’s main characteristics is his great sensibility.“

### 4.3 Missionary Papers

As already mentioned in the short review of the origins of the African press, the Anglican missionaries were the pioneers of Tanzanian print media production. Therefore, it is rather astonishing that the first German mission paper only appeared in 1904. The „Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission zu Leipzig“ (Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Leipzig) had already been in German East Africa for 14 years when *Mbuya ya Vandu Veu* (The Friend of the Black People) was published in Moshi. Written in dialects of the Chagga language, it appeared at irregular intervals until 1914 (cf. Schnee 1920, p. 99).

In October 1905, a Shambala monthly called *Mkoma Mbuli* (The Storyteller) was launched by the „Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika“ (Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa) in Tanga. Editor Röhl reproduced the newsheet with a type-writer. It is believed that *Mkoma Mbuli* ceased publication in 1914 (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 41).

Adopting the ideas of their theorist Gustav Warneck, the Lutheran missionaries were convinced that the country's vernaculars should be utilised to propagate their belief. This was just the opposite of the language policy pursued by the administration and the Roman Catholics. But when isolation threatened their work, the Protestant missions decided to rethink their attitude and, consequently, favoured the spread of the Swahili.

This consideration was taken into account when the Evangelical missionary societies resolved to launch a joint Protestant Swahili paper at a meeting in Halle/Saale on February 16<sup>th</sup> 1909. The ulterior motive of the plan was to stem the circulation of the „godless“ *Kiongozi* (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 32). After nearly one year of preparations, in January 1910, the first issue of the monthly *Pwani na Bara* (Coast and Hinterland) came off the presses, and, until July, the paper was produced by the DOAR's printing works. Then, the editor, Superintendent Klamroth, opened a Lutheran printing office in Dar es Salaam.

First and foremost, the paper aimed at „unobtrusive“ christianisation, and second, it tried to inform and entertain the indigenous readers (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32 - 33). Moreover, as a side-effect, it introduced Kaiser Wilhelm II. and German customs.

A case in point is the following poem of Yakobo Ngombo praising the Kaiser's birthday:

*„Afrika furahi, mshukuru sana kaisari wee.  
Baraka na amani kakupa kaisari yee.  
Chuma pendo, umpende sana kaisari saa.  
Dola yake ni kubwa, miji yote kaiwasha taa.  
Eleza ya kale kama sasa yakufaa.  
Fundisha watoto wako wapate kumtii.  
Ginsi gani wafanya matata wala hutulii?  
Hura! hura! mpigie, umwombee na uhai.  
Itokeapo hatari, aikingaye ni yeye tai.  
Jina lake la sifa na lenyi ufahari.  
Kumbuka waasi, wafanyavyo ni kaisari.  
Lazimu umwogope wala usimkosee.  
Mheshimu sana na kodi umletee.  
Nani aondoaye shida zako kila pahali?  
Nguvu hizi ni za watu walio wakali.  
Ona ujue, ya kwamba ni hii serikali.  
Palipo na vita, aendaye ni yeye shujaa.  
Raiya wote salama katuondolea mabaa.  
Salamu, bwana wetu wee, baada ya salamu,  
Shujaa mkuu ndiwe, wote twakufahamu.  
Tangu Bushiri na majimaji akusubutuye nani?  
Umewatibu kwa nguvu wala huwezekani.  
Vuruguvurugu waondoa kwa watu wakaidi.  
Wakristo mwombeeni maisha, aishi zaidi.  
Yee, Mwingu azidi kumpa nguvu na uzima,  
Ziondelewe shida zote za hapa Afrika daima.”<sup>13</sup>*  
(Pwani na Bara, Vol. 02, No. 01, January 1911, p. 1)

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<sup>13</sup> „Rejoice Africa, be very grateful to your Kaiser. Blessing and peace the Kaiser has given to you. Gather love, now you should love the Kaiser very much. His empire is large, he has kindled light in every town. Describe the past and how useful it is now. Educate your children to obey the Kaiser. Why do they cause problems instead of being quiet? Hurrah! Hurrah! Applause, pray for his life. If there is danger ahead, he, the eagle, will stave it off. His name is glorious and full of pride. Remember rebels, your actions are against the Kaiser. It is necessary that you fear him but you should not misunderstand him. Pay honour and taxes to him. Who takes away your problems anywhere? It is the strength of strict persons. Look and take notice that this is the government. Where war rages, he, the hero, goes there. Every citizen is doing well, he has relieved us from mischief. Hail to you, great lord, and after the greetings, you are really the great hero, we all know you. Since Bushiri and Maji Maji (African riot which took place between the years 1905 and 1907, annotation of the author), who should measure his strength with you? You have cured them by force which is not impossible for you. You took away the confusion from selfish persons. Christians, pray for his life in order that he will live long. God may be willing to give him strength and health, all problems may disappear from Africa forever.“

When Klamroth travelled to Europe in October 1911, a missionary called Krelle took over the editorial office, and after the superintendent's return to German East Africa in mid-1912, the post changed between them several times. From August 1912 onwards, *Pwani na Bara* appeared in new, more clearly arranged layout and supported the development of the Swahili by publishing vocabularies. At the beginning of 1914, the two-page supplement *Mdogo wa „Pwani na Bara“* (The Child of „Coast and Hinterland“) was attached to the newspaper in order to separate religious from secular items. As a result, the paper's print run increased to 2,000 copies (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 35).



Figure 6: The monthly *Pwani na Bara* was the joint Swahili paper of the Lutheran missions in German East Africa (from Lemke 1929, Tafel 4).

A factor completely neglected by the missionary papers up to this stage was topicality. But when the First World War broke out in Europe, people became more and more interested in current affairs. As a result, on August 18<sup>th</sup> 1914, Klamroth published a special edition dealing with the situation on the fronts, and, furthermore, a column was reserved for the latest telegrams from Europe in the following issues. Nevertheless, also *Pwani na Bara* became a victim of the war and disappeared in April 1916.

Considering the success of Lutheran newspaper production, the Roman Catholics had fallen behind. Therefore, a paper called *Rafiki Yangu* (My Friend) was published by the „Sanct Benedictus Missions Genossenschaft“ (Saint Benedict's Missionary Association) in 1910. Bishop Thomas Spreiter, a resolute advocate of the Swahili, was appointed the editor. Spreiter believed that the periodical would ensure the usage of the lingua franca among Catholic school-leavers, and through them it would be spread throughout their community (cf. Schäppi 1937, p. 209).



Figure 7: The Catholic paper *Rafiki Yangu* was utilised for the propagation of the Swahili (from Lemke 1929, Tafel 5).

*diese Späße den primitiven Eingeborenen ebenso viel Freude machten wie die Rätsel-Ecken der anderen Zeitungen, ist wohl sicher.*<sup>14</sup> (Lemke 1929, p. 39)

During the following years, the monthly was more and more accepted by the readership. It was distributed by 500 retail shops throughout German East Africa and gained a print run of at least 5,000 copies (cf. Lemke, p. 40). And because of the paper's commitment to the spread of the Swahili, its production was supported by the administration (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 30).

In 1916, the First World War escalated in German East Africa, and the most important towns and regions of the territory were conquered by the Allies (cf. Dülfer 1973, pp. 34 - 35). The press, still in its infancy, completely disappeared.

Similar to other missionary publications, the religious contents of *Rafiki Yangu* were not conducive to the paper's success. Consequently, Spreiter gave way to the market pressure and accepted secular items, too. As an alternative, he added a religious supplement called *Mweleza* (The Explicator) in January 1912. Apart from practical advices, e. g., health care, *Rafiki Yangu* also tried to entertain by telling anecdotes and jokes:

*„Seit 1912 ist eine für die Eingeborenen wichtigsten Ecken in der Zeitung die Schnurren-Ecke, in der kleine Witze sowohl in Kisuaheli wie in deutscher Sprache erzählt werden. Daß*

<sup>14</sup> „Since 1912, one of the most important parts of the newspaper for the natives has been the drollery corner in which little jokes in Swahili and German language are narrated. Without doubt, these jests pleased the primitive natives just like the riddle corners in other papers.“

#### 4.4 The Newspaper Law of German East Africa

Although the conflict with Willy von Roy made clear that the prevention of further libellous allegations would only be safeguarded by imposing statutory controls, no corresponding regulations were enacted until 1912. Then, Berlin decided to implement press ordinances in all German protectorates (cf. Behn 1968, p. 178).

Thus, a German-East-African newspaper law came into effect in April 1912. On legal authority of the „Reichspressegesetz“ (The Reich’s Press Law), which had been enacted by Kaiser Wilhelm I. on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1874, the freedom of the press was only limited by the provisions of the current law<sup>15</sup> (cf. Koszyk 1966, pp. 243 - 244). The most controversial point in the decree was the responsibility of journalists who could have been prosecuted as criminals if they were not able to prove their absence during the violation. Possible penalties were barred by the statute of limitations after six years (cf. *ibid.*, p. 244).

Moreover, the governor was appointed as the direct representative of the legislation. Thus, he was able to ban foreign publications, and, furthermore, to prohibit print media and articles dealing with troop activities and/or the defensive system in the case of domestic conflicts, „native-riots“, and wars (cf. Osterhaus 1990, p. 120).

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the administration made use of the first Tanzanian press law at all.

#### 4.5 Press Register I

***Amtlicher Anzeiger für den Bezirk Arusha* (Official Announcer for the District of Arusha):** The German monthly was published by the „Kaiserliches Bezirksamt“ (Imperial District Office) in Arusha in 1914.

***Amtlicher Anzeiger für den Bezirk Moschi* (Official Announcer for the District of Moshi):** The Moshi equivalent to the above-mentioned publication came out in 1908 and was edited by the „Kaiserliches Bezirksamt“ (Imperial District Office) in an irregular frequency.

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<sup>15</sup> A case in point was the so-called „Sozialistengesetz“ (Socialists’ Law) which was promulgated by the Reichstag on October 21<sup>st</sup> 1878. Among others, it inflicted a total prohibition of the social-democratic press. The law was annulled in 1890.

***Anzeigen für Tanga:*** → *Usambara-Post*.

***Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau* (German-East-African Review):** The government weekly was published in Dar es Salaam from August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1908 to December 28<sup>th</sup> 1912. Printed in German language, it included the supplements *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Official Announcer for German East Africa, c. 1908 - 1912) and *Der Pflanze* (The Settler, 1910 - 1912).

***Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (German-East-African Newspaper):** The first issue of the DOAZ appeared in Dar es Salaam on February 26<sup>th</sup> 1899. Initially published weekly, the editorial office headed by Willy von Roy soon decided to print the paper twice a week. The following supplements were added: *Amtliche Anzeigen für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Official Announcements for German East Africa, 1911 - 1912), *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch Ostafrika* (Official Announcer for German East Africa, 1900 - c. 1908/1913 - 1915), *Das Ostafrikanische Waidwerk* (East African Hunting, 1905 - 1909), *Der Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Pflanze* (The German-East-African Settler, 1909 - 1912), *Der Pflanze* (The Settler, 1905 - 1910/1913 - 1915; edited by Geo A. Schmidt and „Wissenschaftliches Institut/Amani“ [Institute of Science/Amani]), *Gesetz und Recht für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Law and Justice for German East Africa, 1912), and the *Illustrierte Unterhaltungsbeilage* (Illustrated Entertainment Supplement, 1913). → *Tanganyika Zeitung* (5.9).

***Habari za Mwezi* (News of the Month):** The Swahili-language paper was launched by the UMCA in Magila in 1894. In 1907, it temporarily ceased publication. Renewed by the first African editor of Tanzania’s media history, Samwil Sehoza, it reappeared in 1908 and was published until 1916. With a print run of 6,000 copies in 1914, *Habari za Mwezi* was the widest circulating newspaper throughout the territory.

***Kiongozi* (The Leader):** The administration’s Swahili paper was edited by the government school of handicrafts in Tanga in 1904. Published monthly, it appeared in a run of 3,000 copies.

***Korrespondenzblatt* (Correspondence Sheet):** Written by hand, the German-language forum of the Lutheran Missionaries was published in Dar es Salaam about 1910.

***Maongezi na Maarifa (Entertainment and Information)***: The Swahili quarterly was edited by Mr. Woodward in late 1891. It appeared in Magila in the Usambara region and ceased publication in 1892.

***Mbuya ya Vandu Veu (The Friend of the Black People)***: The „Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission zu Leipzig“ (Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Leipzig) was the owner of this paper which appeared in Moshi from 1904 to 1914. Published at irregular intervals, it was printed in dialects of the Chagga.

***Mkoma Mbuli (The Storyteller)***: This Shambala monthly appeared in Tanga from 1905 onwards. Until 1907, the editor, Mr. Röhl from the „Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika“ (Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa), had to use a type-writer for the paper's reproduction. *Mkoma Mbuli* ceased publication when the First World War's hostilities broke out in the territory.

***Mtenga Watu (The Converter)***: The first periodical on mainland Tanzania was published by the UMCA Central Station on Likoma island in mid-1890. It is believed that the publication survived until 1892.

***N. N.***: The unnamed Bondé quarterly was edited by African teachers employed with the UMCA in Magila in 1892.

***Ostafrikanisches Waidwerk (East African Hunting)***: „Mitteilungen des Wildschutzvereins“ (Information of the Gamekeepers' Union) was the subtitle of this monthly which was added to the → *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* from 1905 to 1909. From 1912 onwards, it was published as a paper of its own by the „Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitungs G.m.b.H.“ (German-East-African Newspaper Private Limited Company) in Dar es Salaam.

***Pwani na Bara (Coast and Hinterland)***: The Swahili monthly was published by the Evangelical Missions in Dar es Salaam from 1910 to 1916. It included a supplement called *Mdogo wa „Pwani na Bara“* (The Child of „Coast and Hinterland“) and appeared in a print run of 2,000 copies. After unsuccessful attempts in 1964 and 1965, the paper was relaunched by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (Eastern and Coastal Synod) in 1978 and gained a print run of 5,000. Thus, *Pwani na Bara* can be regarded as the Tanzanian periodical with the longest tradition.

***Rafiki Yangu (My Friend)***: The bishop of Dar es Salaam, Thomas Spreiter, was the editor of this Swahili-language paper (5,000 circulation) which was founded by

the „Sanct Benedictus Missions Genossenschaft“ (Saint Benedict’s Missionary Association) in 1910. It included the strictly religious supplement *Mweleza* (The Explicator).

***Schulfragen* (School Matters):** „Blätter zur Förderung des Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Schulwesens“ (Leaflets for the Promotion of the German-East-African School System) was the subtitle of this publication which appeared in Tanga from 1908 onwards. In 1913, *Schulfragen* was handed over to the „Kommunalverband“ (Municipal Union) in Dar es Salaam.

***Tabora-Post:*** The „Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung von Tabora“ (Economic Association of Tabora) was the owner of this weekly which was edited by Dr. Jaquet in Tabora. It came out on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1914 and ceased publication even in the same year.

***Usambara-Post:*** Launched as *Anzeigen für Tanga* (Announcements for Tanga) in November 1901, the newspaper became famous as *Usambara-Post* (1904 - July 31<sup>st</sup> 1916). Its first editor was an architect named Hofft, but in 1907, a leading journalist of the DOAZ, von Horn, took over the weekly’s publication. Attached supplements were *Der Pflanzler* (The Settler, 1905 - 1910), *Für die Erholungsstunden unseres Kolonisten* (For the Hours of Recreation of our Colonist, 1908), *Illustrierte Unterhaltungsbeilage* (Illustrated Entertainment Supplement, 1913 - 1914), and *Kilimandjaro- und Meru-Zeitung* (Kilimanjaro- and Meru-Newspaper, 1913 - 1914).

***Usaramo-Post:*** This paper was edited by Willy von Roy in Dar es Salaam from April 3<sup>rd</sup> to July 6<sup>th</sup> 1916. Although it existed only a few months, the German-language weekly had 400 subscribers.

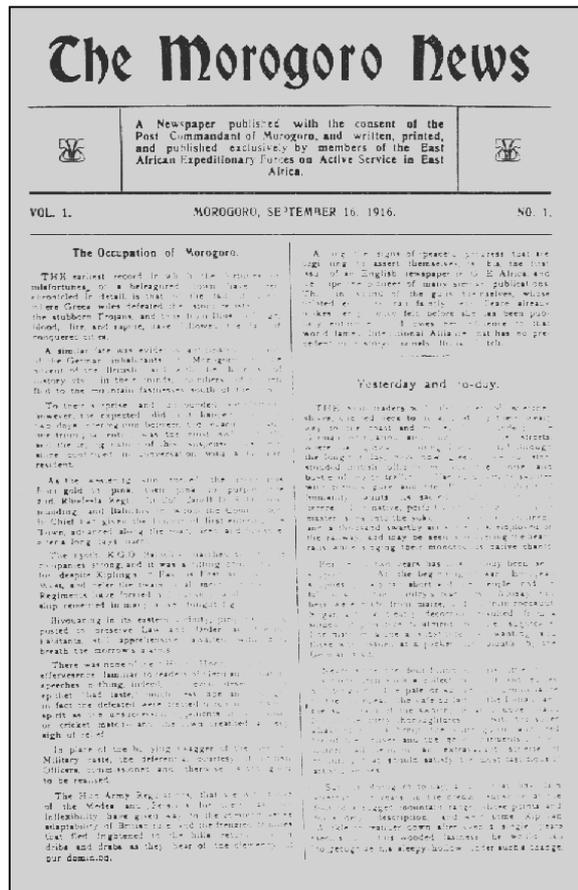


## 5 Tanganyika under British Administration (1916 - 1961)

### 5.1 The Predominance of European and Indian Press Products during the Interwar Period

When Tanganyika was conquered by British troops in 1916, all press activities fell a victim to the war. As a matter of fact, no single newspaper appeared until the late summer of that year. Then, on September 16<sup>th</sup> 1916, members of the East African Expeditionary Forces published the first newspaper after the German defeat - *The Morogoro News*. The contents of the four-page newsheet were mainly confined to the military situation, and, beyond that, the English bi-monthly carried a few poems and practical information, e. g., about the East African climate. The first leading article was dedicated to the „liberation“ of Morogoro:

*„There was none of the ‘Hoch, Hoch,!! Hoch,!!!’ effervescence, familiar to readers of German jubilatory speeches, nothing, indeed, that even deserved the epithet ‘bad taste’, much less rape and pillage; in fact the defeated were treated much in the same spirit as the unsuccessful opponents in a football or cricket match - and the town breathed a deep sigh of relief.“ (The Morogoro News, Vol. 01, No. 05, November 11<sup>th</sup> 1916, p. 2)*



**Figure 8:** *The Morogoro News*, founded in September 1916, was the first newspaper after the German defeat (by permission of The British Library, AF. 23)

Nevertheless, *The Morogoro News* disappeared after only five issues. It was the last paper for a period of nearly three years. Due to the unknown political future, no efforts of establishing new print media were made.

After Tanganyika Territory had been granted to Great Britain as a mandate by the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1919, the new colonial

government published the *Tanganyika Territory Gazette* on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1919. The official organ included political and legal announcements, and, thus, it became an important tool in the administrative reorganisation of the country.



**Figure 9:** The first settler paper during the British rule, *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser*, appeared on September 6<sup>th</sup> 1919 (by permission of The British Library, C. misc. 461).

Then, on September 6<sup>th</sup> 1919, the South African journalist Martin van Jaarsveld edited the first issue of *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser*. Comparable to the German settler papers, van Jaarsveld complained about the unavailability of African labor and put the administration, which in his eyes had yet failed to adopt pro-European policies, in the pillory. But due to the geographical seclusion of Tanga, the news were long-known before publication. As a result, the last issue of *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser* appeared on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1921, and, subsequently, it was incorporated as a coast-supplement into the Kenyan newspaper *Leader of British East Africa*. Van Jaarsveld remained the publisher, but after a few years, he

returned to Tanganyika to continue his arguments on behalf of European settlement (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 205). Consequently, in May 1930, he launched the Arusha monthly *Tanganyika Review* which was labelled „The Only Illustrated Paper in Tanganyika“. Unsuccessful again, the paper ceased publication in May 1932 and was replaced with van Jaarsveld’s new project, *The Planter*, which appeared from September 1932 onwards. The monthly magazine with the self-explanatory subtitle „An Illustrated Monthly Journal, devoted to the Interests of the Coffee, Sisal and Farming Industries in East Africa“ existed until 1942 and comprised up to 80 pages (cf. Obst [ed.] 1942, pp. 492 - 493).

From the viewpoint of press history, the most important event of the year 1919 was the establishment of the *Dar-es-Salaam Times*. The European-styled weekly

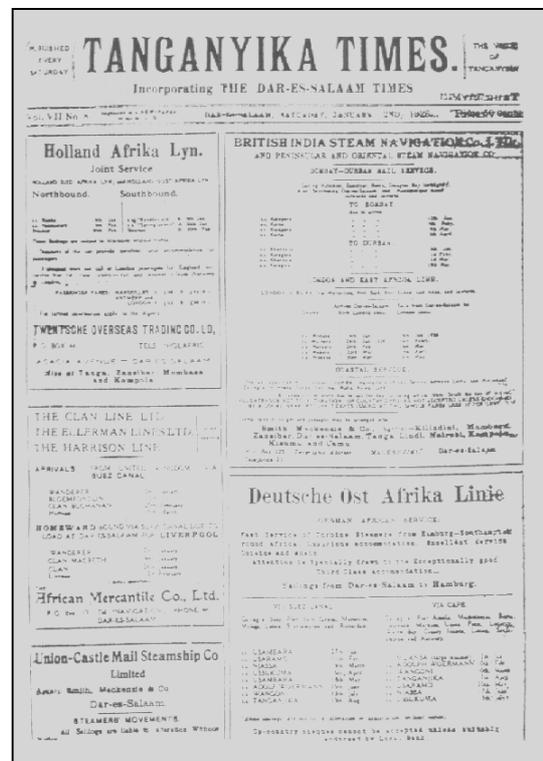
came out on November 19<sup>th</sup>, and due to the longing for information in the British mandate, it had a triumphant start:

*„The absence of news, and of a medium for that healthy exchange of views which tends to progressive thoughts, leaves a feeling of being completely cut-off from civilisation, and has the tendency of so engrossing one in immediate surrounding as to make these appear to be the hub of the universe.“* (*Dar-es-Salaam Times*, Vol. 01, No. 01, November 19<sup>th</sup> 1919, p. 2)

Subtitled „The Voice of Tanganyika“, the *Dar-es-Salaam Times* played an essential role for the English society. The tabloid ran articles on local events and occurrences in the more developed British colony of Kenya to the north, and through the reports from „Reuter’s Cables“, the supply of sensations from Westminster was ensured. Furthermore, the paper carried gossip columns like „Behind the Scene. Royal, - Social, - Bohemian by Recorder“, the women’s page „Feminine Reflections“ and extensive sporting reports. The front-page was reserved for advertisers who informed about the arrival of ships and their cargo. When the last issue of the *Dar-es-Salaam Times* was published on December 26<sup>th</sup> 1925, the paper had already doubled its volume from initial six to twelve pages.

At this stage, the editorial committee decided to rename the paper *Tanganyika Times* in order to address also the population outside the capital. The first issue of the reorganised weekly came off the presses on January 2<sup>nd</sup> 1926, and, moreover, a four-page daily edition of the same name was launched on January 4<sup>th</sup>. Subsequently, the *Tanganyika Times* became more and more a paper in the tradition of the British tabloid press providing a forum for the exchange of different ideas and point of views. A topic often dealt with was the so-called „native question“ which was discussed in the letters to the editor without the least fear:

*„And although I realize that we are working in a Mandated Territory, I*



**Figure 10:** The *Tanganyika Times* was the favourite paper of the English community in the late 1920s (by permission of The British Library, C. 1729).

*feel that if a strong front were shown, the natives could be put into reserves, which, in my opinion, is the only way to commence undoubtedly the best policy for the good of the natives. Complete territorial segregation of black and white must be the basic policy for the future of East Africa.*" (*Tanganyika Times*, Vol. 09, No. 20, March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1928, p. 21).

Nevertheless, the *Tanganyika Times* experienced a sudden death - the last issues of the weekly and daily were published on June 27<sup>th</sup> 1930 and on June 30<sup>th</sup>, respectively. The reason for the rapid decay was a superior opponent in financial and professional aspects: the *Tanganyika Standard* of the Kenyan media empire East African Standard Ltd.. But before this story will be told, it is necessary to return to the early 1920s when other interesting trends had gained ground.

By that time, the Indian wholesalers embodied a very influential social and economic class in the capital. To maintain their role, they were in need of a medium in support of their commercial interests. As a result, in 1923, M. D. Patel, a successful merchant, established a paper named *Tanganyika Opinion* which was produced by his own Kanti Printing Works in Dar es Salaam. The *Tanganyika Opinion* appeared in both a weekly and a daily edition, and, thus, it became the first daily newspaper in the press history of the mainland. Published in English and Gujarati, it informed the Asian population about important market trends.

In 1926, another Indian weekly called *African Comrade* appeared. Although edited in English and Gujarati, the paper was never really accepted by the Asian community. Consequently, the editor, M. O. Abbasi, tried to attract new readers by publishing an additional daily, but this attempt also failed. The fiasco had a simple reason: Abbasi was regarded as the prime mover to form a Federated Muslim Union, and, thus, it was no secret that he was „(...) a fire-brand in his hatred of Hindus (...)“ (Letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary, September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1932, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915). As a result, both editions of the *African Comrade* had to cease publication in 1927.

The third Indian paper was the *Tanganyika Herald*, which was published by V. R. Boal in February 1929. Copying the successful formula of the *Tanganyika Opinion*, it was highly appreciated by the Asian community and survived until 1963. Hence, it was the most durable of the Indian periodicals.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to state that the Indian print media did never reach another readership besides the Asian. Their print run was significantly lower than

the circulation of press products in English and/or Swahili. Only the weekly edition of the *Tanganyika Opinion* went beyond 3,000 copies; the dailies often came out in a run of not even 300.



Figure 11: The monthly *Mambo Leo* was first published in 1923 and aimed at the education of Africans (from Lemke 1929, Tafel 6).

In those days, Africans had no access to the print media. With the exception of missionary publications, all existing papers were printed in English and/or Gujerati and did not serve local interests at all. Furthermore, the British administration had no mouthpiece to reach the indigenous population, and, thus, the realisation of political aims showed a deficit. Consequently, in January 1923, the Department of Education<sup>16</sup> launched a monthly named *Mambo Leo* (Affairs of Today). From the start, the paper was highly appreciated by both readers and officials, and, as a result, the Administrative Conference of 1924 passed Resolution No. 103 to ensure its continuance:

*„That in the opinion of this Conference the native newspaper Mambo Leo is meeting a long felt want and fulfilling a most useful purpose, and should be encouraged to the utmost by all Administrative and other Officers, and desires to record appreciation of the work of those responsible for its publication.“* (Tanganyika Territory 1924, p. 33)

Apart from educative articles, home news, and executive announcements, *Mambo Leo* carried a number of entertaining stories, arranged pen-friendships, and contributed the search for missing persons by the publication of wanting ads (cf. Fokken 1942, p. 6). The following figures reveal the ratio of editorial contributions in the first nine years of the paper’s existence (cf. *Mambo Leo*, No. 111, March 1932, pp. 58 - 60):

**Table 1:** Topics in *Mambo Leo* from 1923 to 1931

<sup>16</sup> In 1949, the publication of *Mambo Leo* was taken over by the Public Relations Department (→ 5.4).

Topic	Number of articles	Percentage
<b>Kilimo (Agriculture)</b>	37	39.8 %
<b>Elimu (Education)</b>	25	26.9 %
<b>Mambo ya Wenyeji (Native Affairs)</b>	14	15.0 %
<b>Maradhi ya Wanyama (Veterinary)</b>	7	7.5 %
<b>Mambo ya Uganga (Medical)</b>	4	4.3 %
<b>Mpira wa Teke (Soccer)</b>	3	3.2 %
<b>Elimu ya Mimitu (Forestry)</b>	2	2.2 %
<b>Posta (Post Office)</b>	1	1.1%
<b>Total</b>	93	100.0 %

Soon, *Mambo Leo* became the magazine with the broadest circulation throughout the territory. Its print run increased from initial 6.000 to 9.000 copies in 1930 (cf. Sayers [ed.] 1930, p. 483), and, according to official sources, each issue was read by as many as ten persons (cf. His Majesty's Stationery Office 1951, p. 103). The news were selected by the staff of the Department of Education in accordance with government policies, e. g., the paper was utilised to propagate the usage of Swahili as a medium of instruction in primary schools (cf. Fokken, v. Hassel 1941, p. 34).

Remarkable efforts to establish an independent press in Tanganyika Territory were made by German settlers. After the ban on German immigration had been lifted in 1925, a small number of German-language papers reappeared. The first was the *Tanganyika Zeitung* (Tanganyika Newspaper) established on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1928. It was founded by Willy von Roy, the former owner of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (→ 4.2.1), to support the German industry which - in his eyes - was not promoted enough by the English and Indian press. The eight-page paper was produced at Patel's Kanti Printing Works in Dar es Salaam but attracted only a small readership (cf. Obst [ed.] 1942, p. 493).

A more successful publication was *Das Hochland* (The Highland) which was launched in 1930. Printed by the missionary station in Wuga in the Usambara district, the monthly was initially edited in a print run of 600 copies in Mufindi. Later, its place of publication was moved to Oldeani where it disappeared in 1937.

Another German paper was the *Ostafrika-Post* (East African Post) which was edited by Heinz Rolf Deicke and printed by Tanga Stores Printing Press. Although

the publisher was not required to enter into a bond (→ 5.8), the weekly was very short-lived and vanished in early 1931 - only a few weeks after its foundation (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 10818; Letter of the Provincial Commissioner of Tanga to the Chief Secretary of the Government, December 10<sup>th</sup> 1930, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915).

However, the most influential mouthpiece of the German community was *Die Ostafrikawarte* (The East African Lookout). Founded on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1938, the paper was published in Nairobi, the residence of the German embassy, and widely circulated among the German settlers in Tanganyika (cf. Obst [ed.] 1942, p. 494).



**Figure 12:** The dominating paper during the British administration - the *Tanganyika Standard*.

Exactly eight years back in time, January 1<sup>st</sup> 1930 marked the outset of a new age in the Tanzanian press history: it was the birthday of the *Tanganyika Standard*. In order to gain better comprehension, the paper's previous history has to be told: In 1902, a Parsee named A. M. Jeevanjee, who had been a contractor for supplies for the railway, launched the weekly *African Standard* in Mombasa. Supported by the English editor-reporter W. H. Tiller, the paper quickly became the „(...) mouthpiece of white settler interests in Kenya“ (Abuoga, Mutere 1988, p. 2). But Jeevanjee and Tiller did not realise the financial possibilities of

the *African Standard*, and, therefore, they sold it to the English-Austrian company Anderson/Mayer (cf. Obst [ed.] 1942, S. 492). In 1910, Anderson and Mayer removed the editorial office of the renamed *East African Standard* from Mombasa to the new commercial centre Nairobi (cf. Ainslie 1966, p. 100). This was the modest beginning of one of the most powerful East African press groups.

From the start, the *East African Standard* was the voice of settler demands for more independence from Whitehall. But the relations with the Tanganyikan administration were not that strained as to prevent the then governor, Sir Donald Cameron, from inviting the enterprise to set up a newspaper in Dar es Salaam (cf. *ibid.*).

With an investment of £ 5,000, the first issue of the *Tanganyika Standard* came off the presses on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1930, and, on January 4<sup>th</sup>, it was succeeded by a weekly of the same name. The editorial policy of the newspaper at that time was characterised as follows:

*„The paper had the typical characteristics of the British colonial administration with a highly patronising attitude towards the indigenous African majority who were always referred to as ‘natives’ in its columns. The paper served the colonialists although it claimed objectivity. Most of news items were on British official politics, British cricket, football, horse racing and a lot of stories from India and Pakistan. It was obviously a paper intended for Europeans and a few of the educated Asians.“* (*The Standard*, No. 12,903, April 25<sup>th</sup> 1972, p. 1)

The *Tanganyika Standard* carried the traditions of Fleet Street out into the mandated territory, and, subsequently, it became a highly accepted quality paper. During the period from 1933 to 1944, its print run increased from 720 to 8,000 copies.

## **5.2 The First Appearance of African Papers**

Despite the administration's efforts to inform the indigenous population through the monthly *Mambo Leo*, the status quo was rather dissatisfying for Africans: the absence of media articulating their wants and needs raised the demands for African-owned publications. While Harry Thuku in Kenya and Sefanio Sentongo in Uganda had already founded the first African newspapers of their countries, *Tangazo* (The Proclamation) and *Sekanyolya* (Vicious Bird), in the early 1920s, there were no noteworthy efforts to establish indigenous periodicals in Tanganyika by that time (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 1). Due to the high proportion of illiterates, economic problems inherent in the complex operations of producing newspapers, and the regulations of the Newspaper Ordinance which required a bond from any periodical published as often as every 14 days (→ 5.8), all attempts on this matter were doomed to failure (cf. Konde 1984, p. 27).

A case in point was the publication of *Anga la Tanganyika* (The Sky of Tanganyika) which was supposed to be Tanzania's first African paper. On March 4<sup>th</sup> 1932, the first issue of the proposed daily came out in a run of 200 copies. But since only a fifth of the print run was sold, the editor, Shaaban Said Mnubi, failed to continue its production (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 20705).

Thus, *Kwetu* (Home) became Tanganyika's first African-owned newspaper. The following portrait deals with the personality of its editor, Erica Fiah, and describes the then circumstances of indigenous newspaper production.

### **5.2.1 Portrait II: Erica Fiah and Kwetu**

Erica Fiah, originally a Muganda from Kampala, was an active member of Dar es Salaam's economic and political groupings from the early 1930s. In 1934, he founded the African Commercial Association in order to help African shop and stall keepers to cope with the strong competition from Indian merchants (cf. Scotton 1978, pp. 1 - 2).

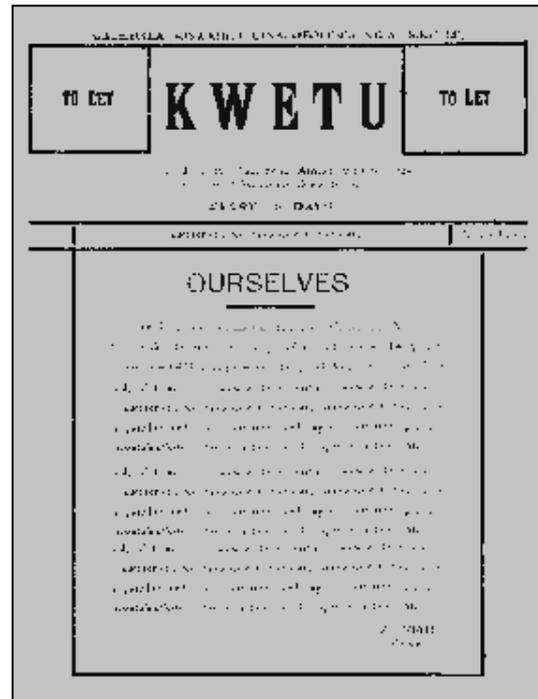
After Fiah had renamed his organisation Tanganyika African Welfare and Commercial Association in early 1936, he announced to the chief secretary of the government that he was planning to establish a newspaper. In his application on this matter, Fiah wrote:

*„Sir, It is my desire to publish a weekly paper in English and Kiswahili language, and sanction to do so subject to taking out a license has been accorded by the Municipal Secretary, Township Authority. (...) The aim of our paper will be to promote social and economic and political interests of the sons of the soil.“* (Letter of Erica Fiah to the Chief Secretary of the Government, May 4<sup>th</sup> 1936, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 23754)

Although the government knew about Fiah's contacts to anti-imperialistic circles in England, the chief secretary's office replied to Fiah's letter that he could publish a periodical if he complied with the Newspaper Ordinance. Subsequently, Fiah circumvented the decret by announcing that his paper would appear every 18 days (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 209; 1978, p. 3).

Thus, the first issue of *Kwetu* appeared on November 18<sup>th</sup> 1937 in a run of 1,000 copies. All the material was in Swahili, except the leading article which was translated into English:

*„The Tanganyika African Welfare and Commercial Association has decided to extend the scope of its activities by securing a means whereby it may be able to spread knowledge among those sons of the soil who could read and write Kiswahili. It is that decision which gives birth to KWETU. The word Kwetu means HOME. The aims of this paper are these. To do social and humanitarian work and to establish a closer contact between the native and the non-native communities. The Association has entrusted to me the work of conducting this paper and I will try my best to see to it that I do it to the best of my ability. I wish to state that this is my first attempt and that it can be successful only if I get co-operation of the non-native community by way of advertisement. Kwetu comes out exactly at a time when Africans are required to understand their future and my Association hopes that Kwetu's efforts in that direction will be appreciated by All.“ (Kwetu, No. 01, November 18<sup>th</sup> 1937, p. 1)*



**Figure 13:** Tanzania's first indigenous newspaper, *Kwetu*, appeared on November 18<sup>th</sup> 1937.

In its contents, *Kwetu* focused on topics which were popular among the indigenous community, such as racial discrimination, economic exploitation, and European control of the political system (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 2). One issue Fiah constantly complained about was the unequal treatment of Africans by the Christian missionaries. For example, in the issue of December 19<sup>th</sup> 1938, he cited a person concerned: *„To be a Christian then you must have a fine suit costing 5 pounds and well paid work. This is how your are known by the priests and the Christians.“ (Kwetu, December 10<sup>th</sup> 1938, pp. 14 - 15. Quoted from Scotton 1978, p. 5)*

Fiah added that it was a well-known fact that Christian priests would refuse to bury Africans who were not members of the Church whereas any European would get a Christian funeral without question (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 5). Later, in the English supplement to the edition of June 8<sup>th</sup> 1939, Fiah protested that *Kwetu* had

been banned from the Roman Catholic Mission at Mahenge. Furthermore, he claimed that Bishop Edgar had threatened to excommunicate any Catholic possessing the paper and that even reading the Bible was forbidden by the brethren at Mahenge (cf. *Supplement of Kwetu*, No. 09, June 8<sup>th</sup> 1939).

The response of Bishop Edgar, which was published in a subsequent issue of *Kwetu*, suggests that many of Fiah's accusations simply were canards:

*„Dear Sir, - I see that reference is made to me in the English Supplement to 'KWETU' No. 9 of June 8th, 1939. For your information and kind perusal I would point out to you what follows:*

*1. No excommunication or whatever has been threatened to, or pronounced upon, Catholics who buy and read 'KWETU'. I call it slander to print such a statement in a widely-circulated paper. If you do not know the exact meaning of excommunication, you should make sure before using such an expression.*

*2. I admit that I have forbidden the circulation and the reading of 'KWETU' among Catholics at Mahenge and I did so for good reasons!*

*(a) In December 1938 'KWETU' published a highly insulting letter about the Catholic Mission of Dar es Salaam. The whole letter was a lie from beginning to end. (...)*

*(b) In No. 6 of 1939, April 16th, you printed the following statement: 'Wakristo Mungu kwao ni Baba Mtakatifu'. You rectified that statement in No. 7 of 1939, pg. 15A. But the fact remains that many readers, especially outside the Church, must have received the impression that the Catholics consider the Pope as their God, which is preposterous.*

*(c) If I had not already forbidden the reading of 'KWETU', I should do it at once for what you print in your Supplement to No. 9 of 8th June 1939. You say: 'The said Bible is strictly prohibited and prevented to be read by our Roman Catholic Christian Brethren, especially not to see them develop and have their eyes open, only do according to Roman Catholic Mission own desire.' This statement is a down-right lie, and you are responsible for it. (...) As soon 'KWETU' deems it fit to give up its attacks on the Church the ban on it will be lifted, but not before. (...)*

*Enclosed find Shs. 5/- annual subscription for 'KWETU'." (Kwetu, No. 11, July 15<sup>th</sup> 1939, p. 5)*

In spite of this peace offer, Fiah wrote in the following issue that it was absurd to translate „Wakristo Mungu kwao ni Baba Mtakatifu“ into „The God of the Catholics is the Pope“; the only meaning of „Baba Mtakatifu“ was „Holy Spirit“<sup>17</sup> (cf. *Kwetu*, No. 12, August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1939, p. 14). However, Bishop Edgar was weary of the controversy and let the affair rest.

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<sup>17</sup> In fact, the meaning of „Baba Mtakatifu“ is „Holy Father“, whereas „Holy Spirit“ is translated „Roho Mtakatifu“.

Another subject frequently attacked by Fiah was a colonial arrangement what he called the „ugly colour bar“. *Kwetu* even carried a special single-page supplement on this topic after Fiah himself was thrown out from a Dar-es-Salaam shop on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1939:

*„The Editor personally went into the said Store on date above-mentioned to buy a medicine. (...) The Manager of the Store in seeing him entering his Store turned him out roughly (may say like a dog) and told that this Store is for Europeans only, and that he has no right to come and set his foot in to buy anything. (...) If such is the way to deal with Africans who went and buy in their stores, the help of Africans should not be required by Europeans and Asiatics residing in the Tanganyika Territory in all their dealings.“* (Supplement of *Kwetu*, No. 10, June 27<sup>th</sup> 1939).

Although Fiah backed Great Britain throughout the war, he continued criticising specific government policies. To avoid conflicts, Fiah adopted the practice of sending at least some critical articles to the administration before publication. One letter he did not check with the government caused serious legal difficulties. In the issue of March 8<sup>th</sup> 1942, a reader alleged that Chagga chiefs killed people who had complained to the administration of mistreatment. The general secretary wanted the paper to be prosecuted, but, finally, Fiah was merely warned that legal action was being considered. Consequently, in *Kwetu* of September 6<sup>th</sup> 1942, a letter refuting the charge against the Chagga chiefs was published (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 6).

After struggling with paper shortages and financial difficulties during the Second World War, *Kwetu* had to cease publication in May 1945. In January 1946, Fiah succeeded to relaunch the paper as a monthly, but the efforts proved to be fruitless. From July 1946 onwards, *Kwetu* became extremely irregular. Thus, in February 1947, Fiah caught at a straw and appealed to the Indian community for monetary assistance (cf. *Kwetu*, Vol. XI, No. 02, p. 3). Obviously with success, because in 1948, *Kwetu* was reconverted into a weekly, and Fiah even intended to establish an additional daily paper. Although he never realised the plan, the weekly edition kept advocating the rights of the indigenous population. Nevertheless, *„Tanganyika was not yet ready for the sentiments expressed by Fiah“* (Mytton 1976, p. 146), and, thus, the first African newspapers of Tanzania finally disappeared in March 1951.

### **5.3 The Growth of the Swahili Press during the Second World War**

Whereas the Tanganyikan print media had experienced a brisk development in the years from 1919 to 1930, both the quality and quantity of newspaper production nearly stagnated after this period. There was only a handful of new publications, such as *Jagrooti* and *Yuvak*, both founded in 1931 and printed in Gujarati, or the Swahili paper *Uremi* which was established in 1932. However, all these periodicals were either very short-lived or insignificant in terms of circulation.

But since the exception proves the rule, there was one noteworthy paper launched at this time - *Mwanafunzi* (Pupil). Edited in 1935 by the Department of Education, which was also responsible for the publication of *Mambo Leo*, the priority aim of the 26-page monthly was „(...) to encourage the habit of reading“ (Scotton 1972, p. 221). Although it never achieved the popularity of the sister paper, *Mwanafunzi* gained a remarkable print run of 3,000 copies in 1944.

The situation completely changed when the Second World War broke out in Europe. The British army recruited 87,000 indigenous soldiers who served as King's African Rifles on the side of the allies. This caused an increasing want for information on the war throughout Tanganyika, and, thus, a new outlet for newspapers and magazines.

The editor of the *Tanganyika Opinion*, M. D. Patel, was the first who realised the new sales potential. In 1939, he started the Swahili paper *Dunia* (The World) which was the first African-language daily in the territory. Edited in a run of 1,000 copies, the paper mainly carried Swahili translations from articles of the *Tanganyika Opinion*. Patel added some local news, letters from Africans, and, from time to time, he wrote an editorial in support of his readers' grievances (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 7). A weekly sister paper of the same name was published in 1940 which continued to exist after the daily edition was given up in 1941.

In the meantime, the administration struggled with the problem that a few Africans who had little knowledge of English misinterpreted to others the news of the British papers; this often caused disquiet among the African population. To cope with the situation, the government weekly *Habari za Vita* (News of the War)

was published by the new Information Office in 1939 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6 - 7). The paper was edited in a print run of 15,000 copies and free of charge.

Also the owner of the *Tanganyika Herald*, V. R. Boal, took the changing circumstances into account and launched a weekly Swahili edition of his publication on September 15<sup>th</sup> 1939. Again, most of the contents were translations from the English and Gujerati parent paper enriched with a few local news (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 27448).

A very popular Swahili paper in Tanganyika at that time was the Kenyan *Baraza* (The Council) which was published by the East African Standard Ltd. in Nairobi in 1939. In fact, the weekly even had a broader circulation in Tanganyika than in its country of origin.

Then, in 1940, the popular Swahili daily *Zuhra* (The Wanderer) was established. Owned by an Asian, M. Machado Plantan, and edited by Mathias E. Mnyampala, a politically active African poet who later became a judge, the paper was only available in Dar es Salaam and its suburban area. According to Scotton (cf. 1978, pp. 8 - 9), *Zuhra's* editorial policy was by no means anti-government, though it sometimes showed anti-colonial sympathies. Mnyampala's practice was to publish articles favourable to the administration followed by some critical comments (cf. *ibid.*):

*„We are thankful to see that Tanganyika is peaceful and we thank the Government very much for this (...) the Government is continuing to bring conditions which help Tanganyikan Africans to achieve happiness. In the same way, there will be much praise of the government of Tanganyika if it shows its peace officers that they would do better if they listened to African concerns and tried to give them comfort instead of acting with brute force.“* (*Zuhra*, July - August 1952. Quoted from Scotton 1978, p. 9)

#### **5.4 The Situation after 1945: Governmental Print Media as Political Instruments**

Due to the economic difficulties after the Second World War, the number of the independent newspapers began to shrink. Fiah's *Kwetu* temporarily suspended publication in May 1945, and Patel had to give up *Dunia* in late 1946. An attempt to establish a pamphlet-sized Swahili and English publication named *The African Voice* failed in September 1947 (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 7). Furthermore, the

*Tanganyika Herald* disappeared on May 28<sup>th</sup> 1948<sup>18</sup>, and *Zuhra* had to cease publication in 1950.

In contrast, the government press, the *Tanganyika Opinion*, and the newspapers of the East African Standard Ltd. increased their market share. From 1930, both editions of the *Tanganyika Standard* had continuously raised their circulation, and, with a print run of 8,000 each, they were the leading papers in the country by far. The Indian population was served by the *Tanganyika Opinion* now as before, and the British administration saw the need to meet African demands for information.



Figure 14: The governmental weekly *Habari za Leo* succeeded *Habari za Vita* in 1945 (by permission of The British Library, M. C. 1733).

Encouraged by the success of *Habari za Vita*, the government decided to continue the weekly's production and renamed it *Habari za Leo* (News of Today). Despite the print run of 20,000, copies were rarely available since *Habari za Leo* was still free of charge. In its contents, the paper had adopted the same editorial policy as *Mambo Leo* which was published in a run of 50,000 copies at that time. While the Royal Family had a fairly impressive coverage, there were no news about the rising national liberation movement or similar items.

To meet the African demands for reports on current affairs, the government launched *Mwangaza* (The Light) in 1951 - then, the only Swahili daily. It was more liberal and receptive to nationalistic tendencies than the other periodicals under the auspices of the government (cf. Omari 1972, p. 46). Thus, the paper, which was published in Dar es Salaam, Tanga, and later also in Lindi, gained a print run of 9,000 copies in 1956 (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1952, p. 99; 1955, p. 59; 1957, p. 50).

Like *Mambo Leo* and *Habari za Leo*, *Mwangaza* was edited by the Public Relations Department, hereafter known as PRD, which had replaced the

<sup>18</sup> The weekly edition of the *Tanganyika Herald* reappeared in 1959 and existed until 1963.

Information Office in 1949 (cf. Hill, Moffet [eds.] 1955, p. 116). The primary function of the new department was:

*„(...) to provide a regular flow of up-to-date and accurate information regarding the many activities of Government, for use in the English and vernacular press, and also for distribution to the information and public relations departments of the Colonial Office and of all British colonial territories, and to newspapers and news agencies overseas.“* (His Majesty's Stationery Office 1950, p. 113)

At the very beginning, the PRD issued official press communiqués and hand-outs, but, in July 1950, the scheme was replaced with the official publication *Tanganyika News Service* of which 350 copies were distributed to all parts of the world. The paper, which was widely used and quoted by both the local and the international press, took the form of a series of news items accompanied by one or more short feature articles on the current situation in the territory (cf. *ibid.*).<sup>19</sup>

In respect of the absence of an independent African press, the officials at the PRD were convinced that the people were generally satisfied with the status quo:

*„If the inhabitants of this territory were seized with the burning desire, which seems to exist elsewhere, to dip a pen in vitriol and write unkind things about the Government with it, then the papers would spring up here as they have done elsewhere.“* (Annual Report of the Public Relations Department, Tanganyika, 1951, pp. 4 - 5. Quoted from Scotton 1978, p. 7)

The situation slightly changed when a small number of local papers appeared in the early 1950s. In 1951, C. H. B. Hakili published *Wangaluka* (Good Morning), a monthly edited in Swahili and Nyanwezi. It was the first paper during the British administration which did not appear in Dar es Salaam but in Nzega situated north of Tabora.

In 1952, another two publications followed. The first was *Bukya na Gandi* (Fresh News) which was founded by Ewald R. Munseri in Kabangamirembe in the district of Bukoba. Published weekly, it was written in English, Swahili, and Haya and did by no means oppose the government's policies. In this connection, it is interesting that the paper with the promising subtitle „Truth, Tact and Tolerance“

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<sup>19</sup> Other periodicals of the PRD included the monthlies *The Month in Tanganyika* and *A World News Summary*, both established in 1956, the popular pamphlet *What's the Answer?* and *Tanganyika in the U. K. Press*, both launched in 1957, and the occasional newsheet *Sauti ya Kweli* (Voice of Truth) founded in 1959 (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1957, p. 51; 1958, p. 55; 1960, p. 75).

was not required to post the usual bond with the colonial administration (cf. Ochs 1986, p. 57; Scotton 1978, p. 8).

Munseri, whom James F. Scotton considered „*probably the most experienced and best educated African journalist in Tanganyika at the time*“ (Scotton 1978, p. 8), had been educated at a senior Catholic seminary in Uganda. After he had worked for several years in the Uganda Information Office in Kampala, he served as assistant editor of the government papers *Habari za Leo* and *Mambo Leo* in Dar es Salaam. By starting an independent paper in the Bahaya region, he intended to combat tribalism among his people. *Bukya na Gandhi's* editorial policy turned out to be popular, and its initial run of 1,000 copies was raised to 3,000 in 1955 (cf. *ibid.*).

Later, in 1955, Munseri founded a Haya monthly named *Bahaha Twemanye* (Bahaya, Let Us Know Each Other), and, in the following year, he launched the Swahili weekly *Tanganyika Mpya* (New Tanganyika). Both publications were edited in Bukoba. Whereas *Bahaya Twemanye* even disappeared before independence, *Tanganyika Mpya* and *Bukya na Gandhi* survived until 1962. But then, Munseri came under political pressure and was forced to give up the production of his periodicals. In return, Tanganyika's first president, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, appointed him to a post in the Information Services (cf. Konde 1984, p. 27).

The second new publication of 1952 was the Dodoma paper *Wela* (Grain) which was printed in Swahili and the local vernacular, Gogo. Edited by Geoffrey P. Masekas of the Dodoma Local Treasury, it was mostly concerned with local news and practical advice, such as the problems of hiring a tractor (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 8).

Moreover, the already mentioned *Zuhra* resumed publication as a weekly in 1952. But soon, the paper had to struggle with different problems and appeared at irregular intervals until its final cessation in 1962.

Since the private papers were much in demand, the government feared to lose influence on the African population. Thus, *Siku Hizi* (These Days) was launched in 1952. The picture magazine was published by the Central Office of Information in England every six weeks in both a Swahili and an English edition. While the English paper had a very limited readership and was printed in a run of only

1,000 copies, its sister had a circulation of 9,000 (cf. Hill, Moffet [eds.] 1955, p. 117).

Although a commission of the United Nations<sup>20</sup> had concluded in 1948 that the colonial system of Indirect Rule<sup>21</sup> favoured tribalistic movements throughout Tanzania (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 114), Governor Edward Twining even reinforced this trend when he transformed the „Native Authorities“ into more autonomous local administrations in 1951 (cf. Pratt 1960, p. 49). In order to increase the chiefs' popularity, they were given free flights to Great Britain. Especially *Mambo Leo* published pictures which showed chiefs dining at the royal court and shaking hands with high-ranking officials. Furthermore, most of them were awarded badges and titles. There are reasonable arguments that the primary aim of this divide-et-impera policy was to weaken the nascent nationalism (cf. Omari 1972, pp. 44 - 45).

Accordingly, in the years 1952 and 1953, the administration started altogether 23 provincial monthlies, ranging from duplicated typescripts of negligible circulation to printed newspapers in a run of up to 3,000 copies. The total print run of the local periodicals amounted to 26,000 copies (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1954, p. 57). Most of them were published in Swahili, though a few papers appeared at least partly in a vernacular, e. g., the Tukuyu paper *Lembuka* printed in Nyakusa and Swahili or *Majyambe* of Mwanza in Hangaze and Swahili. Edited by Africans with guidance and assistance from the „Native Authorities“ or district commissioners, the government tried to encourage the growth and development of these print media along independent lines. But due to the lack of trained journalists, the Africanisation of the editorial staff proceeded slowly. The contents of the district papers were confined to local news, and, initially, they did not oppose the administration's policies (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1953, p. 121; Kitchen 1956, p. 36).

On November 7<sup>th</sup> 1954, the *Sunday News* appeared as weekly edition of the *Tanganyika Standard*. It was a modern-styled and entertaining magazine in the tradition of the British tabloid press running serialised novels, guessing thrillers,

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<sup>20</sup> After the Second World War, Tanganyika had become a British trust territory under the supervision of the United Nations. According to the charta on this matter, Great Britain had to prepare the country for independence.

<sup>21</sup> The British government had implemented the policy of Indirect Rule in Tanganyika in the mid-1920s. In order to administer the 120 ethnic groups of the territory, the governor appointed so-called „Native Authorities“ who were sometimes supported by „Native Councils“ (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 76).

and film reports. Moreover, *Sunday News* published the first pin-ups of Tanzania's press history. As can be concluded from the subsequent commentary of Governor Edward Twining, the paper's publishing company, the Nairobi-based East African Standard Ltd., was well-connected with the British administration:

*„I WELCOME the advent of a Sunday paper as an associate of the Tanganyika Standard which for a quarter of a century has kept the people of Tanganyika so well informed on world and local events of importance and interest. I feel confident that the views expressed in the new paper, the Sunday News, will be such as to enhance the harmonious relations we enjoy and that its standard of journalism will be on the very high level which we in this territory have come to expect from your organisation.“* (*Sunday News*, Vol. 01, No. 01, November 7<sup>th</sup> 1954, p. 1).

Thus, it can be summarised that at the end of the year 1954, the Tanganyikan press, which comprised about 50 newspapers and magazines, was either in the hands of the government or at least non-controversial. Publications promoting nationalism or anti-colonialism were lacking at this time.

## **5.5 The Rise of the Nationalist Press**

In January 1955, the United Nations published a report suggesting that an African majority should be constituted in the Legislative Council by 1958 and that Tanganyika should gain its independence within the next 20 to 25 years. Consequently, the governmental newspapers commented on these recommendations that the UN commission had jumped to conclusions, and, in *Habari za Leo*, the British cabinet minister responsible for colonial affairs, A. T. Lennox-Boyd, called upon the indigenous population not to lose their temper (cf. *Habari za Leo*, No. 701, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1955, p. 1). Nevertheless, Scotton (cf. 1972, p. 411) believes that this report was the turning point towards the country's self-reliance. For the first time, the nationalist movement, which had been institutionalised by the establishment of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on July 7<sup>th</sup> 1954, found itself accepted by an international community.

To compete with the new challenge, the governor encouraged the foundation of the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) in February 1956. The UTP's major political guidelines included the establishment of a multi-racial constitution and the rejection of the universal suffrage, i. e., only citizens with at least eight years of

school education and a yearly income of not less than £ 150 should obtain the right to vote (cf. Herzog 1986, pp. 148 and 158).

In the subsequent month, the Public Relations Department replaced *Habari za Leo* with the new tabloid *Baragumu* (The Bugle) which propagated UTP's policies from the beginning. Nevertheless, the Swahili weekly experienced a promising start selling 20,000 copies per issue.

Because of the one-sided news coverage of the governmental press, there was an increasing want for publications that elucidated the aims of TANU. In 1957, the party leadership launched the Dar es Salaam paper *Sauti ya TANU* (The Voice of TANU) edited by party chairman Julius Nyerere himself. Some people were confused about the fact that the bulletin was published in English since the language of the nationalists was Swahili. But Nyerere, who was respectfully called „Mwalimu” (Teacher), explained to them: „(...) *nilitaka Serikali ielewe na kuchukua hatua yoyote.*”<sup>22</sup> (Quoted from *Mwafrika*, No. 23, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1958, p. 6) However, *Sauti ya TANU* was moderate in tone most of the time and often used by Nyerere to calm the more militant of his followers (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 149). But circulated exclusively among members of TANU, it could never perform the function of a public opinion leader.

Nevertheless, TANU was already gaining general support among the African population. The local authorities who opposed Nyerere's policies were losing their popularity. By late 1957, most chiefs had realised that Nyerere could dispense with their services, and, hence, a considerable number of them joined TANU (cf. Omari 1972, p. 45). Accordingly, the provincial newspapers carried more and more articles with mild criticism of the government, and, therefore, „(...) *they became an important forum for indigenous expression towards the achievement of independence.*” (Ng'wanakilala 1981, p. 17)



Figure 15: *Baragumu* was established to promote the policies of Twining's UTP.

<sup>22</sup> „(...) I wanted the government to understand and to take any steps.”

Moreover, Nyerere called upon Africans to boycott the administration's publications. As a consequence, the circulations of *Mwangaza*, *Baragumu*, and *Mambo Leo* fell disastrously. To save them, the Swahili papers were turned over to an independent but government-financed corporation, the Tanganyika National Newspaper Ltd., in February 1958. But the take-over came too late for *Mwangaza*: running on considerable loss, the daily ceased publication on December 31<sup>st</sup> 1958 (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1959, p. 109).

The most popular mouthpiece of TANU's policies was *Mwafrika* (The African), though the paper was formally impartial. The Swahili fortnightly was founded in September 1957 by Kheri Rashidi Baghdelleh and Robert Moses Makange, and, due to some strong anti-government commentaries, it increased its circulation from 4,000 to 20,000 copies within the first three issues (cf. Omari 1972, p. 35). In June 1958, the print run of the newspaper, which had been transformed into a weekly in the meantime, was even above 25,000 (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 13). When Baghdelleh and Makange were arrested in 1958 (→ 5.7.), Joel Mgogo became the editor of *Mwafrika*. Mgogo's most conspicuous deed was the establishment of a daily edition which appeared in a run of 8,000 copies in 1959.



Figure 16: The daily *Ngurumo*, which was launched in 1959, strongly supported the aims of TANU.

Despite its sympathies for *Mwafrika*, TANU decided to disassociate itself from the paper since its tone was becoming more and more radical. In order to bridge the gap, the party leadership started to subsidise *Ngurumo* (The Roar) - a daily launched by Randhir Thaker on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1959. After Randhir Thaker's death, Surendra Thaker became the paper's editor. In an interview conducted by the prominent Tanzanian journalist Hadji S. Konde in the mid-1980s, Surendra Thaker described the circumstances at the start:

*„Our purpose was not economic. Our aim was to inform, to reach and to mobilise the masses and explain to them about TANU's fight for them. At that time the big newspapers and the radio were in the hands of the colonialists. So there was need for a Swahili daily.“* (Quoted from Konde 1984, p. 41)

One major concern of the Thakers was to encourage the usage of Swahili, and, therefore, they introduced a special supplement named *Kaka* (Brother) which was published at the end of each month. As time passed by, *Ngurumo* became the daily with the broadest distribution throughout Tanganyika. During its flowering period in the early 1970s, the newspaper was edited in a run of 40,000 copies (cf. *ibid.*).

In 1959, TANU established its own publishing house, the National Times Press. It was the intention of Nyerere to edit newspapers representing all social strata. Accordingly, the foundation of both a Swahili and an English daily was proposed, and the publication of a Gujarati weekly should have completed the offer. But financial difficulties and the lack of equipment hindered the project, and, hence, only the English *The National Times* appeared, though only for a very short period (cf. Ainslie 1966, p. 111). Later that year, Nyerere's idea was adopted by Haroon Ahmed, the chief editor of the National Times Limited. After a short term of preparations, Ahmed succeeded in launching three weeklies in the above-mentioned languages. While the Swahili paper *Mwananchi* (The Citizen) was published in a print run of 10,000 copies, the others, *National Weekly* and *Nootan Africa*, had a circulation of 5,000 and 2,000, respectively (cf. Behn 1966, p. 19; Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1960, p. 74).

Although the indigenous print media were widely circulated, the publishers found themselves in a dilemma. On the one hand, African readers demanded newspapers which supported the struggle for independence and persistently attacked the government. On the other hand, the Asians and Europeans who controlled the East African trade did not advertise in papers opposing the administration. By moderating their tone, the editors might have attracted some advertisers but, simultaneously, lost much of their readership to the more militant papers (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 9).

After the landslide victory of TANU in the elections of 1958/59, *Baragumu* was sold to the Kenyan East African Newspaper Ltd.. The new media empire, which was commonly known as Nation Group, was founded by Michael Curtis and Charles Hayes in Nairobi in 1959. With the financial backing of the Aga Khan and the know-how of the Canadian press mogul Roy Thomson who was then the owner of a successful publishing house in West Africa, the company started the tabloids *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* and entered into rivalry with the East African Standard Ltd. (cf. Mytton 1968, p. 89; Ainslie 1966, p. 104).

In 1960, the Nation Group established a branch office in Dar es Salaam, the Tanganyika African Newspaper Ltd. (cf. Sommerlad 1966, p. 33). *Baragumu* was merged with the Kenyan *Taifa* (The Nation), and together they formed *Taifa na Baragumu* (The Nation and The Bugle). From its first appearance on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1960, the former government mouthpiece backed the policies of TANU.

In 1961, the Nation Group bought both editions of *Mwafrika*, which were struggling with serious financial difficulties, and amalgamated the weekly with *Taifa Tanganyika* (The Nation Tanganyika), the successor of the above-mentioned *Taifa na Baragumu*, into *Mwafrika na Taifa* (The African and The Nation) on March 18<sup>th</sup> 1961.

Thus, within a few years, the Tanganyikan print media had become co-ordinated in terms of supporting the aims of the nationalists. Even the publications of the East African Standard Ltd., which had defended white settlement throughout the years, started to sanction TANU's policies after the elections.

In spite of this development, it is difficult to answer, if the political unification of the newspapers accelerated the process towards independence. Frank Barton is of the opinion that

*„(...) one of the principal reasons Britain's major West African colonies achieved independence before their East African and Central African counterparts laid in the lack of a virile nationalist African press.“* (Barton 1979, pp. 17 - 18)

And James F. Scotton, who had compared the press in the British territories of East Africa, states:

*„The African press in Tanganyika was never as important as the vernacular newspapers in Kenya and Uganda in their independence movements. But this press did emerge in Tanganyika and did play a role in disrupting the old political patterns and suggesting new ones.“* (Scotton 1972, p. 225)

## 5.6 Missionary Publications and Political Change

Whereas missionary societies had been the obstetricians of the Tanzanian press, religious publications had lost much of their importance after the First World War. Thus, it took until 1925 when the first missionary papers appeared in Tanganyika Territory. Titled *Akayo Katoliki* and *Sauti Yetu* (Our Voice), they were published in Tabora and Karema, respectively (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 204).

Later that year, *Rafiki Yetu* (Our Friend) was launched by the Catholic Church in Dar es Salaam, though printed and edited in Mombasa. Nevertheless, the Swahili periodical was widely circulated in Tanganyika and became the most popular missionary paper of East Africa until its cessation in 1950 (cf. *ibid.*).

Then, in March 1927, the Evangelical „Bethel-Mission“ founded *Ufalme wa Mungu* (The Kingdom of God) which was edited by a missionary, Mr. Johanssen, in Mombe (cf. Lemke 1929, pp. 36 and 38). According to Duncan MacDougald (cf. 1944, p. 68), the paper gained a print run of 4,000 copies in 1944.

During the period from 1930 to 1950, only a handful of religious newspapers were established. The Roman Catholic Church of Mwanza started *Lumuli* (The Torch) in 1934. The Sukuma fortnightly had a circulation of 4,000 and was edited by R. Butibubage. Furthermore, the Swahili monthly *Katoliki* was published in Peramiho in 1936, but it was rather unsuccessful. In 1964, the paper was renamed *Mwenge* (The Torch) and illustrated with coloured photos. Consequently, the print run increased to 15,000 copies (cf. Konde 1984, p. 30). In 1942, the Catholic diocese of Bukoba published another fortnightly called *Rumuli*, which was printed in Swahili, English, and Haya. Later, in 1948, the teachers' journal *Tatejo* appeared in Peramiho.

The most popular Catholic paper was - and still is - *Kiongozi* (The Leader) which was founded in Tabora on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1950. Initially, the Swahili monthly was published by the White Fathers and carried strictly religious contents. Thus, it gained a print run of merely 1,500 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 29). On the occasion of its first birthday, *Kiongozi* became the official organ of the Catholic Church in Tanganyika. The editorial policy was reformed, and, after secular topics and entertaining articles had been added, the paper's print run increased visibly. In 1953, *Kiongozi* had a circulation of 8,000, and, in 1975, 20,000 copies were already sold per issue.

In its first years, the paper avoided to interfere with politics. For example, when TANU issued its manifesto in 1954, *Kiongozi* did not mention the event in a single line (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 11). As a consequence, a considerable number of readers complained and demanded from the editorial staff to voice their political attitude. But instead, *Kiongozi* published a declaration titled „Dini na Politics“ (Religion and Politics):

*„Wako Waafrika Wakatoliki ambao wathubutu kusema kwamba Eklezya haina neno katika politics. Wanasema: ‘Si kazi yake Eklezya, kutuambia tutawale nchi kwa namna gani; Eklezya ijali mambo yake tu.’ Wakisema vile wanategemea maneno ya Eklezya, kwamba kila mmoja, Serikali na Eklezya, ana uwezo katika mambo yake. Na tena ni basi? Hata kidogo; watu hao wanaosema vile, hawakufahamu chochote katika mambo yahasuyo Eklezya na Serikali. Kweli, Eklezya na Serikali, kila mmoja wao, ana uwezo katika kazi yake, lakini usisahau kwamba Eklezya tu ya juu kuliko Serikali, kwa sababu roho ni ya juu kuliko mwili, na mambo ya milele ni ya juu kuliko yale ya hapa duniani.”<sup>23</sup> (Kiongozi, May 1<sup>st</sup> 1955, p. 1)*



Figure 17: *Kiongozi*, the Catholic fortnightly, was first published on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1950 and still appeared at the time of research (August 1996).

In the subsequent December, TANU was mentioned for the first time in an article on the anniversary of the United Nations. Later, when Nyerere visited the paper's place of publication, Tabora, there was only a small report on page seven. Photographs of the Royal Family and stories from Westminster were still given priority (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 11).

<sup>23</sup> „There are African Catholics who dare to claim that the Church has no word in politics. They say: ‘It is not the task of the Church to tell us how to govern our country; the Church should mind its own business.’ If they speak in this manner, they rely on the words of the Church that both the government and the Church are authorities in their concerns. Is there anything more? Not at all; persons saying so have not understood anything about ecclesiastical and governmental affairs. It is true that both the Church and the government have power in their work, but you should not forget that the Church is superior to the government, because the spirit is superior to the body, and the affairs of the eternity are superior to those of the world.“

The situation dramatically changed at the beginning of 1957 when Father John B. Kabeya was appointed the first African editor of *Kiongozi*. Fascinated by Nyerere's ideas, he transformed the paper into a vivid supporter of TANU. After some readers accused *Kiongozi* of being the party's mouthpiece, Kabeya replied: „*Kiongozi is friend of TANU because it does good work.*“ (*Kiongozi*, February 1<sup>st</sup> 1959, p. 4. Quoted from Scotton 1978, p. 12). The paper continued to back TANU even after independence, and since *Kiongozi* had a nearly nation-wide coverage (cf. Eilers, Herzog 1975, p. 127), it became an important tool in disseminating political aims.

In 1954, another Catholic newspaper, *St. Joseph's Parish News*, was established in Dar es Salaam. After it had been renamed *Ecclesia* in 1959, the monthly was merged with *Kiongozi* in 1971. Then, Kabeya's office had already been moved from Tabora to Dar es Salaam.

In addition, there were a few publications of other denominations, but they never gained the importance of the Catholic papers. The Anglican Church published the Swahili monthly *Upanga wa Roho* (The Sword of the Spirit) in Kongwa from 1949 to 1964, and the Evangelical missionaries edited *Bendera ya Kikristo* (The Christian Banner) in Soni from 1955 to 1959. The latter was replaced with the Lutheran counterpart of *Kiongozi*, *Uhuru na Amani* (Freedom and Peace). Moreover, in 1961, the Protestants established the Haya paper *Ija Webonere* which still appeared twice a month in Bukoba in mid-1996.

## **5.7 Statutory Controls of the Tanganyikan Press**

Whereas freedom of the press was highly valued in Great Britain even during the First World War (cf. Lovelace 1978, p. 307), the British administration in Tanganyika tried to control the print media from the start. Shortly after Martin van Jaarsveld had launched *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser*, the first independent paper in the territory, he received the following letter from the responsible district officer:

*„Sir, I am directed to inform you that until further notice your newspaper should be regularly censored before publication. The censor will communicate with you on the subject.“* (Quoted from *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser*, Vol. 01, No. 05, October 4<sup>th</sup> 1919, p. 2)

But due to the slow development of the administrative machinery, there was no press law by that time. The only decree restricting freedom of expression was Section 63 of the Penal Code of 1920 making it an offence to publish false statements which were likely to cause fear and alarm to the public (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1959, p. 108). Furthermore, the import of books and other publications were prohibited when those were considered contrary to the public interest (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 9).

But soon, it became apparent to the government that a free indigenous press would endanger its position. Thus, the Newspaper Ordinance No. 22 of 1928, came into operation on November 1<sup>st</sup> 1928. The device was simple: a print medium had to be registered to operate legally. One of the conditions of registration was that a security bond could be required from any periodical which was published as often as every 14 days (cf. Tanganyika Territory 1928). The Tanzanian jurist Issa Shivji elucidates the ulterior motive of the decree:

*„In short, the idea was that only people with means could possibly think of publishing a newspaper. This meant that at that time hardly any person from the indigenous community could do so.“* (cf. Shivji 1993a, p. 2)

The occurrences after the ordinance had been enacted confirmed Shivji's assertion. Whereas pro-government and missionary papers were not required to enter into a bond, the administration was unyielding in respect of oppositional editors. The first victim of the Newspaper Ordinance was M. U. Abbasi, the brother of the owner of *The African Comrade*, M. O. Abbasi (→ 5.1). In September 1932, M. U. Abbasi launched a weekly named *Al-Muslim* in order to *„give expression to Muslim sentiments and to serve as a salubrious check on the riotous Hindu press (...)“* (Letter of M. U. Abbasi to the Chief Secretary, September 13<sup>th</sup> 1932, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915). But since the applicant was said to be insufficiently educated, the British officials believed

*„(...) that once M. U. Abbasi has secured a certain number of subscribers to his projected newspaper, the editing will be done by M. O. Abbasi and an anti-Hindu policy will be started.“* (Memorandum of September 14<sup>th</sup> 1932, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915)

Hence, the colonial government's chief secretary, who was then in charge of the registration proceedings, required a bond which M. U. Abbasi was not able to execute. Thus, *Al-Muslim* was forced to cease publication even in the same month. Four years later, a bond was not taken in the case of a similar weekly, *The*

*Ismaili Voice*. The criterion for this decision was recorded in an internal note saying: „(...) *the policy of Government has been that where the publishers are persons of good repute, they have not been required to execute a bond.*“ (Memorandum of October 16<sup>th</sup> 1936, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915)

Evasions of the law were demonstrated by Erica Fiah, who simply published *Kwetu* every 18 days (→ 5.2.1), and an Arab publisher who used three different names for his weekly youth paper in the 1940s (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 9).

As soon as independent African newspapers and magazines started to appear more frequently, the government strengthened legal control over them. In August 1952, an amendment to the Newspaper Ordinance (No. 35 of 1952) was passed by the Legislative Council. Under the new law, all periodicals considered newspapers by the government had to be registered and the required libel bond was raised from US-\$ 400 to US-\$ 1,300 (cf. Tanganyika 1952; Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 21180; Scotton 1978, p. 9). Publications were only exempted when they were regarded as being „(...) *pro-Government in their fundamental tendencies.*“ (Letter of the Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, to the Chief Secretary, December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1953, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 12915)

Moreover, in 1955, a supplement provision to Section 63 of the Penal Code of 1920 was passed. The decree, which became known as Section 63B, made it an offence to print or publish any statement likely to raise discontent amongst any of the inhabitants or to promote feelings of ill-will among the different communities (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1959, p. 108). As a consequence, the sedition law became the basic legal restraint on newspapers. Accordingly, two affairs gained extraordinary popularity:

In June 1958, the first seditious publication charge against an African newspaper in Tanganyika was brought in by the British administration (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 14). The editor of *Mwafrika*, Kheri Rashidi Baghdelleh, and his assistant, Robert Moses Makange, had published the following words on June 1<sup>st</sup>:

*„Sisi wote tunajua kuwa Mwingereza yupo hapa kwetu kwa sababu ya kutunyonya damu na kujipatia manufaa yake mwenyewe, na wala asitudanganye kwamba yupo hapa kwakuwa anatuonea huruma na kutaka kutufundisha ustaarabu au kuleta maendeleo ya nchi. Maneno haya ni kigeugeu cha kutaka kutufunika macho; na kwa kadri atakavyo zidi kuwa hapa ndivyo madini na fedha zitakavyo zidi kutolewa katika nchi hii*

*kupelekwa kwao, ambako bila ya sisi hawawezi kuishi sawasawa.*<sup>24</sup>  
(*Mwafrika* [weekly edition], No. 19, June 1<sup>st</sup> 1958, p. 5)

The public prosecutor argued that the phrase „*the Englishman who is here in our country to suck our blood*“ was an offence against Section 63B. The trial focused on whether this was a correct translation from Swahili or not. The defendants tried to convince the judge that the words should be interpreted as „*the British Government which is here in our country is here to exploit us.*“ However, the magistrate decided that the implications of this passage were seditious. After an unsuccessful appeal to the High Court, Baghdelleh and Makange served a sentence of six months in prison (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 14).

The second incident was the so-called „Kesi ya Julius Kambarage Nyerere“ (The Case of Julius Kambarage Nyerere). As already mentioned, the chairman of TANU was also the editor of the party's organ, *Sauti ya TANU*. Although Nyerere's leading articles were factually correct and free of polemic most of the time, he came into conflict with the law because of the following lines in the issue of May 27<sup>th</sup> 1958:

*„These same officials who would have the people commit perjury in court if only to help them to vilify TANU; these same people who intimidate and punish innocence, cajole and reward crookery have the temerity to invoke law and order. Lord Almighty deliver us from this vile blasphemy. Law and order is a sacred thing. Let only the law-abiding invoke it. (...) The reason why lunatics have been trying to provoke the people into violence is the fact that they know we are virtually invincible if we remain a law-abiding organisation (...).“* (*Sauti ya TANU*, No. 29, May 27<sup>th</sup> 1958. Quoted from Konde 1984, p. 35)

The accusations were directed at two district commissioners, F. B. Weeks and G. T. L. Scott, who were suspected of having instigated Africans to give false evidence against TANU in court (cf. *Mwafrika*, No. 23, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1958, p. 6). As a result, Nyerere was found guilty that the words „*these same officials who would have people committing perjury*“ was criminal libel against specific public officials acting within the law. On August 13<sup>th</sup> 1958, Judge L. A. Davies pronounced the sentence. Nyerere was given a choice of six months in jail or a

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<sup>24</sup> „All of us know that the Englishman is here in our country to suck our blood and to obtain raw materials for himself, and let him not deceive us that he is here because he feels sorry for us and for the purpose of teaching us civilisation or to bring progress into the country. These inconstant sort of talking intends to shut our eyes; and the longer he stays here, the more minerals and money will be taken out of this country and sent to their home where they cannot exist comfortably without us.“

fine of 3,000 East African Shillings, then £ 150 Sterling (cf. Scotton 1978, p. 15; Ngh'waya 1990, pp. 52 - 56). According to Nyerere's biographer William Edgett Smith (1973, p. 70), friends of the TANU leader loved to recall how he wrestled with the decision, saying almost jokingly: „*Shall I go to jail? Every other prime minister has gone to jail! But I can't go to jail - it's an election year.*“ Consequently, Nyerere paid the fine.

In June 1959, Joel Mgogo, who had become the editor of *Mwafrika* after Bagdelleh and Makange were sentenced to prison, was charged with seditious publication. The paper had run an article claiming that the British had promoted the Mau-Mau myth in Kenya, and „(...) *when trouble occurred, as government had hoped for, the opportunity was there to shoot and bomb the inhabitants because it was said they were Mau Mau (...)*“ (Quoted from Scotton 1978, p. 15). Mgogo was convicted of seditious publication but escaped with a fine (cf. *ibid.*).

Nevertheless, the British watchdog proved to be toothless in its efforts to crack down on the African press. In 1959, the new governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, realised that the time for the country's self-government had come, and, therefore, he tried to speed up the process towards independence in co-operation with TANU.

## **5.8 The Establishment and Extension of Radio**

In order to examine the history of broadcasting in Tanganyika, it is necessary to turn the wheel of time back to the Second World War. Then, the increasing demand for information on behalf of the African population and the government's want to establish an effective instrument for propaganda purposes led to first discussions about the foundation of a broadcasting system for Tanganyika. Initially, it was proposed to extend the existing network in Nairobi and to erect a radio transmitter in Tanganyika picking up the signal from Kenya's capital.

But on August 27<sup>th</sup> 1942, the realisation of these plans was rejected by the Information Office on the grounds that the resources in technical equipment available for reception were small and less than ten Africans owned receiving sets (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 29541). Furthermore, the scheme was dropped on the colonial government's assumption that a central station would not

be able to cater properly for the individual need of the territory (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/1).

Hence, it was decided to postpone the establishment of a broadcasting system for Tanganyika until the end of the war. The officials agreed that the Information Office should first increase the number of sets coupled with public address equipment which were capable of being heard in communal places by large numbers<sup>25</sup> (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 29541).

But due to financial shortages after the Second World War, the plans were put aside again. Only in 1950, the Tanganyikan administration entrusted W. H. Thorneycroft, an engineer from the BBC in London, to conduct a survey on the feasibility of an own radio station for the territory. The so-called „Thorneycroft Plan“ of June 1950 concluded:

*„(...) the Tanganyika Government is not primarily interested in broadcasting to the non-native inhabitants (i. e. the British, the Indians, the Greeks, and smaller numbers of other European nations). For the most part those of the non-natives who are interested in broadcasting possess their own short-wave receiving sets, and prefer to select their programmes from European or Asiatic stations, which cater for them and are adequate for their needs. It is not denied that the broadcasting of local programmes for Europeans and Asians would be desirable if funds were unlimited, but unfortunately this is not the case: and the Government therefore feels that its broadcasting efforts should be concentrated on providing for those who are not at present being catered for.“* (Report of W. H. Thorneycroft on Broadcasting Schemes for Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala, June 1950, Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862).

Moreover, Thorneycroft suggested that a modest service for Dar es Salaam should be started on a trial basis (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/1).

With grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds amounting £ 11,320 (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/2), the experimental

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<sup>25</sup> In a memorandum of January 18<sup>th</sup> 1951, a Member of Local Government recorded the subsequent „ethnological“ observations: *„I feel that for at least the next 10 years we shall have to get programmes across to the general public largely by way of community receivers. The average African living in the hotter areas likes to stay outside his hut as much as possible until it is time to go to bed; and he likes company, whether it be for drinking, talking or listening to broadcasts. He also likes to discuss things which he has heard with neighbours who have been listening with him, c. f. the great burst of chatter which always occurs as Africans move off from a ‘baraza’. Also it will be long time before many of our less sophisticated Africans learn to handle even the simplest receiving set.“* (Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/1)

broadcasting station named „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam” (The Voice of Dar es Salaam) came into operation on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1951<sup>26</sup>. It was put under the Social Development Department which was headed by C. A. L. Richards. In a memorandum of January 12<sup>th</sup> 1952, Richard described the then problems:

*„The manufactures were not able to offer delivery of the 1¼ Kilowatt transmitter required for the experiment for 20 months, and it became necessary to improvise by putting into operation a second-hand American Hallicrafter transmitter<sup>27</sup> which was purchased for £ 70. A studio has been set up in a disused attic and equiped with 2 microphones, a turntable and mixing panel. The results have exceeded expectations. Reception is generally good in all areas of the town, and tests in the surrounding countryside confirm that the reception is good up to a range of 25 miles.”* (Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/2)

In respect of the ulterior motives of the establishment of „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam”, there is unanimity among Tanzanian media experts: David Wakati (cf. Interview on July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996), who had joined the station as a newscaster in 1955 and later became director of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), as well as Valerie Msoka and Selemani Mkufya are convinced that the British government placed entertainment into the foreground for one simple reason:

*„The British thought that the Africans could keep away from their discussions if there was something to consume their leisure time. Also give them to talk about an agenda set by the government. It was also true that the Africans who had fought in the War came back with determination to press the colonial government to give them what they had seen in other lands, radio being one of them. These factors combined resulted in the introduction of sound broadcasting by the British colonial government; as an amenity for its expatriate staff and for strengthening the colonial grip over the Tanganyikans. Also to reaffirm their authority and to sustain cultural links with the imperial centre.”* (Mkufya, Msoka 1984, p. 11)

However, at the very beginning, „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam” broadcast for only one hour per week in Swahili, with the programme repeated twice (cf. Katz, Wedell et al. 1978, p. 79). All transmissions were devised under the general control of the Social Development Department (cf. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office 1956, p. 87), and the station was supplied with daily news bulletins from the Public Relations

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<sup>26</sup> Tanganyika was one of the last African countries introducing broadcasting. According to Katz, Wedell, et al. (cf. 1978, pp. 247 - 250), the first radio station in Africa was established in Algeria in 1925, followed by Egypt (1926), Kenya (1928), Madagascar (1931), and Nigeria (1932).

<sup>27</sup> The American Hallicrafter was an ex-army transmitter with a wattage of 250.

Department (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1953, p. 121). Nevertheless, there was only a small audience since the price for the cheapest receiving set available, the South-African made „Saucepan Special”, was £ 8 (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/1). Graham Mytton (cf. 1976, p. 171) estimates that merely 1,000 people were listening to the programmes then.

In February 1952, a Marconi 1 ¼ medium-wave transmitter was added to the equipment in use, and, subsequently, the airtime was increased to one hour per day which was broadcast in the evening (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 171). Moreover, the Social Development Department proposed to set up 30 communal listening places (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862/2).

During 1953, the programme was extended to three hours daily, two hours in Swahili and one in English. Furthermore, morning transmissions for schools were introduced at an experimental stage. In accepting these new challenges, an officer from the Education Department was transferred to „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam”. Moreover, one African and two European members of the broadcasting staff returned from training courses at the BBC in London.

More problematic was the financial situation: by the end of 1953, grants totalling £ 66,000 had been provided by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for capital expenditure (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1954, p. 50). Then, no licence fees were charged because it was believed that collection from rural Africans would be difficult and likely to discourage the acquisition of private sets (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862).

From March 1<sup>st</sup> to April 30<sup>th</sup> 1954, the first regular school broadcasts went on air supplying programmes for middle schools, secondary schools, and teacher training centres. According to Edgar Polomé (cf. 1980, p. 128), these transmissions were of an extraordinary high standard. The total education airtime came to five hours per week, which were shared among the already mentioned school broadcasts (200 min.), the English-teaching programme „Sema Kiingereza” (60 min.), and „Swahili by Radio” (40 min.) (cf. Tanzania National Archives [TNA] 40862). In those days, reception was already good in coastal towns, such as Tanga, Lindi, Mtwara, and Mombasa in Kenya, as well as in Arusha, Kongwa, Nachingwea, and Mbeya (cf. *Mambo Leo*, March 1954, p. 36).

Then, in 1955, „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam” was transformed into a governmental department named Tanganyika Broadcasting Service (TBS). The station moved to Pugu Road (today’s Nyerere Road) on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam where new premises had been built. Equipped with a 20 kW Marconi short-wave transmitter, which was the most powerful in East Africa by that time, TBS gained an almost territory-wide coverage, and reception reports were received from countries as distant as Japan, Finland, and New Zealand (cf. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office 1957, p. 43). In addition, the station had been provided with a few offices, two studios, a control room, a small records library, and a mobile recording apparatus. The service was on air for eight hours. During school terms, educative programmes were broadcast from 8.30 to 10.30 a.m. (cf. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office 1956, p. 76f.; Mkufya, Msoka 1984, p. 13).

Simultaneously, the audience increased rapidly - 7,523 receiving sets were licenced only in 1955. Another 200 receiving sets were distributed to middle schools, secondary schools, and teacher training centres in order to enable 17,000 pupils to listen to schools broadcasts which had already become an established feature of the educational system in Tanganyika. Moreover, 16 community listening points in Dar es Salaam and the larger up-country towns were maintained by the Social Development Department (cf. *ibid.*).

Until then, TBS was regarded as an arm of colonial policies. In fact, the medium did not mention TANU or its leader Julius Nyerere unless it was something really exceptional. According to Mkufya and Msoka (cf. 1984, p. 13), an announcer was even dismissed after calling Nyerere „Mheshimiwa” (The Honourable). But as colonial policies changed, so did radio output. Interested in building an African audience, TBS had to rethink its broadcasting policy since the station was of ill repute among the indigenous population. Therefore, it became necessary to transform the government department into a public corporation on the model of the BBC (cf. Bourgault 1995, pp. 69 - 70). Appropriate plans were completed during the year 1955 (cf. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office 1956, p. 77).

On July 1<sup>st</sup> 1956, the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation, hereafter known as TBC, came into being. It was formally independent of the government, but as Mytton (cf. 1983, p. 78) points out, this nominal status guaranteed little autonomy. As a matter of fact, the board of the corporation consisted of a non-official chairman, two official and five non-official members, of whom three were Africans, one European, and one Asian (cf. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office 1957,

p. 42). All of them were appointed by the governor. In addition, it was decided that not more than half of the members of the corporation may be persons holding office of emolument under the Crown (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1956, p. 77). A further indication for the TBC's dependence was that the station's recurrent expenditure was met by a government grant of £ 50,000 to which a small revenue from announcements and royalties on gramophone records were added (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1957, pp. 42 - 43).

In 1957, it was estimated that c. 80,000 radio sets were in use - obviously enough to introduce an annual licence fee of 10 s. per radio receiver. Furthermore, a grant of £ 20,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was approved for the acquisition of a second short-wave transmitter (10 kw) and another medium-wave transmitter (1¼ kw). The amount of £ 5,000 needed to purchase the new equipment was supplied by the administration. The total airtime was increased from 27 to 37 hours per week. About 70 % of the programmes were broadcast in Swahili (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1958, p. 47). The TBC was provided with world news from the London-based BBC Swahili Service which had been launched on June 27<sup>th</sup> 1957. Daily local news bulletins in English were obtained from the *Tanganyika Standard* (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1961, p. 95).

In May 1958, Thomas W. Chalmers, a BBC officer, was appointed the first director of broadcasting. Chalmers, who had previously been responsible for the development of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), became the chief executive of the board and his main duty was to exercise day-to-day control over the affairs of the corporation (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1959, p. 96).

**Table 2: Directors of Broadcasting**  
(1958 - 1996)

Thomas W. Chalmers.....	1958 - 1962
Mikidodi B. Mdoe.....	1962 - 1965
Yona Kazibure .....	1965 - 1967
Martin Kiama.....	1967 - 1972
Paul Sozigwa .....	1972 - 1979
David Wakati .....	1979 - 1991
Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala .....	1991 - 1994
Abdallah Ngororo .....	1994 - 1996
Abdul Ngarawa .....	since 1996

From the start, the director strove to guarantee the TBC's political freedom by trying to attract new advertisers. Although commercial advertising had already been accepted in 1955, the station was still thrown upon governmental subsidies. In 1960, the year before independence, the TBC obtained £ 80,000 from the

colonial administration whereas revenues from radio licences (£ 5,002) and advertising (£ 6,896) were modest (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1961, p. 81).

The first audience survey, which was conducted in 1960, revealed that 10 % of the households in the cities had a radio set compared to only 2 % in the countryside (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 175). Furthermore, the investigation showed that 72,232 sets were in use, but only 18,000 had yet been licenced (cf. Polomé 1980, p. 128). Thus, the TBC Annual Report of 1960 concluded: *„If even half of these set owners had paid a licence fee, the TBC's financial position would have caused the board less anxiety.“* (Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation [1960]: Annual Report, 1<sup>st</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1960, Dar es Salaam. Quoted from Mytton 1976, p. 176)

Hence, Chalmer's efforts came to nothing. Mytton (cf. 1976, p. 178) observed that, initially, the corporation was careful to achieve a balance of opinions in its transmissions when controversial subjects were discussed. But this policy came under increasing government pressure so that public debates over the radio on certain issues became more limited.

Nevertheless, „Radio Africa Huru“ (Radio Free Africa), the Swahili Service of Radio Cairo, bridged the gap by starting a campaign against the British rule in East Africa. As a result of this development, the TBC invited experts from the BBC in London in order to improve the programmes, and Tanganyikans were sent on secondment to Great Britain in the counter-move. Furthermore, talent hunters were appointed to find broadcasters being able to lure as many listeners as possible (cf. Mkufya, Msoka 1984, p. 14).

However, in May 1959, the TBC was transmitting the following programme (cf. *Baragumu*, No. 169, May 28<sup>th</sup> 1959, p. 5):

**Table 3:** Weekly Programme Schedule of the TBC

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
5.00 p.m.	Coastal Programme						
5.30 p.m.	Eartha Kitt	Students' Time	Quick March	African Rumba	Koran Tufuku	Henry Freitas	Christian Mass
5.45 p.m.	Women's	My	Victoria	Women's	The	Nathanie	Christian

	Broadcast	Choice	Grupio	Broadcast	Tiklers	Group na Fudi Konde	Mass
<b>6.00 p.m.</b>	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London	Programme from BBC London
<b>6.15 p.m.</b>	Music	Music	Music	Music	Music	Music	Music
<b>6.45 p.m.</b>	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News	World News
<b>7.00 p.m.</b>	Cuban Marimba	District News	Agricultural Information	Joe Loss and his Band	District News	Good Luck	TBC Magazine
<b>7.15 p.m.</b>	English for You	Women's Opinion	Women's Opinion	English for You	Women's Opinion	Women's Opinion	Women's Opinion
<b>7.30 p.m.</b>	Soldiers' Opinion	Your Opinion	Your Greetings	Your Opinion	Your Greetings	Women's Opinion	Women's Opinion
<b>8.00 p.m.</b>	News from Today	News from Today	News from Today	News from Today	News from Today	News from Today	News of the Week
<b>8.15 p.m.</b>	News from Today	The Legislative Council Today	The Legislative Council Today	The Legislative Council Today	The Legislative Council Today	The Legislative Council Today	Guitar Rumba
<b>8.30 p.m.</b>	Discussion	Your Thoughts	The Elders help You	Seeking Information	From the Newspapers	Everybody likes Saturday Night	Blues
<b>8.45 p.m.</b>	Jambo-Mambo	Your Thoughts	The Elders help You	Sahoni Mpya	Merry Blackbirds	Everybody likes Saturday Night	Blues

At the end of 1959, the additional equipment, a short-wave transmitter of 10 kW and a medium-wave transmitter of 1 ¼ kW, was installed. As a consequence, it was possible to broadcast two programmes simultaneously - the National Programme in Swahili and the Second Programme for English speaking listeners. The first was on air in the morning from 6.15 to 8.00, at noon from 12.00 - 1.30, and in the evening from 4.30 to 10.15. The Second Programme, which mainly relied on taped material and foreign sources with an emphasis on Tanzanian news, transmitted its broadcasts from 12.00 noon to 2.00 p.m. and from 7.00 p.m. to 10.15 p.m.. Moreover, the channel broadcast daily programmes for the Asian listenership from 6.30 to 7.00 p.m. which were alternately in Hindustani and Gujerati (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1961, p. 82). In addition, the establishment of a regional programme for the Swahili listeners on the coast was proposed, but this plan was never translated into action (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1960, p. 64).

On July 1<sup>st</sup> 1960, the TBC instituted its own news service, and the *Tanganyika Standard* did not longer supply the station with daily bulletins although news was still purchased from the paper on an agency basis. For international reports, the TBC continued to rely on BBC programmes both in English and Swahili (cf. *ibid.*, p. 95).

Hence, on the eve of independence, broadcasting in Tanganyika had already achieved some remarkable results. First, three short-wave transmitters ensured a nearly country-wide coverage, and two medium-wave transmitters served the capital and its surroundings. Second, 94 of the 123 persons employed with the station were well-trained Africans who were at ease with the operation of a broadcasting system. Third, transmissions to schools had passed the experimental stage and were on air for 16 weeks of the year. Altogether, 207 hours were broadcast to schools in 1960 (cf. Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1961, p. 82). Finally, it is estimated that nearly 500,000 people were listening to the station regularly (cf. Mytton 1968, p. 95). This fact made the authors of the TBC's Annual Report of 1960 to state exuberantly:

*„At the end of 1960 it was possible to feel that, possibly for the first time, the TBC was playing an essential part in the life of the nation and had become an accepted an irreplaceable part of the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.“* (Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation [1960]: Annual Report, 1<sup>st</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1960, Dar es Salaam. Quoted from Mytton 1976, p. 178)

## 5.9 Press Register II

***Africa Sentinel:*** The weekly was published in Dar es Salaam from 1940 to 1943 and had a print run of 1,000.

***African Comrade:*** M. O. Abbasi was the owner of this English and Gujarati weekly which appeared in Dar es Salaam from 1925 to 1927. From 1926 to 1927, a daily edition of the same name existed. → *Jolly Joker*.

***African Voice, The:*** Published in September 1947, the newspaper was the result of first post-war efforts to establish an African press. It was printed in Swahili and English, but due to paper shortages and financial problems, *The African Voice* even disappeared in the same year.

***Aga Khan School Magazine:*** This publication was edited by the Aga Khan Ismailia Boys' School in Dar es Salaam in 1934.

***Akayo Katoliki:*** The Swahili paper was published by the Catholic Mission of Tabora in 1925.

***Al-Muslim:*** M. U. Abbasi, the brother of the → *African Comrade* owner, was the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam weekly. Founded in 1932, it was printed in both English and Gujarati in order to serve the interests of the Muslim population. But since Abbasi could not comply with the regulations of the Newspaper Ordinance, the paper had to cease publication shortly after its establishment.

***Anga la Tanganyika (The Sky of Tanganyika):*** Meant to be edited at a daily frequency, the Swahili paper was launched by Shaaban Said Mnbui on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1932. The Dar-es-Salaam publication, which can be regarded as Tanzania's first African-owned print medium, had a print run of 400 copies, but since *Anga la Tanganyika* was little in demand, it is believed that the second issue never appeared.

***Arumeru:*** The Swahili paper was published by the Assemblies of Arusha and Meru from 1961 to 1967.

***Bahaya Twemanye (Bahaya, Let Us Know Each Other):*** Ewald R. Munseri was the owner of this Haya monthly which appeared in Bukoba from 1955 to 1961. Moreover, Munseri edited → *Tanganyika Mpya* and → *Bukya na Gandi*.

***Bara Kwetu (Our Hinterland):*** The Swahili monthly was the most popular of the 23 district newspapers launched by the government in the years 1952 and 1953. It had a circulation of 3,000 copies, which were distributed throughout the Northern Province.

***Baragumu (The Bugle):*** Launched in 1956, the Dar-es-Salaam weekly was published by the Public Relations Department as replacement for → *Habari za Leo* in 1956. At the beginning, the Swahili paper was a strong supporter of Twining's UTP and gained a print run of 20,000 copies. After its circulation had fallen disastrously, *Baragumu* was sold to the government-sponsored Tanganyika National Newspaper Ltd. in 1957. Later, in 1959, the paper was taken over by the East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group) in Nairobi, which established a branch office in Dar es Salaam in 1960 (Tanganyika African Newspaper Ltd.). Subsequently, the paper was renamed several times: On July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1960, it was merged with the Kenyan *Taifa* (The Nation) into *Taifa na Baragumu* (The Nation

and the Bugle). Then, from November 5<sup>th</sup> 1960 onwards, it was published as *Taifa (Tanganyika) na Baragumu*. Finally, it appeared as → *Taifa Tanganyika* on January 7<sup>th</sup> 1961.

***Baraza (The Council)***: The Swahili weekly was founded by the Nairobi-based East African Standard Ltd. in 1939. It was distributed throughout Kenya (18,000 circulation), Uganda (18,000), and Tanganyika (20,000).

***Bendera ya Kikristo (The Christian Banner)***: Daniel Friberg from the Lutheran Missions Council was the editor of this Swahili monthly. Actually, Friberg already wanted to publish the paper in November 1945, but due to short supply of newsprint, it took until 1955 when *Bendera ya Kikristo* appeared in Soni. In 1959, it was replaced with → *Uhuru na Amani*.

***Buhaya Co-operative News***: Edited in Swahili and Haya, the Bukoba monthly was launched by the Bukoba Co-operative Native Union Ltd. in 1957. It was published by D. M. Weyunge und gained a print run of 3,500 copies. In 1967, the paper was renamed *Bukoba Co-operative News*.

***Bukoba Co-operative News***: → *Buhaya Co-operative News*.

***Bukya na Gandi (Fresh News)***: Ewald R. Munseri, the owner of → *Bahaya Twemanye* and → *Tanganyika Mpya*, published the weekly in Kabangamirembe (Bukoba district) from 1952 to 1963. It was printed in English, Swahili, and Haya and had a print run of 3,000 copies per issue.

***Bulletin of the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee***: On January 1<sup>st</sup> 1930, the Inter-Territorial Language Committee met in Dar es Salaam for the first time. Subsequently, this linguistic magazine was published in Tanganyika's capital until 1941. In 1942, the place of publication was moved to Nairobi, and, then, in 1952, to Kampala. During the editorship of W. H. Whiteley (1954 - 1959), the bulletin was named *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee*.

***Busara (Wisdom)***: The Swahili monthly was one of 23 local newspaper launched by the British administration in 1952 and 1953. It was edited by R. Rock from the Kondo African District Council.

***Central Monthly Statistical Bulletin***: Established by the Department of Statistics of the East African High Commission in June 1951, the English periodical appeared in Dar es Salaam at irregular intervals. The issues of January and April 1967 bore the name *Quarterly Economic Review*.

***Daily Nation:*** John Bierman was the publisher and George Githii the chief editor of this English daily which was founded by the East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group) in Nairobi in 1960. In January 1964, both the *Daily Nation* and its weekly sister paper, *Sunday Nation* (also launched in 1960 but edited by Jack Beverly), were banned from Tanganyika because of distorting news about the country at the time of an army mutiny in Dar es Salaam.

***Dar-es-Salaam Times:*** Subtitled „The Voice of Tanganyika“, this publication was the first professionally edited newspaper during the British period. The English settler paper was published from November 19<sup>th</sup> 1919 to December 26<sup>th</sup> 1925. Then, it was replaced with the → *Tanganyika Times*.

***Drum (East Africa Edition):*** Originally from South Africa, the English monthly was first seen in Dar es Salaam in 1961. It was produced by Drum Publications (U. K.) Ltd. in Johannesburg. The founding editor of the infotainment magazine was Frank Barton. → *True Love*, 6.6.

***Dunia (The World):*** M. D. Patel, the proprietor of the → *Tanganyika Opinion*, edited the Swahili paper in 1939, and, thus, *Dunia* became the first daily in Tanzania’s press history printed in an African language. It had a circulation of 1,000 copies. In 1940, Patel launched a weekly by the same name which survived until 1950. The daily edition already ceased publication in 1941.

***Ecclesia:*** → *St. Joseph’s Parish News*.

***Ekome:*** The local monthly was published by R. J. Rhumbika from the Ukerewe & Ukara Native Authority in 1953. It was edited in Swahili and backed by the colonial government.

***Engoma ya Buhaya:*** This Haya paper existed about 1955.

***Flamingo (Tanganyika Edition):*** The English infotainment magazine, which was edited in Dar es Salaam once a week, was launched by J. Harold from the Chalton Publishing Co. Ltd. in 1961. In 1966, the *Flamingo (Tanzania Edition)* was incorporated into the *Flamingo (East Africa Edition)* which was published by Gerald Malmed from the Flamingo African Publication Ltd. in Nairobi. Subsequently, the weekly was renamed *Flamingo Magazine* (subtitled „Africa’s lively full colour family magazine“) in 1969, and, in 1971, it appeared in 29 African states with a total run of 3,240,000 copies. From 1977, the *Flamingo Magazine* was no longer sold in Tanzania.

***Gir'umwani:*** Wilfried Toyi was the editor of this regional monthly founded in 1953. It was published in Swahili and Ha by the Uha Council in Kibondo and existed until 1966.

***Habari Njema (Gospel):*** The Swahili monthly was launched by the Catholic Bookshop Kintinku in Manyoni in 1961. It ceased publication in 1964 and reappeared in 1973.

***Habari za Buhaya (Buhaya News):*** Edited in Haya and Swahili, this fortnightly appeared in Bukoba in 1961. It was published by D. M. Rutaihwa from the Buhaya Council.

***Habari za Leo (News of Today):*** The successor of → *Habari za Vita* was edited by the Information Office from 1945 to 1949. Then, the Public Relations Department in Dar es Salaam took over the publication of the Swahili paper. On February 24<sup>th</sup> 1956, *Habari za Leo* was replaced with → *Baragumu*.

***Habari za Upare (Upare News):*** The Swahili monthly was the most ambitious of the district papers launched in the years 1952 and 1953. The 14-page publication was edited by the Pare Council Headquarters in Same until 1963. → *King'ora*.

***Habari za Vita (News of the War):*** Due to the increasing demands for reports on the Second World War, the Swahili weekly was launched by the Information Office in Dar es Salaam in 1939. In 1942, it gained a print run of 15,000 copies. After the end of the War, the paper was renamed → *Habari za Leo*.

***Hochland, Das (The Highland):*** This print medium was the result of the most successful attempt of reimmigrated German settlers to launch a newspaper serving their interests. The monthly was initially published by „Deutscher Wirtschaftsverband in Tanganyika Territory“ (German Economic Association in Tanganyika Territory) and, afterwards, by „Deutscher Bund für Ostafrika“ (German Union for East Africa) in Mufindi from 1930 to 1937. Then, the editorial office, which was headed by Helmut Wolff (Dr. A. Baron von Pölnitz in 1936), was moved to Oldeani. The production of the paper was done by the missionary station at Wuga (Usambara district).

***Ija Webonere:*** The monthly of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania/North-Western Diocese was founded by Carl-Johan Hellberg in Bukoba in 1954. Edited by Ernest Kahigwa in both Swahili and Haya, *Ija Webonere* still appeared at the time of research (summer 1996) in a print run ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 copies.

***Ilaka:*** This Swahili monthly was published in Mwanza from 1955 to 1967.

***Irgobawe:*** The Mbulu Local Authority was the publisher of the Swahili monthly which appeared in Mbulu from 1958 to 1964.

***Ismaili Crescent:*** This paper was founded in 1954 and appeared until the 1970s.

***Jagrooti:*** The Gujarati periodical was published every 18 days by Star Printing Press in Dar es Salaam in 1931.

***Jolly Joker:*** The second publication of M. O. Abbasi (→ *African Comrade*) was edited in Dar es Salaam from 1925 to 1931.

***Journal of the East African Swahili Committee:*** → *Bulletin of the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee.*

***Katoliki:*** The Catholic Mission at Peramiho was the publisher of this Swahili monthly which appeared from 1936 to 1964. Then, it was replaced with → *Mwenge* (6.6).

***Kibarua (The Casual Labourer):*** The Swahili fortnightly was both owned and edited by A. P. Lupindo in Dar es Salaam from 1959 to 1965.

***King'ora:*** Like → *Habari za Upare*, the Swahili paper was published by the Pare Council Headquarters in Same. It existed from 1953 to 1964 and was edited by Sabuni E. Simion.

***Kinyemi (Good Thing):*** This regional Swahili paper was edited by Sam Kibanga from the Usambara Local Authority in Lushoto in 1953. Later, in 1962, *Kinyemi* was replaced with → *Gunda/Baragumu* (6.6).

***Kiongozi (The Leader):*** The Catholic newspaper was founded in Tabora on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1950 and still appeared at the time of research in summer 1996. Initially, the Swahili periodical was published monthly, but in December 1957, it became a fortnightly. From April 1<sup>st</sup> 1971, *Kiongozi* was edited in Dar es Salaam. Circulation: 500 (1950), 1,500 (1951), 8,000 (1953), 25,000 (1970), 23,000 (1971), 19,500 (1975), 47,000 (1980), 103,000 (1986), 31,000 (1994). → *St. Joseph's Parish News.*

***Kiswahili:*** → *Swahili.*

***Komyka***: Founded in 1953, this Swahili fortnightly was published by the Chagga Council in Moshi until 1961. Then, it was replaced with → *Kusare*.

***Korrespondenzblatt der evangelischen Missionsarbeiter in Tanganyika Territory*** (**Correspondence Sheet of the Evangelical Missionaries in Tanganyika Territory**):

This German missionary publication was edited in 1931 and printed by the missionary station at Wuga (Usambara district).

***Kulich***: The regional monthly was launched in Sumbawanga in 1953.

***Kusare***: *Kusare Dunganya* was the complete title of this Swahili weekly which succeeded → *Komyka* in 1961. Published by the Chagga Council in Moshi, it gained a print run of 5,000 copies. *Kusare* disappeared in 1968.

***Kwetu (Home)***: On November 18<sup>th</sup> 1937, Erica Fiah published *Kwetu* - the first African-owned newspaper of Tanganyika. It had a circulation of 1,000 copies and appeared every 18 days. In 1940, it even gained a print run of 3,000. Due to economic problems after World War II, *Kwetu* became extremely irregular and ceased publication in March 1951.

***Lembuka***: G. Matingo was the editor of this regional monthly which was published by the Rungwe African District Council in Tukuyu from 1953 to 1967. It was printed in the languages Swahili and Nyakusa.

***Lipuli***: Edited by E. Moses Mwano from the Iringa Native Authority, the district monthly appeared in Iringa from 1953 to 1964. Later, it was published by H. Mohamed (Uhehe Native Authority/Iringa).

***Lumuli (The Torch)***: Founded in 1936, the Catholic missionary paper was published in Mwanza until 1964. Under the editorship of R. Butibubage, the Sukuma fortnightly gained a circulation of 4,000 copies.

***Lusangi (Fellowship)***: The Nyamwezi monthly was published by the Moravian Mission in Tabora from 1936 to 1938.

***Majyambele***: This monthly appeared from 1953 to 1967 and was edited by Ivan R. Bagabo from the Ngara Native Authority (Mwanza) in the languages Hangaze and Swahili.

***Mambo Leo (Affairs of Today)***: The popular Swahili monthly appeared from 1923 to 1963. Initially edited by the Department of Education, the publication of the paper was later done by the Public Relations Department in Dar es Salaam. In

1957, *Mambo Leo* was turned over to the government-financed corporation Tanganyika National Newspaper Ltd.. Then, in 1963, the paper was sold to the Nairobi-based media empire East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group) and, subsequently, merged with the Kenyan *Maisha* (1960 - 1963). The result was a new monthly titled → *Nyota Afrika* (6.6). Circulation: 6,000 (1923), 13,000 (1936), 21,000 (1944), 54,000 (1956), 55,000 (1962).

***Maongezi Matamu (Pleasant Conversation):*** Pastor A. F. Bull from the East African Union Mission of Seventh Day Adventists was the editor of the Swahili monthly. Designed on the model of → *Ufalme wa Mungu*, the paper appeared in November 1928.

***Maswali na Majibu (Questions and Answers):*** This Swahili newsheet existed about 1957.

***Mbiu (The Bugle):*** ... *ya mgambo ikilia ina jambo* (... of the Public Hoots if Something Happens) was the complete title of the local monthly which appeared on November 1<sup>st</sup> 1953. Edited in Swahili, it was published by the Native Treasury Tanga.

***Mhnyma:*** This monthly magazine of the Hellenic community was edited in Greek from September 1950 to 1957.

***Mhola Ziswe:*** B. F. Maeses, representative of the district commission in Nzega, was the editor of the Swahili monthly published from 1957 to 1961.

***Mihtasari ya Mkutano:*** Edited by Dar es Salaam's town council („Halmashauri ya Jiji”), the annual publication appeared between 1951 and 1973. Furthermore, the council published *Taarifa za Kamati* (News of the Commission) from 1956 to 1973.

***Mjumbe wa Kristo (The Christian Ambassador):*** The Swahili paper was founded in 1938 and appeared until the mid-1960s.

***Mlishi (The Provider):*** Published by the Evangelical Church of Usambara-Digo, the Swahili monthly appeared in Lushoto from 1961 to 1967.

***Month in Tanganyika, The:*** The Public Relations Department in Dar es Salaam published this bulletin in 1956. The monthly was distributed to a wide network of journalists, publicists, educational institutions, and libraries in East and South Africa, in the U.K., and abroad.

***Monthly Statistical Bulletin:*** → *Monthly Statistical Supplement.*

***Monthly Statistical Supplement:*** This periodical was published by the Tanganyikan administration from 1949 to 1951. Then, it was replaced with the *Monthly Statistical Bulletin.*

***Mtumishi wa Raia (The Servant of the Citizens):*** The Tanganyika Union of Public Employees was the owner of the Swahili monthly which was edited by M. A. Kivumbi from 1961 to 1963.

***Mtumishi wa Serikali (The Servant of the Government):*** E. D. Amri from the Tanganyika African Government Workers Union (TAGWU) was the publisher of the Swahili paper which appeared on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1959.

***Muli:*** This Swahili monthly was edited by Mathew A. Magaza from the Zigua & Ngure Council in Handeni from 1952 to 1964.

***Mwafrika (The African):*** Kheri Rashidi Baghdelleh and his assistant Robert Moses Makange founded the Swahili fortnightly in September 1957. Soon, it was transformed into a weekly, and, in 1959, an additional daily edition appeared. Both the weekly and the daily were sold to the Tanganyika African Newspaper Ltd., the Dar es Salaam branch of the Nairobi-based East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group), in 1961. Subsequently, the weekly was merged with → *Taifa Tanganyika* on March 18<sup>th</sup> 1961. Named *Mwafrika na Taifa* (The African and the Nation), it was published by Joel Mgogo and Charles Hayes, while Makange was responsible for the production of the daily. Both editions appeared until the spring of 1965. Circulation: weekly - 4,000 (September 1957) to 20,000 (October 1957); daily - 8,000.

***Mwafrika na Taifa:*** → *Mwafrika, Taifa Tanganyika.*

***Mwanafunzi (The Pupil):*** The Education Department in Dar es Salaam published the Swahili monthly in 1935. Its circulation ranged from 2,000 copies in 1940 to 3,000 copies in 1944.

***Mwananchi (The Citizen):*** Published by National Times Limited and edited by Haroon Ahmed in Dar es Salaam, *Mwananchi* appeared in August 1959 and gained a circulation of 10,000 copies. As its sister papers *National Weekly* (English, print run 5,000) and *Nootan Africa* (Gujerati), it ceased publication in early 1961.

***Mwangaza (The Light)***: The Swahili daily was published by the Public Relations Department in Dar es Salaam from 1951 to 1957. Then, it was turned over to the Tanganyika National Newspaper Ltd. which edited the paper until its cessation on December 31<sup>st</sup> 1958. Circulation: 800 (1951), 1,000 (1952), 1,200 (1954), 9,000 (1956).

***Nachingwea Daily News***: This daily newsheet was owned by the Overseas Food Corporation which was also responsible for the publication of → *Our World* and → *Urambo Daily News*. The periodical was available in Kongwa in 1955.

***Nachrichten für Lupempe (News for Lupempe)***: The German two-page monthly was published in Lupempe (Meringa district) from 1929 to 1930.

***National Times, The***: The English daily was the only outcome of Nyerere's attempt to create a strong party press by editing both a Swahili and an English daily, and, furthermore, a weekly in Gujarati. The paper was published by TANU's own National Times Press in 1959. But due to economic problems, *The National Times* soon had to cease publication.

***National Weekly***: → *Mwananchi*.

***News Bulletin***: The English monthly was owned by the Catholic Church of Dar es Salaam. Founded in 1960, it was published in a run of 500 copies in 1973. The target groups of the *News Bulletin* were journalists, clergymen, and representatives of agencies.

***Ng'wanji wa Butemi (The Herald of Kingdom)***: Established in Lubombo (Shinyanga district) in April 1927, the paper was published by Mr. E. Sywulka from the Africa Inland Mission.

***Ngurumo (The Roar)***: Randhir Thaker was the initiator of the popular Swahili daily which first appeared on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1959. The circulation ranged from 14,000 in 1966 to 40,000 copies in 1970; no other daily had such a broad distribution throughout Tanganyika at that time. The newspaper included a supplement called *Kaka* (The Brother) which aimed at the propagation of the Swahili. After the Habari Printers Co-operative Society Ltd. had taken over *Ngurumo's* production and Joseph Mzuri had become the new editor, the papers circulation fell rapidly to 2,000. On November 30<sup>th</sup> 1976, the last issue of *Ngurumo* appeared.

***Njoo Uone (Come and See)***: This Swahili publication of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Tanganyika existed in Iringa about the year 1955. It was published every

two months and had a print run of 4,000 copies. In the mid-70s, Njombe became the paper's place of publication. In the meantime, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania/Southern Synod had taken charge of *Njoo Uone's* production. From then, the publication, which was still available at the time of research (summer 1996), appeared in a print run of 6,000.

***Nootan Africa:*** → *Mwananchi*.

***North Mara Gazette:*** T. Mweri from the North Mara Native Authority was the publisher of this Swahili monthly which was launched in 1952.

***Northern Province Post:*** S. F. Butler's English fortnightly appeared in Arusha from 1961 to 1962.

***Ostafrika-Post (East African Post):*** The newspaper of the German inhabitants of Tanga came out in 1931 but existed only for a short period.

***Ostafrikawarte, Die (The East African Outlook):*** In political respects, this publication was the most important newspaper for the German community in Tanganyika Territory. Launched on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1938, it was edited by the German embassy in Nairobi.

***Our World:*** Like → *Nachingwea Daily News* and → *Urambo Daily News*, the English monthly was published by the Overseas Food Corporation and appeared in Kongwa from 1949 to 1953.

***Planter and Tanganyika Advertiser, The:*** Initially founded as a weekly on February 4<sup>th</sup> 1938, the frequency of publication was reduced to once a month even in the same year. The English periodical was edited in Tanga until 1947, and its circulation ranged from 1,100 to 1,700 copies per issue.

***Planter, The:*** Subtitled „An Illustrated Monthly Journal, devoted to the Interests of the Coffee, Sisal and Farming Industries in East Africa“, the monthly magazine replaced the → *Tanganyika Review* in September 1932. Edited by Martin van Jaarsveld, it appeared until 1942. From May to September 1938, *The Planter* was published weekly.

***Platinum:*** This publication appeared in March 1953.

***Quarterly Economic Review:*** → *Central Monthly Statistical Bulletin*.

***Rafiki Yetu (Our Friend)***: Although the Swahili paper's place of publication was Mombasa, it was edited by the Catholic Mission in Dar es Salaam from 1925 to 1950.

***Raia (The Citizen)***: M. G. Mkama from the Geita African Council was the editor of the local Swahili monthly which appeared in 1953.

***Rumuli (a)***: At the time of research in summer 1996, this paper was the oldest continuously published periodical in Tanzania. Established in 1942 by the Catholic Diocese of Bukoba, the fortnightly appeared in Haya, Swahili, and English in a run of 5,000 copies (1994).

***Rumuli (b)***: The Catholic Church in Ngara was the publisher of this Hangaze monthly which appeared from 1957 to 1961.

***Sauti ya Kweli (The Voice of the Truth)***: The occasional newsheet was produced by the Public Relations Department in 1959 with the aim to counter false rumours.

***Sauti ya Morogoro (The Voice of Morogoro)***: The Swahili regional monthly was published by the Morogoro Native Authority from 1953 to 1964.

***Sauti ya Msukuma (The Voice of the Sukuma)***: The Sukuma Union in Mwanza launched the Swahili publication in December 1953.

***Sauti ya TANU (The Voice of TANU)***: The mouthpiece of Nyerere's party was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1957. Printed in Swahili, it was replaced with → *Uhuru* (6.6) in 1961.

***Sauti ya Wakulima (The Voice of the Farmers)***: A. L. Nyanda from the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions Ltd. was the editor of this Swahili monthly which appeared in Mwanza from 1961 to 1964.

***Sauti Yetu (a) (Our Voice)***: The Swahili publication came out in Karema in 1925.

***Sauti Yetu (b)***: Founded in the early 1950s, the Catholic quarterly of the Diocese of Sumbawanga was edited by Fr. Alex Kizito in Swahili in a run of 3,000 copies.

***Sayu-itu***: Published by the Turu Council and edited by Babu Ramadhani Athmani, the Swahili district monthly appeared in Singida from 1953 to 1967.

***Settler, The:*** The English Sunday paper (subtitled „Devoted to the Interests of the Settlers of Tanganyika”) was edited by A. J. Siggins in Dar es Salaam in 1922.

***Siku Hizi (These Days):*** Printed by the Central Office of Information in England, the illustrated magazine was published in both a Swahili (9,000 circulation) and an English (1,000) edition in 1952.

***Southern Highland Region Bulletin:*** This publication, which appeared from 1961 to 1963 in a run of 1,000 copies, replaced four regional newspapers in 1961 and 1962.

***Spearhead:*** „The Pan-African Review” (subtitle) was published by Frene Ginwala who was later appointed editor of → *The Standard*. The English monthly came out in November 1957 and was produced by Afreepress Ltd. in Dar es Salaam.

***St. Joseph’s Parish News:*** Frater Novatus published the Swahili monthly on behalf of the Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam from 1954 to 1959. Then, the paper was renamed *Ecclesia* and appeared in a run of 5,900 copies. In 1971, *St. Joseph’s Parish News* was incorporated into the → *Kiongozi*.

***Sunday Nation:*** → *Daily Nation*.

***Sunday News:*** On November 7<sup>th</sup> 1954, O. P. Blake edited the first issue of the Dar es Salaam-based Sunday paper which was owned by the East African Standard Ltd. in Nairobi. The English publication replaced the weekly edition of the → *Tanganyika Standard* and became the sister of → *Daily News*. Circulation: 7,000 (1954), 7,100 (1955), 8,500 (1956), 12,000 (1968), 23,540 (1970), 23,500 (1975), 41,000 (1981), 50,000 (1990), 60,000 (1992), 50.000 (1994).

***Swahili:*** „The Journal of the Institute of Kiswahili Research” (subtitle) was launched on the occasion of the establishment of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee in 1930 in order to ensure the development of the Swahili language. The magazine was published twice a year and carried articles in both English and Swahili. From September 1970, it was called *Kiswahili* (subtitle: „Jarida la Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili”), which was the Swahili translation of the former English title. The editorial responsibility was imputed to the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Taarifa ya Takwimu Robo Mwaka (Quarterly Statistical Report):*** The publication was launched by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Dar es Salaam in 1951. Its

contents were partly printed in English and Swahili. Later, the quarterly was renamed *Taarika ya Tarakimu* (Numeral Report).

***Taarifa za Kamati:*** → *Mihtasari ya Mikutano*.

***Taifa (Tanganyika) na Baragumu:*** → *Baragumu, Taifa Tanganyika*.

***Taifa na Baragumu:*** → *Baragumu*.

***Taifa Tanganyika (The Nation Tanganyika):*** On January 7<sup>th</sup> 1961, the weekly was published by the Tanganyika African Newspaper Ltd. which was then the Dar-es-Salaam branch of the East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group) in Nairobi. The paper succeeded *Taifa (Tanganyika) na Baragumu* and was printed in Swahili. After the fusion with the weekly edition of *Mwafrika*, it was titled *Mwafrika na Taifa* (The African and the Nation) and appeared in Dar es Salaam from March 18<sup>th</sup> 1961 to the spring of 1965. Due to the disastrous loss of readers, the East African Newspaper Ltd. decided to merge its weekly Swahili publications into *Taifa Leo* (Today's Nation) which was published with two country editions, *Taifa Tanzania* and *Taifa Kenya*. *Taifa Tanzania* ceased publication in the early 1990s. → *Baragumu, Mwafrika*.

***Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser, The:*** The English Tanga weekly was owned by Martin van Jaarsveld and appeared from September 6<sup>th</sup> 1919 to June 25<sup>th</sup> 1921. Then, it was incorporated as coast supplement into the Kenyan *Leader of British East Africa*. → *Tanganyika Review*.

***Tanganjika-Zeitung:*** Willy von Roy, who had edited the → *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (4.5) during the German colonial period, was the publisher of this German newspaper. Printed by Kanti Printing Works, the first issue appeared in Dar es Salaam on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1928 and was subtitled „Deutsches Nachrichten- und Auskunftsblatt für und über Deutsch-Ostafrika“ (German News and Information Paper for and about German-East Africa).

***Tanganyika Advertiser:*** The publication, which appeared from 1928 to 1930, was owned by the Nairobi-based Swift Press (former proprietor: C. J Griffith). It was offered for sale by the Times of East Africa Ltd. and was distributed by the Post of Kenya to 70 subscribers and many free recipients in Moshi and Arusha.

***Tanganyika Education Journal:*** The English-language magazine was published by the East African Standard Ltd. in Nairobi and edited by Dudley Hawkins three times a year from 1958 onwards. After the mainland's union with Zanzibar, the

paper was renamed *The Tanzania Education Journal*. Being the property of the Ministry of National Education in Dar es Salaam, the circulation of the fortnightly ranged between 8,000 and 10,000 copies.

***Tanganyika European Council Bulletin:*** This English monthly was published in Dar es Salaam from 1955 to 1956.

***Tanganyika Gazette:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*.

***Tanganyika Herald:*** V. R. Boal was the owner of the English and Gujarati paper which appeared in both a weekly and a daily edition in February 1929. Moreover, Boal launched a Swahili edition on September 15<sup>th</sup> 1939. All periodicals were produced by Boal's own Herald Printing Works, but due to economic problems after the Second World War, they had to cease publication in 1948. Nevertheless, the *Tanganyika Herald* reappeared as a weekly in 1959 and survived until 1963. Circulation: daily - 250 (1937 - 1941); weekly - 780 (1937), 350 (1941), 2,500 (1963).

***Tanganyika in the U.K. Press:*** The monthly, whose contents were based on press cuttings from the United Kingdom, was launched by the Public Relations Department in 1957. After independence, the paper was taken over by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and, in 1964 (union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar), it was renamed *Tanzania in the U.K. Press*. The last issue of the print medium appeared in 1974.

***Tanganyika Mpya (New Tanganyika):*** Published in Bukoba from 1956 to 1962, this Swahili weekly was the property of Ewald R. Munseri who also owned → *Bahaya Twemanye* and → *Bukya na Gandi*.

***Tanganyika News Service:*** The periodical was introduced by the Public Relations Department in July 1949. It gained a circulation of 350 and was distributed to all parts of the world. In 1951, the *Tanganyika News Service* was replaced with a system of press communiques.

***Tanganyika Notes and Records:*** Founded in March 1936, the magazine was published by Kanti Printing Works at irregular intervals. In 1947, The Tanganyika Society, an organisation under the patronage of the respective governor, took over the editorship of the English periodical, which then appeared twice a year. From 1966 onwards, the magazine, which carried scientific articles on the country, was renamed *Tanzania Notes and Records* and kept this title until its cessation in 1982.

***Tanganyika Official Gazette:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*.

***Tanganyika Opinion:*** The English and Gujarati paper, which appeared in both a daily and a weekly edition, was the leading publication of the Indian community in Tanganyika. Founded by M. D. Patel in 1923, the *Tanganyika Opinion* was produced by Kanti Printing Works in Dar es Salaam. The circulation of the daily edition ranged from 200 (1927) to 500 (1962) copies, of the weekly from 325 (1923) to 5,000 (1947). Furthermore, Patel published a daily *Evening Supplement* which gained a print run of 400. The *Tanganyika Opinion* disappeared in 1962.

***Tanganyika Police Journal:*** Launched in 1950, the quarterly was renamed *Tanzania Police Journal* after the mainland's union with Zanzibar. In 1994, the paper was edited by the head of the Political Education Department of the Dar-es-Salaam Police Directorate in a run of 5,000 copies (7,000 to 12,000 in 1970/71).

***Tanganyika Review:*** Martin van Jaarsveld, the editor of → *The Tanga Post and East Coast Advertiser*, published this English paper in Arusha between May 1930 and May 1932. Then, the periodical was incorporated into → *The Planter*.

***Tanganyika Sentinel, The:*** T. C. Elavia was the editor of the Kigoma monthly which appeared in April 1936.

***Tanganyika Standard:*** This English-language newspaper was the most influential publication during the British administration. The daily edition appeared on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1930, the weekly succeeded on January 4<sup>th</sup>. From 1930 to May 1967, the *Tanganyika Standard* was published by the Kenyan East African Standard Ltd.. Then, the media empire was taken over by the multinational London-Rhodesian Company (LONRHO). On November 7<sup>th</sup> 1954, the weekly *Tanganyika Standard* was renamed → *Sunday News*. After the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the daily became *The Standard*. Then, on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1970, the paper was nationalised, and, on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972, it was consolidated with → *The Nationalist*. The result of this merger was → *Daily News* (6.6). Circulation: 7,000 (1955), 8,300 (1956), 9,000 (1957), 10,300 (1960), 15,000 (1970), 22,274 (1971).

***Tanganyika Territory Gazette:*** Established on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1919, the English proclamation paper of the colonial administration was published every two months and had a circulation of 650 copies. In September 1919, it became a fortnightly, and, from July 1<sup>st</sup> 1921, the *Tanganyika Territory Gazette* was published weekly. After the periodical had been renamed *Tanganyika Gazette* in 1956, it became the *Gazette of the United Republic of Tanganyika & Zanzibar* in

1964. Subsequently, in the autumn of the same year, it appeared as *Gazette of the United Republic of Tanzania*. From 1964 onwards, contents were edited in Swahili, and, from July 31<sup>st</sup> 1970, the periodical was titled *Gazeti la Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania* which was the Swahili translation of the former English name. In 1994, the publication was edited by Charles Ifunya as *Gazeti la Serikali* (Government Gazette) in a print run of 5,700 copies twice a month. Supplements: *Subsidiary Legislation, Acts Supplement, Bill Supplement, Special Bill Supplement, &c..*

***Tanganyika Times & Trade Recorder.*** The Gujerati weekly of The General Mercantile Corporation was edited by Kantilal Mohanlal Patel. It appeared in 1956 and gained a print run of 4,000. After the union of the mainland and Zanzibar in 1964, it was renamed *Tanzania Times & Trade Recorder*.

***Tanganyika Times.*** The successor of the → *Dar-es-Salaam Times* appeared in both a daily and a weekly edition in Dar es Salaam. The first issue of the daily bore the date of January 2<sup>nd</sup> 1926, of the weekly January 4<sup>th</sup>. After the Nairobi-based East African Standard Ltd. had launched an own newspaper for Tanganyika, the former mouthpiece of the British settlers lost most of its readership and was incorporated into the newly established → *Tanganyika Standard*. Consequently, the daily and the weekly edition ceased publication on June 30<sup>th</sup> and June 27<sup>th</sup> 1930, respectively.

***Tanganyika Trade Bulletin.*** It is believed that this commercial publication was founded in 1953.

***Tatejo.*** Subtitled „A Tanzania Teacher’s Journal”, the fortnightly was established by the Benedictine Abbey in Peramiho in 1948. Edited in both English and Swahili, it appeared until 1969 in a run of 2,200 copies. Then, it was replaced with → *Mlezi* (6.6).

***Tazama (Look).*** The Kenyan Swahili weekly was widely distributed in Tanganyika during the 1950s.

***Tea.*** From 1961 to 1966, the quarterly was published by the Kenyan East African Newspaper Ltd. (Nation Group) in Dar es Salaam. Its editor was R. H. Selmon.

***Tururumba.*** The district monthly, which was started in 1952, was edited in both Swahili and Turu.

***Twende Pamoja (Let Us Walk Together)***: Published by the Njombe African District Council, the local monthly was edited in Swahili from 1953 to 1964.

***Ufalme wa Mungu (The Kingdom of God)***: Die Lutheran „Bethel-Mission“ was responsible for the publication of this Swahili monthly which appeared in March 1927. In 1944, the paper gained a print run of 4,000 copies.

***Uhuru na Amani (Freedom and Peace)***: The print medium of the Protestant Church in Soni succeeded → *Bendera ya Kikristo* in 1959. Subsequently, it became the most important newspaper of the Lutheran missionaries in Tanganyika. The editor of the Swahili monthly was Richard Juma. After the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) had emerged from the union of the Protestant Churches in 1963, *Uhuru na Amani's* place of publication changed from time to time: Usa River (1963, edited by Nusibu S. Mwakipunda), Moshi (1975, 12,000 circulation), and Arusha (1980, edited by Moses M. Tezura, 13,000 circulation, quarterly).

***Ukulima wa Kisasa (Modern Agriculture)***: Launched in 1955, the Swahili monthly was owned by the Agricultural Department and edited by E. C. Green in Musoma. After independence, the editorial office was moved to Dar es Salaam. Then, the paper was published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, which later became the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives. Circulation: 34,000 (1968), 32,000 (1970), 10,000 (1981), 15,000 (1986), 39,000 (1994).

***Umoja (Unity)***: The Swahili monthly was founded by the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika in Moshi in 1947. Circulation: 9,000 (1970/71), 5,000 (1981), 800 (1994).

***Upanga wa Roho (The Sword of the Spirit)***: From 1949 to 1963, the Swahili monthly was published by the Anglican Church in Kongwa. Then, the place of publication was moved to Dodoma where it ceased publication in 1964.

***Urambo Daily News***: The daily was a further press product of the Overseas Food Corporation in Kongwa (→ *Nachingwea Daily News, Our World*). It came off the presses in 1955.

***Uremi***: The Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union was the publisher of this Swahili monthly which appeared in Moshi from 1932 to 1963.

***Ushindi (The Victory)***: Edited in Swahili, the monthly was published by Reverend H. Beck from the Moravian Church of Southern Tanganyika in Tukuyu in 1961.

***Wangaluka (Good Morning)***: The monthly which was edited by C. H. B. Hakili in Nzega from 1951 to 1964 was printed in the languages Swahili and Nyamwezi.

***Wela (Grain)***: Geoffrey P. Maseka from the Dodoma Local Treasury was the editor of the monthly which appeared in Swahili and Gogo in 1952. The paper survived until 1964.

***What's the Answer?***: This English and Swahili pamphlet was published by the Dar es Salaam-based Public Relations Department in 1957 and discussed current affairs in a series of questions and answers.

***World News Summary, A***: The Public Relations Department in Dar es Salaam edited the Swahili and English monthly in 1956. The periodical was circulated among district commissioners, schools, and vernacular newspapers.

***Young Africa***: The Gujarati weekly was published by E. E. Kahan in Dar es Salaam from 1952 to 1991.

***Yuvak***: The „Shri Bharat Yuvak Vayam Shala” (Young Men’s Gymnasium Club) was the owner of the Gujarati monthly launched in 1930.

***Zuhra (The Wanderer)***: Founded in 1940, the Swahili daily was owned by R. Machado Plantan and edited by Mathias E. Myampala. In 1950, the paper had to cease publication but reappeared as a weekly in 1952. *Zuhra* gained a print run of 3,000 copies.

## 6 From Independence to Democratisation (1961 - 1996)

### 6.0 Prologue: December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961

After 76 years of colonial rule, Tanganyika gained its political independence on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961. It is superfluous to mention that this occasion was dominated the headlines of the country's most important newspapers.



A new weekly, *Uhuru* (Independence), replaced the legendary party organ *Sauti ya TANU* just on independence day in order to „(...) champion the cause of Tanganyika's freedom and solidarity for all the struggling people of the world“ (Konde 1984, p. 31). In its first issue, the new TANU paper celebrated the event and, moreover, presented its editorial policy:

**„‘UHURU’ - MUNGU IBARIKI TANGANYIKA“**

*„UHURU Wananchi! Leo ni siku ya furaha sana! Ni siku ya pekee kabisa katika maisha ya kila Mwafrika aliye hai. Leo ni siku ambayo walio duniani na wasio duniani vilevile wanafurahia. Leo NI SIKU YA SHANGWE KUU MAANA NI SIKU YA*

**Figure 18:** The probably most important paper after independence, the party paper *Uhuru*, was first published on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961.

**UHURU!**

*(...) Leo ni siku ya furaha sana, ni siku ya shangwe, kwa kuzaliwa Gazeti la UHURU, gazeti la TANU! Gazeti hili ni gazeti la Wananchi. Litakuwa likitoa mawazo yetu sisi akina yake. Gazeti UHURU ni gazeti mlezi, ni gazeti ambalo kazi yake itakuwa kulilea taifa jipya la Tanganyika. Ni gazeti la Taifa. Gazeti la UHURU ni gazeti LAKO.”<sup>28</sup> (Uhuru, Vol. 01, No. 01, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, p. 2)*

<sup>28</sup> „‘INDEPENDENCE’ - GOD BLESS TANGANYIKA“

„Independence compatriots! Today is the day of great rejoice! It is a totally special day in the life of every African alive. Today is the day which is pleasing both the living and the dead. Today is the greatest, most important holiday, it is the day of independence! (...) Today is the day of great rejoice, it is a holiday, the birthday of the newspaper *Uhuru*, the newspaper of

In comparison to *Uhuru's* overwhelming leading article, the *Tanganyika Standard's* coverage of the day's occurrences was fairly unemotional:

**„SALUTE TO THE NEW NATION“**

*„TANGANYIKA is independent. She has experienced her greatest hour. A nation - and from today the latest member of the Commonwealth - has been born. At one minute to midnight last night, as the last notes of the British National Anthem hung on the air, 80,000 people looking down on the floodlit arena of Dar es Salaam National Stadium were plunged into darkness.“* (*Tanganyika Standard*, No. 9677, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, p. 1)

Both excited and thoughtful was the commentary of the Catholic fortnightly *Kiongozi* which had strongly supported TANU's struggle for self-government during the last years of colonial rule:

**„UHURU! UHURU WANANCHI! UHURU!“**

*„Nduuuu! Ndiiii! Tririririri! Pumpumpumpum! Mizinga inalindima ikishangilia kuzaliwa kwa Tanganyika mpya! Ebu tuimbe tena: Tanganyika Tanganyika, nakupenda kwa moyo wote .... Chaaaa! Huuuu! Tikititiki! Akina mama pigeni vigelegele: Yiririririri! Owe! Owe! Owe! Asanteni na poleni. (...) Uhuru tumepata! Asante Mungu! Lakini hivi kujikumbusha yaliyopita ni vibaya? Kuna methali isemayo: 'Mavi ya kale hayanuki.' Ewallah! Sikatai. Lakini mavi na mambo ya maana, ni vitu viwili mbalimbali. Hebu tuone sasa tulikotoka, kule tuendako - ajua Mungu peke yake.“*<sup>29</sup> (*Kiongozi* [Tokeo la Uhuru], December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, p. 7)

On the contrary, the *Sunday News* celebrated the event from a „very british“ point of view:

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TANU! This newspaper is the newspaper of the citizens. It will publicise our thoughts, we are its family. The newspaper *Uhuru* is an educator, it is a paper which has the task to build the new nation Tanganyika. It is the newspaper of the nation. The *Uhuru* paper is your newspaper.“

<sup>29</sup> „INDEPENDENCE! INDEPENDENCE COMPATRIOTS! INDEPENDENCE!“  
*„Nduuuu! Ndiiii! Tririririri! Pumpumpumpum! The cannons both guard and celebrate the birth of the new Tanganyika! Now then, let us sing again: Tanganyika, Tanganyika, I love you from the depth of my heart .... Chaaaa! Huuuu! Tikititiki! Mothers, shout with joy: Viririririri! Owe! Owe! Owe! Thank you and condolence. (...) We have gained independence! Thank you, God! But is it bad to remember the past? There is a proverb saying: 'The waste of the past does not smell.' Yes, by God! I do not reject that. But the waste of important affairs, these are two different things. Now then, let us see where we have come from; where we will go to - only God knows.“*

**„THE DUKE MAKES UHURU OFFICIAL”**

*„ROARING jet aircraft of the Royal Air Force swept over the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam marking the highlight of yesterday’s inspiring ceremony when the Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, received from the Duke of Edinburgh the instruments of Tanganyika’s Independence. The loudest ovation of the morning was reserved for the Prime Minister as he drove round the arena in his open car. Earlier, amid a profusion of tributes, he thanked all those who had helped Tanganyika. ‘Those who are no longer with us, those who still remain, I salute them all’, he said. More than 20,000 people watched as the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, was sworn in as the first Governor-General ‘as a servant of Tanganyika and representative of the Queen’. The ceremony came to a close with the swearing in of the Ministers by the Governor-General and the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Windham.” (Sunday News, No. 472, December 10<sup>th</sup> 1961, p. 1)*

Finally, in the weekly *Mwafrika na Taifa*, the new prime minister himself, Julius Nyerere, admonished the citizens to use all their potentials for building the new nation:

**„HUREE!!! UHURU MKONONI”**

*„TANGANYIKA ya siku zijazo hivi sasa iko mikononi mwa watu wa Tanganyika wenyewe. Jamii tunayoishi ndani yake hivi sasa, katika muda wa miaka kumi ijayo itategemea kazi yetu sasa, na zaidi ya yote, jinsi tutakavyopambana na shida pamoja na nafasi za kustawi tutakazorithi. Tulichojipatia ni haki ya kuipa umbo hali ya siku zijazo ya watoto wetu. Kutoka wakati huu na kuendelea ni lazima tutende, sio ili kustawisha hali yetu binafsi, bali ili kujenga jamii ambamo watoto wetu wataweza kusimama wima na kujikinga na ujinga, magonjwa na umaskini kwa kuyasaga kwa miguu yao vile uwezavyo kufanya na mchwa. (...) Kila mmoja wetu ni lazima asahau kwanza manufaa yake binafsi; ni lazima ajiondolee kwanza huo mvutio wa kutumia uwezo alio nao katika kuwafyonza damu wenzake, badala ya kutoa kila kitu alichu nacho na kudai sehemu anayostahili kutoka kwa yote tuwezayo kujipatia kwa kufanya kazi pamoja. Sababu yake ni kuwa iwapo Tanganyika itafaulu hapawezi kuwa na ‘Mimi’ na ‘Wao’, kunapaswa kuwa na neno moja tu ‘Sisi’. (...) Najua kwamba watu wataitikia mwito wa kazi kubwa na ya kutatiza inayotungoja sisi sote nami nakubali kwa furaha nafasi hii ya kutuma salamu zangu katika siku hii.”<sup>30</sup> (Mwafrika na Taifa, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, pp. 1 - 2)*

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<sup>30</sup> „HURRAH! INDEPENDENCE IN HAND”

„From now on, the future of Tanganyika is in the hands of the people of Tanganyika themselves. The society we are living in from today will rely on our work in the next ten years, and, more than anything else, on the way we will cope with problems together with the possibility to develop what we want to inherit. What we have got is the right to form the future of our children. From now on, we have to act not for the progress of our private condition but to build up our society, in which our children will stand erect and will protect themselves, and

## 6.1 Assessing the Changes

On October 11<sup>th</sup> 1960, i. e., fourteen months before the final achievement of independence, the newly elected and TANU-dominated Legislative Council met for the first time („Madaraka<sup>31</sup> Day“). Nevertheless, the internal self-government was only granted on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1961. From this day to December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, Tanganyika was ruled by the so-called „Responsible Government“ which tried to get the administrative machinery ready for independence. One of the first decisions of Nyerere’s cabinet was to rename the colonial Public Relations Department into the Tanganyika Information Services (TIS) which was placed under the Prime Minister’s Office in 1960. Hence, Julius Nyerere himself was in charge of the information sector in this period of change.

The starting position was rather dissatisfying for the new government. On the one hand, Nyerere wanted to utilise the media to foster the unity and the development of the country, but, on the other hand, all dailies (*Mwafrika*, *Tanganyika Standard*, *Ngurumo*, *Daily Nation*) were owned by private enterprises. Furthermore, the TBC controlled the radio station which was the only nation-wide medium.

Consequently, Nyerere began to check the possibilities to put these media under the supervision of the state. In a speech held a few months before independence, the prime minister already alluded to his future plans for the development of the communication sector:

*„Too often the only voices to be heard in ‘opposition’ are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy - freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticize - in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order. (...) The government must deal firmly and promptly with the trouble-makers. The country cannot afford, during these vital years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance which may be safely allowed in a long established democracy.”* (Quoted from Tegambwage 1989, p. 101)

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in which they will crush underfoot illiteracy, disease, and poverty, just alike you can do it with a termite. (...) First, each of us has to forget his/her own benefit; it is necessary to banish the inclination to use the available manpower to suck the blood of our neighbours first. Instead, he/she has to give anything of his/her possessions and to demand payment of what he/she deserves from the fruits of our co-operation. The reason for this is that in a successful Tanganyika there will be no ‘I’ and ‘They’; it is advisable that there will be only one word - ‘We’. (...) I know that the people of Tanganyika will comply with the call to great work, and that they will rack their brains over our future, and I am glad to take this chance to send my greetings on this day.“

<sup>31</sup> Responsibility

Yet, the elimination of the private press was long in coming. This purpose and the plan of TANU's executive committee to publish its own newspapers were hindered by three major problems:

- 1 The lack of both foreign investors and technical equipment made the establishment of new publishing companies nearly impossible.
- 2 The inadequate training of Tanganyikan journalists did not grant a self-reliant newspaper production.
- 3 The Nairobi-based press giants, the Nation Group and the East African Standard Ltd., had already formed an influential oligopoly with a high rate of market share.

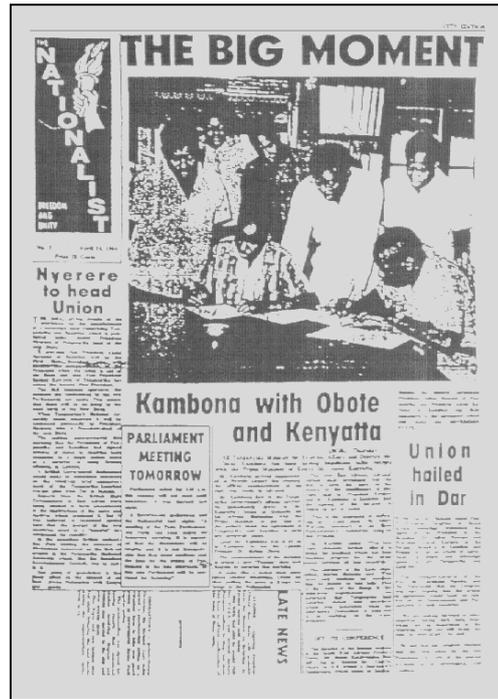
Notwithstanding, in April 1962, TANU established the Mwananchi Printing and Publishing Company. The managing board headed by former *Mwafrika*-editor Joel Mgogo was filled up with ministers and other members from the party's cadres (cf. Mytton 1968, p. 94). The first decisions of TANU's publishing house included the transformation of *Uhuru* into a daily newspaper and the foundation of an additional English-language paper called *The Nationalist* (cf. Ainslie 1966, p. 113 - 114). The idea was to build the nation by a centralised Swahili press since radio was still a formally autonomous organ in political respects. Furthermore, Nyerere hoped that through an English paper international politicians and economists would understand the country's problems and agree with the state's newly adopted policies.

However, the realisation of these plans lasted until 1964. By then, Tanzania had already become a single-party state<sup>32</sup>. On April 17<sup>th</sup> 1964, the first issue of *The Nationalist* came off the presses. The new daily with the promising subtitle „Freedom and Unity“ comprised eight pages, and a torch, the symbol of independence, adorned the newspaper's heading. Editor Joel Mgogo and Managing Director James G. Markham, an experienced Ghanaian journalist who had worked with later President Kwame Nkrumah at the *Evening News* in Accra, pointed out the policy of the paper as follows:

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<sup>32</sup> The multi-party system was abolished in January 1963. At TANU's Annual Conference of the same year, President Nyerere explained: „Where there is one party, and that party is identified with the nation as a whole, the foundations of democracy are firmer than they can ever be when you have two or more parties, each representing only a section of the community.“ (Quoted from Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, p. 107)

„This newspaper is the baby of the Tanganyika African National Union and for that matter of the Government. We will speak authoritatively for Tanganyika, but that does not prevent us making constructive suggestions wherever we deem them necessary; for we believe that ‘where there is no criticism praise is without value’. We will serve the interest of truth and justice with objective reportage of events in the contemporary African scene. We shall reflect modern Africa and the thinking of men and women who are shaping its destiny. (...)“ (*The Nationalist*, Vol. 01, No. 01, April 17<sup>th</sup> 1964, p. 1)



**Figure 19:** The first issue of TANU's English paper, *The Nationalist*, appeared on April 17<sup>th</sup> 1964.

But *The Nationalist* never became a success. Although the mixture of explosive political articles, features on culture and arts as well as extensive sports coverage was quite promising, the print run was always below 10,000 copies. Thus, TANU had to put a lot of money into the venture to keep it alive. Even when the English-language publications of the East African Newspaper Ltd. in Nairobi, the *Daily Nation* and its sister *Sunday Nation*, were banned from Tanganyika for distortion of news at the time of an army mutiny in Dar es Salaam in January 1964 (cf. Ainslie 1966, p. 105), the party newspaper could not make capital out of it.

According to E. Lloyd Sommerlad (cf. 1966, p. 34), *The Nationalist* was outspokenly partisan and had adopted a strong anti-Western policy. Therefore, the paper sometimes got into serious troubles, e. g., its Nairobi correspondent was deported from Kenya by government order. Another incident happened in 1964 soon after the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar<sup>33</sup>. Despite the constitution of a single government, a few representatives from Zanzibar resisted integration. Consequently, *The Nationalist* ran an article which the revolutionary regime in Zanzibar claimed of being „(...) a malicious and unfounded direct accusation against the German Democratic Republic and by implication, against the Zanzibar authorities.“ (Quoted from Sommerlad 1966, p. 34)

<sup>33</sup> After the island had become independent of the British Crown in late 1963 and the reign of the Sultan had found its end in the revolution of January 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed one state on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1964. Since October 29<sup>th</sup> 1964, the nation's name has been The United Republic of Tanzania.

Then, the GDR had a large embassy in Zanzibar, which was maintained in the early days of the United Republic, though without official status. As a result, *The Nationalist* was banned from circulation on the island until it published an apology to the revolutionary leader and retracted the denunciation of the East Germans (cf. *ibid.*).

The other plan of the Mwananchi Printing and Publishing Company - to transform the weekly *Uhuru* into a daily - was also completed in 1964. Hence, the government's wish to publish daily papers in both Swahili and English had been accomplished.

*Uhuru* was mostly political in its reports and commentaries and dedicated much space to the liberation struggle of African countries which had not yet achieved independence. As other Swahili papers, *Uhuru* published poetry written by the readers. The column „Mashairi Yenu“ (Your Poems) paid tribute to Nyerere, praised the nation, and attacked colonialism. Sometimes as much as 25 % of the contents consisted of poetry which were regarded as a decisive motive for buying the paper (cf. Condon 1967, p. 350; Condon 1968, p. 149).

Another eye-catching fact was the degree of exhortation in both party newspapers. The editor of the Mwananchi Printing and Publishing Company, Joel Mgogo, said that he devoted 90 % of his time to preaching and exhorting, adding: „*If I don't do it, who will?*“ (Quoted from Condon 1968, p. 149) Thus, the papers' headlines often sounded like requests or commands: „Use Kiswahili Now“, „Drink Less Pombe<sup>34</sup>“, or „Work Harder“. Much of the exhorting tone was the result of the considerable attention given to politicians' speeches. The remark of John Condon hit the point: „*If President Nyerere is officially the Teacher (Mwalimu) of the nation the party press is 'the Preacher.'*“ (Condon 1967, pp. 352 - 353)

Therefore, at the beginning of 1965, the Tanzanian newspaper market consisted of five dailies - a number which was only overtopped in 1994. The following table reveals figures about their print run and reach (cf. Behn 1966, p. 19):

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<sup>34</sup> Beer

**Table 4:** Situation of the Daily Press in January 1965

Newspaper	Print Run	Percentage	Reach	Percentage
<i>Mwafrika</i>	8,000	15.09 %	28,000	12.50 %
<i>Nationalist</i>	10,000	18.87 %	30,000	13.39 %
<i>Ngurumo</i>	14,000	26.42 %	49,000	21.88 %
<i>Standard</i>	12,000	22.64 %	36,000	16.07 %
<i>Uhuru</i>	9,000	16.98 %	81,000 <sup>35</sup>	36.16 %
<b>Total</b>	53,000	100.00 %	224,000	100.00 %

Proceeding on the assumption that Tanzania had 10.5 million citizens then (cf. Feuereisen; Schmacke 1968, p. 197), the daily press reached only 2.1 % of the population. According to Condon (cf. 1968, p. 142), half of the newspapers were sold in Dar es Salaam. Therefore, it is estimated that 40 % of the 200,000 people living in the capital read a daily on a regular basis.

The most popular paper in Dar es Salaam was *Ngurumo* which hold a market share of 40 %. *Ngurumo* was sold at the lowest price of all dailies, it had a sensation-oriented news coverage and carried a lot of gossip articles (cf. Konde 1984, p. 50). The second place in the metropolis was maintained by *Uhuru* reaching 34 % of the inhabitants, followed by the *The Standard* (31 %), how the former settler paper was called after the Tanzanian union. The success of the English language paper was the result of two facts: First, half of the readership were Indians whose newspapers had ceased publication soon after independence (cf. Mytton 1968, p. 93). Second, the East African Standard Ltd. had begun to pursue the policy of „responsible support“ for the African government in 1961 (cf. Sommerlad 1968, p. 77).

The contents of these dailies differed along language lines. Whereas English was the language of the „informed reader“ with international orientation, the Swahili papers were almost devoid of foreign news (cf. Condon 1967, pp. 340, 349 - 350). But the sales figures were yet too low to grant the coexistence of five daily newspapers. Particular the print run of *Mwafrika* declined rapidly. As a consequence, the East African Newspaper Ltd. decided to give up the paper in

<sup>35</sup> The reach of *Uhuru* was maximised through the TANU Cell System which was established in 1963. With the exception of some variations, every ten houses comprised a cell, and each cell was headed by its own leader. The meetings stressed at the discussion of local problems, the expression of requests and complaints, and the exchange of information and party publications.

spring 1965. In addition, the weekly *Mwafrika na Taifa* was merged with other Swahili publications of the company, and, together, they formed *Taifa Leo* incorporating two special editions: *Taifa Tanzania* and *Taifa Kenya* (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 148).

In contrast to the surfeited capital, even a single newspaper copy was hard to come by in the countryside. This information gap was the result of the following issues:

- 1 The underdeveloped infrastructure caused severe distribution problems. Mytton (cf. 1968, p. 92) observed that the antiquated railway needed 41 hrs. for the distance of 1590 km to Kigoma situated at the shores of Lake Tanganyika. As a consequence, a daily paper was only available with a delay of at least a couple of days.
- 2 About 70 % of the country's population were illiterates - most of them living in the hinterland. As a consequence, the sales figures - the basic requirement to attract advertisers - were very low. Thus, the publication of a private newspaper was regarded as a hazardous enterprise.
- 3 TANU believed that nation-building could only be achieved through a centralised press. Tanganyika's local press, which had flourished during the 1950s, collapsed soon after independence. Unlike the colonial administration, the Tanzania Information Services spent all the funds available in supporting papers emanating from the capital. A case in point was the establishment of the popular Swahili monthly *Nchi Yetu* (Our Country) in 1964 (cf. Letter from Graham L. Mytton, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1998). Out of 23 provincial monthlies launched in the years 1952 and 1953, merely 16 were existing in 1961. Another four papers, which had a combined run of 6,000 copies, were merged into the *Southern Highlands Region Bulletin* in 1961 and 1962. Until its cessation in 1963, the new periodical had a circulation of only 1,000. The rest of the regional publications experienced a slower death, but with the exception of missionary papers, there was no single print medium serving the interests of the rural population in 1968 (cf. Mytton, p. 157 - 158).

However, the government was aware of the fact that the only medium to reach the whole population was radio. But up to this stage of Tanzania's media history, broadcasting was still organised under public law. In the eyes of TANU's cadres, this grievance had to be remedied as soon as possible.

## 6.2 The Nationalisation of the TBC

The role of the TBC for Tanganyika's future was passionately discussed even before independence. The crucial question was how the basic direction of TANU's interference should be determined. In the parliamentary debate of February 15<sup>th</sup> 1961, Mr. Sijaona, a backbencher, delivered a highly acclaimed address:

*„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 and paying very little attention to those things which need attention. It is my view (...) that to avoid this powerful instrument being used by people who may not have the interests of the country by heart, this instrument should be taken over by the Ministry of Information Services and run as one of the Government Departments.“* (Tanganyika [1961]: Parliamentary Debates, February 15<sup>th</sup> 1961, Dar es Salaam, p. 117. Quoted from Mytton 1976, pp. 183 - 184).

As a matter of fact, time was not yet ripe for a take-over, though the Africanisation of the station had started immediately after December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961. In January 1962, Mikidodi B. Mboe succeeded Thomas Chalmers as the director of broadcasting. Among Mboe's most popular deeds was the establishment of The External Service and The Third Programme. Initially, The External Service was created in order to support the liberation struggle in Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi). Launched as an integral part of The Second Programme on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1962, it was on air daily from 8.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m.. In March 1964, the broadcasts for Rhodesia and Nyasaland were replaced with programmes for the liberation of South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) (cf. Wakati 1984, p. 1). In order to increase the reach, a Chinese 100 kW transmitter was installed. In January 1968, eight liberation movements, e. g., FRELIMO and SWAPO, were contributing to the service's transmissions in Afrikaans, English, Herero, Ndebele, Nyanja, Ovambo, Portuguese, and Shona (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 91). Moreover, the daily transmission time was increased to 6 ¼ hours on September 26<sup>th</sup> 1970. As a result, The External Service became a fully-fledged channel into which The Second Programme was incorporated later that year (cf. Konde 1984, p. 234; Mwaffisi 1985, p. 90).

The Third Programme also started its operations in 1962 and aimed at an educated audience by broadcasting programmes of a more intellectual nature. Its

transmissions were on air on weekdays from 5.00 p.m. to 7.00 p.m. (cf. Welsh 1968, p. 114).

In the parliamentary debate of June 18<sup>th</sup> 1962, Otini Kambona, the Minister of Education and Information, praised the achievements of the TBC like the performances of a government department (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 185). And as an incident in the same year revealed, the government had already gained much influence on the activities of the TBC's supervisory board: from 1959, the station had been transmitting programmes in Asian languages - a fact which was heavily criticised by the African population. The TBC defended its language policy by stating that *„the language of childhood and of the home is Asian“* (Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation [1960]: Annual Report, 1<sup>st</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1960, Dar es Salaam. Quoted from Mytton 1976, p. 179). This argumentation led to a counter-attack by the MP Edward Mbaroti, a Masai, who demanded an own Masai-language network in 1962. His request was rejected since it was the policy of the government to build the nation by using the lingua franca Swahili, but, in making concessions, Asian broadcasts were also given up (cf. Mytton 1976, pp. 179 - 180). Later, Second Vice-President Rashid Kawawa justified the decision:

*„There are 120 tribes in Tanzania plus another three of Arab, Asian and European origin, making 123. All these make up the nation of Tanzania. (...) If all 123 tribes in Tanzania made claims for their languages to be used, this would be the start of quarrels.“* (Tanzania, Parliament [1965]: Parliamentary Debates, March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965, Dar es Salaam, p. 50. Quoted from Mytton 1976, p. 182)

Another important step towards the nationalisation of the TBC was the establishment of the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1964 which was first headed by the Zanzibari Abdul Idris Wakil.

**Table 5:** Ministers Responsible for the Information Portefeuille (1961 to 1996)

Minister	Year/Period	Ministry/Office
<b>Julius K. Nyerere</b> (Prime Minister)	1961	Prime Minister's Office
<b>Otini S. Kambona</b>	1961 - 1962	Ministry of Education and Information
<b>Rashid M. Kawawa</b> (Vice-President)	1962 - 1964	Vice-President's Office
<b>Abdul Idris Wakil</b>	1964 - 1967	Ministry of Information and Tourism

		(from 1965: Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism)
<b>Hasnu Makame</b>	1967 - 1969	Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism
<b>Jacob D. Namfua</b>	1969 - 1972	Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism (from 1971: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting)
<b>Daudi Mwakawago</b>	1972 - 1977	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
<b>Isaac A. Sepetu</b>	1977 - 1980	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (from 1979: Ministry of Information and Culture)
<b>Benjamin W. Mkapa</b>	1980 - 1982	Ministry of Information and Culture
<b>Daudi Mwakawago</b>	1982 - 1984	Ministry of Information and Culture
<b>Anna Makinda (Minister of State)</b>	1984 - 1989	Prime Minister's Office
<b>Ahmed Hassan Diria (Minister of State)</b>	1989 - 1991	President's Office
<b>Benjamin W. Mkapa</b>	1991 - 1992	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
<b>William Shija</b>	1992 - 1994	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
<b>Philip Marmo</b>	1994 - 1995	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
<b>Bakari Mbonde (Minister of State)</b>	1995 - 1996	Prime Minister's Office
<b>Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru (Minister of State)</b>	since 1996	Prime Minister's Office

Wakil's first action was the introduction of new plans for the further expansion of the TBC, e. g., by way of the erection of new transmitters and regional satellites. Furthermore, he intended to set up 250 communal listening points every year. These proposals were adopted in the First Five Year Plan covering the period from July 1<sup>st</sup> 1964 to June 30<sup>th</sup> 1969, but, as a matter of fact, the second sector of Wakil's ministry, tourism, obtained most of the available budget. The only new equipment for the TBC was a single medium-wave transmitter (cf. Mytton 1976, pp. 189 - 190; Mytton 1968, p. 96).

In respect of the station's nominal status, Wakil initially wanted to maintain the TBC under public law since he was of the opinion that the government had already enough influence on the decisions of the supervisory board. The actual problem was another one: the nation was proud of its radio station, but it was established and designed by Europeans. The government felt bound to make clear that broadcasting was now a matter of the people of Tanzania (cf. Mytton 1976, p. 193).

Hence, the formal autonomy of the radio station ended on March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965 when Wakil brought in the TBC Dissolution Bill:

*„Radio is an important basis for the country's progress. In Tanzania, where most people are illiterate, who cannot read or understand what is happening in their own country, it is the radio alone which can educate all the people. (...) therefore the radio is an important asset for us and the only way to use this asset properly is to bring it under Government control. (...) Tanzania today embodies a one-party state. Our policy is of a special kind of Ujamaa. The aim of TANU, its brother the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Government is to use the radio to direct people in development matters and especially in political matters as well. To any Tanzanian, TANU, the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Government are very important instruments on which his whole life depends. Therefore there is nothing to fear about what is going to be taught by the radio.“* (Tanzania, Parliament [1965]: Parliamentary Debates of March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965, p. 40. Quoted from Mytton 1976, pp. 194 - 195)

The „Tanzanisation“ (Ng'wanakilala 1981, p. 20) of the country's mass media had begun. No single MP voted against this proposal, and, thus, the bill became a law. The TBC was renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and inaugurated as a department of the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1965. Since then, the director of RTD has been appointed by the president.

The policy of the broadcasting service was determined by TANU's Mass Media Committee over which Minister Wakil presided. The committee consisted of four members of the party's Central Committee, the editor of the government and party newspapers, the director of radio, the editor of the radio news section, and the principal secretary of the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, p. 82).

Although radio was financed from the national budget, funds were still very limited. Therefore, The Commercial Service devoted to popular music and advertisement was started on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1965. Advertising via radio had always

raised questions about the role of the broadcasting service. A case in point is the following statement of the TBC Annual Report of 1960:

*„It was clear that careful consideration would soon have to be given as a matter of overall policy to increasing the space devoted to commercial programmes of one sort or another, and to the effect this may have on the amount of educational and informational broadcasting. The conflict between God and Mammon in radio is as real as in other spheres of activity.“*  
(Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation [1960]: Annual Report. N. p., Dar es Salaam. Quoted from Mytton 1968, p. 97)

The conflict was resolved by transferring commercial advertising and popular entertainment programmes into a separate channel. At the very beginning, the service was on air for 15 hours daily, but later, the total transmission time was reduced to ten hours per day. Programmes in English and Gujarati were broadcast one hour each, the rest was in Swahili (cf. Ng'wanakilala 1981, p. 33). A new 100 kW medium-wave transmitter gave the service a good coverage of the country, especially in the evening. Generally, the programme had the best reception quality. The money accruing to RTD from advertising became a substantial part of the station's budget.

Hence, in 1966, there were four channels or services, which had the following pattern of transmission (cf. Widstrand, C. G. [1966]: Radio and Adult Education in Tanzania. In: *Studies in Adult Education*, No. 01, pp. 3 - 8. From Ng'wanakilala 1981, pp. 32 - 34):

**Table 6:** Contents of RTD in 1966

Channel/Service	Transmission Time per Week	Content/Comments
<b>The National Service</b>	80 hrs. 45 min.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Description: Mixed Content of General Nature</li> <li>• Music: 59 %</li> <li>• News/Information: 11 %</li> <li>• Language: Swahili</li> </ul>
<b>The Second Programme</b>	68 hrs. 30 min.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Description: Material from British and American Radio Stations, Support of Liberation Movements</li> <li>• Music: 40 %</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language: Mainly English, but also Herero, Ovambo, Portuguese, Shona, Zulu</li> </ul>
<b>The Third Programme</b>	7 hrs. 30 min.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Description: Performing Arts and Language Courses</li> <li>• Languages: French, Swahili, English</li> </ul>
<b>The Commercial Service</b>	70 hrs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Description: Performing Arts and Language Courses</li> <li>• Languages: Swahili, English, Gujarati</li> </ul>

### **6.3 Communication Policy in the Era of „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“**

The year 1967 was a landmark in Tanzania's political and socioeconomic development. From January 26<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup>, TANU's National Executive Committee held a meeting in Arusha which led to the publication of Nyerere's platform „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“ (Socialism and Self-reliance) on February 5<sup>th</sup>. The socialist manifesto became renowned as the Declaration of Arusha.

At that time, the country's press situation was still characterised by serious transportation problems which were responsible for the disproportion of the availability of newspapers between the capital and the countryside: more than half of the periodicals were sold in Dar es Salaam. A table showing the main distribution centres of the four dailies and their circulation in the respective area is given below (cf. Polomé 1980, pp. 127 - 128):

**Table 7: Distribution of the Daily Press**

<b>Town/Area</b>	<b><i>Uhuru</i></b>	<b><i>Ngurumo</i></b>	<b><i>The Nationalist</i></b>	<b><i>The Standard</i></b>
<b>Dar es Salaam</b>	11,573 (63.0 %)	6,000 (49.0 %)	4,327 (50.0 %)	10,365 (54.0 %)
<b>Arusha</b>	250 (1.4 %)	1,800 (15.0 %)	139 (1.6 %)	900 (4.7 %)
<b>Dodoma</b>	285	300	134	390

	(1.5 %)	(2.5 %)	(1.5 %)	(2.0 %)
<b>Iringa</b>	304 (1.6 %)	280 (2.3 %)	136 (1.5 %)	493 (2.6 %)
<b>Kigoma</b>	120 (0.7 %)	500 (4.1 %)	75 (0.9 %)	124 (0.6 %)
<b>Kilimanjaro</b>	200 (1.1 %)	400 (3.3 %)	190 (2.2 %)	795 (4.2 %)
<b>Mara</b>	133 (0.7 %)	0 (0.0 %)	59 (0.8 %)	190 (1.0 %)
<b>Mbeya</b>	216 (1.2 %)	100 (0.8 %)	140 (1.6 %)	315 (1.6 %)
<b>Morogoro</b>	495 (2.7 %)	750 (6.2 %)	155 (1.8 %)	685 (3.6 %)
<b>Mtwara</b>	437 (2.4 %)	100 (0.8 %)	189 (2.2 %)	210 (1.1 %)
<b>Mwanza</b>	750 (4.2 %)	200 (1.6 %)	180 (2.1 %)	845 (4.4 %)
<b>Ruvuma</b>	79 (0.4 %)	50 (0.4 %)	60 (0.7 %)	130 (0.7 %)
<b>Shinyanga</b>	580 (3.1 %)	50 (0.4 %)	20 (0.2 %)	185 (1.0 %)
<b>Singida</b>	15 (0.1 %)	0 (0.0 %)	5 (0.1 %)	130 (0.7 %)
<b>Tabora</b>	240 (1.3 %)	250 (2.1 %)	100 (1.2 %)	339 (1.8 %)
<b>Tanga</b>	1,781 (9.8 %)	1,300 (11.0 %)	290 (3.4 %)	1,345 (7.0 %)
<b>West Lake</b>	190 (1.0 %)	20 (0.2 %)	90 (1.0 %)	240 (1.3 %)
<b>Outside Tanzania</b>	163 (0.9 %)	0 (0.0 %)	755 (8.7 %)	125 (0.7 %)
<b>Rest</b>	535 (3.0 %)	36 (3.0 %)	1,599 (18.5 %)	1,341 (8.0 %)
<b>Total</b>	18,346 (100.0 %)	12,136 (100.0 %)	9,643 (100.0 %)	19,147 (100.0 %)

The consequences of this distribution pattern become obvious by including the variable „frequency of reading“ in some locations assessed (cf. Mytton, G. [1968]:

Tanzania: A Mass Media Audience Survey. Some preliminary Results and Observations. Replicated manuscript. From: Polomè 1980, p. 128):

**Table 8:** Frequency of Newspaper Reading in 1968

<b>Frequency of Reading</b>	<b>Dar es Salaam</b>	<b>Arusha</b>	<b>Kigoma (Town)</b>	<b>Kigoma (Rural Areas)</b>
<b>Distance from Dar es Salaam</b>	0 km	649 km	1590 km	> 1590 km
<b>Delay of newspapers</b>	0 days	0 days	2 - 3 days	> 3 days
<b>Every day</b>	44.2 %	33.3 %	8.3 %	7.7 %
<b>2 - 3 times a week</b>	26.3 %	33.3 %	41.7 %	15.4 %
<b>Once a week</b>	11.1 %	29.6 %	25.0 %	15.4 %

Arusha, an urban centre in the Kilimanjaro region, was reached by air every day whereas Kigoma on the shores of Lake Tanganyika got the newspapers with two or three days delay by train. In the rural areas neighbouring Kigoma, 53.8 % of the readers had got a single paper less than once every two weeks. This time lapse was particularly evident when respondents were asked when they had last read a newspaper: In Dar es Salaam, 59.9 % answered „today“ or „yesterday“, whereas in Kigoma the majority (66.7 %) said „within the last week“. In the Kilimanjaro region, 37 % replied „today“ or „yesterday“ but 55.6 % „within the last week“ (cf. *ibid.*).

The situation was aggravated by the different illiteracy rates in urban centres and rural regions. Whereas in Dar es Salaam „only“ 39 % were not able to read and write, 71 % of the whole population did not have such skills<sup>36</sup> (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 220).

Another peculiarity of the Tanzanian print media at this time was formal press freedom although the private editors realised that criticism was not really appreciated by the party and the government. Thus, most of the journalists felt obliged to commit self-censorship (cf. Kaplan 1978, p. 118).

<sup>36</sup> According to Utz Lederbogen (cf. 1992, p. 77), the nationwide illiteracy rate even amounted to 85 % in 1967.

As a matter of fact, this situation was not to last very long. In 1966, during the preparations for the party congress in Arusha, Nyerere had already remarked that freedom of opinion should be subordinated to more important political goals, e. g., the abolishment of disease, poverty, and ignorance. In the eyes of the president, these aims could only be secured through the nationalisation of the entire press sector. In his political manifesto „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“, Nyerere wrote:

*„The Major Means of Production and Exchange are under the Control of the Peasants and Workers. To build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers. The major means of production and exchange are such things as: land; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; (...)“* (Nyerere 1968, p. 16)

Thus, Nyerere had created a framework making it possible to change a fact which had been a thorn in his side since independence: The most influential newspapers, *The Standard* and its sister *Sunday News*, were still foreign property. But due to the lack of properly trained journalists and technical equipment, the president hesitated to nationalise the papers although a few TANU officials put pressure on him. In this context, the following anecdote is sometimes recalled by senior media personnel: In February 1967, Nyerere was giving a major speech on nationalisation in the fairly free-speaking atmosphere of Dar es Salaam when a demanding voice from the crowd shouted: „*The Standard! The Standard!*“. The president replied sarcastically: „*Can you edit it?*“ (Quoted from Barton 1979, p. 110). But two years later, Nyerere could no longer calm his party cadres. As a result, he agreed to nationalise the papers and introduced a woman as the new editor: Frene Ginwala.

### **6.3.1 Portrait III: Frene Ginwala and The Standard**

Frene Ginwala, „*a South African-born Asian, a Marxist, a dedicated African nationalist with a first-rate mind and considerable singlemindedness*“ (Barton 1979, p. 110), was the child of wealthy parents. After finishing school, Ginwala studied law at the University of London and was called to the High Court of Justice in England’s capital. Then, she intended to return to South Africa to support the struggle against apartheid, but, for the time being, things took another

course. Ginwala gravitated towards journalism and became a free-lance reporter working for - among others - the BBC. Subsequently, she made a name for herself as Asia correspondent (cf. *ibid.*).

At the end of 1959, Ginwala went back to her country of birth where she became involved with the African National Congress (ANC), then led by Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli. The ANC executive wanted to send a senior member out of the country in order to start ambassadorial activities in other African states. Frene Ginwala, who was one of the few people in the ANC with a passport, was asked to help Oliver Tambo, the party's deputy president general, to flee the country. After the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960, Ginwala herself left South Africa and headed towards Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital (now Harare/Zimbabwe), where she hired an aeroplane to Bechuanaland (now Botswana) to pick up Tambo. When the plane delivered him to Tanganyika, which was still administered by the British, her connection with the escape became obvious, and she was put on the want list of the South African Special Branch. Then, Great Britain enjoyed good connections to the South African security forces which made Ginwala a prohibited immigrant virtually everywhere of British Africa. But in the case of Tanganyika on the threshold of independence, the British did not want to provoke an incident since an ANC branch had been formed as a splinter group of TANU in 1958 (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 158). Hence, it was agreed with TANU that she and Oliver Tambo would be allowed to stay in Dar es Salaam (cf. Barton 1979, pp. 110 - 111).

There, Ginwala joined TANU's publishing house, the National Times Press, and prepared plans to establish a daily paper. But since she could not raise enough money, she launched a monthly magazine called *Spearhead* in November 1961. The predominate aim of the political journal was to give space to Pan-African ideas (cf. *Spearhead*, Vol. 01, Nr. 01, November 1961, p. 1). Frank Barton described the monthly as

„(...) *technically poor but editorially gutsy, providing a platform for nationalism all over East Africa. It was very much a one-man - or in this case, one-woman - show and in the great tradition of the political journalism of the early years of West Africa.*“ (Bartion 1979, p. 111)

Moreover, Ginwala was also on the editorial board of the Algerian-based paper *Révolution Africaine* and a valued stringer for *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Observer* in Britain. But then, she became involved in an internal TANU problem

and was declared a prohibited immigrant in June 1963. As a consequence, she returned to Great Britain where she busied herself with her old ANC work and began a thesis at Oxford (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 111 - 112).

In October 1969, out of the blue, Ginwala got a letter from Dar es Salaam saying Julius Nyerere wanted to see her as soon as possible. Consumed with curiosity, she flew to Tanzania where Nyerere told her that he was going to nationalise *The Standard* and envisaging her as managing editor. Ginwala drew the president's attention to the fact that all her life she had been in opposition, and she wondered how she could switch to the other side of the fence. Nyerere replied that this was exactly what he was looking for, assuring her that he did not want *The Standard* to be a governmental mouthpiece. Ginwala felt that it was one thing for the president to tell her this privately and demanded that he should repeat his promise in public. Nyerere agreed and on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1970, the day of the paper's nationalisation, the so-called „President's Charter“ was published on the frontpage of the daily. The proclamation was reputed to be the creed of Tanzanian journalism until the early 1990s, and, thus, it is cited here in full length:



**Figure 20:** The former settler paper, *The Standard*, was nationalised on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1970. Nyerere appointed Frene Ginwala appointed the new editor.

*„Today Tanzania's new 'Standard' is born. Government has taken the newspaper into public hands and appointed its own Editor. In the future there can be no suspicion that this English language newspaper is serving the interests of foreign private owners. It is appropriate that the public should be informed of the purpose of this change, the policies which will be followed by the new 'Standard', and the manner in which it will operate. In accordance with the Arusha Declaration, it is clearly impossible for the largest daily newspaper in independent Tanzania to be left indefinitely in the hands of a foreign company. In a country committed to building socialism, it is also impossible for such an influential medium to be left*

*indefinitely in the control of non-socialist, capitalist owners. The reasons for Government's decision to acquire the 'Standard' are thus both nationalistic and socialistic; we want Tanzanians to have control of this newspaper, and we want those Tanzanians to be responsible to the people as a whole. As a*

*nationally owned newspaper, the first aim of the 'Standard' will be to serve the interests of the people of Tanzania; it will be expected to operate without Government subsidy but its purpose will be service, not the making of profit. The new 'Standard' will be a socialistic newspaper; it will support the socialist ideology of Tanzania, as defined in the Arusha Declaration, Parts 1 and 2.*

*The new 'Standard' will give general support to the policies of the Tanzanian Government, but will be free to join in the debate for and against any particular proposals put forward for the consideration of the people, whether by the Government, by Tanu, or by other bodies. Further, it will be free to initiate discussions on any subject relevant to the development of a socialist and democratic society in Tanzania. It will be guided by the principle that free debate is an essential element of true socialism, and it will strive to encourage and maintain a high standard of socialist discussion. The new 'Standard' will be free to criticise any particular acts of individual Tanu or Government leaders, and to publicise any failures in the community, by whomever they are committed. It will be free to criticise the implementation of agreed policies, either on its own initiative or following upon complaints or suggestions from its readers. The new 'Standard' will aim at supplying its readers with all domestic and world news as quickly and as fully as possible. It will be run on the basis that a newspaper only keeps the trust of its readers, and only deserves their trust, if it reports the truth of the best of its ability, and without distortion, whether that truth is pleasant or unpleasant.*

*The new 'Standard' will endeavour to spread an understanding about socialism in Tanzania among its readers. By its discussion, and its articles, it will demonstrate that the priorities in the building of socialism are a matter for free discussion among the citizens of a socialist state. It will thus help to ensure that the people's will is not only paramount in Tanzania, but is also seen to be paramount. The 'Standard' editor will be appointed by the President and will have full autonomy in the day-to-day operation of the newspaper. Until such time as an Editorial Board is appointed, the new 'Standard' will receive any directives on editorial policy, on employment policies, and on other matters, only from the President of the United Republic, to whom the editor will be exclusively and directly responsible. The watchword of the new socialist 'Standard' of Tanzania will be: 'The Socialistic Equality and Dignity of Man'. It is in that spirit that it will seek to serve the citizens of this United Republic, without distinction on grounds of race, religion, sex or tribe.*

*I call upon all our people to co-operate with the editor and staff of this newspaper, so that it can effectively speak for the Government to its readers, and for its readers to the Government. That must be its objective. That is how it will best fulfill its purpose of giving service to the people of Tanzania and of Africa." (The Standard, No. 12.211, February 5<sup>th</sup> 1970, p. 1)*

From May 1967, *The Standard* and *Sunday News* had been owned by the multinational London-Rhodesian Company (LONRHO). Editor Bernard Grimshaw was only given 48 hours to make way for Frene Ginwala who moved into office

on February 4<sup>th</sup>. She had spent several nights before sleepless since the Europeans had played the first fiddle doing three quarters of the work. Now Ginwala feared that LONRHO - in a pique over nationalisation - would remove all its expatriate staff, but nothing of the sort happened. Grimshaw got the personnel together and introduced them to her. The Europeans were bound by contract and stayed until these ran out. Subsequently, Frene Ginwala signed up a number of socialist journalists from Great Britain who were led by Richard Gott, a well-known writer from *The Guardian* and specialist in Latin American affairs. Another one was Tony Hall, a first-class South African journalists who had been employed with *The Nation* in Kenya (cf. Barton 1979, pp. 86 and 113).

Shortly after assumption of the post, Ginwala convened a staff meeting and explained her editorial philosophy. The later editor of *Sunday News*, Hadji S. Konde, said that this moment was like the new vicar had started his sermon by telling the congregation that the New Testament was a load of rubbish. „*There is no such thing as objectiveness*“ (Quoted from Barton 1979, p. 114), she began and continued by telling them that articles were written and selected by human beings. Therefore, individual values were inevitably reflected in the stories. She said, that the urge to be objective was in a sense an unreal thing. As a consequence, Tanzania was in need of a committed paper and not a neutral one since objectivity implied neutrality. At the end of her arguments, she pleaded with the editorial staff to be fair. They should not obliterate all other ideas and refuse space to anything they did not agree with (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114 - 115).

Whereas Richard Gott was looking for more socialist sources of foreign material, such as „Prensa Latina“, the American Liberation News Agency, and the Africa Research Group, Ginwala added news agency intakes from Associated Press, „Xinhua Tongxunshu“ (New China News Agency), and TASS. Previously, *The Standard* had obtained foreign news solely from Reuters. The new situation put a considerable strain on the sub-editors because now they had to select one and the same story from sources with different ideologies. Frene Ginwala solved the problem by saying that no reports should be used straight and developed a terminology for the adaptation of news agency stories. „Viet-Cong“ became „Liberation Forces“, and the word „terrorist“ was replaced with „freedom fighter“. Both Reuters and Associated Press were annoyed when they found out what was happening to their services. They pointed out to Frene Ginwala that their contracts with the newspaper specified that there should be no rewriting. Ginwala replied that both news agencies did not provide impartial news, e. g., they called

the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, which was recognised by Tanzania, rebels (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 115 - 116).

In those days, *The Standard* and *Sunday News* were by no means servile to the government. Both papers put their own sights on some aspects of politics. Not even Nyerere himself was entirely free of criticism, though he nominally was the editor-in-chief (cf. *ibid.*, p. 118).

But as time went by, the president realised that the fine polemics and socialist dialectics in *The Standard* were much too sophisticated for the population of a poor state with a literacy rate among the lowest in Africa. Then, Nyerere had already made up his mind to decentralise the administrative machine and planned to move the capital from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma in the arid interior of Tanzania. Considering this development, Ginwala appointed correspondents in many regional centres. Suddenly, news from places as far as Mwanza or Arusha began to occupy almost as much space as stories on Dar es Salaam (cf. *ibid.*, p. 120).

Nevertheless, Frene Ginwala sat on a rickety chair. When the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar changed the marriage laws so that children could be married without parental consent, *The Standard* welcomed this decision as a progressive step. But later on, a second announcement from Zanzibar laid down that if the society demanded a marriage it had to take place. Ginwala wrote an editorial saying that although the first measure was a good socialist step, the second proclamation was reactionary. Subsequently, stories began to filter over from Zanzibar that marriages between young Persian girls and very much older members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council were arranged. *The Standard* printed the rumours, and in spite of denials from Zanzibar which created enormous political difficulties for Nyerere, the president did not make any attempt to stop the campaign (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 120 - 121).

But then, Ginwala became the victim of a set-up. *The Standard* carried an article about a Persian girl who had been taken from her home as bride-to-be for a member of the Revolutionary Council. But the girl had escaped and made her way secretly to the mainland, the paper claimed. The story proved to be a hoax which had been planned in order to discredit the newspaper. Although Frene Ginwala immediately printed a retraction, the incident brought her day of departure much closer (cf. *ibid.*, p. 121).

In addition, there was increasing discontent within the office, especially between Frene Ginwala and her principal assistant, Richard Gott. Their political differences became more and more apparent. Finally, she went to Nyerere and complained about Gott, but the president was not very much interested in personality clashes (cf. *ibid.*).

Nevertheless, Frene Ginwala owed her removal from office to her own inattention. In May 1971, the Sudanese president, An Numeiri, was overthrown by Communist revolutionaries led by Mohammed Mahgroub. From Ginwala's point of view, Mahgroub made the fatal error of not killing Numeiri because the president returned to power only 48 hours later. Subsequently, reports began coming out of the Sudan of secret military trials followed by executions. Among the killed was Joseph Garang, one of the leaders of the revolutionaries.

*„When news of Garang's execution came over the Standard's teleprinters, it set Frene Ginwala's blood bubbling. Here was the classic revolutionary scene; coup, counter coup, executions, secret trials. And a good Red dead. The Standard came out with a strident editorial. It said, in effect, that if you were going to stage a coup, then it was better to kill of the head of state than to leave him alive.“* (Barton 1979, p. 122)

The dilemma, though unknown to Ginwala, was that Numeiri was shortly to pay a state visit to Tanzania. In the same evening, she was replaced with Sammy Mdee by order of the man who had appointed her just 18 months before. Although Frene Ginwala had not written the editorial, she had accepted responsibility for it. Some years later, Tony Hall claimed that it was written by Richard Gott (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 122 - 123).

However, Frene Ginwala had a brilliant career in the ANC. After the dismissal from *The Standard*, she headed the party's research department and its Commission for the Emancipation of Women. In 1990, she returned to South Africa to help establish the ANC Women's League. After the landslide victory of Nelson Mandela in the April 1994 elections, Frene Ginwala became the Speaker of the South African National Assembly.

### 6.3.2 Redefinition of RTD's Broadcasting Policy

At the time of the Arusha Declaration, it was estimated that 600,000 radio sets were in use with an audience of approximately two and a half million people (cf. Kivikuru 1990, Appendix 1, p. 16; Mytton 1968, p. 96). In order to obtain information about the listeners' habits, audience surveys were conducted by Graham L. Mytton and Tony Dodd. Mytton interviewed 838 persons in Dar es Salaam and the districts of Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Kisarawe, Mwanza, and Mzizima in 1967/68 by choosing representatives of every age-group, social and professional status, and educational background, in urban as well as rural contexts (cf. Mytton, G. L. [1968]: Tanzania: A Mass Media Audience Survey. Some Preliminary Results and Observations. Replicated manuscript. From: Polomé 1980, pp. 128 - 129). The sampling discussed in Dodd's report covered a wide geographical area in Northern Tanzania and the coast including the districts of Arusha, Bukoba, Chunya, Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Lushoto, Morogoro, Pare, and Tanga. But since the study was carried out by university students during their home vacation time, it was strongly biased towards the environment of the students' family (cf. Dodd, T. [1970]: Radio Ownership and Listening Habits in Tanzania. Report submitted to the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam. Replicated manuscript. From: Polomé 1980, pp. 128 - 129).

While virtually every Tanzanian had the possibility to listen to RTD, it was interesting to investigate how high the proportion of those switching to foreign services was. Dodd's report showed that 60 % of the people under 20 years listened to foreign broadcasts, compared to 87 % in the 20 - 29 age group, 96.4 % for the 30 - 39 age group, and 100 % for those over 40. Among the favourite stations from abroad were the following (cf. Polomé 1980, p. 129):

**Table 9:** Popularity of Foreign Radio Services in Tanzania

Station	Mytton 1968	Dodds 1970
<b>The Voice of Kenya</b>	63.0 %	61.0 %
<b>British Broadcasting Corporation</b>	17.3 %	32.0 %
<b>Voice of America</b>	3.9 %	23.0%
<b>Deutsche Welle</b>	4.3 %	23.0 %
<b>Radio Uganda</b>	7.5 %	21.0 %
<b>Radio Voice of the Gospel</b>	7.1 %	18.0 %
<b>Radiodiffusion Congo</b>	9.1 %	13.0 %

<b>Radio Burundi</b>	10.6 %	13.0 %
<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	7.5 %	11.0 %
<b>All India Radio</b>	10.2 %	2.0 %
<b>Radio Pakistan</b>	6.7 %	not mentioned

The data indicated the trend towards increased listening to Western services, such as the Voice of America or the Cologne-based „Deutsche Welle“, which had erected a powerful relay station in Kigali/Rwanda. Another significant fact was the declining number of people listening to Asian programmes (cf. *ibid.*, p. 129).

Also remarkable was the raising popularity of the Ethiopian Radio Voice of the Gospel. Since 1962, the station had broadcast transmissions from „Redio Sauti ya Injili“ (Radio Voice of the Gospel) which was the channel of the Lutheran Radio Centre in Moshi. From there, the Swahili programmes were shipped to Ethiopia’s capital, Addis Ababa (cf. Letter from Calvin K. Lyaro, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1996).

The explanation for the increasing acceptance of foreign services was that RTD focused more and more on education. In 1967, The Third Programme had been changed into the Adult Education Service which provided basic instructions in Swahili, English, French, poetry, politics, &c. for the rural population. But, as a matter of fact, the service was not very effective for various reasons:

- 1** Educational broadcasts on the passive confrontation principle proved to be a disadvantage since they had to compete for attention with channels transmitting entertainment (cf. Welsh 1968, p. 125).
- 2** A few regions did not receive the programme in the daytime at all. These were Ruvuma, Shinyanga, Singida, Mara, Mbeya, Kigoma, and Rukwa (cf. Mshana, Zulu 1982, p. 40).
- 3** The educational transmissions incorporated political contents reflecting the philosophy of socialism and self-reliance. As a result, large parts of the audience simply refused to tune in the service.

Thus, it came to the situation of which Rashid Kawawa had expressively warned in 1965: *„If you force too much of these programs on the people, then eventually they will not listen at all. It is necessary to entertain the nation as well as to educate it.“* (Tanzania, Parliament [1965]; Parliamentary Debates of March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965, Dar es Salaam, n. p.. Quoted from Mwaffisi 1985, p. 60)

Guided by the hope of encouraging more people to buy radio receivers, the government decided to abolish the licence fees in 1969. Most of the set owners had not yet paid a single Shilling anyway (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 61).

Then, in 1970, a series of important changes took place. Following a clear definition of a new Tanzanian society, RTD resolved to (cf. Wakati 1984, p. 2):

- review its objectives;
- redefine its broadcasting policy;
- reorganise its structure and its activities in accordance with the party's and the government's objectives.

These plans took several months to complete. But later that year, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Jacob Namfua, presented the results to the parliament which immediately approved the measures to enact these changes. The outcome of the mammoth task performed in 1970 had a severe impact on the organisation of RTD for the next 20 years. The designers clearly stated that the broadcasting station was a party and government instrument. Accordingly, its prime concern was to mobilise the masses to participate in the policy of socialism and self-reliance. Therefore, RTD was expected to (cf. Mfukya, Msoka 1984, p. 16):

- defend the nation's independence and dignity;
- enhance the building of socialism;
- participate in the liberation of Africa;
- maintain African unity;
- follow a non-aligned policy;
- maintain world peace and justice.

In addition, the station's broadcasting policy was redefined on various fields to implement these objectives sufficiently, and new guidelines were issued to RTD's services and programmes.

**The National Service** was expected to deal with matters pertaining to the defence of the country's sovereignty and the building of socialism and self-reliance. Moreover, a few policy makers insisted on the channel's contribution to the strengthening, promotion, and consolidation of the Tanzanian culture as well as the enhancement of national productivity (cf. Wakati 1984, p. 3). As a

consequence, a separate adult education programme, which was on air for two hours during weekends, was incorporated into The National Service in 1971. Furthermore, on December 27<sup>th</sup> 1975, foreign music was banned from the channel in order to promote local artists. As a result, listeners started to tune in The Commercial Service since it continued to broadcast American and European pop records.

Transmission time devoted to current affairs and features increased, and the scope of the programmes widened. In 1968, newscasts had a weekly output of only five hours which were shared among the following broadcasts (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 65):

- „Press Review“: Summary of headlines and articles from the press;
- „The UN This Week“: News from the UN General Assembly;
- „Radio Magazine“: Review of the most important occurrences;
- „East African Community“: Analysis of the community’s activities.

After the whole schedule had been rearranged, the following news programmes went on air in the 1980’s (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 65 - 66):

- „Majira“ (Time): Popular news broadcast transmitted three times a day (15 min. each);
- „Give Me News“: Weekly in-depth programme (30 min.);
- „Ana kwa Ana“ (Face to Face): Interviews conducted with MPs, parastatal leaders, and other personalities once a week (30 min.);
- „News and Music“: Weekly infotainment programme (45 min.).

The topics of the news bulletins were mainly confined to politics, economic affairs, and international aids (cf. *ibid.*, p. 114). In addition, there were several other programmes providing information on development activities or education in „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“ (cf. Wakati 1984, p. 10):

- „Mbiu za Mikoa“ (Regional Information): Reports on rural development initiatives which seemed to reflect the essence of socialism;
- „Ujamaa Leo“ (Socialism Today): Programmes which tried to depict a true picture of Tanzania’s efforts in building socialism;
- „Fimbo ya Mnyonge“ (The Stick of the Sick Person): Broadcasts compiled by TANU’s Kivukoni Ideological College to propagate the basic tenets of

„Ujamaa“. An English version of the programme called „Ujamaa, the Rational Choice“ was broadcast on The External Service.

Thus, in 1984, The National Service’s programmes were divided into the following categories (cf. *ibid.*, 14):

**Table 10:** Programme Types and Weekly Output of The National Service

<b>Programme Type</b>	<b>Weekly Output</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>News</b>	14 hrs.	11.1 %
<b>Current affairs/ general information</b>	20 hrs. 55 min.	16.6 %
<b>Features/documentaries</b>	60 min.	0.8 %
<b>Adult education</b>	14 hrs. 30 min.	11.5 %
<b>Drama</b>	60 min.	0.8 %
<b>Women’s programmes</b>	3 hrs.	2.4 %
<b>Children’s programmes</b>	90 min.	1.2 %
<b>Religious programmes</b>	3 hrs. 25 min.	2.7 %
<b>Sports</b>	2 hrs. 45 min.	2.2 %
<b>Traditional music</b>	6 hrs. 55 min.	5.5 %
<b>Other music/ light entertainment</b>	57 hrs.	45.2 %
<b>Total</b>	126 hrs.	100.0 %

In order to ensure a country-wide coverage of the channel, relay booster stations were commissioned in Mwanza in March 1973 followed by Mbeya and Arusha in September 1974 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 9). The installation of these transmitters was a result of government plans to embark a medium-wave broadcasting network instead of the antiquated colonial short-wave equipment. But the commencement of the second phase, which was proposed to begin right after the inauguration of the above-mentioned booster stations, was severely delayed. Only in 1988, two other 100 kW medium-wave transmitters were erected in Dodoma and Kigoma which raised the area coverage to 52 %. And after the completion of the stations in Lindi and Songea in 1991, the medium-wave service even gained an area coverage of 61 % (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 57). Nevertheless, the plans for the further extension of the medium-wave system were withdrawn in July 1996 when the Minister of State in the Prime Minister’s Office, Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, claimed that the government had developed a new strategy that would

completely transform RTD. He said that the radio station would be able to transmit its programmes throughout the country by satellite in 2003 (cf. *The Guardian*, No. 519, July 25<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 4)

Hence, two birds could be killed with one stone: from the early 1970s, both the government and the party had continued to complain about the shortage of local news on The National Service. The following table reveals the divergence between the news coverage of Dar es Salaam and the rural areas (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, pp. 104 - 105, 124).

**Table 11:** News Geography of RTD

Origin of News	Percentage
Tanzania	44 %
Africa	28 %
Europe	13 %
Asia	8 %
Latin America	3 %
North America	2 %
International organisations	2 %

Dar es Salaam	44 %
Arusha	9 %
Kagera	6 %
Dodoma	5 %
Tanga	5 %
Zanzibar	5 %
Moshi	4 %
Iringa	4 %
Mbeya	3 %
Lindi	2 %
Morogoro	2 %
Mtwara	2 %
Tabora	2 %
Others	7 %

From 1971 to 1980, RTD made so-called „recording safaris“ to the villages in order to involve the people in the planning and preparation of the programme. David Wakati, director of broadcasting from 1979 to 1991, described his experiences:

*„We discovered later that this arrangement was not enough because it did not give Radio Tanzania sufficient time to visit all the regions frequently and there were no possibilities of staying long in any district or village. As a result we were always strangers in the regions and could not understand fully the needs and problems of the people.“* (Wakati 1984, p. 5)

In order to rectify these limitations, RTD pursued a decentralisation policy from October 1981. Then, the broadcasting station issued plans dealing with the establishment of seven zonal production centres in Arusha, Dodoma, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, and Songea. But, as a matter of fact, this scheme was even not completed in 1996. Only the studios in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, and

Kigoma had their own production facilities. According to Ngombale Mwiru, other important steps will be taken in the period from 1997 to 2000. Then, new production centres shall be built in Arusha, Mbeya, and Mwanza (cf. *The Guardian*, No. 519, July 25<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 4). It is believed that this extension will enable the listeners to participate in the creation of programmes and, thus, to bridge the information gap between Dar es Salaam and the hinterland.

Back in 1970, other guidelines for The National Service dealt with broadcasting to schools, religious and sports programmes. The priority intention of school broadcasts was to support teachers in their attempts to improve instruction. Before the Arusha Declaration, transmissions to schools had been concerned with subjects of a more general character, such as language teaching, history, general science, and geography for primary schools as well as civics, science, and technology for secondary schools (cf. Welsh 1968, pp. 120 and 123). Following the new policy of self-reliance, agriculture became the basic educational matter on The National Service. Students were instructed in both methodological and managerial skills. Accordingly, the radio section of the Ministry of Education, which was responsible for school broadcasts, sought assistance from the Ministry of Agriculture. These partnership resulted in the production of tapes based on real-life situations. In addition, school terms were reduced from three to two and adjusted to coincide with planting and harvesting seasons<sup>37</sup>. The programmes were transmitted for a period of twelve weeks during the terms, and every subject comprised twelve lessons of 25 minutes each. Primary school broadcasts were on air for two hours five days a week, transmissions to secondary schools for one (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, pp. 85 - 89). But due to the lack of funds, the school service - one of the most successful and ambitious projects of Tanzanian broadcasting - was given up in 1993 (cf. Interview with Abdul Ngarawa, August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996).

Religious programmes had the aim to attract followers of several confessions in many parts of the country and to educate them in their respective beliefs (cf. Wakati, p. 4). The broadcasts were self-produced or taken from religious radio stations, such as the Dodoma-based „Sauti ya Msalaba” (Voice of the Cross), which was launched on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1975 (cf. Eilers et al. 1980, p. 439).

Finally, sports broadcasts were regarded as a mechanism to achieve national unity and communal attributes by both the party and the government. Between 1968 to 1981, the transmission time for sports was increased from one hour per week to

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<sup>37</sup> February to May (1<sup>st</sup> term), July to November (2<sup>nd</sup> term)

two hours and 15 minutes. Only a few months after the Arusha Declaration, the National Sports Council was established in order to oversee all sports activities in the country to ensure their contribution to the desired objectives<sup>38</sup> (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, pp. 68 - 69).

The aims of the second channel of RTD, **The External Service**, were also redefined in 1970. Accordingly, the service was expected to (cf. Wakati, pp. 3 - 4):

- support the liberation of Africa;
- encourage African unity;
- ensure good relations with neighbouring countries;
- portray Tanzania's image outside its boundaries.

In practise, the channel combined programmes for expatriates and other English speakers in the country with those for liberation movements, which had used The External Service to voice their ideas from its establishment. In addition to the provision of studio facilities, RTD also paid nominal fees to participating movements in order to compensate the transport costs of their members (cf. *ibid.*, p. 7).

In 1984, The External Service broadcast was on air for approximately 60 hours per week which were shared among the following programmes (cf. *ibid.*, p. 15):

**Table 12:** Programme Types and Weekly Output of The External Service

Programme Type	Weekly Output	Percentage
<b>News</b>	7 hrs. 20 min.	12,1 %
<b>Current affairs/ general information</b>	11 hrs. 5 min.	18,2 %
<b>Features/documentaries</b>	90 min.	2,5 %
<b>Adult education</b>	30 min.	0,8 %
<b>Women's programmes</b>	60 min.	1,7 %

<sup>38</sup> Dean E. McHenry doubts that sports were conducive to Tanzania's national integration: „Competitions often led to heightened fan and player hostility. Clubs divided people on a subnational level and became 'battleground', adding further division. The split between Dar es Salaam and other parts of the country may have been exacerbated by the favoured position of sports in the capital, while the links between mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar have not been strengthened.“ (McHenry 1980, p. 256)

<b>Religious programmes</b>	30 min.	0,8 %
<b>Sports</b>	15 min.	0,4 %
<b>Traditional music</b>	60 min.	1,6 %
<b>Other music/ light entertainment</b>	27 hrs. 5 min.	44,6 %
<b>Liberation struggle</b>	10 hrs. 30 min.	17,3 %
<b>Total</b>	60 hrs. 45 min.	100,0 %

Furthermore, RTD received foreign programmes which were used on both The External and The National Service. The only precondition was that these transmissions were relevant to the United Republic. For instance, in 1984, RTD obtained 158 programmes from the Voice of America and broadcast 51 of them wholly and ten as inserts. On the contrary, none of 17 programmes supplied by Radio Moscow were used (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 93).

After the political changes in Namibia and South Africa, the primary goal of The External Service became more and more obsolete. As a consequence, programme reforms were carried out, and RTD started to focus its attention on the country's English-speaking minority. Moreover, transmission times for adult education, current affairs, and features were increased.

Last but not least, the programmes of **The Commercial Service** were also adjusted to the socialist ideas of the government. The channel was initially supposed to raise money for broadcasting operations by attracting listeners from the entire Swahili-speaking population of East Africa. Accordingly, the service's programme was mainly devoted to music and light entertainment only interrupted by short news bulletins. In an attempt to sell more advertising time, RTD opened a liaison office in Nairobi and hired agents in London to whom 15 % commission were paid for every contract signed (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 76 - 78).

In 1970, the principal goal of The Commercial Service became the promotion of Tanzania's local products in order to explain the policy of self-reliance to the population (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. p. 30). But although it took some time to change the channel's characteristics, the educational role of broadcasting was also stressed. Thus, in 1984, the broadcasts of the service fell within the scope of the following categories (cf. *ibid.*, p. 15):

**Table 13:** Programme Types and Weekly Output of The Commercial Service

<b>Programme Type</b>	<b>Weekly Output</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>News</b>	7 hrs. 35 min.	15.0 %
<b>Current affairs</b>	9 hrs. 55 min.	19.5 %
<b>Drama</b>	60 min.	2.0 %
<b>Sports</b>	2 hrs. 15 min.	4.4 %
<b>Traditional music</b>	75 min.	2.5 %
<b>Other music/ light entertainment</b>	20 hrs.	39.4 %
<b>Commercials</b>	8 hrs. 45 min.	17.2 %
<b>Total</b>	50 hrs. 45 min.	100,0 %

But the new broadcasting policy cost dearly. Due to the government's socialist course, fewer and fewer local and outside advertisers used The Commercial Service; the result was a sharp decline in revenue. The situation became even worse after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977 which led to the closure of the border between Kenya and Tanzania. Soon, no single foreign company did place its advertisements on the channel. As a consequence, RTD ceased to hire agents, and, moreover, it reduced transmission hours from 56 per week in 1968 to 50  $\frac{3}{4}$  in 1984. This decision also followed the assumption that when The Commercial Service was off the air people would tune in The National Service. Furthermore, the channel experienced a considerable change of the programmes through the introduction of commercial broadcasts with educational messages (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, pp. 78 - 83). But, as a matter of fact, the reorientation of The Commercial Service caused a serious loss of audience, and, hence, it stopped operating in 1989.

An audience survey of 1974 revealed that 1,737 000 radio sets were in use at that time, 1,579,000 and 157,000 in rural and urban areas, respectively (cf. Associated Business Consultants s. a. l. 1974, p. 1). The most popular programme type was news, followed by local music, news commentaries, requests, and women's broadcasts (cf. *ibid.*, p. 12). Whereas the music and entertainment transmitted by The Commercial Service fascinated especially young listeners, The National Service attracted an older age group, party and government officials, educational planners, and students. Apart from its broadcasts to liberation movements, RTD's third channel, The External Service, was only tuned in by Tanzania's English-speaking minority. (cf. Ng'wanakilala 1981, pp. 60 - 62)

### 6.3.3 Centralisation of the Tanzanian Press

After Frene Ginwala had left *The Standard*, the new managing editor, Sammy Mdee, eagerly tried to refurbish the paper's slightly damaged image. Frank Barton hit the point when he claimed that:

*„(...) the whole operation became visibly stabler and calmer, if less exciting and controversial. (...) the Nationalist became the much more radical voice, while the new editor of the Standard and his staff were recovering from the hurly-burly of Frene Ginwala's reign.“* (Barton 1979, p. 123)



**Figure 21:** The state-run *Daily News* was the result of the merger between *The Standard* and *The Nationalist*.

In fact, there was a healthy competition between the two papers, even though their political background was the same. On one occasion, the news editor of *The Nationalist* wrote a letter to *The Standard* fiercely attacking another correspondent for belittling Marx and claiming that Communism was irrelevant to TANU's socialism. *The Nationalist's* news editor concluded his remark by insisting that Communism did lie at the end of the party's socialist path (cf. *ibid.*).

But on January 16<sup>th</sup> 1972, this rivalry was led to an end when TANU decided to merge the two dailies. As a result, a new paper was published on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972 - *Daily News*. In its first issue, the state-run English-language newspaper defined its editorial policy as follows:

*„In a country determined to build socialism like ours, the press must not only correctly inform the people of what is going on around them, but it must also act as a collective mobiliser, collective educator, collective inspirer and an instrument for the dissemination of socialist ideas and the socialist ideology. Like all true revolutionary activities, such a task for the press begs of no liberalism.“* (*Daily News*, Vol. 01, No. 01, April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972, p. 4)

At the beginning, *Daily News* comprised ten pages which were embedded in an attractive layout and organised as shown in the table below:

**Table 14:** Organisation of Contents in *Daily News* and *Sunday News*

Page	<i>Daily News</i>	<i>Sunday News</i>
01	Headlines, editorial	Headlines, international and national news
02	International review	Important events of the week
03	News from East Africa	Features from foreign countries
04	Features	Features from foreign countries
05	Home news	Home features
06	International review (ctd.)	Entertainment (children's corner, crossword, &c.)
07	Features (ctd.)	Entertainment (ctd.)
08	Advertisements	Sports
09	Letters to the editor	-
10	Sports	-

Despite a promising start, the paper soon lost its high standard of quality in both printing and editorial respects. When Frank Barton compared *The Standard* under the editorship of Frene Ginwala to its successor *Daily News*, he described the latter just with a scanty comment: „*It is certainly duller.*“ (Barton 1979, p. 123)

On April 30<sup>th</sup> 1972, another decision made at the party meeting of January 16<sup>th</sup> was translated into action: the first issue of *Mzalendo* (The Patriot) came off the presses. The Swahili-language magazine was the Sunday edition of *Uhuru* and maintained its status as Tanzania's largest selling paper until the implementation of the multi-party system (100,000 circulation).

From 1972, *Uhuru* and its sister *Mzalendo* were party publications aiming at the information of the Tanzanian citizen. On the contrary, both English-language papers, *Daily News* and *Sunday News*, were the property of the government intended to satisfy the information needs of the educated élite and, moreover, to ensure Tanzania's presence on the international newspaper market.

Investigating the socioeconomic environment of *Uhuru* and *Daily News* readers, Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala tried to explain the difference between the party and the government papers. He concluded:

*„As a generalisation, Uhuru should be read by all Tanzanians, so long as they are literate. However, the trend is that Uhuru is a 'poor man's' paper. It is mostly read by the low income earners and less educated section of the population. It is regarded a 'local' newspaper as opposed to the Daily News, a prestigious broadsheet with an international outlook. It is exactly for these reasons that Uhuru is a much more 'popular' paper, a necessary and not luxurious medium.“* (Ng'wanakilala 1981, p. 59)

Nevertheless, in the early 1970s, *Ngurumo*, then the oldest Swahili daily in East Africa, was still preferred to the governmental newspapers by the majority of the readership in Dar es Salaam. Until 1974, the private paper maintained a print run of 40,000 copies, but, then, it was taken over by the Habari Printer Co-operative Society Ltd. - a new enterprise formed by the previous owner, Thakers Ltd., and its employees. Joseph Mzuri became the editor-in-chief. It is difficult to say whether this change was responsible for the decay of the paper or not, but, as a matter of fact, the circulation fell disastrously and stagnated at 2,000 in 1976. By that time, readers had already started to complain about the declining quality of both print and contents. As a consequence, the last issue of *Ngurumo* appeared on November 30<sup>th</sup> 1976; later attempts to resume publication failed (cf. Konde 1984, pp. 41 - 43).

Hence, the Tanzanian newspaper market consisted only of two dailies - a situation which was to last until 1993. Regarding their distribution, the papers were sold by stationers and street vendors. In order to grant the availability of the publications in centres situated in the hinterland, Zonal Circulation Offices were erected in Dodoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, Tabora, and Tanga. In other areas, circulation agents were responsible for the delivery of the papers. A severe problem arose from the fact that only nine regions<sup>39</sup> received the print media by air. And even there the papers were often delayed as the result of irregular flight schedules (cf. Mboya, Mkwawa, Kilimwiko 1982, p. 12).

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<sup>39</sup> These were Arusha, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Kilwa, Mtwara, Mwanza, Pemba, Tanga, and Zanzibar (cf. Mboya, Mkwawa, Kilimwiko 1982, p. 12).

The subsequent table reveals facts about the political and economic background of the party and government press in 1991 (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 43; Deutsche Welle 1991, p. 8):

**Table 15:** Production Conditions of the Party and Government Press in 1991

	<i>Daily News</i>	<i>Sunday News</i>	<i>Uhuru</i>	<i>Mzalendo</i>
<b>Owner</b>	Government	Government	CCM <sup>40</sup>	CCM
<b>Frequency</b>	Weekdays	Sundays	Weekdays	Sundays
<b>Language</b>	English	English	Swahili	Swahili
<b>Print run<sup>41</sup></b>	50,000	60,000	80,000	100,000
<b>Reach<sup>42</sup></b>	21 %	14 %	92 %	88 %
<b>Number of pages</b>	Eight	Twelve	Twelve	Twelve
<b>Editorial content</b>	50 %	50 %	50 - 55 %	50 - 55 %
<b>Format</b>	57 x 43 cm	57 x 43 cm	Tabloid	57 x 43 cm
<b>Budget 1990/91</b>	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	500 Mill. TSh (4,545,500 US-\$ [1991])	
<b>Sale price<sup>43</sup></b>	30 TSh (27 cents)	50 TSh (45 cents)	30 TSh	50 TSh
<b>Advertising price per page</b>	150,000 TSh (1,360 US-\$)	170,000 TSh (1,550 US-\$)	150,000 TSh (1,360 US-\$)	170,000 TSh (1,550 US-\$)
<b>Printing costs per page</b>	9.50 TSh	10.75 TSh	9.00 TSh	11.5 TSh
<b>Subsidies per year</b>	-	-	3 Mill. TSh (27,300 US-\$)	

By 1976, Nyerere's government had achieved a primary objective of its media policy - to have control over the major mass media in order to ensure the

<sup>40</sup> On the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Arusha Declaration, TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), then ruling on Zanzibar, were merged into CCM, the Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution) on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1977.

<sup>41</sup> According to Utz Lederbogen (cf. 1992, p. 43), the entire print run was often sold out during the dry period. In the rainy season, up to 70 % of the copies were not sold. As a result, the run was reduced by up to half.

<sup>42</sup> The given figures only relate to newspaper readers.

<sup>43</sup> The street vendors, of whom 80 were employed with *Uhuru*, received two TSh (= 1.35 US-Cents) per copy sold. Subscription sales of both party papers were about 1,000 - most of them abroad. *Daily News* had 480 subscribers in foreign countries (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 43).

country's development along socialist guidelines. The following chapter is dealing with two ambitious projects of Tanzanian adult education: the radio campaigns of the 1970s and the Rural Press Project.

### **6.3.4 Media as Tools in Adult Education**

Tanzania's serious commitment to use adult education as a key development gear can be explained by the country's topography and the socioeconomic status of its population. The vast majority of the people were living in very scattered settlements deprived of formal schooling. In addition, there were only a few qualified adult educators and restricted financial means. Thus, the government had to find efficient ways of bringing basic education to the rural adult population (cf. Grenholm 1975, p. 2).

*„While others race to the moon, we try to reach the village“* (Quoted from Lederbogen 1992, p. 77). Julius Nyerere's words, which were addressed to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 14<sup>th</sup> 1961, revealed his idea of an egalitarian society and had guideline character for Tanzania's ambitious adult education projects during the 1970s and 1980s (cf. Righter 1978, p. 185). As already remarked in chapter → 6.3.2, an Adult Education Service had been on air since 1962. But discussions pointed out that the weakness of the programme was twofold: First, it was not evaluated in the field so that the producing bodies almost did not know anything about the effectiveness of the broadcasts. Second, the success of the programmes would only be ensured by creating grass-roots participation of a more formal character (cf. Welsh 1968, p. 126).

#### **6.3.4.1 Radio Study Groups**

Considering the above-mentioned experiences, listening-group pilot projects were initiated at an experimental stage in 1967. Then, the Co-operative Education Centre (CEC), which had been established in 1964, planned to give courses on the work of co-operatives. But the staff of CEC faced one major problem:

*„The majority of village-level Tanzanian co-operators have had no formal schooling, and therefore printed materials could only be used through literate members of co-operative groups reading them aloud to their illiterate*

*colleagues. The CEC decided to support and enliven these courses by radio programmes which presented the essential ideas and information in an oral form.*" (Hall, Dodds 1974, p. 10)

As a result, it was concluded that a combination of radio series, printed material, and study groups would be used in the subsequent courses „Working of Co-operative Societies" (1967) and „Work of Committees" (1968). The role of radio was both formal and functional. The functional element consisted in providing a central core of information throughout the study period and to ensure that even those who did not attend the groups picked up at least some of the information provided. The formal role was not less important: the use of radio imparted a national status to the campaign which was not easy to attain otherwise (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, p. 135). Each of the 51 programmes was supplemented by a discussion manual covering the main aspects of the broadcasts. Altogether, 400 groups participated in one of the courses offered (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 72).

Later in 1967, the Institute of Adult Education (IAE), which was also founded in 1964, created a scheme to combine a series of broadcasts for a test group of listeners in the Mbeya region with direction and control on the spot of the IAE. A total number of 15 listening groups were provided with the following programmes (cf. Welsh 1968, p. 127):

- „Agricultural Extension": Broadcasts relevant specifically for the region and for all levels of listeners;
- „English at Work": English-language course for primary school leavers whose content was completely oriented towards village-life realities;
- „Government in Tanzania": Instructions in politics for secondary school leavers stationed as government officers or party officials in the rural areas.

In 1968, IAE and CEC exchanged their experiences, and, as a result, they concluded to maintain a close collaboration. Even in the same year, RTD established an Adult Education Advisory Committee which consisted of members from the radio station itself, IAE, CEC, Kivukoni College, the army, the traffic police, the National Agricultural Products Board, and the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, and Rural Development. Furthermore, IAE installed a separate Mass Media Department (cf. Hall, Dodds 1974, pp. 11 - 12).

Following the guidelines of Tanzania's Second Five Year Plan covering the period from July 1<sup>st</sup> 1969 to June 30<sup>th</sup> 1974, in which the country's economy was

regarded as an important mechanism for the political and educative development, IAE and CEC tried to implement the most important issues of the plan in their campaigns of 1969. CEC gave a course on „Basic Economy” in which more than 150 groups were enrolled, and IAE set up the first campaign entirely carried out in Swahili, „Kupanga ni Kuchagua” (The Plan is to Choose), which comprised 60 groups and dealt with the major questions of the Five Year Plan (cf. Kuhanga 1974, p. 96). But both radio programmes failed to give sufficient guidance to the groups to enable them to find local examples of the generalised facts of the development plan. Consequently, they did not succeed in stimulating realistic discussions (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12 - 13).

The years 1970 and 1971 were declared „Adult Education Years”. On the occasion of their opening, President Nyerere explained:

*„First we must educate adults. Our children will not have any impact on our economic development five, ten years or even twenty years. The attitude of adults on the other have an impact on the economic and social development. Only if they are able to do this, will this plan succeed.”*  
(Quoted from Magayane 1988, p. 92)

Subsequently, further radio courses were planned on a larger scale. In 1970, the first nation-wide campaign, „Uchaguzi ni Wako” (The Choice is Yours), was carried out. Focusing on Tanzania’s general elections, it was considered an attempt to use various educational techniques to arouse civic interest in an event of immense political importance. For the first time, a campaign was really well-prepared. The study group leaders, who were usually heads of a cell or other local authorities, had been trained ahead, and the meetings were well-organised. The teaching method again combined written materials (booklet, study guide), radio series, and group listenings to the programmes succeeded by discussions. Altogether, 163 groups were engaged in the campaign (cf. Hall, Dodds 1974, p. 14; Kuhanga 1974, p. 97).

From the viewpoint of educational methodology, „Uchaguzi ni Wako” revealed several interesting results. First, it succeeded in reaching people in nearly all areas of the country by assembling small production groups able to draw on an expert opinion and, furthermore, by making use of existing organisational and communication resources. As a side-effect, this was achieved by low expenditures in comparison to any form of institutional education. Second, it brought together three methods of which each was insufficient as an educational tool by itself; but

used in combination, they lessened each other's inadequacies (cf. Hall, Dodds 1974, pp. 23 - 24).

In 1971, the year of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence, another adult education project, „Wakati wa Furaha” (Time for Rejoicing), was launched:

*„The feeling was that the campaign should attempt to do two things. First to create a deeper sense of national awareness; and secondly, by tracing the development of Tanzania from the distant past up until the present day, by high lighting the achievements since Independence, to give people a good reason for regarding 9<sup>th</sup> of December as ‘a time for rejoicing.’” (Hall, Dodds 1974, p. 25)*

The campaign became a great success. Discussion groups comprising a total of 20,000 members were established all over the country, and the broadcasts reached the intended audience. Tests pointed out that the learning effects were fairly impressive. Notwithstanding, „Wakati wa Furaha” showed also some deficits. The delay in the distribution of textbooks and study guides was serious. Over 50 % of the district adult education officers reported that they had not received their copies in time for the start of the campaign. Moreover, supervision of groups was inadequately organised (cf. *ibid.*, p. 34).

Then, in 1973, „Mtu ni Afya” (Man is Health) was started to attain the following ends (cf. *ibid.*, p. 36):

- 1** to provide information about the symptoms and prevention of specific diseases;
- 2** to increase awareness among individuals and encourage group actions in order to improve local health conditions;
- 3** to support the maintenance of newly acquired reading skills by the provision of written materials for participants who were enrolled in the national literacy campaign.

In contrast to the former projects, „Mtu ni Afya” emphasised action instead of discussion. It was designed to reach two million adults living in „Ujamaa villages” and districts engaged in the literacy programme of 1971. This resulted in the training of 75,000 group leaders and the printing of two million study textbooks comprising 48 pages each. In addition, 50,000 metres of textile material carrying the campaign symbol were manufactured for the production of traditional clothings, such as Kanga and Kitenge. The propagation of „Mtu ni Afya” became well-rounded by the usage of several posters (cf. Ng’wanakilala 1981, p. 84).

Radio broadcasts were transmitted twice a week for a period totalling 12 weeks. The effects of the project were amazing. Knowledge about vital health practices increased by an average of 20 %, and 700,000 pit latrines were built all over the country (cf. Hall, Dodds 1974, p. 49; Kunczik 1985, p. 104). The evaluation report of the campaign recounted:

*„After discussion with various ministries, organisations and individuals about what subject might be suitable and what support might be available nationally, the subject of health education was decided upon. The reasoning for this (...) centered around the fact that the growing number of hospitals and dispensaries are able to provide better but still far from adequate curative medical facilities. Furthermore, though the incidence of some of the most dreaded diseases, such as leprosy and smallpox, had been reduced to manageable proportions in Tanzania, there remain those less dramatic diseases which probably constitute the most serious handicap to human happiness and the social and economic development of the country.“* (Hall, B. L.; Zikambona, C. [1974]: *Mtu ni Afya: An Evaluation of the 1973 Mass Health Education Campaign in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam, pp. 12 - 13. Quoted from Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, p. 134)

Ng'wanakilala (cf. 1981, p. 87) conducted a survey on the impacts of „Mtu ni Afya” in the villages of Bahi (355 households) and Umoja - Bwawani (328 households) and registered an impressive change of habits among the people living there:

**Table 16:** Effects of „Mtu ni Afya” in the Villages of Bahi and Umoja - Bwawani

Village → ↓ Activities	Bahi			Umoja - Bwawani		
	Before MnA	After MnA	Change in %	Before MnA	After MnA	Change in %
<b>Cleaning of environment</b>	33	285	763.6	37	157	129.7
<b>Houses with tap water</b>	37	54	49	42	60	47.8
<b>Houses with mosquito nets</b>	37	57	54	16	32	50
<b>Houses with latrines</b>	37	54	31.4	127	143	11.2
<b>Usage of latrines</b>	50	90	80	47	109	56.8
<b>Houses free of rats</b>	27	154	470	206	195	- 5.2
<b>Houses free of flies</b>	50	221	342	169	401	137.2
<b>Houses with windows</b>	20	67	235	7	4	6.7

„Mtu ni Afya” was succeeded by „Chakula ni Uhai” (Food is Life). Started in 1975, the campaign focused on nutrition and tried to teach methods of increasing

and preserving food production. Moreover, an increase in the level of functional literacy was intended. It is estimated, that this time even more than two million participants were enrolled in 75,000 study groups. Again, 50,000 metres of textile material, two million textbooks, and various posters were produced (cf. *ibid.*, p. 85).

In spite of the great successes achieved by the campaigns, which had among others led to a decrease in the nation-wide illiteracy rate from 70 % to 30 %, the scheme was given up after „Chakula ni Uhai“. From 1976 onwards, RTD transmitted adult education programmes on annual topics issued by the party, which mostly were adopted from those declared by the UN General Assembly the previous year. But in spite of all efforts, the broadcasts have not been able to achieve similar results as the campaigns just described (cf. Mwaffisi 1984, p. 74).

#### **6.3.4.2 The Rural Press Project**

One of the principal aims of the Tanzanian authorities was the elimination of illiteracy by 1975 (cf. Ouldali 1972, p. 3). Although this objective was not realised through the radio study groups in its full extent, the government realised that the predominant goal was now to prevent the new literates from relapsing into ignorance of reading and writing skills again. Thus, printed material satisfying the needs of educated rural population was needed.

The Ministry of Education had already experimented with mimeographed bulletins in the Four Lakes Region (Ihangiro, Busenga, Nansimo, Nyegezi) as early as 1968, but then, the lack of appropriate news as well as the format had proved to be a drawback (cf. UNESCO 1974, p. 11).

Nyerere knew about successful projects in Mali, Togo, and Congo where regional print media were utilised in literacy campaigns. On March 10<sup>th</sup> 1972, a local Bambara-language monthly, *Kibaru* (News), had been established near Bamako. Edited under the auspices of the Mali Agency of Information and the daily *L'Essor*, the paper gained a print run of 10,000 copies. A similar periodical was *Game Su* (It is Time) which had been founded on September 8<sup>th</sup> 1972. The Ewe monthly had a circulation of 3,500 copies and was published by the Togo Ministries of Information and Social Affairs in co-operation with UNESCO. Finally, in late 1972, *Sengo* had appeared under the patronage of the Congolese Ministry of

Education with support from the „Mission d'Aide et de Coopèration française" (cf. Ansah et al. 1981, p. 7; Topuz 1973, p. 6; UNESCO 1974, pp. 1 and 6).

At the First Mass Media Seminar, which was held in Arusha in November 1973 under the chairmanship of President Nyerere, Tanzanian politicians and media experts resolved the establishment of a regional newspaper (cf. Nordenstreng, Ng'wanakilala 1987, pp. 4 - 5). Subsequently, the government asked UNESCO for assistance. After the UN-related organisation had obtained a grant of US-\$ 375,000 from the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), the Rural Press Project was started as an integral part of a widespread UNESCO/UNDP campaign on functional literacy in 1974. The aims of the Rural Press Project were (cf. Ouldali 1972, p. 5):

- to assure lifelong education for the rural population;
- to provide reading material for new literates and to prevent them from lapsing back into illiteracy;
- to supply readers with practical information in order to improve cultural techniques and health as well as economic, social, and cultural living conditions;
- to ensure the participation of the readers in the process of economic and social development;
- to provide an instrument for the dialogue between the administration and the rural population;
- to inculcate the habit of newspaper reading among the masses;
- to initiate the establishment of a decentralised local press and to encourage the rural population to express itself in that press;
- to contribute to the development of national language, culture, and tradition;
- to keep the rural population regularly informed about local, regional, and national events;
- to serve as a basis for practical training in the various problems related to the rural press at both national and regional level;
- to offer a field for investigation and research concerning the impact of rural press activities and the economical, social, and cultural development.

The Ministry of Education became the authority in charge of the project, and a chief editor responsible to the Assistant Director of Adult Education was appointed. Subsequently, in January 1974, the Swahili monthly *Elimu Haina Mwisho* (Education Has No End) appeared in Mwanza for circulation throughout

the Four Lake Region (cf. Ibaraza 1985, p. 5). Owing to its own printing press, *Elimu Haina Mwisho* soon gained a print run of 100,000 copies, and, thus, the publication became the largest rural print medium in Africa. On the front-page, the paper carried both international and national news. It was believed, that articles on important national topics would broaden the outlook of locally oriented readers and, consequently, support the national integration process. The remaining three pages mainly consisted of stories of local interest, such as practical information, a calendar of events, and news from the regions of Mwanza, Mara, Shinyanga, and West Lake (cf. UNESCO 1974, p. 12).

At the end of a four years' probation, the government was fairly impressed by the success of the paper. As a consequence, it was decided to expand the *Rural Press Project* on a nation-wide scope.

Between the years 1979 and 1985, a national network of rural newspapers was established. Seven Swahili monthlies were published on the mainland, one on Zanzibar. But from the very beginning, the Rural Press Project struggled with different obstacles which maintained their validity until 1996:

- 1 Long-winded distribution scheme: All papers were delivered by the Rural Press Office to the respective District Education Office by public transport. From there, the publications got to Divisional Education Offices which handed them out to literacy classes, rural libraries, or individual readers. Particularly the lack of adequate transport facilities caused serious delays in distribution (cf. Ansah et al. 1981, p. 26).
- 2 Inability of printing works to produce the required number of copies: In some regions, such as Songea, there were no printing presses available at all. As a result, the production of the paper had to be done in Dar es Salaam or other provincial centres - a fact which involves great transport troubles, especially during the rainy season. Often, the readership had to wait for their local newspaper up to four weeks, sometimes even for months (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 78). For instance, the Zanzibar monthly *Jipatie Maarifa* (Acquire Knowledge) was established in early 1982 and initially printed by the National Printing Press in Dar es Salaam in a run of 30,000 copies. After shifting the place of production to Zanzibar later that year, the circulation declined to 5,000, and, moreover, the frequency of publication was reduced to six times p. a.. However, no single issue at all was edited in the period from July to October 1983 (cf. Mbwana, Hamad, Hamad 1984, pp. 8, 19 - 20).

- 3 Financial shortages: In the past, the Rural Press Project had been supported by international donors, but after the cessation of foreign grants, no money was left for the maintenance of regular operations (cf. Interview with Gervas Moshiro, September 9<sup>th</sup> 1993).
- 4 Lack of trained journalists: In 1986, only five rural editors had graduated from the Tanzania School of Journalism; the others had taken part in courses on rural journalism of the Nyegezi Social Training Centre in Mwanza (→ 6.3.5). Apart from the Zanzibar-based paper *Jipatie Maarifa*, an average of eleven people paid by the Ministry of Education worked for each monthly. These were mainly self-taught journalists, such as primary school teachers who had previously served as district co-ordinators in the adult education campaigns. Only a few of them had attended a course on news writing. As a result, editors often took their articles from the national newspapers which made the rural publications replicas of *Uhuru*, *Mzalendo*, *Daily News*, and *Sunday News* (cf. Damisi, Ngesi 1986, pp. 29 - 30; Lederbogen 1992, p. 78). In 1985, only 40 % of the papers' contents were dealing with relevant topics (cf. Ibaraza 1985, p. 21). As Faringer (cf. 1991, p. 98) points out, the main problem of rural journalism is its low status. Although there is an increasing number of African institutions offering journalism courses, none of them has yet launched a course on rural media.

Despite these grievances, the Rural Press Project has been a remarkable effort far away from being a „muffled drum“ as William Hachten (cf. 1971, p. xiii) likes to call African media. Although the eight papers have never reached again the sales figures of 1985 when a total of 400,000 copies were read by approximately four million people (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 78), the Rural Press Project often provides the only possibility for the people in the countryside to practice their reading skills. The publications usually cost one fifth of the regular price of other papers. Moreover, they can be read for free in rural libraries.

### 6.3.5 Training of Tanzanian Journalists

As already mentioned in the foregoing chapter, one of the major reasons for the recent failure of the Rural Press Project is the lack of adequately educated journalists. At the same time, Tanzania has two journalism schools - more than many other African countries. One of them is the state-run and Dar es Salaam-based Tanzania School of Journalism, hereafter known as TSJ, the other is the journalism department of the Catholic Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC) in Mwanza. On the occasion of a joint seminar of TSJ and NSTC in 1979, the principal secretary of the information ministry, Professor George Mhina, explained the necessity of sufficiently trained journalists:

*„Vyombo vya habari ni silaha na silaha hizi za stahili kutumiwa inavyostahili ikiwa tunataka zilete matunda yakusudiwayo. Sote tunajua kuwa silaha kama haitumiwi ipasavyo yaweza kuleta madhara hata kwa yule aitumiaye. Sisi tunayo nia ya kujitahidi kuitumia silaha yetu ipasavyo, na ndio maana tunafanya juhudi za kujidhatiti kwa kuwafunza waandishi wetu wakiwa katika mazingira yao.“<sup>44</sup> (Mhina 1980, p. 20)*

Training of journalists has no long tradition in Tanzania. During the short-lived German period, the owners of the few newspapers pursued the policy to appoint „imports“ from the home country to editorial posts. Only the missionaries accepted articles written by Africans in their papers, but they reserved the right to correct them. Only when the British administration launched a number of provincial print media in the early 1950s (→ 5.4), considerable efforts were made to train selected young Africans in various aspects of newspaper production. Accordingly, the Public Relations Department gave courses on practical journalism for reporters in the provinces where they supplied local news to the capital papers and assisted the editors of district publications. Moreover, the Government Press in Dar es Salaam operated a training school with facilities for about 35 trainees under the direction of a European instructor. The course lasted for six years of which four had to be served in class and two on the job. The subjects dealt with all matters of the printing trade, including composing, operation of printing machinery, book binding, and rolling (cf. Kitchen 1956, pp. 36 - 37).

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<sup>44</sup> „Mass Media are weapons, and weapons have to be used properly if we want to attain the intended effect. We all know that if these weapons are mishandled, they will cause adverse effects, even for their owners. Therefore, we propose to strengthen ourselves by training journalists in their own surroundings.“

After independence, it became obvious that there was a great demand for journalists who were able to take the new political situation and their consequences into account. But professionals were in short supply:

*„The dearth of trained African journalists was indeed so great, that the only recruitment could be among those already working on other papers, at least until such time as those students sent abroad for training should return.“* (Ainslie 1966, p. 114)

In 1963, the Catholic Church of Tanzania founded the Institute of Publicity Media as a division of NSTC<sup>45</sup> (cf. Hachten 1968, p. 109). The editor of the Paris-based paper *La Croix*, Pierre Gally, emphasised the importance of such an institution:

*„Beyond any doubt, the existence of this school is an important trump card for the English-language press in Africa. It provides a basic course which, by and by, should enable various publications in East and Central Africa to employ genuine professional journalists.“* (Gally 1968, p. 134)

The Department of Journalism, as it is simply called today, has maintained an extraordinary good reputation. In contrast to the TSJ in Dar es Salaam, the Mwanza school offers excellent teaching opportunities. For example, NSTC possesses a modern broadcasting studio donated by „Radio Nederland“, whereas the principle of TSJ, Gervas Moshiro, claims: *„Because of the lack of equipment and training facilities, we are actually producing anything - no more professionals.“* (Interview with Gervas Moshiro, September 14<sup>th</sup> 1993).

The establishment of a state-run training centre for journalists can be traced back to the early 1970s when Nyerere requested Frene Ginwala to start a programme on this matter inside *The Standard*. The ulterior motive was that within two or three years all expatriates could be replaced with Tanzanians who were not only journalistically but also politically ready to carry on the development of a socialist newspaper. Subsequently, Tony Hall was appointed the training administrator. The newsroom became partly editorial office and partly classroom. The journalism course was mostly preceded by political and current affairs lectures which - strongly socialist in orientation - were given by TANU members, the staff of the University of Dar es Salaam, and other mass media experts. But soon, a number of African journalists felt that the whole approach to the programme was too heavily weighed towards politics and complained about this fact to Nyerere.

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<sup>45</sup> The Nyegezi Social Training Centre was established in 1960.

As a consequence, a new training course was begun, but again the staff were not satisfied with it, and, subsequently, they stopped co-operating (cf. Barton 1979, pp. 112 - 115).

Although the first training programme in independent Tanzania had come to an inglorious end, plans on journalism education were revived at the First Mass Media Seminar held in Arusha in November 1973. Later, in May 1974, the government approved a proposal to establish a journalism school, and, on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1974, the relevant act was passed by parliament. Hence, on August 14<sup>th</sup> 1975, TSJ was inaugurated with 16 students (cf. Tanzania School of Journalism 1991, pp. 1 and 41).

Then, the school only had a single classroom rented at the Luther House in Dar es Salaam. The conditions proved to be unbearable, and, thus, TSJ moved to a Salvation Army Hostel in the following year where accommodation for classrooms, staff offices, a library, and a students' hostel were available. After the Salvation Army requested the school to vacate its premises, TSJ was removed to the National Arts Council House situated in Ilala on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam in 1985 (cf. Tanzania School of Journalism 1994, p. 1).

By virtue of the Tanzania School of Journalism Act of 1981, the institution is a public corporation under the administration and control of the School Governing Council whose chairman is appointed by the president. The chief executive of the school is the principal, also a presidential appointee (cf. Tanzania School of Journalism 1991, p. 1).

At the beginning, CCM tried to control and determine the curriculum, but TSJ officials called a halt to this intention with the argument that also foreigners were studying at the school and that international scholarship sponsors would hardly accept biased lectures. However, during the single-party period, all Tanzanian students admitted to the journalism programme had to be recommended by a CCM branch<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, they automatically became a member of the „Muungano wa Wanafunzi wa Tanzania“ (Union of Tanzanian Students) which was the national students' organisation empowered by public authorities to deal with the affairs of all students in and off campuses. Nevertheless, critical discussion concerning both the party and the government were never restricted at

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<sup>46</sup> Even in 1990, 90 % of the Tanzanian journalists were CCM members (cf. Lederbogen 1990, p. 63).

the school (cf. Murphy, Scotton 1987, p. 28). And after Tanzania had officially become a multi-party state on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1992, applicants without a party book were no longer rejected (cf. Interview with Gervas Moshiro, September 14<sup>th</sup> 1993).

At the time of research (July/August 1996), the training programme was full-time, took two years, and led to an ordinary diploma in journalism. Its major aims were (cf. Tanzania School of Journalism 1994, p. 5):

- 1 equipping students with journalistic skills, basic knowledge, and desirable attitudes to enable them to undertake editorial assignments for both print and electronic media;
- 2 educating students to qualify them for the analysis of social, political, and economic factors in the development process within the context of the national, regional, continental, and global perspectives;
- 3 broadening the students own base of general knowledge.

The democratisation process has led to the liberalisation of media ownership. Corresponding to the flourishing Tanzanian media sector, the demand for educated journalists has increased enormously. Whereas a number of 600 professional journalists were estimated for the year 1992, more than 3,000 news people were employed with Tanzanian mass media in 1996 (cf. Rioba 1996a, p. 11)<sup>47</sup>. As a consequence, TSJ has offered certificate courses on both print and broadcast journalism since 1995. The programmes are full-time and take twelve weeks. Intensive classroom lectures, demonstrations, simulations, writing practicals, and studio work are scheduled for morning sessions, while afternoons are reserved for practical assignments in real working situations outside the school (cf. *ibid.*, p. 19). In late 1996, already 200 junior journalists had participated in one of altogether eight courses (cf. Interview with Ayub Rioba, August 26<sup>th</sup> 1996).

The following table reveals the major differences between the Department of Journalism in Mwanza and the TSJ (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 105):

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<sup>47</sup> In 1990, Utz Lederbogen (cf. 1992, p. 94) identified 230 full-time news people.

**Table 17: Tanzanian Journalism Schools in Comparison**

	<b>TSJ</b>	<b>Department of Journalism, NSTC</b>
<b>Year of foundation</b>	1975	1963
<b>Supervisor</b>	Government	Catholic Church
<b>Status</b>	Non-universitarian	Non-universitarian
<b>Admission procedure</b>	Admission examination for applicants in possession of the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education or the Ordinary Certificate of Secondary Education and two years working experience in a mass medium or in public relations	Admission examination for candidates completed at A- or O-level with experience in the media
<b>Duration of Training</b>	Two years	Two years
<b>Graduation</b>	Diploma of Journalism	Diploma of Journalism
<b>Language of instruction</b>	English for all subjects except Swahili	English
<b>Study programme</b>	Theoretical training in mass communication, public relations, and development studies as well as an introduction to general educative practice of press, radio, and television	Theoretical training in mass communication, introduction to the practice of the press, radio, and television
<b>Practical exercise</b>	Production of the monthly newspaper <i>The Torch</i> and <i>TSJ Weekly</i>	Production of the <i>Nyegezi Weekly News</i>
<b>Fieldwork</b>	Twelve weeks in a mass medium after the first study year	At least three months in mass media institutions; field attachment in rural areas, vacation practicals
<b>Equipment</b>	Photo studio, cameras, typewriters, one video system, specialised library	Radio studio, photo studio, one video system, typewriters, cameras,

	with c. 3,000 titles	specialised library with c. 1,000 titles
<b>Number of students</b>	On average 40 per year (of whom up to ten foreigners); 25 per certificate course	On average 25 per year
<b>Teaching staff</b>	Four (and part-time university lecturers), occasionally guest lecturers from abroad	Four (and four part-time), occasionally guest lecturers from abroad
<b>Annual Budget</b>	US-\$ 120,000	Not declared
<b>School and course fees</b>	US-\$ 900 per year for Tanzanians, US-\$ 4,000 for foreigners; certificate courses cost US-\$ 134 per month	US-\$ 1,100 per year for Tanzanians, US-\$ 3,000 for foreigners.

Like any other university and journalism school in Africa, both TSJ and NSTC do not offer courses on rural journalism devoted to the specific interests of the agrarian population. The principle of TSJ, Gervas Moshiro explains the dilemma:

*„Our kind of newspapers are urban-oriented because the advertisers are in the cities, the readers are in the cities. People who are in urban areas nowadays are people who can afford newspapers. Actually, newspapers are very expensive - comparatively to the kind of life of the village dweller. Our media themselves are for urban people, and the journalists being trained will have the urban outlook. They are forgetting about the rural person because he or she is not going to work for a medium that serves the rural people. (...) Definitely there is a big knowledge gap because of this big communication gap! There is actually a big percentage who have never come across a newspaper for many years. In fact, even a single newspaper is something accidental. The circulation of our kind of newspapers is restricted to urban areas. The kind of orientation is still that of the urban journalist who makes news - big man makes news.“ (Interview with Gervas Moshiro, September 14<sup>th</sup> 1993)*

According to Kaarle Nordenstreng and Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala (cf. 1987, p. 25), the urban approach of the training programme is the result of the geopolitical orientation of the main academic resources. For example, in 1986, three instructors of TSJ had diplomas in journalism from courses in New Dehli and East Berlin, the tutor in photojournalism and current affairs was from the then German Democratic Republic. Moreover, two lecturers held M.A. degrees from

universities in the United States, and the principle was a graduate of programmes in The Netherlands and Great Britain. Due to the shortage of texts and periodicals, the United States Information Service (USIS) is a welcome source of teaching material (cf. Murphy, Scotton 1987, p. 29). Nordenstreng and Ng'wanakilala (cf. 1987, p. 28) believe that the only way out of this crisis would be the establishment of a self-reliant journalism institute at the university as already suggested by UNESCO in 1978.

In recent years, both TSJ and NSTC have realised that journalism training could be improved by a standardised and co-ordinated programme (cf. Kasembe 1980, p. 49). Furthermore, the exchange of tutors and students was proposed. But due to different terms and academic standards, the co-operation of TSJ and NSTC has been confined to annual meetings of the teaching staff (cf. Interview with Gervas Moshiro, September 14<sup>th</sup> 1993).

Nevertheless, graduates of both schools are highly appreciated by all major media institutions in East Africa. Before the multi-party system was enacted, 62 % of Tanzanian news people had been trained at TSJ and another 11 % at NSTC (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 107). Only RTD had launched a separate training school for engineers in 1970, followed by courses given by both the programme and information department in 1974 and 1976, respectively<sup>48</sup> (cf. Mkufya, Msoka 1984, p. 31). But due to the mushrooming of both broadcasting stations and newspapers since 1992, most journalists have experienced an inhouse-training by their employers. A case in point is the Maarifa Media Trust of the consortium which publishes *Mtanzania* (The Tanzanian), *Rai* (Opinion), and *Dimba* (Arena). The training programme was started in May 1994, and, until August 1996, already 110 junior reporters had participated. The courses, which cost US-\$ 50 per participant, last two or three weeks comprising six hours of instruction every weekday (cf. Interview with Gideon Shoo, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1996).

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<sup>48</sup> Previously, RTD had offered several training facilities outside Tanzania. While journalists had been sent to media institutions in Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia, announcers and technicians had visited programmes at the BBC or Radio Canada (cf. Mkufya, Msoka 1984, p. 31).

### **6.3.6 SHIHATA and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)**

Until the mid-1960s, the United Nations and particularly UNESCO had stressed the importance of a free flow of communication in order to ensure the modernisation of societies in developing countries. But evaluation studies<sup>49</sup> pointed out that this approach had caused a severe domination of Western mass media and news agencies over those of the rest of the world. Especially representatives from Eastern Europe and the southern hemisphere complained about the imbalance of the flow of information which ran from North to South as well as from West to East. As a result, Anglo-American media institutions were in the position to control the contents of international news (cf. Reeves 1993, pp. 107 - 108).

During the Algiers meeting of 1973, non-aligned nations straightforwardly noted their concern about this imbalanced information flow. Accordingly, they demanded the reorganisation of existing communication channels which were considered the legacy of the colonial past hampering free, direct, and fast communication among the developing countries. Hence, Algiers became the actual birthplace of NWICO (cf. Galtung, Vincent 1992, pp. 80 and 82).

The key issues were elaborated at the Tunis Symposium on Communication Issues of Non-Aligned States in March 1976. In respect of Article 12 of the final report, developing countries should have the right to exercise full sovereignty over news (cf. Kepplinger 1982, p. 45). Subsequently, the recommendations of the symposium were presented to the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on Decolonisation of Information (New Dehli, July 1976), and, only one month later, the concept was adopted by the highest body of the non-aligned movement, the Summit Conference. The Fifth Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo in August 1976 concluded that *„a new international order in the field of information and mass communication is as vital as a new international economic order.“* (Quoted from Norderstreng, Kleinwächter 1989, p. 91) As a consequence, the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) was established by signatories of 85 countries during the summit meeting. The principle aim of the pool was to ensure the

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<sup>49</sup> The most renowned of the surveys carried out is the report of the MacBride commission which was mandated by UNESCO to analyse the state of world communication (cf. MacBride 1980).

exchange of news and information among the member states<sup>50</sup>. On this occasion, the Tanzanian ambassador to UNESCO, Abbas Sykes, told the auditorium: „We don't want Western journalists in our countries. They should take their news from us.“ (Quoted from Tatarian 1978, p. 2).

Then, in November 1976, General Director Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, a Senegalese, opened the 19<sup>th</sup> session of UNESCO's General Conference in Nairobi by drawing attention to the global nature of information. After a lengthy debate, the General Conference adopted Resolution 100 which stressed

*„(...) the importance of free and balanced circulation of information and the need vigorously to intensify the efforts to put an end to the imbalance which, as regards capacity to send out and receive information, typifies the relationship between developed and developing countries, by helping the latter to establish and strengthen their own communication and information systems, so as to promote their development, in particular their educational, scientific, technological, and cultural development, and their ability to play a full part in the international dissemination of information; (...)“* (Quoted from Galtung, Vincent 1992, p. 85).

By that time, five enterprises dominated the global flow of communication: Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), both based in the USA, Reuters from Great Britain, „Agence France Press“ (AFP), and „Telegrafnoje Agenstwo Sowjetskowo Sojusa“ (TASS). In Africa, Reuters and AFP had managed to maintain their leading position from the end of colonialism (cf. Ullrich 1982a, p. 294). Tanzania did not have an own news agency, though plans on this matter had already been made in 1964. Then, TANU officials had signed a corresponding contract with representatives from the news agencies TASS and „Ceskoslovenská Tisková Kancelár“ (CTK), but later, the plans were put aside. Nevertheless, the proposal experienced its revival at the above-mentioned Algiers meeting where the need for the foundation of national news agencies was made clear. As a result, at TANU's First Mass Media Seminar held in Arusha in November 1973, the party executive and senior news people agreed in establishing a Tanzanian news agency. From September 7<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> 1974, a delegation of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was sent to Zaire and Zambia in order to study the structures of the services there. Consequently, the scheme was confirmed on the occasion of the Second Mass Media Seminar

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<sup>50</sup> The news were compiled, translated, and distributed by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG. Nevertheless, experts believed that not even 50 % of the articles had a real chance of being published by Western media (cf. Kepplinger 1982, p. 32).

(Mbeya, December 1975), which was headed by TANU's vice-president, Rashid Kawawa (cf. Mnubi 1980, pp. 76 - 77).

<b>Table 18: Directors of SHIHATA</b>	
<u>(1976 - 1996)</u>	
Benjamin W. Mkapa .....	1976 - 1977
Hadji S. Konde.....	1977 - 1979
Lawrence Mnubi.....	1979 - 1981
Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala...	1981 - 1987
Josephat Qorro.....	1987 - 1993
Abdallah Ngororo .....	1993 - 1994
Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala.....	since 1994

In July 1976, the recent president of the United Republic, Benjamin W. Mkapa, was in advance appointed the first director of „Shirika la Habari la Tanzania” (News Agency of Tanzania), hereafter known as SHIHATA. Later that year, on November 12<sup>th</sup> 1976, The Tanzanian News Agency Act, which Ullamaija Kivikuru considered „*one of the strongest news agency laws of the world*” (Kivikuru 1990, p. 293), came

into force. The major objectives of SHIHATA, which withdrew the major functions from the Tanzania Information Services (cf. Tanzania Information Services [TIS] 1993, p. 3), were laid down in Section 4 (1) (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1976b, p. 4):

- to provide, develop, and promote the establishment and operation of facilities for the collection and distribution of news and news material;
- to undertake the collection and distribution of news and news material to public information services, newspapers, broadcasting services, news agencies, members of the public, and other persons, whether in their individual or in a representative capacity;
- to act within Tanzania as the sole receiver and distributor of news and news material from sources outside Tanzania under such arrangements as the agency may make on that behalf;
- to control and regulate the collection, distribution, and dissemination of news and news material in Tanzania;
- to promote the establishment, development, and management of facilities for the efficient dissemination of news and news material in Tanzania;
- to advise the government on matters relating to the publication of news and the functioning of news agencies;
- to carry out other activities which may appropriately be associated with the collection or distribution of news or news materials as the minister may, from time to time, direct;

- to do all such acts and things as, in the opinion of the board, may be necessary, desirable, or expedient to uphold and support the credit of the agency, to obtain and justify public confidence, and to avert or minimise any loss to the agency.

Critical passages were those which gave SHIHATA a monopoly on the gathering of both local and foreign news, i. e., all major media on the mainland would have been obliged to subscribe to the agency's services (cf. Kivikuru 1990, p. 293). But due to financial difficulties and the lack of equipment, SHIHATA had never been able to fulfill this task. As a result, senior media executives and the information ministry agreed that as long as the agency was struggling with problems affecting its performance, other mass media should continue to use international services and to entrust their own reporters with investigations (cf. Mwaffisi 1985, p. 141). For example, in 1985, RTD only obtained 32 % of its news from SHIHATA, the rest was taken directly from Reuters (29 %), AFP (12 %), local media (9 %), TASS (1 %), and other sources from outside Tanzania (1 %). Contributions from RTD reporters amounted to 16 % (cf. *ibid.*, p. 96). However, the arrangement became irrelevant after the outset of „Mageuzi“. The so-called „Nyalali Commission“, which was appointed by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi<sup>51</sup> in 1991 with the objective of collating people's views on the debate whether Tanzania should continue with the single-party system or adopt political pluralism, came to the conclusion that The Tanzania News Agency Act:

*„(...) contravenes Article 18 (i) of the Union Constitution which amongst other things states that: every person is entitled to freedom of opinion and expression, that is to say, the right to freely hold and express opinions and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers, and freedom from interference with his correspondence.“* (The United Republic of Tanzania 1992a, p. 167)

Subsequently, an amendment deleting the corresponding paragraphs was enacted on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1992 (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1992b).

Since then, SHIHATA's position has become even worse. The annual budget of the news agency declined from US-\$ 545,000 in 1991 to US-\$ 300,000 in 1996 of which only US-\$ 65,000 were contributed by the agency's news services for RTD, Independent Television (ITV), Dar es Salaam Television (DTV), and the

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<sup>51</sup> Ali Hassan Mwinyi had succeeded Julius Nyerere as president of the United Republic in October 1985 and as party chairman in 1989 (cf. Mwakikoti 1992, pp. 56 - 57).

newspapers *Rai* and *Uhuru*. This amount covered just the running costs. „*We try our best,*“ said the acting editor, Micah Y. Mshuza, „*we even send our photographers to private weddings to sell pictures to get cash.*“ (Quoted from Lederbogen 1992, p. 44)

Due to the precarious financial situation, SHIHATA has serious difficulties to obtain reports from foreign countries. For example, AFP stopped supplying news to Tanzania in 1991. What remains are services from the Pan African News Agency (PANA)<sup>52</sup>, Inter Press Service (IPS)<sup>53</sup>, both free of charge, and Reuters, which had interrupted its service from November 1988 for a period of nine months since SHIHATA was not able to pay the annual subscription fee of £ 22,000. The way how to deal with foreign news agency material was determined at the Third Mass Media Seminar held in Mwanza in October 1978. Accordingly, reports which proved to be incompatible with the policies of the state had to be eliminated (cf. Nordenstreng, Ng'wanakilala 1987, p. 9).

On the occasion of a conference on NWICO in Bonn in December 1978, the Tanzanian Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Isaac A. Sepetu, delivered an address on the government-regulated flow of information in his country:

*„Tanzania's position on the debate regarding the establishment of a new international information order is very clear. We are resolutely behind UNESCO concepts of a free, reciprocal balanced flow of accurate, complete and objective information, and for the rectification in the imbalance in the quantitative and qualitative flow of information between the developing and industrialized countries. Notwithstanding the freedom of the press media in our country are regarded as important instruments for the dissemination of Party Policy, and we therefore ensured that they are at the service of the Tanzania Society as a whole. (...) We believe that mass media is too vital an instrument in our struggle for political, economic and cultural emancipation to be left to float about in total abandon. (...) Our aim is not to limit the flow*

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<sup>52</sup> The idea to establish an African news service was originally conceived by Ghana's Francis Kwame Nkrumah who founded the London-based All Africa News Agency in September 1961. But Nkrumah did not receive any support from the Union of African News Agencies (UANA) which resolved the institution of a Pan African News Agency in autumn 1964 instead (cf. Behn 1968, pp. 69 - 70). Nevertheless, the realisation of this plan took nearly 20 years: PANA was approved during the 16<sup>th</sup> OAU summit held in Liberia in 1979 and came into operation only on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1983. The primary aim of the Dakar-based agency is the rectification of Africa's distorted media image (cf. Kalu 1989, p. 67; Borgault 1995, p. 175). With the exception of Eritrea, Liberia, Somalia, and South Africa, all African countries were connected to PANA's services at the time of the survey (July/August 1996).

<sup>53</sup> Since its foundation in 1964, the Rome-based IPS has been a well-meant but unsuccessful attempt to achieve a more balanced exchange of information between the North and the South.

*of information but rather to regulate it and give it an equal national perspectiveness, values, character and identity in accordance with the country of origin.*" (Sepetu 1980, pp. 62 - 63)

By making this speech, Sepetu had anticipated Resolution DR 8 of October 24<sup>th</sup> 1980 through which UNESCO wanted to combine Western and Communist conceptions of communication freedom. The declaration included some controversial sections: on the one hand, the freedom of media professionals was considered a prerequisite for NWICO, but, on the other hand, a passus regarded this freedom as inseparable from the news people's responsibility for state policies (cf. Kunczik 1985, pp. 194 - 195).

In order to ensure the implementation of this resolution in Tanzania, the establishment of a permanent Commission for Propaganda, Mass Media, and Mass Participation and a related Mass Media Committee was proposed at the Fourth Mass Media Seminar (Arusha, November 1983) under the chairmanship of the Minister of Information and Culture, Daudi Mwakawago. The commission was intended as a policy-making and monitoring body as well as an instrument to defend the rights and interests of media workers (cf. Nordenstreng, Ng'wanakilala 1987, p. 10). However, its institutionalisation has never come into being.

In the mid-1980s, the discussions about NWICO became silent since UNESCO was endangered by disintegration. Then, the USA (1984) and Great Britain (1985) resigned their membership because they were not longer willing to accept UNESCO's ideological emphasis and „anti-Western" policies. In the case of Tanzania, NWICO has merely been a theoretical conception anyway. SHIHATA has continued to play a subordinated role in the global media market since its establishment. One reason for this might be that the technical equipment of the news agency is deplorable. Even in August 1996, the director, Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, had to use an antiquated 286-based PC donated by IPS. In addition, the news agency did not have access to the WWW since the first Internet providing firm of the country, Futurenet (Tanzania) Limited, was only established in mid-July 1996 (cf. *The Express*, No. 377, August 1<sup>st</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 9).

Another serious problem is related to the liberalisation of the Tanzanian media sector. Many news people have left SHIHATA to join private mass media because of better money-making opportunities. According to the Tanzanian salary scheme, the monthly minimum pay of a governmental employee in 1996 was US-\$ 53

(TSh 30,000) exclusive allowances<sup>54</sup>. In comparison, a journalist employed with the daily *Majira* earned at least US-\$ 260 (TSh 150,000) per month (cf. Interview with Theophil Makunga, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1996). As a consequence, the number of employees has declined from 500 in 1976 to 120 (cf. Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, July 25<sup>th</sup> 1996).

All these difficulties have led to rumours that the government plans to disband the news agency and to strengthen the Tanzania Information Services instead (cf. *The Guardian*, No. 514, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 2). But Director Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala is convinced that the work of the news agency has to be continued: „*The mission of SHIHATA is still relevant. I think, the news agency should be owned by the media organisations themselves, both private and governmental.*“ (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, July 25<sup>th</sup> 1996)

Furthermore, Ng'wanakilala is of the opinion that SHIHATA should be run by only 20 people in order to raise money for the improvement of the agency's communication technology. Simultaneously, the news agency is watching for new outlets. In addition to agency's hitherto published newspapers, *The Frontliner* and *SHIHATA News Panorama*, Ng'wanakilala proposes to edit two monthlies: whereas *The Times of Tanzania* is planned as a general-interest magazine, the Swahili-language *Uchungu wa Mwana* (The Pain of the Child) will deal with parental issues, such as child care and medical welfare (cf. *ibid.*).

### **6.3.7 The Role of Mass Media during the Kagera War**

Tanzania's relationship with its north-western neighbouring country, Uganda, became strained when President Milton Obote was overthrown by the commander-in-chief of the army, Idi Amin Dada, on January 25<sup>th</sup> 1971. Obote fled to Tanzania, where he and other opposition leaders, such as the current President Yoweri Museveni, were granted asylum. On September 17<sup>th</sup> 1972, a small army of about 1,000 supporters of Obote began an invasion of Uganda from Tanzania, but by September 20<sup>th</sup>, they had been defeated. Subsequently, Uganda's Air Force bombed the Lake Victoria towns of Bukoba and Mwanza. On October 5<sup>th</sup> 1972, Tanzania and Uganda signed a cease-fire agreement in Mogadishu. But after the East African Community had collapsed in 1977, the

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<sup>54</sup> The basic salary of *Uhuru* journalists was even less. In 1996, they only earned TSh 22,000 (US-\$ 40) per month (cf. Interview with Josiah Mufungo, August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996).

tensions escalated, and Amin started to claim on several occasions that Tanzania was intending to invade Uganda again. On October 30<sup>th</sup> 1978, Idi Amin sent his troops into northern Tanzania occupying the Kagera Salient as well as bombing the ports of Bukoba and Musoma.

A few days later, on November 2<sup>nd</sup>, President Julius Nyerere, who was also the commander-in-chief of the Tanzanian army, declared war on Uganda in a 15-minutes broadcast from the Diamond Jubilee Hall in Dar es Salaam:

*„(...) now what is to be done? We have only one task. It is to hit him. We have the ability to hit him. And we have the determination to do so. We want the world to understand this clearly that we have no other task. We ask our friends who are offering to mediate to stop these efforts (...). I'm therefore asking all the people to understand the task ahead of us and to render all support to our forces wherever we are. We shall tell you what to do at all times and keep you informed of the progress of the war until this vile snake is moved from our house.“* (Quoted from Abdallah 1990, p. 7)

This speech was repeated as many times as possible, and, as a consequence, *„(...) the whole nation went into a frenzy: Idi Amin (the snake) must go.“* (Moshiro 1990, p. 28) By using classic propaganda tactics, radio - more than any other medium - drew the people's attention to the invasion from Uganda. Interviews, reports from eyewitnesses, and commentaries tried to make clear that the life and property of virtually every Tanzanian citizen were endangered. Moreover, the coverage on Uganda's front activities produced the impression that *„(...) the enemy was bent on destroying Tanzania just to please the aggressor's ego (...) and no one could tell when he would stop his madness.“* (Moshiro 1990, p. 27) Five weeks later, the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) liberated the salient, but the retreating Ugandans left a trail of murder, looting and destruction.

Nevertheless, Nyerere realised that the TPDF was yet too weak to dare a Tanzanian counter-offensive. Therefore, RTD was utilised to recruit new soldiers and to get them to the border (cf. *ibid.*). In January 1979, a force of 20,000 members of the TPDF, some Mozambican army units, and 1,200 Ugandan exiles started the counter-attack.

To support the military venture, RTD transmitted programmes in the major languages of Uganda into the war zone. Top broadcasters were sent to the front to report on a daily basis. News casts, songs, and poetry on the war formed the major proportion of the contents on all channels of the radio station (cf. *ibid.*).

But also the press played an important role during the war. Politicians utilised the to print media to motivate Tanzanians to support the forces energetically. For example, cattle and grain were collected in villages to help feed the troops, and trucks were requisitioned to maintain supplies. Furthermore, the newspapers admonished the civilians to adhere to basic values, such as unity, honesty, and unselfishness, in their day-to-day activities (cf. Abdallah 1990, p. 8).

The Tanzanian army inflicted heavy losses on the Ugandans and advanced to Kampala. On April 11<sup>th</sup> 1979, the Ugandan capital was captured, and, two days later, Yusufu Lule was installed as new president with Nyerere's blessing.

### **6.3.8 Press Gags and Broadcasting Regulations**

Immediately after Tanganyika had gained its independence, Julius Nyerere decided to adhere to the British press ordinances for the time being. This was a quite surprising fact since the TANU leader himself had fallen a victim to the colonial sedition law in 1958 (→ 5.7). Notwithstanding, Nyerere compared the young nation to a country at war and claimed that in wartime newspapers would have to accept certain limitations on their freedom everywhere (cf. Wilcox 1977, p. 25). Subsequently, prosecution for falsehood and libel had occasionally been threatened and editors warned of their responsibility to „tell the truth“ (cf. Bates 1964, p. 443). This was enough to point out that criticism might not be tolerated, and, as a consequence, most journalists decided to let the scissors in their heads work.

Besides the often committed self-censorship, public information was largely free from government control and interference by that time. As a matter of fact, the preamble of the Tanzanian Interim Constitution of 1965 included freedom of expression as one of the fundamental human rights, though freedom of the press was not explicitly guaranteed (cf. Foreign Area Studies [FAS] of the American University 1968, p. 251). But then, the government's attitudes changed rapidly. After the nationalisation of RTD on March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965, President Nyerere explained the role of the national broadcasting station: „*Radio Tanzania is owned by the Government. Its broadcasts must therefore conform with the general policies of the Government, at home and abroad.*“ (Quoted from Magayane 1988, p. 56)

As a result, the control of RTD was handed over to TANU's Mass Media Committee. The director, who has been appointed by the president since then, and the chief news editor became ex-officio members of the committee. Thus, the party was enabled to influence the transmissions. Mauricey Samwilu Mwaffisi (cf. 1985, p. 143) claims that the senior staff became so much socialised with the TANU and, later, CCM ideology that they developed a sixth sense for what was tolerated on air or not. However, pressure from the party or the government never resulted in forced resignation of individual announcers, though broadcasters sometimes were punished with suspension (cf. *ibid*, p. 145).

On the other side, a private person could sue RTD for libel after he/she obtained the consent of the Minister of Justice in accordance to Section 9 of the Government Proceedings Act of 1967. Mwaffisi (cf. *ibid.*, p. 136) recalls the case of the Njohole Jazz Band which sued RTD for broadcasting defamatory statements against the music group. The band won substantial libel damages amounting to US-\$ 31,250.

On the eve of the Arusha Declaration, it became obvious that also the press was facing tougher times. In 1966, President Nyerere expressed the view that freedom of expression had to be limited in the interests of more important goals since it could be perverted to promote attitudes and actions that would be detrimental to the country's newly adopted policy of socialism (cf. Kaplan 1978, p. 118). The declaration itself determined the nationalisation of the print media (→ 6.3).

A domestic incident in late 1967 caused a drastic aggravation of the existing press law. The former Minister of Foreign Affairs and TANU's secretary general, Oscar Kambona, had to leave Tanzania after he had lost an internal power struggle. From his exile in London, he straightforwardly criticised Nyerere and TANU. Subsequently, his comments were published by the Swahili weekly *Ulimwengu* which belonged to his brother Otini Kambona. Nyerere's hands were tied since there were no legal measures to stop these attacks. Thus, the government made short work of it. In December 1967, Otini Kambona and his brother Mattiya were arrested, and, as a result, *Ulimwengu* disappeared<sup>55</sup> (cf. Mytton 1983, p. 104).

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<sup>55</sup> On February 5<sup>th</sup> 1978, the first anniversary of the foundation of CCM, President Nyerere ordered the release of 7,000 petty criminals and 22 detainees. Among the latter were Otini and Mattiya Kambona (cf. Amnesty International Publications 1978, p. 87)

In order to prevent similiar affairs in future, in 1968, the government introduced the Newspaper Ordinance (Amendment) Bill which was based on the colonial press laws of 1928 and 1952 (→ 5.7). The new decree empowered the president to direct the cessation of newspapers if they were - in his opinion - against the public interest. By enacting this amendment, the government did not want to eliminate criticism at all, but it tried to make clear that no questioning of the basic tenets of the countries policies was tolerated (cf. Mytton 1976, pp. 201 and 213).

According to Graham L. Mytton, Nyerere's interpretation of press freedom was closely related to Marxist ideas:

*„The view that freedom of the press was a necessary part of freedom of speech for all was rejected. Freedom of the press was a powerful privilege that could actually be used against other freedoms which were the property of the people as a whole. In the nature of things, only a tiny minority had the control of, or access to, the press to be able to exercise this power. In Tanzania, the Government had control of most of the media and claimed to exercise this control on behalf of the workers and peasants in order to enhance their freedom and not to restrict it. The Government refused to accord the privately-owned press the right to claim absolute freedom of expression since this right could be used against the majority who were voiceless and who could easily be confused and exploited as a result.“* (Mytton 1976, pp. 213 - 214)

In 1970, the National Security Act came into force. One of the law's major aims was to prevent journalists and other people from the publication of information on Tanzanian defence and security arrangements which might be of interest to an aggressor (cf. Konde 1984, p. 3). In the same year, on the occasion of the nationalisation of *The Standard*, Julius Nyerere defined the objectives and functions of the government press (→ 6.3.1).

Then, in 1971, the editor of the Catholic fortnightly *Kiongozi* was arrested and fined. His paper had run a critical article saying that too many young girls were becoming pregnant while in the National Service (cf. Wilcox 1982, p. 865).

At TANU's First Mass Media Seminar held in Arusha in November 1973, the chairman of the conference, President Nyerere, elucidated the tasks of the Tanzanian media in his inaugural address on November 5<sup>th</sup>:

*„Kwamba Vyombo vyetu vya Habari lazima vitekeleze Siasa yetu, lazima visaidie katika kutekeleza Siasa yetu, ama sivyo si vyombo vyetu. (...) Lazima Vyombo vyetu vya Habari viendeleee kuwa na uhuru na kueleza*

*Wananchi mambo yanyotokea na kuwaelimisha Wananchi katika mambo ambayo yanaweza kutokea, kwa shabaha ile ile ya kusukuma mbele Siasa ya Chama, na mipango ya Serikali ya kutekeleza Siasa hiyo ama sivyo Siasa ya Chama inaweza ikabadilishwa na watu na Vyombo vikaendelea kuimba tu.*<sup>56</sup> (Quoted from Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania 1977, p. 4)

On April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1976, The Newspaper Act was passed by parliament (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1976a). The law, which was still in force at the time of research (July/August 1996), took the requirement for registration and the execution of a bond from the Newspaper Ordinance and combined them with the offence of sedition from the Penal Code - a decree which can also be traced back to the era of British administration. Indeed, the Tanzanian government went further by adding - in the opinion of the lawmakers - „revolutionary improvements“ to The Newspaper Act and the Newspaper Regulations, a supplementary law legislated on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1977. The new provisions gave considerable authorities to the president, the minister in charge of the information sector, and the registrar to control, ban, or prohibit the publication or the importation of newspapers. These powers were of a highly subjective character, and, thus, they could not be challenged in court easily (cf. Shivji 1993a, pp. 2 - 3).

Accordingly, with reference to Section 25, the minister could ban a newspaper if - in his opinion - this was in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order. In respect of Section 27, the president could prohibit the importation of any publication if - from his point of view - the print medium was detrimental to the public interest. Moreover, Section 12 empowered the registrar to refuse the registration of a newspaper when:

*„it appears to him that such newspaper is being or is likely to be used for any purpose prejudicial to, or incompatible with the maintenance of peace, order and good government.“* (Quoted from Shivji 1993a, p. 3)

Relating to Section 15, the minister was given the right to cancel the registration of a newspaper if he was convinced that the publication:

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<sup>56</sup> „Since it is essential that our mass media carry out our policy, they must support us to execute our policy, otherwise they are not our mass media. (...) It is necessary that our mass media continue to be free in order to explain current affairs to our compatriots and to teach them in things which might happen, such as support of the party policy and the government plans to realise this policy; Otherwise, the party policy cannot be modified by the people, and the media proceed to sing only.“

*„is being used or is likely to be used for unlawful purposes, or for any purpose prejudicial to or incompatible with the maintenance of peace, order and good government.“* (Quoted from Shivji 1993a, p. 4)

Legal experts, such as the Tanzanian jurist Issa Shivji (cf. *ibid.*), took offence at the spongy definitions of The Newspaper Act which threw the door open for arbitrary decisions. De facto, the law enabled the government to ban any publication without a warrant and to withdraw the licence at any time (cf. Mwakikoti 1992, p. 102).

The other device of the ordinance of 1976 was dealing with the offence of sedition which was considered a political violation. Accordingly, any author, editor, and distributor of seditious material was liable to criminal prosecution (cf. Shivji 1993b, p. 1). Soon after The Newspaper Act was passed by parliament, several news people were arrested or fined. The 1977 report of the International Press Institute (IPI) mentioned that six Tanzanian journalists were imprisoned during the year (cf. Richter 1978, p. 186).

The second prop of the Tanzanian media law effective at the time of research (July/August 1996) was the constitution of 1977. According to Article 18, freedom of expression was defined as follows:

*„(1) Bila kuathiri sheria za nchi, kila mtu yuko huru kuwa na maoni yoyote na kutoa nje mawazo yake, na kutafuta, kupokea na kutoa habari na dhana zozote kupitia chombo chochote bila ya kujali mipaka ya nchi, na pia ana uhuru wa mawasiliano yake kutoingiliwa kati.*

*(2) Kila raia anayo haki ya kupewa taarifa wakati wote kuhusu matukio mbalimbali nchini na duniani kote ambayo ni muhimu kwa maisha na shughuli za wananchi, na pia juu ya masuala muhimu kwa jamii.<sup>57</sup>*  
(Quoted from Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Habari na Utangazaji 1993, p. 1)

As a matter of fact, the constitution granted freedom of expression to every person, whether he/she was a journalist or not<sup>58</sup>. In addition, it guaranteed the

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<sup>57</sup> „(1) Without jeopardising the laws of the country, everyone is free to express any opinion, to reveal his/her views, and to seek, receive, and disseminate any information and ideas through any medium regardless of the country’s frontiers. Moreover, he/she is entitled to freedom from interference in his/her correspondence.

(2) At any time, every citizen has the right to be informed about various events in the country and around the world, which are important for his/her life and the activity of the people, and also about important social issues.“

<sup>58</sup> On May 31<sup>st</sup> 1982, Tanzania signed the The African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights („Banjul Charter“) which came into force as provided by Article 63 (3) on October 21<sup>st</sup> 1986

freedom of running and publishing mass media (cf. Shivji 1993c, p. 2). Nevertheless, Article 18 was construed in conformity to the guidelines of a socialist state. From a Western point of view, freedom of speech did not exist:

*„In a country where there is disease, poverty and ignorance, it will be catastrophic if the mass media were left on their own to print and broadcast as they pleased in the name of the western so-called freedom of the press, disregarding national pressing needs.“* (Ng'wanakilala 1981, p. 47)

As a result, it was extremely difficult for private editors to launch newspapers. The only independent periodicals obtaining the permission to register were religious print media<sup>59</sup>. For example, in March 1987, the businessman A. G. Leopold established *Africa Baraza* (The African Council) which was the first weekly in post-colonial Tanzania published by a private person. But only a few hours after the first issue had rolled off the presses, all available copies were confiscated by the police. Until then, the paper was reported to have been selling like „hotcakes“ (cf. Hachten 1993, p. 38).

#### **6.4 Mass Media and the Democratisation Process**

After the political changes in Eastern Europe and the subsequent global alterations, many African countries started to step towards a multi-party democracy. In the case of Tanzania, the first discussions about the adaptation of political pluralism can be traced back to the late 1980s. Since then, the role of the media in „Mageuzi“ has been in the centre of interest.

One of the first signs for the new political orientation was a workshop on „Press Freedom in Tanzania“ taking place in Dar es Salaam on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1990. The event was organised by the Tanzania Standard (Newspaper) Ltd. which was responsible for the publication of *Daily News*, *Sunday News*, *Sportscene*, and the *Weekend Magazine*. For the first time, both private and governmental journalists had the possibility to consult each other in regard to the future of the Tanzanian press, and most of them rejected the assertion that Tanzania enjoyed freedom of

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(cf. Umozurike 1992, p. 3). Accordingly, Article 9 says: „1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information. 2. Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law.“ (United Nations, Centre for Human Rights 1990, p. 7)

<sup>59</sup> According to Michael Okema (cf. 1996, p. 105), Church publications were not banned since they enjoyed good connections to the government, and, furthermore, the negative consequences of prohibiting a religious paper would have outweighed any advantages.

expression. For instance, the editor of the political magazine *Fahari*, Fred Jim Mdoe, blamed the country's security officials who - in his opinion - harassed both readers and publishers when articles not convenient for them appeared. Furthermore, Mdoe complained about the seizure of *Fahari* by security personnel who had not even informed the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The paper had run a story on the former Zanzibar Chief Minister, Seif Shariff Hamad, in January 1990 (cf. *Daily News*, No. 3277, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1990, p. 3).

On the contrary, Ahmed Hassan Diria, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, explained why the so-called „President's Charter“ of 1970 (→ 6.3.1) was still relevant for Tanzania's print media:

*„It is our hope that the Tanzania media, both public and private, will tell the truth without fear, favour or prejudice while at the same time upholding Tanzania's national interest. For, press freedom in this nation, as in other nations, must go hand in hand with social concern and responsibility. There is press freedom in Tanzania and that freedom can be improved upon. Debate on the concept of press freedom, therefore, should not preoccupy us too much.“* (Quoted from *Daily News*, No. 3277, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1990, p. 3)

Hence, it was quite surprising that *Daily News* came out with a seven-column banner headline on the front-page claiming „No Press Freedom in Tanzania“ in the following morning. As a matter of fact, this was the outset of a new era in Tanzania's journalism, though President Ali Hassan Mwinyi said on a visit to the Tanzania Journalists Association (TAJA) in February 1992: *„Feel free within the framework of our laws, traditions and beliefs, but you must take to heart the interests of the nation.“* (Quoted from Lederbogen 1992, p. 30).

#### **6.4.1 Legal Prerequisites**

The Tanzanian democratisation process de facto started on February 27<sup>th</sup> 1991 when President Ali Hassan Mwinyi appointed a commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the United Republic, Francis L. Nyalali. The so-called „Nyalali Commission“ was given one year to collate the people's views on the debate whether Tanzania should continue with the single-party system or adopt political pluralism. Furthermore, the commission was assigned to analyse the laws of the country in order to evaluate their compatibility with the new political direction (cf. Msekwa 1995, p. 5).

On February 17<sup>th</sup> 1992, Nyalali accomplished his task by presenting the full report to Mwinyi. Indeed, there were some high-explosive findings, especially in regard to the media system. The commission recommended that The Tanzania News Agency Act No. 14 of 1976 (→ 6.3.6) should be amended in a way that SHIHATA retained the right to distribute and disseminate news but without preventing other agencies or persons from doing the same. Moreover, The Newspaper Act No. 3 of 1976 and The Zanzibar Newspaper Act No. 5 of 1988 (→ 7.7) were regarded as contradiction to Article 18 (1) of both the union and the Zanzibar constitutions:

*„These Acts refuse to recognize the importance of newspapers in society. Newspapers are an important vehicle of development in the country. Newspapers should enjoy complete freedom without being overwhelmed by any organ of the State.“* (The United Republic of Tanzania 1992a, p. 168)

As an alternative, Nyalali suggested the establishment of a press council which should not be controlled by the state but by the journalists, newspaper agents, and printers themselves. In reality, these proposals were only partly translated into action: whereas The Tanzania News Agency Act was amended on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1992, both newspaper ordinances were still in force at the time of research (July/August 1996).

Tanzania officially became a multi-party state on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1992. Earlier that year, on April 7<sup>th</sup>, the National Assembly had approved the bill to amend the constitution for this purpose (cf. Mmuya, Chaligha 1992, p. 112). The first pluralistic elections in the history of independent Tanzania were scheduled to take place at the end of 1992, but later, they were postponed to October 1995.

In March 1993, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija, made an attempt to regulate the activities of the already mushrooming private press by tabling the Media Professions Regulation Bill. Shija explained:

*„The bill is intended to establish statutory mechanism for further safeguarding of the fundamental human right to information. It is desired that in order for the right to information to be meaningfully enjoyed, the media for the collection, dissemination and circulation of information should be so organised and regulated as to be genuinely free and publicly responsible. For that purpose it is proposed to set up a social machinery for the operation of media professions, as well as a body to oversee the working of that machinery.“* (Quoted from Shivji 1993b, p. 3)

The provisions of the bill revolved round two major pivots: the process of registration of news people and the establishment of a media council. Shija proposed that anyone employed with a media organisation had to be registered. In order to make a journalist eligible for registration, he/she had to be suitably qualified. In other words, Clause 8 (1) demanded from applicants to hold a certificate, degree, diploma, or other qualifications in an „appropriate field“. But even if a candidate was qualified in accordance with Clause 8 (1), the council - in reference to Clause 8 (2) - could reject his/her application until it was not convinced „(...) *that his professional and general conduct render him a fit and proper person to be registered.*“ (Quoted from Shivji 1993b, p. 4)

In fact, the organ which ultimately held the power to set down qualifications for registration was not the media council but the Minister of Information and Broadcasting himself. In respect of Clause 37 (1) (a), the council was authorised to prescribe appropriate evidences of qualifications making a person eligible for registration by passing by-laws. But since the council could not pass by-laws without the consent of the minister, Shivji enabled himself to influence the registration process decisively. Further arrangements empowered the minister to entitle persons to register „*notwithstanding the requirements prescribed by this Act*“ (Clause 36 [1] [d]) and to „*exempt any person or category of persons or the practise of any specified aspect of the media professions from any or all of the provisons of this Act*“ (Clause 33) (Quoted from Shivji 1993 b, p. 5).

In addition, the media council was given the right to deregister news people on certain grounds which were not specified in the bill. But the minister was delegated to indicate them through regulations. The council was directed to carry out an inquiry before deregistration. While the person concerned had the right to be heard, he/she was not allowed to be represented by an advocate. Appeals against the decision of the council lay with the High Court (cf. *ibid.*).

Another important organ was the registrar who had to carry out the day-to-day functions of the media council. He/she was appointed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, who was also empowered to prescribe the registrar's duties from time to time. In clear, the registrar received his/her instructions from the minister and not from the members of the council (cf. *ibid.*, p. 6).

However, the Media Professions Regulation Bill has never been implemented since the Tanzanian public was not willing to accept another draconian law while politicians were talking about the advancements of the democratisation process. The protests were led by private publishers who obtained support from international organisations, such as the International Press Institute (IPI) in Vienna, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Windhoek, or the Paris-based International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) (cf. Tegambwage 1993).

The Mwanza paper *Weekly Mail* (cf. Vol. 01, No. 11, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1993, p. 23) considered the bill an instrument to licence journalists, and even the government-owned *Daily News* published a statement of the managing director of the *Business Times*, Rashid Mbuguni, saying:

*„The establishment of the Media Council which will be government-controlled will put newspapers under its direct supervision, something the entire media is bound to reject.“* (Quoted from *Daily News*, No. 5726, August 25<sup>th</sup> 1993, p. 1)

Moreover, the bill was harshly criticised by academics and parliamentarians as a thinly veiled attempt to curb the newly independent media. The negative response was so overwhelming that the government decided to withdraw the Media Professions Regulation Bill in September 1993 (cf. *Family Mirror*, No. 110, Second Issue/September 1993, p. 1). It was the first time in the history of Tanzania that the government gave way to public demands.

Earlier that year, on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1993, the Broadcasting Services Act had been passed by the National Assembly. Through this ordinance, which came into force on June 11<sup>th</sup> 1993, Tanzania was among the first African countries which laid the legal groundwork for licensing both private radio and television stations (cf. Maja-Pearce, Adewale [ed.] 1995, p. 298).

One of the most substantial issues of the Broadcasting Services Act was the foundation of the the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission (Section 5 [1]) which came into being on November 15<sup>th</sup> 1993. The functions of the commission are prescribed in Section 6 (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1993, p. 4):

- to issue broadcasting licences;
- to regulate and supervise broadcasting activities, including but not limited to the relaying of sound, radio, and television programmes from places in

Tanzania to places outside Tanzania with the intention that such broadcasts are received regularly in the United Republic or any part of it;

- to maintain a register of all persons licenced as broadcasters, dealers in broadcasting apparatus, or operators of broadcasting stations;
- to regulate the activities of broadcasters and their conduct of broadcasting as well as that of dealers in broadcasting apparatus;
- to be responsible for the standardisation, planning, and management of the frequency spectrum available for broadcasting and to allocate such spectrum resources in a way to ensure the widest possible diversity of programming and optimal utilisation of the spectrum resources, giving priority where possible to the broadcaster transmitting the maximum number of hours per day and to community-based broadcasters.

Section 8 deals with the establishment of a commission secretariat headed by the registrar who is appointed by the minister responsible for the information sector.

The licensing procedure is determined in Sections 9 to 12. Accordingly, an application for a licence may be made only by (cf. *ibid.*, p. 7):

- a citizen of the United Republic;
- a company of whose shares at least 51 % are beneficially owned by a citizen or citizens of the United Republic and which is not, directly or indirectly, controlled by persons who are not citizens of the United Republic and whose principal place of business or registered office is in the United Republic.

Only if the commission is convinced that a candidate meets the requirements of the act, a licence for radio and television broadcasting is granted for a period not exceeding three and five years, respectively. Regarding the renewal of a licence, an appropriate application has to be made within three months preceding the last three months before the date of expiry of the existing permission (cf. *ibid.*, p. 10).

Finally, Sections 13 to 16 include provisions for the co-ordination and supervision of broadcasting. In respect of Section 13, it shall be the duty of every person holding a broadcasting licence (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 10 - 11):

- to present all news in a factually accurate, impartial, and non-partisan manner;
- to present current affairs in a balanced, clear, factual, accurate, and impartial manner;

- to encourage the development of Tanzanian and African expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Tanzanian and African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, and artistic creativity by displaying Tanzanian and African cultures and entertainment programmes;
- to serve the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Tanzanian men, women, and children in a democratic Tanzanian society;
- to produce and maintain programmes of high standards;
- to make maximum use of Tanzania's creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming;
- to limit advertisements to a maximum of 30 percent of the total daily broadcasting time;
- to contribute through programming to shared national consciousness, identity, and continuity;
- to provide programming that caters for culture, arts, sports, and education pertaining to Tanzania and Africa;
- to comply with generally accepted standards of journalistic ethics in the editing of any programme to be broadcast as formulated in the Code of Conduct for the Media Professions;
- to keep and store sound and video recordings of all programmes for a minimum period of three months after the date of transmission of the broadcast or for such further period as the commission may direct;
- to disclose the name of the producers of every programme at the end of the transmission of a programme;
- to respect copyright and neighbouring rights obligations in respect of any broadcast material.

If the commission is of the opinion that these conditions and duties have been violated by a person holding a broadcasting licence, it may - in accordance with Section 14 - issue an order (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 11 - 12):

- warning the licence holder;
- directing the licence holder to effect a programme change within a period not longer than thirty days from the date of receipt of the directions;
- instructing the licence holder to disclose, free of charge in such manner as the commission may direct, the finding of the commission;
- imposing a fine on the licence holder, not exceeding TSh 1,000,000 (US-\$ 1760 in 1996);

- suspending the broadcasting licence for a period determined by the commission;
- revoking the broadcasting license.

However, international human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International, consider the Broadcasting Services Act a restrictive law since it empowers the Broadcasting Commission to „(...) *discipline and ban journalists and media outlets within the electronic media in the ‘public interest’ or in the interests of ‘national security’.*“ (Amnesty International Publications 1995, p. 6).

### 6.4.2 Consequences for the Press Sector



**Figure 22:** The first private weekly in independent Tanzania, the *Business Times*, came off the presses on November 4<sup>th</sup> 1988.

One of the most obvious results of the Tanzanian democratisation process has been the flourishing newspaper industry. After the publication of *Africa Baraza* had failed in March 1987 (→ 6.3.8), the *Business Times* became the first private weekly after independence. The paper was published by Rashid Mbuguni on November 4<sup>th</sup> 1988, and, since then, it has mainly concentrated on economic and political issues. But at the very beginning, the founding editor, Fili Karashani, rejected political coverage for the simple reason that he was afraid of the newspaper's confiscation. During the following years, this journalistic behaviour became also

very popular among other publishers. Considering the weak performances of the private press at that time, Ndimara Tegambwage accused the journalists of irresponsibility and demanded their commitment to the people's emancipation:

*„The silence on many issues, the publication of funny and sloppy material under the guise of ‘entertainment’, is a kind of escapism for which owners of the private press must be severely censured. Not only do these newspapers and magazines negate their role, they also serve to tell the public that ‘those things don’t matter’.“ (Tegambwage 1990, p. 35)*

But the whole situation changed when Ali Hassan Mwinyi’s government implemented the multi-party system on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1992. Suddenly, the registration of private publications was not longer resisted. Whereas the Tanzanian press sector consisted of only 119 print media in 1986, there were already 180 publications in 1991. And the upward trend continued: the official press directory of 1994 listed 251 periodicals, and, in July 1996, the Tanzania Information Services had even registered 323 newspapers and magazines (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1986 and 1994; Lederbogen 1992, p. 74)<sup>60</sup>.

The most significant outcome of the press boom was the increasing number of daily newspapers. For a period of 17 years, Tanzania had only two dailies, the government’s *Daily News* and the party paper *Uhuru*. But in August 1996, there were already nine of them.

**Table 19:** Situation of the Daily Press in August 1996

<b>Title</b>	<b>Owner</b>	<b>Editor</b>	<b>Date of Foundation</b>	<b>Print Run</b>
<i>Uhuru</i>	Uhuru Publications Ltd.	Josiah Mufungo	Dec. 9 <sup>th</sup> 1961	26,000
<i>Daily News</i>	Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Ltd.	Charles Rajabu	April 26 <sup>th</sup> 1972	15,000
<i>Majira</i>	Business Times Ltd.	Sammy Makilla	Dec. 27 <sup>th</sup> 1993	50,000
<i>Nipashe</i>	The Guardian Ltd.	Vumi Urasa	April 21 <sup>st</sup> 1994	20,000
<i>The Guardian</i>	The Guardian Ltd.	Wallace Muggo	Jan. 1 <sup>st</sup> 1995	10,000
<i>Mtanzania</i>	Mtanzania Ltd.	Johnson	Sept. 11 <sup>th</sup> 1995	20,000

<sup>60</sup> In the press directories of 1970/71 and 1981, only 34 and 77 publications were recorded, respectively (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1970/71, 1981).

		Mbwambo		
<i>Dar Leo</i> <sup>61</sup>	Business Times Ltd.	Sopa Kastico	March 4 <sup>th</sup> 1996	6,000
<i>Alasiri</i>	The Guardian Ltd.	Lucas Mnubi	April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1996	20,000
<i>Sunset</i>	The Guardian Ltd.	Lawrence Kilimwiko	April 28 <sup>th</sup> 1996	2,000

The first private daily was *Majira* (Time) which has maintained its leading position until today. According to News Editor Theophil Makunga, the paper's target group is „*the lower-class and common people who are neglected in economic, political, and social matters.*“ (Interview with Theophil Makunga, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1996) Consequently, *Majira*'s editorial policy is often hostile to the government.

Distribution offices were established in the major centres of the country except in the southern parts. As a result, Arusha, Mwanza, and Tanga get *Majira* in the morning, Dodoma and Morogoro in the late afternoon, and Mbeya and Iringa in the evening. Other regions receive the paper with a delay of one or two days (cf. *ibid.*).



**Figure 23:** After 17 years without a private daily, *Majira* relieved the Tanzanian population from one-sided news coverage.

*Majira* belongs to the Business Times Ltd. which is the major rival of The Guardian Ltd. - the press section of the Industrial Production Promotion (IPP) Ltd.. The establishment of IPP, which is one of the largest private companies in Tanzania, can be traced back to early 1982 when the entrepreneur Reginald Mengi launched a ball-point pen assembly business. Initially, much of the work was done by Mengi and his wife. In 1996, 700 people were employed with IPP and the company offered a wide range of everyday products, such as toiletries,

<sup>61</sup> Initially, the evening paper was published as *Majira Jioni* (The Evening Time) on October 1995, but the similarity of its name with the one of the mother paper led to confusion among the readership. Therefore, the daily was renamed *Dar Leo* (Dar Today) (cf. Interview with Irene Kakiziba, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1996).

household supplies, and stationeries. In addition to The Guardian Ltd. with its seven newspapers<sup>62</sup>, IPP possesses *Independent Television* and *Radio One* (→ 6.4.3). The editorial policy of the company's publications is defined as follows:

*„The Print Media will educate, inform and entertain. It will always aim to present information that is true and authenticated. It will endeavour to be fearless in the defence of truth, justice and fairness, and will accord the right of reply wherever it is merited.“* (Industrial Production Promotion [IPP] Limited 1994b, p. 1)

The Guardian Ltd. entered into competition with the Business Times Ltd. when Managing Director Vumi Urasa launched *Majira's* major rival, *Nipashe* (Tell Me the News), in April 1994 (cf. Interview with Wallace Muggo, August 20<sup>th</sup> 1996). The Business Times Ltd. tried to expand its leading position by the publication of an evening paper, but not even one month after the appearance of *Dar Leo*, The Guardian Ltd. countered with *Alasiri* (Afternoon) and, subsequently, *Sunset*. Both evening newspapers were sold for TSh 100 (18 cents) whereas *Dar Leo* cost TSh 200.

While the editorial offices of other daily newspapers, such as *Uhuru*, *Daily News*, or *Mtanzania*, are poorly equipped with antiquated typewriters, both The Guardian Ltd. and the Business Times Ltd. have modern newsrooms with computer networks. Moreover, the best journalists of the country work for one of these enterprises since the money-making opportunities are far above the others. Ayub Rioba, tutor at TSJ, even claims: *„These two companies are able and capable of syphoning any journalist from whichever medium, as long as they want him.“* (Rioba 1996a, p. 11)

The rise of the Business Times Ltd. and The Guardian Ltd. has caused the fall of *Uhuru* and *Daily News* which had a print run of 80,000 and 50,000 copies, respectively, in the pre-democratisation era. Since 1993, both papers have continued to struggle with several problems, such as the loss of readership, advertisers, and staff. One reason for this decline is the fact that the Tanzanian newspaper outlet is not big enough for nine dailies. The subsequent table reveals

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<sup>62</sup> Besides the above-mentioned dailies, in July 1996, The Guardian Ltd. published the weeklies *The Sunday Observer*, *Lete Raha* (Take a Rest), and *Taifa Letu* (Our Nation) which appeared on September 24<sup>th</sup> 1995, October 29<sup>th</sup> 1995, and November 5<sup>th</sup> 1995, respectively (cf. Interview with Lawrence Kilimwiko, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996).

that print media only play a minor role in the information of the population (cf. Deutsche Welle<sup>63</sup> 1994, p. 18):

**Table 20:** Frequency of Newspaper Reading in 1993

Frequency of Reading	Total	Urban areas	Rural areas
Today/yesterday	25.1 %	50.5 %	21.1 % <sup>64</sup>
Last week	31.2 %	30.5 %	31.4 %
Last month	7.7 %	3.3 %	8.4 %
Long time ago	13.3 %	3.7%	14.8 %
Never	18.5 %	10.3 %	19.8 %

Josiah Mufungo (cf. Interview on August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996), the acting editor of *Uhuru*, is convinced that the difficulties of his paper are also inherent in its political orientation - a fact which requires the redefinition of the editorial policy. Some changes have already become apparent:

*„It used to be that the picture of the CCM chairman was shown on every front-page, but now other topics get this chance. This is also because CCM ceased its financial support in 1991 when the paper was doing well. Today, the only way to survive is to stay in the middle of the road - between the party and the population.“* (Interview with Josiah Mufungo, August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996).

To most Tanzanians, *Uhuru* still conjures up the image of the party's mouthpiece. As a consequence, the paper's publishing company „Shirika la Magazeti ya Chama“ (The Party's Newspapers Corporation) was renamed „Uhuru Publications Ltd.“ on July 12<sup>th</sup> 1996 (cf. *ibid.*).

Also the state-owned *Daily News* is facing a number of different problems. Although the paper's debts are enormous, Managing Editor Charles Rajabu claims: *„Competition has not affected us so much so far.“* (Interview with Charles Rajabu, August 1<sup>st</sup> 1996) Moreover, in March 1996, *Daily News* had to reduce its run since its printing company, Southern Paper Mills (SPM), struggled with engine

<sup>63</sup> „Deutsche Welle“ obtains all its audience research data from the BBC. There have been five surveys since 1988. Before that, no permission had been granted for audience research at any time since the previous survey in 1974. (cf. Letter from Graham L. Mytton, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1998)

<sup>64</sup> Ullamaja Kivikuru (cf. 1989, p. 115), who carried out a survey on the media habits in nine villages in north-eastern Tanzania, gained nearly the same results: 23 % of the people asked answered that they had read a newspaper the day before.

failures. On March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1996, the newspaper did not appear at all for the first time in its history. But in other aspects, *Daily News* has succeeded to maintain its status. Unlike *Uhuru*, which lost 27 of a total of 40 journalists, only six of 35 news people left the English paper in order to join private media (cf. *ibid.*).

During the last years, the government has become more tolerant of criticism, though this change of attitude was not embodied in the legal system. The Newspaper Act is still in force, but the journalists know that they are allowed to tell the truth nowadays. Often they even overshoot the mark, as the *Business Times* reporter Jaston Binala admits: „*Sometimes we even go overboard. We say things which are really bullshit.*“ (Interview with Jaston Binala, July 27<sup>th</sup> 1996)

Indeed, the chasing after scoops and sensational stories has led to a severe decay of the paper's quality. Many Tanzanian media professionals and politicians are worried about this development:

*„It is during this period that a Kiswahili weekly is given a warning for publishing a front-page lead story saying ‘Nyerere ni mtu wa kuchinjwa’ (literally: Nyerere deserves to be slaughtered). It is during this period that a Kiswahili weekly comes out with a headline like ‘Ntimizi akampeni akiwa nusu uchi: Ajionyesha mfano halisi wa kiruka njia’ (literally: Ntimizi campaigns while she is half naked: She portrays herself as a real hooker). Ntimizi was a DC and a candidate for a parliamentary seat.“ (Rioba 1996a, pp. 8 - 9)*

As a result, the government started to ban publications and arrest publishers in accordance with The Newspaper Act of 1976 although President Ali Hassan Mwinyi had made the following promise:

*„I could not ban these newspapers simply because they had insulted me. I know by insulting me they were able to sell. And by selling, their children were able to get food and education.“ (Quoted from Rioba 1996a, p. 9)*

Nevertheless, the first victims were the monthlies *Cheka* (Smile) and *Michapo* (Whips) which were prohibited in early 1993. The corresponding Government Notice No. 8 of January 29<sup>th</sup> 1993 did not give any reason for the decision of the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija. It just read: „*It is hereby directed that the Newspapers specified in the Schedule of this Notice shall cease publication with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1993.*“ (Quoted from Shivji 1993a, p. 3).

One year later, on January 21<sup>st</sup> 1994, the Swahili weekly *Baraza* (Council) was closed down for breaching The Newspaper Act by not informing the government

that the paper had changed the printing company and by publishing „malicious news“. In addition, Editor Hassan Yahya was considered not qualified enough. The closure followed the publication of an article accusing the authorities of complicity in the death of a prominent Moslem leader, Kassim Juna, in police detention. After employing a new editor, *Baraza* reappeared on February 21<sup>st</sup> (cf. International Press Institute [IPI] 1994, p. 78).

Later that year, on March 10<sup>th</sup>, the English bi-weekly *The Express* ran a leading article headlined „Is Tanzania Big Garbage Dump?“ Subsequently, the editor, Pascal Shija, who had once worked for the state-owned *Daily News*, was taken from his office and held at the police station for more than 10 hours. The paper's publisher, Riyaz Gulamani, was also questioned by the police. Both were charged with publishing „seditious words with intent to bring hatred or excite disaffection against the government.“ (Quoted from International Press Institute [IPI] 1994, p. 78)

In October, *The Express'* sister paper, the Swahili *Mwananchi* (The Citizen), also fell foul of the authorities. Brandishing a story of July 18<sup>th</sup> related to the use of tear-gas cannisters at a mosque in Morogoro, security officials came for the reporter of the article, Alloyce Komba, three months after it was printed. Komba, a student journalist, was in work experience at Media Holdings (Tanzania) which was the publishing company of *The Express* and *Mwananchi*. The police picked him up in the early hours of October 11<sup>th</sup> and interrogated him throughout the morning. The security officials wielded a photocopy of a story headlined „*Msikiti wapigwa mabomu*“ (Mosque bombed). The publisher immediately dismissed the story in the police files as a fake (cf. *ibid.*).

On the eve of the first general elections, the government stepped up its pressure on the independent media by warning editors against publishing material which - in its opinion - violated journalistic ethics and instigated religious and tribal conflicts. The government let the Tanzanian media professionals know that stern measures would be taken against such newspapers (cf. *ibid.*).

Sammy Makilla, the editor of the Swahili daily *Majira*, and its publishers Rashidi Mbuguni and Richard Nyaulawa were charged with sedition and withholding information over government plans to buy radar equipment. The paper had run a story about the embezzlement of TSh 850,000,000 (US-\$ 1,550,000 in 1995) by government officials in a deal to purchase the new radar (cf. Rioba 1996a, p. 6).

Then, in the first week of July 1995, Home Affairs Minister Ernest banned all political cartoons. Moreover, on July 6<sup>th</sup>, Oliver Msuya and Yasin Sadiki, publisher and editor of the Swahili weekly *Shaba* (Copper), were arrested after the paper had run a leaked letter from the interior minister in which he said that he had been instructed to curb the activities of a leading opposition politician. Msuya and Sadiki were released on bail on July 10<sup>th</sup> without being formally charged (International Press Institute [IPI] 1995, p. 98).

In issue No. 81 of November 9<sup>th</sup> 1995, the Swahili weekly *Rafiki* carried a story which claimed that the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) were not satisfied with the general elections held on October 29<sup>th</sup>. Moreover, the paper added that the TPDF was awaiting an announcement of the winner by the National Electoral Commission „(...) *that the peace enjoyed by Tanzanians for many years was ended.*“ The article was regarded to be likely to cause „incivility“ in the army, and, accordingly, *Rafiki* was banned on November 21<sup>st</sup> 1995.

After a landslide victory in the general elections, the new president, Benjamin W. Mkapa, was sworn in on November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1995. In the course of his political career, Mkapa had been appointed to the most important posts of the Tanzanian media sector, i. e., he was editor of *The Nationalist*, *Daily News* and *Sunday News*, director of SHIHATA, and information minister. Thus, it was not astonishing that Mkapa addressed the news people in his maiden speech. Similar to his predecessors, the president told them that the media should feel free to criticise him when criticism was justified. But he would respect freedom of the media only within the limits of responsible journalism, he continued.

The elections had also caused a sudden increase in the quantity of print media. Accordingly, in October 1995, 45 new publications were registered out of which only 23 were still in operation in August 1996 (cf. Rioba 1996b, p. 10).

After the cabinet reshuffle of November 27<sup>th</sup> 1995, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was dissolved, and communication affairs were put under the auspices of the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Bakari Mbonde. Nevertheless, nothing has changed in regard to the government's attitude towards the private press. On July 19<sup>th</sup> 1996, the Swahili weekly *Heko* (Hurrah) was forced to cease publication after the paper had carried a reader's letter in the issue of June 30<sup>th</sup> saying: „*Tanzania hatujawahi kuwa na serikali tangu uhuru*“ (Tanzania

has failed to have a government since independence). Already in 1995, the paper had come into conflict with former President Mwinyi. Then, *Heko* had alleged that Mwinyi had been given a consignment of maize by residents of Shinyanga and Tabora (cf. *ibid.*). Nevertheless, after the paper had been banned, Heko Publishers Ltd. decided to publish important editorial contents in *Kalulu* - the company's paper for children's interest.



**Figure 24:** After *Heko* had been banned, the publishers showed wealth of invention and transferred editorial contents into the children's paper *Kalulu*.

Most Tanzanian media professionals consider the government's attempts to control the press a contradiction to „Mageuzi” and demand the repeal of The Newspaper Act. Even the editors of *Uhuru* and *Daily News*, Josiah Mufungo and Charles Rajabu, believe that the supervision of newspaper activities could be performed by an independent media council as proposed by the Nyalali Commission (→ 6.4.1).

As a matter of fact, the Independent Media Council of Tanzania, hereafter known as IMCT, was formed in June 1995 during a general convention of representatives from press organisations throughout the country.

The official inauguration took place on February 14<sup>th</sup> 1996. IMCT, which was constituted as a voluntary, autonomous, and non-statutory body, aims at enforcing professional ethics and protecting individuals against invasion of privacy. Although the council's power is based on moral authority, it can be given legal weight if IMCT testifies against an offender in court. The council has 13 members, seven from media institutions and five public representatives, and its chairman is the vice-chancellor of the Open University, Professor Geoffrey R. V. Mmari. But in August 1996, IMCT had still not taken up its work.

According to Kajubi Mukajanga (cf. 1996, p. 4), the chairman of the Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM), the council will also act as an ombudsman for news people. Until then, the interests of Tanzanian media workers will be safeguarded by several journalists organisations among which

AJM founded in 1994 is the most influential. Another is the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) formed in 1987 and registered as an NGO in 1988 with the objective of promoting positive images of women in the media. Moreover, TAMWA runs a women's and children's rights project offering legal assistance on issues relating to child custody, inheritance rights, rape, and assault. TAMWA also publishes the quarterly *Sauti ya Siti* (Madam's Voice) in order to reach and educate rural women<sup>65</sup>. Like elsewhere, journalism in Tanzania is a male domain. Only about a fifth of the media workers are women, three of them in leading positions (cf. *The Guardian*, No. 531, August 9<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 3; Interview with Irene Kakiziba, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1996).

Summing up, it may be attested that the Tanzanian print media are at a crossroads today. On the one hand, the news people are fighting for freedom from governmental interference, but, on the other hand, they are forgetting to serve a society which is moving towards democracy. Asked about the future role of the Tanzanian press, veteran journalist Fili Karashani answered:

*„This is a difficult question for a country with more than 120 ethnic groups and various religious pressure groups. I think, our newspapers should try to reach a new scope, to carry news from the grassroots. The press must represent the various civil societies and spread the spirit of tolerance, of working together. These goals can only be implemented by participation of the readers, for example through special columns, and the refusal to twist the facts.“* (Interview with Fili Karashani, July 28<sup>th</sup> 1996)

### **6.4.3 Competition among Radio Stations**

Before the Broadcasting Services Act was passed by parliament in 1993 (→ 6.4.1), RTD was the only radio station in Tanzania. The former Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija, defended the status quo by saying that a state monopoly on the electronic media was even the case in the greatest of democracies (cf. Okema 1996, p. 107). In respect of the audience, Kivikuru (cf. 1990, Appendix 1, p. 16) estimates that 1.5 to 2 million sets were in use by 1990. As can be derived from the following figures, RTD was by far the most important information source for the population (cf. Deutsche Welle 1994, p. 11):

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<sup>65</sup> Besides AJM and TAMWA, there were the following journalists' organisations in 1996: Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET), Tanzania Economic Writers Association (TEWA), Tanzania Journalists Association (TAJA), and Tanzania Sports Writers Association (TASWA).

**Table 21:** News Sources of the Tanzanian Population in 1992/93

News source	About Tanzania			About foreign countries		
	Total	Urban areas	Rural areas	Total	Urban areas	Rural areas
<b>RTD</b>	89.1 %	89.5 %	89.1 %	63.9 %	53.5 %	65.6 %
<b>Newspapers/ magazines</b>	63.5 %	75.0 %	61.7 %	59.4 %	67.2 %	58.2 %
<b>Foreign broad- casting stations<sup>66</sup></b>	26.3 %	23.8 %	26.8 %	47.6 %	53.5 %	46.7 %
<b>Personal conversations</b>	25.5 %	26.8 %	25.3 %	21.2 %	20.7 %	21.3 %
<b>Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar</b>	5.2 %	9.1 %	4.6 %	3.5 %	5.1 %	3.2%
<b>Television Zanzibar</b>	2.3 %	5.7 %	1.8 %	1.5 %	3.9 %	1.2 %
<b>Kenya TV</b>	0.3 %	0.1 %	0.4 %	0.7 %	2.4 %	0.4 %

But since private broadcasting has been granted by law, RTD has lost much of its audience, especially in Dar es Salaam. Also the national broadcasting station remained the market leader, reaching 85 % of the population in a week, it is challenged by the newly established services, Radio One (75 %) and „Radio Tumaini“ (Radio Faith, 26 %) (cf. BBC, International Broadcasting Audience Research 1995, p. 3). Particularly Radio One, which commenced broadcasting on a trial basis on January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1994 and opened its full service on July 11<sup>th</sup> of the same year, is very popular among young listeners (cf. Interview with Peter T. Mamu, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996). The station broadcasts on FM and can be received within a radius of 100 kilometres from the transmission point at Mikocheni. According to Director Mikidadi Mahmood, Radio One is „a happy radio station“ (Quoted from Msoka 1995, p. 3) devoted to greetings and music. In fact, the programme is contradictory to IPP’s formulated media policy which determines the priority of news stories over other contents (cf. Industrial Production Promotion [IPP] Ltd. 1994a, p. 2). However, in the eyes of the former director of RTD, David Wakati,

<sup>66</sup> In 1994, the most popular radio station from abroad was the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (58 %), followed by the BBC (48.2 %), „Deutsche Welle“ (28.6 %), Channel Africa (8.2 %), and Voice of America (3.4 %). The figures refer to „have listened at any time in the past twelve months.“ (cf. Deutsche Welle 1994, pp. 22 - 23).

Radio One meets exactly the interests of its target group: „*Young people think that the role of radio is that of a jukebox.*“ (Interview with David Wakati, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996)

On the contrary, the programme of the Catholic „Radio Tumaini“, which started broadcasting on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1994, is stressed on information, education, social development, and religious topics. In reference to Director Jean-Francois Galtier (cf. Interview on July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996), about 40 % of the broadcasts deal with news and current affairs. Whereas domestic reports are taken from RTD, international materials are provided by „Radio France International“ (RFI) (cf. Radio Tumaini 1996).

In order to compete with the new challenge, in 1994, RTD launched a special service for Dar es Salaam, City Radio. The station is on air daily from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. and has a weekly reach in 38 % (cf. BBC, International Broadcasting Audience Research 1995, p. 3). In addition to the old-established The National Service (daily from 5 a.m. - 12 p.m.) and The External Service (on weekdays: 6.30 a.m. - 7.30 a.m., 12.00 p.m. - 1.30 p.m., 6.30 p.m. - 10.15 p.m.; Sunday and public holidays: 6.30 a.m. - 7.30 a.m., 12.00 p.m. - 10.15 p.m.), RTD has also maintained separate programmes for Dodoma and Lindi with daily transmission hours from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m., respectively. Due to the increasing standards, Director Abdul Ngarawa (cf. Interview of August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996) plans to raise the number of employees from c. 500 to 777.

Further radio licenses were issued by the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation to the Moshi-based „Redio Sauti ya Injili“ (Radio Voice of the Gospel), Radio Free Afrika (RFA) in Mwanza, Radio Kwizera in Ngara, Radio Maria in Songea, and the United Radio Services (URS) in Arusha.

The first broadcasting station outside Dar es Salaam was „Redio Sauti ya Injili“ which belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). FM broadcasting started on a trial basis on November 27<sup>th</sup> 1994, and, in May 1995, Bishop Samson Mushemba inaugurated the programme transmissions. Asked about the beginnings of the Lutheran Radio Centre, as „Redio Sauti ya Injili“ is formally known, Acting Director Calvin K. Lyaro answered:

*„The beginning was tough. I was required to attend two seminars in Dar es Salaam. That Commissioners were greatly impressed with our outstanding expertise, equipment and experience. We have been on the SW*

*broadcasting since 1962 - only that we did not own any transmitters! We were also required to deposit with the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission TSh 300,000<sup>67</sup>. Another TSh 300,000 were annual fees! For 1996, the annual fees were raised to TSh 1.2 million! We are a charitable organisation, and this huge sum makes the Church very uncomfortable!” (Letter from Calvin K. Lyaro, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1996)*

As mentioned in the citation above, „Redio Sauti ya Injili” had already started broadcasting in 1962. The establishment of the Lutheran radio station was the consequence of the ambivalent relationship between the Church and the Tanzanian government:

*„(...) in most African countries the state under the fear of attack by strong Christian bodies, ensured that only a limited time – say 30 minutes a week – were offered to the clergy. Even then, close supervision by dictators who wielded power through single political parties, was meted on all such ‘extra curricular’ broadcasts. Air time was granted free of charge as a sign of good friendship from the state. The Churches’ alternative was to reciprocate cordially: no criticism to ensure smooth broadcasting time. Poverty prevented the Church from buying air time from state radio. (...) It was under these ‘status quo of state vs Church’ that the Lutheran Church of Tanganyika decided to use Kiswahili radio programmes to reach its seven Churches in 1962. The few minutes granted to her over Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation were far from adequate.” (Lyaro 1996, pp. 1 - 2)*

Due to the lack of adequate premises, the studio was accommodated in the Mwika Bible School. But since the station did not have its own transmitters, the Swahili programmes were shipped to Addis Ababa where Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) had been on air since 1961. The first director of „Redio Sauti ya Injili” was Rev. Fred Baglo, a Canadian, and, in 1964, the studio was shifted to Moshi. After the nationalisation of RVOG by the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam in March 1977, the programme of „Redio Sauti ya Injili” was transmitted by FEBA<sup>68</sup> until 1978. Then, in 1979, ELCT and Trans World Radio signed an agreement which enabled the Lutheran Radio Centre to broadcast 75 minutes per day from Manzini in Swaziland. As a matter of fact, this arrangement was still in force in June 1996 since the station’s own transmitter merely covered an area within a radius of 50 kilometres (cf. Lyaro 1996, pp. 1 - 3).

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<sup>67</sup> In 1996, TSh 300,000 came to US-\$ 530.

<sup>68</sup> The Far East Broadcasting Associates (FEBA) on the Seychelles went on air in 1970. FEBA is a group of Christian organisations whose joint purpose is to communicate the Gospel through the use of radio and correspondence with listeners.

The overall aim of „Redio Sauti ya Injili” is the propagation of Christianity, though 70 % of the programmes deal with secular items. In October 1996, the station employed 25 people who earned - in accordance with the government salary scale - a minimum of TSh 17,5000 (US-\$ 30 in 1996) per month. Most of the staff are well-trained and attended courses at the All Africa Conference of Churches Training Centre, the Daystar University (both based in Nairobi), or the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre in Kitwe (Zambia) (cf. Letter from Calvin K. Lyaro, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1996).

Another Christian broadcasting station is located in Songea. The Catholic Radio Maria started its transmissions on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1996 and is mainly focusing on religious programmes. The station is operated by six volunteers who acquired their skills in short courses at RTD or „Radio Tumaini” (cf. Letter from Camilus Nikata, September 29<sup>th</sup> 1996).

Also noteworthy is Radio Free Afrika (RFA) which is the property of the Sahara Communication & Publishing Company Ltd.. After the station had commenced broadcasting at an experimental stage in August 1995, the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation hesitated to issue the obligatory license. Executive Chairman Anthony M. Diallo recalls the circumstances at that time:

*„Initially the registration was difficult as we had to follow all the government red tape procedures, bearing in mind that even the government administration was inexperienced on this aspect.”* (Letter from Anthony M. Diallo, September 25<sup>th</sup> 1996)

However, the application was granted by the commission on September 6<sup>th</sup> 1995. The Mwanza-based service opens daily at 6.00 a.m. and closes at midnight. With the exception of the newscasts taken from Voice of America and the BBC, all programmes are locally produced. The station employs 28 people of whom twelve are journalists. Some news people were recruited from RTD or broadcasting stations outside Tanzania. The average salary is TSh 100,000 (US-\$ 175) per month. Like Radio One, RFA is commercially oriented and relies on advertisers. But since the station has already surpassed the audience of its rival RTD in the Mwanza region, Anthony Diallo is convinced to face a promising future (cf. *ibid.*).

With effect from August 1<sup>st</sup> 1996, the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission revoked - in accordance with Section 14 of the Broadcasting Services Act - radio and

television licenses from altogether twelve stations<sup>69</sup>. The commission remarked that the applicants had yet failed to implement their projects (cf. *Daily News*, No. 6488, August 6<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 5).

#### **6.4.4 Television in Tanzania: Programmes for the Urban Élite**

Until 1994, there was no single television network operating on mainland Tanzania. The only station of the United Republic was Television Zanzibar (TVZ) established in the early 1970s (→ 7.6). Whereas other African countries had decided to establish television shortly before or soon after independence<sup>70</sup>, Nyerere's cabinet resisted the introduction of television at all, insisting that the medium was too expensive and that Tanzania's radio coverage was yet too imperfect (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, p. 8). Moreover, it was argued that such an expansion would merely serve the upper and wealthy strata of the population as an entertainment medium. On the contrary, television proponents claimed that the medium could be an effective instrument in the national development process since it produced social awareness among the people. As a consequence, acceptance of and participation in various development programmes could be ensured (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 68). But in June 1974, President Julius Nyerere settled the matter by saying: *„When we have a satellite that would make it possible to cover the whole country I will go for television ... and not until then.“* (Quoted from Konde 1984, p. 47) As a result, the schemes of many institutions, such as UNESCO, Swedish Telecommunications Administration (Swedtel), Nippon Electric Corporation, or the British Marconi Company, were simply archived. In addition, the importation of TV sets was banned by law in 1974<sup>71</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> The Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation cancelled the television licenses of the following networks: Development Horizon, Metro Meru Television (both based in Arusha), East African Cable TV, Hotel Karibu TV, TV Africa, Upanga Electronics Centre Cable (all Dar es Salaam), and MTV in Mwanza. The revocation of radio licenses referred to the Development Horizon Radio, Kilimanjaro Television and Radio Network (both Arusha), Hotel Karibu (Dar es Salaam), Pwani Media Corporation (Kisarawe), and the Shinyanga-based „Upendo“ (Love) (cf. *Daily News*, No. 6488, August 6<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 5).

<sup>70</sup> The first television company in Africa was „Radiodiffusion Télévision Algérienne“ launched in 1956. It was followed by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (1959), Egyptian Radio and TV (1960), „Radiodiffusion Télévision Congolaise“ (1962), and the Voice of Kenya (1963) (cf. Katz, Wedell, et al. 1978, pp. 247 - 250).

<sup>71</sup> This measure can be explained by two facts: First, wealthy Tanzanians in Moshi and the north had been watching „Voice of Kenya“ since 1963. Second, there was a thriving video market (cf. Letter from Graham L. Mytton, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1998).

The ordinance remained in force until 1983 when it was replaced with an import duty of 600 percent (cf. Lederbogen 1992, pp. 68 and 86 - 87).

The plans to launch a television station on the mainland were revived in 1985 when the government set up a Television Task Force which was chaired by the director general of the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (TPTC), F. C. Kasambala. The quintessence of the final report presented by the task force in October 1989 was that the conditions for introducing a country-wide system exist, and, thus, its installation should proceed as quickly as possible. The report concluded:

*„Television is a potentially fantastic means of mass information, education and entertainment. It can be used to bring about positive change in society, thus acting as a catalyst in the process of national development.“* (The National Television Task Force [1989]: Introducing Television Broadcasting in Tanzania Mainland. Report of The National Television Task Force, Dar es Salaam. Quoted from Lederbogen 1992, p. 68)

But the initial euphoria changed into dejection when a sub-committee of the task force started to inquire about the costs from international institutions. It quickly became clear that, for instance, satellite transmission technology was far too expensive since first estimates accounted to US-\$ one billion (cf. *ibid.*, p. 69).

Then, on October 13<sup>th</sup> 1989, the *Business Times* ran an article claiming: *„For only US\$ 7 million ... Tanzania can have TV.“* The general manager of the Light Source Manufacturers in Dar es Salaam, Ambrose Ottaru, had reported at a conference of engineers in Arusha that the telephone network of TPTC could be used to carry the television signal. And since the TPTC transmitters were mounted on the masts of RTD, the television transmitters could easily be fitted to the same masts as well, he continued. Finally, Ottaru stated that ten relay stations would be capable of covering 80 % of the mainland's population (cf. *ibid.*).

The possible cost cutting justified the fondest hopes. Just a few days after the *Business Times* article had been published, on November 6<sup>th</sup> 1989, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Hassan Diria, appointed a TV Technical Advisory Committee which was chaired by Ambrose Ottaru. Subsequently, on April 12<sup>th</sup> 1990, the committee handed over its report to Diria. The major findings revealed that the introduction of television in mainland Tanzania by the year 2000 would cost US-\$ 22.6 million. Furthermore, the annual operating costs were estimated at US-\$ 6.25 million (cf. *ibid.*).

Accordingly, the establishment of Television Tanzania (TVT) would pass through three stages:

- 1 Rehabilitation of TVZ and the development of a network on the mainland being able to cater at least for the people in Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. News and current affairs would be contributed by the Audio-Visual Institute (AVI)<sup>72</sup> and the Tanzania Film Corporation (TFC)<sup>73</sup> which will be relayed via TPTC's microwave link to Zanzibar (cf. Berwanger 1990a, p. 2).
- 2 Erection of a Dar es Salaam-based production studio transmitting its own programme. According to a Japanese survey, the costs for the television centre in Dar es Salaam and the regional studio in Dodoma would amount to US-\$ 16 million and US-\$ eleven million, respectively (cf. *ibid.*, p. 3). TVT and TVZ would operate independently of each other, though a programme exchange would be envisaged. Thus, there would be a nationally transmitted TVT programme and a second programme from TVZ being receiveable along the coast. In addition, TVZ would remain government-owned whereas TVT would be given the status of a public corporation with a 51 % government majority (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 72).
- 3 Completion of the regional network by the year 2000 (cf. Berwanger 1990a, p. 4).

At the annual conference in March 1993, Mwinzi's government made a request to the Japanese government for grants in order to erect six transmitting stations as the first stage for the establishment of the broadcasting network. But the Japanese officials replied that the restoration of TVZ had priority (cf. Japan International Cooperation Agency et al. 1995, p. 1).

Although TVT has already started to transmit programmes on a trial basis, it can be doubted that the above-mentioned plan will be realised in time. In July 1996, the former director of RTD, David Wakati (cf. Interview on July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996), said that he was expecting the commencement of TVT within the next few months, but this proved to be just a pious wish.

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<sup>72</sup> AVI is a division of the Ministry of Education and produces documentary films (cf. Berwanger 1990b, p. 3).

<sup>73</sup> TFC was started in 1972 and has a state-granted monopoly on the distribution of movies, docudramas, and television plays (cf. Berwanger 1990b, p. 3).

In the meantime, three private companies have launched television stations. The first was the Coastal Television Network (CTN) which was registered with the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission on February 14<sup>th</sup> 1994 (cf. Tanzania Broadcasting Commission 1996, p. 1) and commenced transmitting only two weeks later, on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1994. The station broadcasts 24 hours a day of which up to 10 hours consist of locally produced programmes. The rest is taken from the Atlanta-based CNN International which had issued a corresponding license to CTN (cf. Interview with Rashida Nurbai, August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1996). The transmissions, which are broadcast by a 1.3 kW transmitter, can be received within a radius of 40 kilometres. At the time of research (July/August 1996), CTN employed 20 people (cf. Interview with Baraka Rwotto, July 31<sup>st</sup> 1996).

Then, on June 10<sup>th</sup> 1994, Independent Television (ITV) started broadcasting. The station, which is accommodated in the most modern television centre of the country, is property of Reginald Mengi's IPP Ltd. and telecasts from 12 a.m. to 12 p.m.. On the occasion of special events, such as the Olympic Games in Atlanta, ITV extends its transmission time. Due to its 2 kW transmitters located at the highest location in Dar es Salaam, Mikongo, the station reaches an area within a radius of 45 kilometres, and, since the sea amplifies the signal, the programme can also be received on Zanzibar (cf. Interview with Peter T. Mamu, July 26<sup>th</sup> 1996).

On November 2<sup>nd</sup> 1995, then President Ali Hassan Mwinyi inaugurated ITV's new digital uplink facility at Mikocheni designed to relay the programme of ITV and Radio One (→ 6.4.3) to all areas of Tanzania. The broadcasts are transmitted through digital compression via INTELSAT 601<sup>74</sup> to the ORBICOM<sup>75</sup> base in Johannesburg. From there the signals are uplinked to a transponder of PAS-4<sup>76</sup> and, then, digitally downlinked to selected regions in Tanzania. The first phase of ITV's expansion started on November 2<sup>nd</sup> with the transmission of the station's

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<sup>74</sup> The International Telecommunication Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT) in Washington was founded in 1964 and is the world's largest commercial satellite communication services provider. At the time of writing (August 1997), the international co-operative had nearly 140 member nations.

<sup>75</sup> ORBICOM was jointly created by UNESCO and the „Université du Québec à Montréal" (UQAM) in 1994 and aims at the international development of new communication technologies.

<sup>76</sup> PAS-4 belongs to PanAmSat which is the world's first private-sector company to provide a global satellite system: PAS-1 and PAS-3 over the Atlantic Ocean region, PAS-2 over the Pacific, and PAS-4 over the Indian Ocean.

programme to 18 communal television sets throughout the country<sup>77</sup>. Up to 5,000 people watch ITV's programme on the large screens erected at each of these facilities.

Last but not least, Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) was officially launched on December 2<sup>nd</sup> 1994. DTV is owned by the TASIA company group which formed a joint venture with the Italian Franco Tramantano. Like CTN, DTV is transmitting 24 hours a day. About 30 % of the programme is locally produced, the rest is taken from the British Sky News Network (cf. Interview with Belinda Mlingo, July 30<sup>th</sup> 1996). In technical respects, DTV's transmitter has a power of 1 kw. As a result, the station is able to cover Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma, Mwanza, Tanga, and Zanzibar (cf. Dar es Salaam Television [DTV] 1996, p. 1).

The subsequent table shows the programme schedules of ITV and DTV in July 1996; CTN did not have a fixed timetable for its transmission by that time:

**Table 23:** Programme Schedules of ITV and DTV in July 1996

Time	ITV	DTV
6.00 a.m.		Morning News
7.00 a.m.		Morning News
7.30 a.m.		Sky News
12.00 p.m.	Euro News	
12.30 p.m.	Boulevard Germany	
1.15 p.m.	DWTV Journal (Deutsche Welle)	
1.30 p.m.	Documentary	
2.00 p.m.	Dar Wiki Hii/Kulikoni (reports)	
2.30 p.m.	Documentary	
3.30 p.m.	Various programmes	
4.00 p.m.	DWTV Doc.	
4.30 p.m.		Children's Programme
5.00 p.m.	Watoto Wetu (Our Children)	Kiddos (Children's Programme)

<sup>77</sup> Such community sites were established in Arusha, Bukoba, Dodoma, Iringa, Kigoma, Lindi, Mbeya, Morogoro, Moshi, Mtwara, Musoma, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Singida, Songea, Sumbawanga, Tabora, and Tanga.

<b>5.30 p.m.</b>		Features & documentaries
<b>6.00 p.m.</b>	Music	
<b>6.30 p.m.</b>	Jiji Letu (Our City)	
<b>6.35 p.m.</b>	Various programmes	
<b>7.00 p.m.</b>		Habari (News)
<b>7.05 p.m.</b>	Dar Wiki Hii/Kulikoni	
<b>7.30 p.m.</b>	Comedy	
<b>7.40 p.m.</b>		Various programmes
<b>8.00 p.m.</b>	Habari	
<b>8.30 p.m.</b>	Drama	
<b>9.00 p.m.</b>		Nine O'Clock News
<b>9.15 p.m.</b>	Mini Series	
<b>9.30 p.m.</b>		Sportsline
<b>10.00 p.m.</b>	Habari	Various programmes
<b>10.15 p.m.</b>	BBC World Service	
<b>11.15 p.m.</b>	Music	Sky News

Foreign programmes

DTV's evening news is the most popular information source of the inhabitants of Dar es Salaam, though the station has been in low repute since October 1995 when it falsely announced the death of Prime Minister Cleopa Msuya and the election victory of the candidate of the Civic United Front (CUF), Seif Shariff Hamad, on Zanzibar.

But in general, ITV is by far the most-viewed television station in Dar es Salaam, reaching 62 % of the population in a week. It is challenged by DTV (25 %) and Television Zanzibar (10 %) (cf. BBC, International Audience Research 1995, p. 3). In the case of CTN, no reliable figures were available. DTV's own statistics indicate that there are 350,000 registered TV sets in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. Considering a number of 4.5 people per household, the potential audience is about 1.6 million (cf. Dar es Salaam Television [DTV] 1996, p. 2). Regarding the supply of receiving sets, there is a wide gap between the urban and the rural population in Tanzania: whereas 27 % of the households in Dar es Salaam and an average of 7 % in other towns possess a television set, the corresponding figure for the villages is only 2 % (cf. BBC, International Audience Research 1995, p. 2).

### 6.4.5 The First General Elections and the Media

In the run-up to the general elections, the Tanzanian mass media took several actions to grant a balanced coverage of all political parties. However, most of these attempts failed. In 1992, RTD launched a broadcasting series called „Tuambie” (Tell Us) which invited both common people and political leaders to air their views and opinions about multi-party politics in Tanzania. The programme was transmitted on Saturdays from 1.15 p.m. to 2.00 p.m. and repeated on Sundays at the same time (cf. Interview with Abdul Ngarawa, August 7<sup>th</sup> 1996). Initially, the interviewers made no secret of their support for the ruling party, and, as a consequence, both oppositional leaders and the public complained about the biased coverage of the broadcasts. A case in point is the following statement of Hilary Mapunda, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party (LPD):

*„Radio is not educating wananchi<sup>78</sup> on multi-partyism, it is biased on CCM. TUAMBIE is being used by CCM to exploit the opposition parties strategies. TUAMBIE interviewers are unruly to opposition party leaders and have parochial outlook.”* (Quoted from Ngelangela 1993, p. 22)

Abissay Stephen, senior producer and head of RTD’s Current Affairs Department, generally agreed with these accusations but defended the policy of the radio station by explaining the circumstances:

*„By and large, there is no direct hindrance to the freedom of expression at RTD, but there is an inherent feeling that the radio station as a matter of policy has to tow the government line. And as such you will find that at the end of the day, everybody, even unknowingly, is confined to the dictate of the government. However with the advent of multi-partyism, and the opening which has come to light, people are slowly trying to adjust to the reality and things have just started to change gradually, although it will take quite some time before this trend can be grasped fully with the emerging reality of pluralism. In this context, and in general terms, radio’s outreach as far as pluralism of content is concerned, is limited.”* (Quoted from Msoka 1994, pp. 1 - 2)

Notwithstanding, the public protests were successful and RTD decided that the questioning of politicians in „Tuambie” has to be conducted by neutral interviewers (cf. Okema 1996, p. 107).

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<sup>78</sup> Citizens

Selemani Mkufya (cf. 1995, pp. 5 - 6) carried out a survey on the changes in RTD's political broadcasts from 1992 to 1995. The results reveal that the radio station's political coverage was - like in any other party or government medium (cf. Memba 1993, p. 30) - extremely biased during this period:

**Table 23:** Changes in RTD's Political Coverage in News Bulletins (1992 - 1995)

	June 1992	June 1994	January 1995
<b>Percentage of politics</b>	10.2 %	8.7 %	6 %
<b>Percentage of broadcasts on CCM</b>	87 %	60 %	66 %
<b>Percentage of broadcasts on other parties</b>	-	5 %	8 %
<b>Percentage of broadcasts on miscellaneous political items</b>	13 %	35 %	26 %

In early 1995, none of the private radio and television stations had yet decided which party would obtain its support. Nevertheless, in February 1995, the government announced that no licenses for pan-territorial transmissions will be issued to privately owned companies. As a consequence, the then twelve registered opposition parties had no possibility to voice their platform through autonomous electronic media (cf. Tegambwage 1995, p. 4).

Hence, many newspapers were utilised as mouthpieces of parties and candidates. As a result, control of the print media was tightened by the establishment of a state-run Information Services Department which had the task to channel news about the government and to prevent direct contact between the press and officials (cf. Maja-Pearce 1995, p. 299). Nevertheless, the members of the Media Monitoring Team which was launched under the auspices of AJM in May 1995 to supervise the activities of the mass media during the elections witnessed the Tanzanian press muckraking and mudslinging:

*„Instead of performing the functions of informing, educating and persuading the electorate, most media organs did the opposite. Most journalists and their media ran untruthful, inaccurate, biased, malicious and shallow stories with the aim of either favouring or tarnishing a candidate and his/her party.“*  
(Rioba 1996b, p. 6)

Both CCM-owned papers, *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo*, „(...) kept publishing blatant lies (...)“ (Rioba 1996b, p. 6) in order to discredit the opposition in general and the National Convention for Construction and Reform - Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi) in particular since its candidate, the former Minister of Home Affairs, Augustine Mrema, seemed to be a real menace to the ruling party. According to Ayub Rioba (cf. *ibid.*, p. 7) it was quite common to find headlines like „Mrema akimbiwa jangwani“ (Mrema’s rally shunned) when other newspapers came out with pictures showing thousands of people attending the same event. Further print media which campaigned for CCM included *Daily News*, *Sunday News*, *Mfanyakazi*, *Dimba*, *Mtanzania*, *Rai*, *Mwananchi*, *The Express*, *Africa Leo*, *Bara Africa*, *Cheche*, and *Msanii Africa*. But also oppositional parties enjoyed open support from private papers, such as the Civic United Front (CUF; *An-Nuur* and *Bahari*) and NCCR-Mageuzi (*Rafiki*, *Shaba*, *Tazama*, and *Wasaa*) (cf. *ibid.*).

After Benjamin Mkapa’s nomination as the presidential candidate of CCM in mid-1995, Julius Nyerere became his most prominent backer. Whereas the media’s reactions to Mkapa’s standing for election were modest, „Baba ya Taifa“ (Father of the Nation) became the centre of attention. The coverage of Nyerere and the support for his disciple and former press officer, Mkapa, was tremendous in such a way that other important issues were marginalised or simply ignored by the media. Particularly RTD treated Nyerere like *the* CCM nominee for presidency (cf. *ibid.*, p. 9).

But on September 19<sup>th</sup> 1995, Mkapa himself acquired status during a discussion with the other presidential candidates, Augustine Mrema (NCCR-Mageuzi), Ibrahim Harun Lipumba (CUF), and John Momose Cheyo (The United Democratic Party [UDP]). The debate, which was organised by the Business Times Ltd. in Dar es Salaam’s Kilimanjaro Hotel, was broadcast live on RTD and DTV. Whereas his opponents played off each other, Mkapa brought to bear his journalistic experience and came out best.

During a five-day workshop on election reporting in late July 1995, the director of the Tanzania Information Services, Bwire Musalika, called for unity among journalists in order to ensure free and fair general elections. Musalika told the representatives from various media that they should bury their hatred and work as a team. Moreover, he admonished them to observe the universal journalism ethic of impartiality.

Then, the last days before Tanzania's first free elections on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1995 arrived and the AJM monitoring team noticed a general improvement in RTD's political coverage, though the station was strongly biased against the running mate of Augustine Mrema, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu (→ 7.3.1). However, RTD maintained fairness to all presidential candidates and their parties during these days: Ibrahim Lipumba was surprisingly given 28 % of the coverage of all candidates, followed by Augustine Mrema (25 %), John Cheyo (24 %), and Benjamin Mkapa (23 %). On the contrary, the state-run *Daily News* still favoured CCM (cf. Association of Journalists and Media Workers [AJM] 1995, pp. 1 - 3).

Among the private radio and television stations, the Catholic „Radio Tumaini“ and Radio Free Afrika mainly used their channel to mobilise the voters to go to the polls and educate them on the electoral system. Radio One and ITV dedicated more time to CUF than to any other party whereas DTV transmitted extensive reports on NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF. Almost completely apolitical remained the Arusha-based United Radio Service (URS) which preferred to air social news instead (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 1 - 4).

However, after a chaotic first ballot on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1996 and the repetition of voting in Dar es Salaam on November 19<sup>th</sup>, Benjamin Mkapa won the elections by a large margin. The new government was not granted a honeymoon period since many arrangements waited to be reorganised and adjusted to the democratical system - among others, the media sector. But in this respect, Mkapa's cabinet has hitherto been a lame duck.

## **6.5 Broadcasting Directory**

Note: The subsequent listings refer to the official Broadcasting Directory of the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission (cf. 1996) and an interview with the TBC's registrar, N. Habbi Gunze (cf. Interview on July 19<sup>th</sup> 1996). Additional information, such as the date of the commencement of broadcasting, were provided by the stations themselves.

### **6.5.1 Radio Stations**

#### **Radio Free Afrika (RFA)**

Address: P. O. Box 1962, Mwanza  
 Location: CPLC Building, Ilemela, Mwanza  
 Owner: Anthony M. Diallo  
 General Manager: Steven Nyalla  
 Frequency: FM 89.8 Mhz  
 Date of registration: September 6<sup>th</sup> 1995  
 Start: August 1995 on a trial basis

#### **Radio Kwizera**

Address: Ngara Field Office, P. O. Box 154, Ngara  
 Owner: Jesuit Refugee Service, Diocese of Rulenge; UNHCR - Sub Office, Ngara.  
 Director: Fr. Otieno R. Ndogo SJ  
 Frequency: FM 96.30 Mhz  
 Date of registration: December 28<sup>th</sup> 1995

#### **Radio Maria**

Address: P. O. Box 152, Songea  
 Location: St. Joseph Building, Archdiocese of Songea  
 Owner: Catholic Archdiocese, Songea  
 Director: Fr. Camilus Nikata

Frequency: FM 89.1 Mhz  
 Date of registration: May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1996  
 Start: April 26<sup>th</sup> 1996

### **Radio One**

Address: P. O. Box 4374, Dar es Salaam  
 Location: Mikocheni Industrial Area  
 Owners: Reginald A. Mengi, Agapitus Nguma  
 Frequency: FM 99.6 Mhz, AM 1440 Mhz  
 Date of registration: February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1994  
 Start: January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1994 on a trial basis, inauguration on June 11<sup>th</sup> 1994

### **Redio Sauti ya Injili** (Radio Voice of the Gospel)

Address: Lutheran Radio Centre, P. O. Box 777, Moshi  
 Location: Moshi Municipality  
 Owner: Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT)  
 Acting Director: Calvin K. Lyaro  
 Frequency: FM 97.2 Mhz  
 Date of registration: January 29<sup>th</sup> 1995  
 Start: November 27<sup>th</sup> 1994 on a trial basis, inauguration in May 1995

**Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD)**

Address: P. O. Box 9191, Dar es Salaam  
 Location: Pugu Road, Dar es Salaam  
 Owner: Government of Tanzania  
 Director: Abdul Ngarawa  
 Frequency: FM: 94.6 Mhz (City Radio); MW: 837 Khz, 1035 Khz, 531 Khz, and 657 Khz; SW 5050 Khz, 5985 Khz, and 6105 Khz; Regional reception: Arusha (MW 1215 Khz), Dodoma (FM 97.7 Mhz, MW 603 Khz), Kigoma (MW 711 Khz), Mbeya (MW 621 Khz), Mwanza (MW 720 Khz), Nachingwea (MW 648 Khz), Songea (MW 990 Khz).  
 Start: July 1<sup>st</sup> 1951

**Radio Tumaini (Radio Faith)**

Address: P. O. Box 9916, Dar es Salaam  
 Location: 1 Bridge Street, Dar es Salaam  
 Owner: Catholic Archdiocese, Dar es Salaam  
 Director: Fr. Jean-Francois Galtier  
 Frequency: FM 96.3 Mhz  
 Date of registration: January 3<sup>rd</sup> 1994  
 Start: February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1994

**United Radio Service (URS)**

Address: P. O. Box 2582, Arusha  
 Location: Arusha International Conference Centre (AICC)  
 Owners: Elisario Urio, Welter Detering  
 Director: Elisario Urio  
 Frequency: FM 98.6  
 Date of registration: August 29<sup>th</sup> 1995

## 6.5.2 Television Networks

### Coastal Television Network (CTN)

Address:	P. O. Box 8983, Dar es Salaam
Location:	Co-operative Building, Dar es Salaam
Owners:	Shabbir Abji, Jayesh Shah, Ramesh Patel, Girish Chande, Bud Kassam, Mehmood Mawji
General Manager:	Mahmood Mawji
Frequency:	199.250 Mhz (vision)
Channel:	8
Date of registration:	February 14 <sup>th</sup> 1994
Start:	March 1 <sup>st</sup> 1994

### Dar es Salaam Television (DTV)

Address:	P. O. Box 21122, Dar es Salaam
Location:	Jamhuri/Zamaro Street, Dar es Salaam
Owners:	Shabbir Dewji, Murtaza Dewji
Managing Director:	Franco Tramontano
Frequency:	767.25 Mhz (vision)
Channel:	58, Regional reception: Arusha (Themis Hill Channel 58), Dodoma (Imagi Hill Channel 58), Tanga (Ngamiani Area Channel 58), Mwanza (Nyashana Area Channel 58)
Date of registration:	May 20 <sup>th</sup> 1994
Start:	December 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1994

### Independent Television (ITV)

Address:	P. O. Box 4374, Dar es Salaam
Location:	Mikocheni Industrial Area
Owners:	Reginald Mengi, Agapitus Nguma
Managing Director:	Wenceslaus Mushi
Frequency:	495.25 (vision)
Channel:	24

Date of registration: January 17<sup>th</sup> 1994  
 Start: June 10<sup>th</sup> 1994

### **6.5.3 Cable Television Providers**

#### **Ayoub Cable Television Company**

Address: P. O. Box 333, Shinyanga  
 Location: Shinyanga Town  
 Owner: Ayoub Aziz  
 Director: Ayoub Aziz  
 Date of registration: November 30<sup>th</sup> 1995

#### **Bahman Satellite Cables**

Address: P. O. Box 5244, Tanga  
 Location: Wasegeju Street, Tanga  
 Director: Ally H. Said  
 Date of registration: May 11<sup>th</sup> 1996

#### **Bharat Video Centre**

Address: P. O. Box 2760, Mwanza  
 Location: Gurio/Nkrumah Road  
 Owners: Bharat Unadkat, Dhilu Jadawji  
 Director: Bharat Unadkat  
 Date of registration: July 18<sup>th</sup> 1994

#### **Cable Television Network (CTV)**

Address: P. O. Box 3774, Dar es Salaam  
 Location: Sewa Street, Dar es Salaam  
 Owners: Hitesh Tanna, Bhasker Rughani, Harold Mgone

Director: Hitesh Tanna  
 Date of registration: June 1<sup>st</sup> 1995

### **Milan Video Centre**

Address: P. O. Box 10367, Arusha  
 Location: Sokoine/Pangani Road, Arusha  
 Owners: Milan T. Majithia, Mohamed Hassan  
 Director: Milan T. Majithia  
 Date of registration: January 29<sup>th</sup> 1994

### **Mwanza Satellite Communication Ltd.**

Address: P. O. Box 647, Mwanza  
 Location: Nkomo Street, Mwanza  
 Owners: Rizwani Kanji, Mohin Barmeda  
 Director: Rizwani Kanji  
 Date of registration: February 8<sup>th</sup> 1994

### **Star Cable Television Ltd.**

Address: P. O. Box 1468, Dar es Salaam  
 Location: Mfaume Road, Upanga West, Dar es Salaam  
 Owners: Jahangir Hassan Dalvi, Karim A. Ladha, Hassan S. Khan  
 Director: Jahangir Hassan Dalvi  
 Date of registration: Dezember 15<sup>th</sup> 1995

### **Tabora Television Broadcasting Company Ltd.**

Address: P. O. Box 506, Tabora  
 Location: Tabora Town  
 Owners: Shashi Patel, Raju Ladwa  
 Director: Shashi Patel  
 Date of registration: January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1996

## 6.6 Press Register III

Note: The following compilation is to some extent taken from various press directories of the Tanzania Information Services (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1970/71, 1981, 1986, 1994), the records of the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975), and the „Christian Communication Directory Africa“ (cf. Eilers et al. [eds.] 1980). This basic information was updated and completed by own research (state of July 18<sup>th</sup> 1996).

***AAT Newsletter:*** The monthly of the Architectural Association of Tanzania (AAT) is edited by H. S. Vidyarthi in Dar es Salaam and was registered as a newspaper on June 30<sup>th</sup> 1987.

***Academician, The:*** The Pentagon Publishing Co. Ltd. in Dar es Salaam is the owner of this fortnightly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on January 17<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Advert Weekly:*** Published by Mboneko Mnyanga, the weekly paper of the Tanzania Media Services appeared in Dar es Salaam in 1993.

***Advertiser, The:*** Justin Kimaro is the editor of this monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on July 16<sup>th</sup> 1981. The paper's proprietor is Skyline Advertising.

***Africa Baraza (The African Council):*** The newspaper rose to fame when the copies of its first weekly issue were confiscated by the police in March 1987. It would have been the first private weekly since independence. Previously, the owner, A. G. Leopold, had published the paper twice a month in a print run of 15,000 from 1986.

***Africa Leo (Africa Today):*** Ramadhani Mkumbukwa edits the monthly for the Upendo Publishers and Distributors in a run of 30,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993.

***Africa News:*** The English-language monthly was owned by the London-based Africa News Magazine Co. and edited by A. M. Kamanda. Founded in 1959, it was published in Dar es Salaam from 1968 to 1970.

***Africa Theological Journal:*** The All African Lutheran Churches Information & Coordination Centre in Arusha was the proprietor of this magazine which was

established in 1968. Edited by Rev. Peter Kijanga three times a year, it gained a print run of 1,500 copies.

***African Environment:*** The monthly of the Utalii Institute in Dar es Salaam was registered as a newspaper on December 5<sup>th</sup> 1991 and has a circulation of 5,000.

***African Film:*** This publication was founded in the late 1960s.

***African Review:*** The Department of Political Science of the University of Dar es Salaam is the publisher of the quarterly which was established in March 1971. The journal's print run is 1,000.

***Afya (Health):*** The „Journal for Medical and Health Workers“ (subtitle) was launched in 1967.

***Agenda:*** Registered on July 12<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Dar-es-Salaam quarterly is owned by the Business Care Services Agenda Initiative and edited by Theo Tunga in run of 2,000 copies.

***Agricultural Abstracts for Tanzania:*** Established in January 1981, the quarterly is published by the Tanzania National Documentation Centre in Dar es Salaam.

***Aidslink:*** The Principal Centre for Education Development Health in Dar es Salaam and the Regional AIDS Promotion Resource Centre in Arusha are respectively the owner and the editor of the quarterly which was registered as a newspaper on October 17<sup>th</sup> 1990. The circulation of the publication which aims at the population's information about AIDS is 5,000.

***Alasiri (Afternoon):*** The evening daily of The Guardian Ltd. started on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1996 (date of registration: October 27<sup>th</sup> 1995). The Swahili newspaper is edited by Lucas Mnubi in a print run of 20,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Alat Journal:*** Illuminate Makwaya of the Association of Local Authorities of Tanzania is the editor of the quarterly which was registered as a newspaper on March 26<sup>th</sup> 1990. Circulation: 10,000.

***Al-Jumu' Ah:*** The Islamic Dar-es-Salaam weekly was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 19<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***Amani (Peace)***: Registered on June 4<sup>th</sup> 1996, the paper is owned by the AMC Royal Insurance Agency Ltd. in Dar es Salaam.

***Ambha***: The Dar-es-Salaam paper of Ambi Mbwana Rawji was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on June 20<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Amboni Yetu (Our Amboni)***: The Tanga-based Amboni Estate Ltd. and Maurice Lukindo were respectively the owner and the editor of the monthly which was launched in 1962. In 1994, the circulation of the Swahili magazine ranged between 1,500 and 2,000 copies.

***Amka (Wake Up)***: Published in Tukuyu, the Swahili quarterly is owned by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (Konde Diocese) and edited by Danny Mwaijenga in a run of 1,000. Date of registration: February 27<sup>th</sup> 1987.

***Angola in Arms***: The information organ of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (PMLA) was established in 1970.

***Announcer***: The Tanzania Bureau of Standard in Dar es Salaam and I. Manambi are respectively the owner and the editor of the quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 6<sup>th</sup> 1980. Circulation: 500 (1986), 2,000 (1994).

***Annual Magazine***: The head of the Journalism Department of the Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC) in Mwanza edits the publication once a year in a run of 5,000 copies. The *Annual Magazine* was exempted from registration with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS).

***An-Nuur***: The successful weekly of the Islamic Propagation Centre is edited by Kateta Charo in run of 50,000 copies. The Dar-es-Salaam paper was registered on June 20<sup>th</sup> 1991. Then, its circulation was only 10,000.

***Anr-Bil-Maarooif***: This publication appeared in the years 1966 and 1967.

***Approach***: The fortnightly of the Dar es Salaam-based Kaya Publishing Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 16<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Arumeru***: → 5.9.

**Arusha Leo (Arusha Today):** The Swahili weekly, which was initially proposed as a daily, started on April 29<sup>th</sup> 1996 (date of registration: March 19<sup>th</sup> 1996). The paper belongs to Deo Kunyala Masakilija and is produced in Dar es Salaam for circulation in Arusha.

**Arusha Times, The:** The weekly of FM Arusha Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1995.

**Auto News:** The monthly of the Automobile Association (AA) East Africa was published in Dar es Salaam in 1970 and 1971.

**Azania News:** The English-language monthly of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1966.

**Azanian:** The annual magazine of the „Shule ya Sekondari ya Azania“ (Secondary School of Azania) was published in 1971.

**Bahari (The Sea):** Registered on June 28<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Dar es Salaam-based weekly is edited by Yassin M. Kachechele for The Tribune Press Agency. In 1994, the circulation of the Swahili paper ranged from 10,000 to 30,000 copies.

**Bandari Zetu (Our Harbours):** The paper of the East African Harbours Corporation was launched in 1969.

**Bank Magazine:** The English-language periodical of the Dar es Salaam-based National Bank of Commerce (NBC) appeared from 1969 to 1970. In January 1971, the paper became the *Banker* which was published until 1974. Then, the journal was again renamed *Bank Magazine*.

**Banker:** → *Bank Magazine*.

**Bantu Film:** The monthly was published in the mid-1980s by Omar A. Mbega in Dar es Salaam. Owned by the Bantu Publishers, the paper gained a run of 15,000.

**Bara Afrika (The African Continent):** The monthly, which was edited by G. Mhando in a run of 15,000, was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981.

**Baragumu – Tanzania (The Bugle – Tanzania):** Registered on March 19<sup>th</sup> 1996, the Dar-es-Salaam weekly is owned by Nathaniel M. Mlaki.

***Baragumu (The Bugle)***: Hamis K. Lyowa and Binamungu Rwakyendera are respectively the owner and the editor of the Swahili-language weekly which was registered as a newspaper on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1994 and appears in print run of 5,000 copies.

***Baraza Tanzania (The Tanzanian Council)***: The Dar-es-Salaam weekly was registered on April 6<sup>th</sup> 1992 and is the property of Hassoth Ltd.. Under the chief editorship of Robert Moshi, the newspaper had a circulation of 10,000.

***Barua kwa Mjoli (Letter for the Comrade)***: This publication appeared in the early 1960s.

***Bayana (Public)***: Being the property of Mahmoud Fundi, the Swahili paper was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Bembea (Rock!)***: Registered on July 28<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Swahili monthly is owned by Somaca Investment Company Ltd. and edited by Yassin Sadik in a run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Benki ya Taifa (The National Bank)***: The Public Relations Manager of the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) is the editor of this monthly which is published in a print run of 15,000 copies (10,000 in 1986) in Dar es Salaam. Although the periodical had already come off the presses in 1973, it was only registered on September 6<sup>th</sup> 1984.

***Biashara (Commerce)***: Edited by Nancy Mwendamseke, the weekly is the property of Pandila Co. Ltd. in Dar es Salaam. It has an circulation of 25,000 copies and was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1994.

***Big Ben***: Produced by the London-based Drum Publications (UK) Ltd., the English-language monthly was published from 1978 to 1988. Although the magazine appeared in Nairobi, it was also circulated in Dar es Salaam. → *True Love*.

***Bingwa Africa (The African Expert)***: The monthly of the Afro Publishers appeared in a run of 20,000 in 1981.

***Binti Leo (Daughter Today)***: This paper was launched in 1966.

***BIT Bulletin:*** The Business Relations Officer of BIT is the editor of the fortnightly which was registered on November 22<sup>nd</sup> 1978. In 1994, the print run of the publication came to 2,000.

***Bongo (Intelligence):*** J. S. Commodities and Sabbi Masanja are respectively the proprietor and the editor of the monthly which is published in a run of 20,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: July 30<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Buhaya Co-operative News:*** → 5.9.

***Bukoba Co-operative News:*** → *Buhaya Co-operative News*, 5.9.

***Bukya na Gandi:*** → 5.9.

***Bulletin of Crop and Livestock Statistics:*** The annual publication is owned by the Ministry of Agriculture in Dar es Salaam.

***Bulletin of Research and Information:*** From September 1968 to August 1971, the periodical of the Language Association of Tanzania was published in both English and Swahili three times a year.

***Bulletin:*** The print medium of the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre was published in 1971.

***Burudani (Entertainment):*** Owned by CCM, the popular Swahili monthly is edited by Yahya Buzaragi in a run of 60,000 copies. The Dar-es-Salaam magazine was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1991.

***Busara (a):*** → 5.9.

***Busara (b) (Wisdom):*** Hammie Rajab is both the owner and the editor of the Dar es Salaam-based Swahili monthly which has a circulation of 60,000 (15,000 in 1986). An English version of the paper, *Wisdom*, did not survive. Date of registration: June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1981.

***Business Bugle:*** Registered on October 7<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Dar-es-Salaam weekly is the property of Ilus Ltd..

***Business Flag, The:*** Published weekly, the newspaper of the Dar es Salaam-based Long Press Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on September 23<sup>rd</sup> 1994.

***Business Focus:*** Registered on April 27<sup>th</sup> 1993, the monthly is owned by Media Communication Ltd. in Dar es Salaam and edited by F. K. Ruhinda in a print run of 5,000 copies.

***Business Times:*** The first private weekly in independent Tanzania came off the presses on November 4<sup>th</sup> 1988 (date of registration: September 21<sup>st</sup> 1988). Then, it was published by Rashid Mbuguni and edited by Fili Karashani. After Karashani had left the paper in 1993, Bernard B. Palela became the new editor, and, subsequently, he „(...) put up an authoritative and very credible newspaper.“ (Interview with Jaston Binala, July 29<sup>th</sup> 1996) In July 1996, the *Business Times* was edited by Anthony Ngaiza and published by Rashid Mbuguni and Richard Nyaulawa. The paper's proprietor is the Business Times Ltd.. Circulation: 20,000 (1990), 30,000 (1992), 10,000 (1994), 9,000 (1996).

***Carmel:*** Until 1990, the quarterly was published by the Bahai Teaching Institute Committee of the National Assembly in a run of 500 copies in Mombo.

***Central Monthly Statistical Bulletin:*** → 5.9..

***Change:*** The fortnightly was registered on July 27<sup>th</sup> 1994 and has a print run of 10,000. It is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based Change Publications Ltd. and edited by Abdul Mtemvu.

***Cheche (a) (Small Piece):*** According to the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975), this paper appeared in 1970.

***Cheche (b):*** The Multiprint Co. Ltd. and Munga Tehenani are respectively the owner and the editor of the weekly which appears in Dar es Salaam in a run of 10,000 copies. Date of registration: June 10<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***Cheka (Smile):*** Kassim Mussa Kassam was both the proprietor and the editor of the Swahili monthly which had a circulation of 20,000. The prohibition of the Dar-es-Salaam paper in February 1993 made a stir.

***Chereko:*** The Swahili fortnightly was published by Rashid Seif Nasoro in a run of 5,000 in Dar es Salaam in 1981.

***CHEWATA Newsletter:*** → NAEAT Newsletter.

***Circular Letter:*** The Mbeya paper was published by the Catholic Diocese of Mbeya in 1980.

***Civil Service Magazine:*** Initially, in 1964, the Ministry of Information and Tourism was the publisher of the Dar-es-Salaam quarterly which was later taken over by the Tanzania Information Services (TIS). The circulation of the magazine, which was edited in both English and Swahili, ranged from 3,000 to 5,000.

***College Times, The:*** → *Technical Fortnightly.*

***Computer Fantasy:*** Registered on March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1992, the quarterly is owned by ICSM Dar es Salaam and edited by Sunil Raphael in a print run of 500 copies.

***Concent:*** The quarterly of the Arusha International Conference Centre (AICC) was registered on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1980. Beth Luzuka edits the magazine in a run of 5,000 in Arusha.

***Conch, The:*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly of Jenerali Ulimwengu (editor-in-chief of → *Dimba, Mtanzania, Rai*) was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on June 17<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Congo:*** This information bulletin was only published in 1966.

***Construction Industry Newsletter:*** Owned by the National Construction Council in Dar es Salaam and edited by Khalid Mikka, the monthly's circulation has ranged between 500 and 2,000 copies. It was registered as a newspaper by the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 10<sup>th</sup> 1985.

***Construction Update:*** The Dar-es-Salaam quarterly, which belongs to the Structural Systems & Services (Tanzania) Ltd., was registered as a newspaper on April 5<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Contact Magazine:*** The National Insurance Corporation (NIC) and Theresia Mshuza are respectively the proprietor and the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam quarterly. Registered on August 19<sup>th</sup> 1988, the periodical has a print run of 3,000.

***Current Events in Namibia:*** The newsletter appeared in 1974.

***Current Report:*** The Bank of Tanzania was the publisher of this print medium which can be traced back to the year 1969.

***Daily Nation:*** → 5.9.

***Daily News:*** The English-language daily first appeared on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972 as a result of the merger between *The Standard* (→ *Tanganyika Standard*, 5.9) and → *The Nationalist*. Published by the government-run Tanzania Standard Newspaper Ltd. in Dar es Salaam, the paper was - like its sister *Sunday News* - edited by Charles Rajabu in 1996. Circulation: 30,000 (1975), 89,000 (1981), 50,000 (1986, 1993), 15,000 (1996).

***Dar Advertiser:*** Owned by Dimba Newspaper, the weekly was edited by Johnson Mbwambo in a run of 5,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Its date of registration was October 18<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Dar Boom:*** The monthly, which appeared in 1990, was the property of the Boom Publishers in Dar es Salaam.

***Dar es Salaam Medical Journal:*** Established in 1969, the bi-annual periodical was published by the Muhimbili Medical Centre of the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Dar es Salaam University Law Journal:*** The annual magazine, which was launched as *Journal of the Denning Law Society* in 1966, was the property of the Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Dar Exchange:*** Registered on May 24<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Dar-es-Salaam weekly is owned by Madock Okeyo and Twalib A. Mungulu. In 1994, its print run amounted to 10,000.

***Dar Leo (Dar Today):*** The evening daily of the Dar es Salaam-based Business Times Ltd. started as *Majira Jioni* (Evening Time) on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1995. In order to prevent confusion with the mother paper, *Majira*, the newspaper was renamed *Dar Leo* on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1996 (date of registration: February 26<sup>th</sup> 1996). In August 1996, the publication was edited by Sopa Kastico in a run of 6,000 copies (2,000 in December 1995).

***Darlite:*** The Department of Literature of the University of Dar es Salaam was responsible for the publication of this bi-annual magazine which appeared both in English and Swahili from September 1966 to October 1970. Then, *Darlite* was renamed *Umma* (The People). In 1972, the magazine was incorporated into the East African Literature Bureau in Nairobi.

***Darubini (a) (The Telescope):*** The TANU paper appeared from 1968 to 1971.

***Darubini (b):*** Owned by GRAFCA in Dar es Salaam, the fortnightly was registered on July 27<sup>th</sup> 1993 and appears in a run of 5,000 copies.

***Democratic, The:*** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1993, the weekly is owned by the New Equatorial Publishers Ltd. and edited by John Hokororo in a print run of 50,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Dimba (Arena):*** The weekly sports magazine is part of the consortium which also publishes → *Mtanzania* and → *Rai*. The Dar es Salaam-based paper came off the presses on May 9<sup>th</sup> 1993 (date of registration: April 27<sup>th</sup> 1993), and its circulation ranges between 7,000 and 40,000 (on the occasion of soccer hits, such as Yanga vs. Simba). In 1996, Francis Chirwa was the editor of *Dimba*.

***Dira (The Compass):*** The Swahili quarterly, which was registered as a newspaper on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1994, is the property of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) and is edited by Alfred A. Somela in a run of 10,000 copies in Iringa.

***Dira Magazine (Compass Magazine):*** The Swahili publication of Judith Tirukaizile appeared in 1981 and had a circulation of 1,000.

***Drug Information Bulletin:*** The quarterly is the property of the Dar es Salaam-based Pharmacy Board and has a print run of 600 copies. Edited by Rose Dhija and C. Mwasha, the publication was registered on May 10<sup>th</sup> 1990.

***Drum:*** → 5.9.

***Dunia (The World):*** The weekly of the Home Investors Ltd. in Dar es Salaam was registered on May 20<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Dunia Mpya (New World):*** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1991, the Dar-es-Salaam monthly is owned by the Africa Trust Services and edited by Michael S. Mwombeki. In 1994, it had a circulation of 5,000.

***Eastern Africa Law Review:*** The legal magazine was established in 1967 and was published in a run of 1,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Ecclesia:*** → *St. Joseph's Parish News*, 5.9.

***Economic and Operation Report:*** The Dar es Salaam-based Bank of Tanzania was the proprietor of this annual publication which was launched in 1969.

***Economic Bulletin:*** The quarterly of the Bank of Tanzania was established in 1969.

***Economic Survey, The:*** Produced by the Government Printer, the annual publication appears in Dar es Salaam.

***Elimu Haina Mwisho (Education Has No End):*** The Swahili monthly was established in Mwanza in January 1974 and marked the beginning of the Rural Press Project. In 1994, *Elimu Haina Mwisho* was the property of the Ministry of Education and Culture and edited by Martin Bilungi in a print run of 100,000.

***Elimu ni Bahari (Education Is Limitless):*** The Ministry of Education and Culture and Verdiana Byamanyirwohi were respectively the owner and the editor of the Swahili monthly in 1994. Founded in 1985, the Tabora paper was published in the progress of the Rural Press Project and has a circulation of 50,000 copies.

***Elimu ni Ufunguo (Education is the Key):*** Launched in 1966, the short-lived Swahili paper was issued by Magomeni Primary School in Dar es Salaam.

***Elimu ya Afya (Health Education):*** The monthly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on January 14<sup>th</sup> 1981, is published by the Muhimbili Health Education Division in Dar es Salaam in a run of 50,000.

***Elimu ya Watu Wazima Sasa/Adult Education Now:*** The paper was published between 1970 and 1973.

***Elimu Yetu (Our Education):*** Being part of the Rural Press Project, the Swahili monthly was launched in Dodoma in 1980. In 1994, it was owned by the Ministry of Education and Culture and edited by Fridolin Banzi. Since then, *Elimu Yetu's* circulation has ranged between 35,000 and 50,000.

***Elisup:*** The Dar-es-Salaam quarterly, which was the property of Tanzania Elimu Supplies Ltd. and edited by Naaman Mkenwa, appeared in a print run of 1,000 copies from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s.

***Environment Cleaner, The:*** The monthly of The Environment Cleaner Ltd. is edited by Wilson Bhukoli in Dar es Salaam. In 1994, the paper had a circulation of 15,000. Date of registration: September 8<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Envoy:*** According to the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975), this paper appeared in 1965.

***Equator Film:*** Both owned and edited by Tonny Kamkanda, the monthly was registered as a newspaper on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1978, and, since then, it has been published in a run of approximately 25,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***ESSO News:*** The publication appeared only in 1968.

***Export Trust:*** The Board of Export Trade is the proprietor of the quarterly which was registered on July 6<sup>th</sup> 1992. Edited by Donald Ngogo in Dar es Salaam, *Export Trust* has a circulation of 2,000 copies.

***Express, The:*** Launched in 1991 (date of registration: December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1991), the popular Dar-es-Salaam weekly is the property of the Media Holdings (Tanzania) (→ *Mwananchi*) and edited by Pascal Shija in a run of 30,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***External Affairs Bulletin:*** → *Foreign Affairs Bulletin*.

***Eye Spy:*** The Dar-es-Salaam periodical of Adam Lusekelo was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Eye, The:*** The paper of the College of National Education in Songea was published from 1967 to May 1970. Then, it was replaced with *Pambazuko* (Dawn) which appeared until 1974.

***Fahari (Pride):*** The political magazine, which is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based Tai Publishers Ltd. and edited by Fred Jim Mdoe, came off the presses as *Fahari ya Afrika ya Mashariki* (The Pride of East Africa) in 1981 (date of registration: April 4<sup>th</sup> 1978). In 1994, the monthly had a circulation of 10,000 (20,000 in 1991).

***Fahari ya Afrika ya Mashariki:*** → *Fahari*.

***Faith Magazine – Yesu ni Jibu (... – Jesus is the Answer)***: Published by the Faith Centre in Dar es Salaam, the paper was registered on June 4<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Family Mirror***: Owned by the General Publications Ltd., the Dar-es-Salaam monthly was launched in 1989 (date of registration: January 26<sup>th</sup> 1988). Since then, the print run of the popular paper has ranged between 20,000 and 30,000. The editors of the *Family Mirror* have hitherto been prominent journalists, such as Stanley Kamana and Anthony Ngaiza.

***Fashion***: Mohamed Kingwanda and Suleiman S. Lolila are respectively the owner and the editor of the Dar es Salaam-based monthly which was registered as a newspaper on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1990. In 1994, the print run of the publication came to 5,000 copies.

***Federation Samachar***: Being the property of The Federation of the Khoja Shia Itnaashari Jamaats, in 1994, the quarterly was edited by Habib Mulji and Faduhusein Hameer in Dar es Salaam. On October 6<sup>th</sup> 1983, the magazine was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS), and, since then, its circulation has ranged from 3,500 to 5,000.

***Film Tanzania***: The fortnightly, which was founded in 1969 (date of registration: March 19<sup>th</sup> 1979), is famous for its photonovels. Both owned and edited by Faraji H. Katalambula, the Arusha paper has a circulation of 10,000.

***Financial Times***: Registered on December 20<sup>th</sup> 1993, the weekly is owned by the Makondeko Holdings Trust Ltd. and edited by Makwaia Kuhenga in Dar es Salaam. In 1994, *Financial Times* had a print run of 15,000.

***Flamingo***: → 5.9.

***Focus (a)***: The publication of the Ismailia Organisation for Youth Co-ordination appeared in 1968.

***Focus (b)***: Founded in 1979 (exempted from registration on January 15<sup>th</sup> 1982), the Mwanza monthly is edited by the head of the Journalism Department of the Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC) in a run of 1,000 copies.

***Foreign Affairs Bulletin***: Subtitled „An Official Record of Foreign Policy of Tanzania”, the periodical was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Dar

es Salaam from April 1965 to January 1969. The first two issues were called *External Affairs Bulletin*.

***Foreign Trade News Bulletin:*** From 1976 to 1992, the English-language quarterly was owned by the Ministry of Commerce and edited by the Foreign Trade Development Division in Dar es Salaam.

***Fortune:*** The quarterly, which is owned by Timbalindokola Kato, was edited by Fili Karashani (→ *The Sunday Observer*) and Kakuru Katalyeba in a run of 5,000 in 1994. The Dar es Salaam-based magazine was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 16<sup>th</sup> 1984.

***Frontliner, The:*** The national news agency, SHIHATA, is the owner of this monthly which is edited by the respective director. In 1994, the circulation of the journal was 20,000. Date of registration: January 6<sup>th</sup> 1986.

***Funster:*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly, which was registered as a newspaper on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1995, is owned by Panache Publications (Tanzania) Ltd..

***Gazeti la HESAWA (HESAWA's Newspaper):*** Registered on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1990, the quarterly is owned by HESAWA and edited by E. E. Mahawi in a run of 10,000 copies in Mwanza.

***Gazeti la Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, 5.9.

***Gazeti la Serikali:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, 5.9.

***Gazeti la Watoto (Children's Newspaper):*** The publication of the Tanzania Library Service was issued in Dar es Salaam between the years 1969 and 1971. Then, in early 1972, it was replaced with *Mapinduzi katika Ujamaa* (Revolution in Writing).

***Gazeti Letu (Our Newspaper):*** The paper of the Swedish Free Mission appeared in Tabora in 1965.

***Gazette of the United Republic of Tanganyika & Zanzibar:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, 5.9.

***Gazette of the United Republic of Tanzania:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, 5.9.

***General Idea:*** The paper, which appeared in 1972, contained information on the work of the General Tyre East Africa Limited.

***Germany:*** Established in 1974, the bulletin ran articles on the European state.

***Gimwi:*** The Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika was the owner of the Nyaturu-language monthly which was edited by Clement M. N. Nbungu in Singida from 1962 to 1964.

***Gir'umwani:*** → 5.9.

***Guardian, The:*** The English-language daily of The Guardian Ltd. came off the presses on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1995 (date of registration: May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1993). In August 1996, the newspaper was edited by Wallace Muggo in a run of 10,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Gunda/Baragumu (Horn/Bugle):*** The Swahili monthly, which was published by the Usambara Local Authority in Lushoto from 1962 to 1967, was the successor of → *Kinyemi*, 5.9.

***Habari (a) (News):*** The Swahili paper was published by the Kilombero Sugar Company from 1965 to 1973. Then, it was replaced with the *News Bulletin*. Moreover, the company was the proprietor of the *Kilombero News* whose existence can be traced back to 1981.

***Habari (b):*** The newsheet of UNDP's and UNESCO's adult literacy project was established in 1971.

***Habari (c):*** The information bulletin of the Tanzania Fertilizer Company was launched in 1973. At the same time, an English-language issue, *News*, appeared.

***Habari Jimboni (Provincial News):*** Published by the Catholic Diocese of Morogoro, this publication appeared in 1980.

***Habari Maalum ya Uzima Tele (Extraordinary News of Great Power):*** The „Umoja wa Makanisa ya Pentekoste“ (Union of Pentecostal Churches) and Marko Kisanji are respectively the owner and the editor of this Swahili monthly which

has been published in Tabora since 1969. The circulation of *Habari Maalum ya Uzima Tele* has ranged between 4,600 and 20,000.

***Habari Njema:*** → 5.9.

***Habari za Benki (Bank News):*** The English monthly of the Dar es Salaam-based National Bank of Commerce (NBC) was registered as a newspaper on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1983 and appears in run of 5,000 copies.

***Habari za Buhaya:*** → 5.9.

***Habari za Juma (News of the Week):*** The Dar-es-Salaam weekly of the Tanzania Elimu Supplies appeared in 1971.

***Habari za Kanisa (News from the Church):*** Launched in 1961, the Swahili paper was published by the Dar es Salaam-based Communication Department of the Tanzanian Catholic Secretariat and edited by Fr. David Matipa. It appeared ten times a year in a print run of 1,100.

***Habari za Kibahai Tanzania (News of Tanzanian Bahaism):*** The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Tanzania is the proprietor of this Swahili monthly which is edited by Q. Razi in a print run of 250 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: August 15<sup>th</sup> 1978.

***Habari za Mali Hai (News of Mali Hai):*** The Swahili monthly is owned by the Mali Hai Club of Tanzania and edited by Peter Ottaru. Moreover, Ottaru was the editor of the annual English-language magazine *Mali Hai News* which was published in Dar es Salaam in the early 1990s.

***Habari za Mkoa wa Tanga (News from the Tanga District):*** The Swahili weekly appeared in 1964.

***Habari za Mwadui (News from Mwadui):*** Owned by the Williamson Diamonds Ltd. in Shinyanga, the Swahili monthly is edited by Eid Masoud in a run of 500 (1,000 in 1981). The publication was first mentioned in the press directory of 1970/71 (date of registration: June 26<sup>th</sup> 1978). Then, there was also an English edition called *Mwadui News* (500 circulation).

***Habari za NPF (NPF News):*** Registered on September 29<sup>th</sup> 1981, the quarterly is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based National Provident Fund (NPF). In 1993, Kaleghe Chambo edited the periodical in print run of 10,000.

***Habari za Posta (Post News):*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly of the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (TPTC) was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981 and had a circulation of 5,000.

***Habari za Reli (Railway News):*** The Tanzania Railway Corporation (TRC) is the proprietor of this monthly which is edited by Winston Makamba in a print run of 10,000 copies (5,000 in 1981) in Dar es Salaam. The paper was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 14<sup>th</sup> 1978.

***Habari za Upare:*** → 5.9.

***Habari za Wakulima (Farmers' News):*** The bi-annual publication is owned by Global 2000 and the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1994, *Habari za Wakulima* was published by William Lobulu (→ *Ham*) in a run of 3,000 in Arusha. Date of registration: August 19<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Habari za Washirika (News of the Associates):*** Being the property of the Co-operative Union of Tanzania (CUT), the Dar-es-Salaam quarterly was registered as a newspaper on June 10<sup>th</sup> 1980. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 2,500 and was edited by H. Chibulunje.

***Haki (The Right):*** Registered on December 23<sup>rd</sup> 1994, the Swahili weekly is the property of the Dar es Salaam-based Ironi Line Publishers.

***Ham:*** The Ministry of Health is the owner of this Arusha quarterly which is edited by William Lobulu in a print run of 15,000 copies. On October 30<sup>th</sup> 1991, *Ham* was registered as a newspaper by the Tanzania Information Services (TIS).

***Hamasa (Enthusiasm):*** In the mid-1980s, the Swahili monthly was published by the Kilimanjaro Airport in Arusha and edited by Kassim Chande and Kajubi Mukajanga (→ *Wakati ni Huu*).

***Hapa Leo:*** → *Student Magazine*.

***Harakati (The Fight):*** The Worldwide News Agency in Dar es Salaam is the publisher of this Swahili paper which was registered on January 17<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Health Education Forum:*** The Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health in Dar es Salaam is the proprietor of this quarterly. Date of registration: June 8<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Hekaheka (Noise):*** Julius Yuhana is the owner of this Dar-es-Salaam weekly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1996.

***Heko (Hurrah):*** The Swahili monthly of the Dar es Salaam-based Heko Publishers Ltd. was registered as a newspaper on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1985 and edited by Ben R. Mtobwa in a run of 20,000 in Dar es Salaam. On July 17<sup>th</sup> 1996, *Heko* fell a victim to The Newspaper Act and ceased publication.

***Hiari (Selection):*** Stephen Allbery of the CPTF in Dar es Salaam was the editor of this Swahili quarterly which appeared until the early 1990s in a print run of 5,000 copies.

***Home Builders Journal:*** Founded in 1984, the magazine was the property of the Home Builders Limited in Dar es Salaam. The quarterly, which was edited by J. cha Mushala, had a circulation of 5,000 and disappeared in 1990.

***Host, The:*** This paper, which is owned by the Travel Promotion Services Ltd., is published in both Dar es Salaam and Arusha. Date of registration: June 14<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Huduma za Maombezi (Intercession Service):*** Registered on August 20<sup>th</sup> 1992, the Swahili quarterly was owned by the Marian Faith Healing Centre in Dar es Salaam and edited by Ernest Zulu in a run of 5,000.

***IET Newsletter:*** → *The Tanzania Engineer.*

***IIT Newsletter:*** The monthly of the Institute for Information Technology (IIT) was registered as a newspaper on November 6<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Ija Webonere:*** → 5.9.

***Ilaka:*** → 5.9.

***Image Magazine:*** The fortnightly of the Image Publishing Group was edited in a run of 10,000 in 1981.

***Independent, The:*** The Tanzania Media Services in Dar es Salaam is the owner of this weekly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993. Edited by Mboneko R. Munyaga, the paper had a circulation of 40,000 in 1994.

***India News:*** The periodical, which mainly carried stories on India, was founded in 1975.

***Industrial Abstracts for Tanzania:*** Established in 1981, the quarterly is owned by the Tanzania National Documentation Centre in Dar es Salaam.

***Industrial Commodities:*** The Bureau of Statistics is the proprietor of this quarterly which was launched in 1990.

***International Diplomacy:*** Registered on July 15<sup>th</sup> 1986, the quarterly is the property of the Dar es Salaam-based Centre for Foreign Relations. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 1,000.

***IPP News:*** The monthly information sheet of the Industrial Production Promotion (IPP) Ltd. is edited by A. Kilewo in a run of 1,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. It was registered as a newspaper on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1989.

***Irgobawe:*** → 5.9.

***Ismaili Crescent:*** → 5.9.

***Ita Jamii (Call the Society):*** The Pentecostal Churches Association in Tanzania is the owner of the bi-annual magazine, which is edited in a print run of 1,000 in Bukene. Date of registration: March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1992.

***Jamhuri (The Republic):*** This vernacular paper was launched in Miembeni in July 1963 and disappeared later that year.

***Jarida la Brelî:*** The Swahili paper, which had a circulation of 5,000, was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981.

***Jarida la Kichungaji (The Herdsman's Magazine):*** Registered on September 9<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Swahili quarterly is owned by the Lutheran Theological College Makumira and edited by Rev. L. F. Bahendwa in a print run of 1,500 copies in Usa River.

***Jenga (Build!)***: Industries and the manufacture of goods are the major issues of this monthly whose existence can be traced back to 1968 (date of registration: November 11<sup>th</sup> 1981). Being the property of the National Development Corporation, the paper is edited by Erastus Damas in a run of 5,000 (6,000 in 1970/71).

***Jibu la Maisha (The Life's Answer)***: Published in Dar es Salaam, the quarterly is owned by the Tanzania Assembly of God and edited by Jackson J. Kisona. The circulation of the Swahili paper, which was registered on March 15<sup>th</sup> 1985, was 5,000 in 1994.

***Jicho (The Eye)***: This periodical of the Teachers' College in Peramiho appeared in 1968.

***Jiendeleze (Develop Yourself)***: The Swahili monthly, which was launched in 1979, is one of the eight papers of the Rural Press Project. Owned by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Morogoro publication is edited by Beati Mgulube in a run of 50,000 copies.

***Jimbo Kuu (Main District)***: This paper was published by the Catholic Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam and edited by Fr. August Müllis in 1980.

***Jimbo la Mahenge (Mahenge District)***: Founded in 1980, the publication was owned by the Catholic Diocese of Mahenge and edited by Fr. Albin Magomi.

***Jimboni Moshi (In the Moshi District)***: The Swahili paper was published by the Catholic Diocese of Moshi and edited by Fr. Paul Uria in 1980.

***Jitengenezee (Do It Yourself!)***: The Integrated Development Project in Lushoto was the publisher of this periodical which appeared in late 1972.

***Johari (Jewel)***: Registered on June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1981, the Swahili monthly is both owned and edited by Salim A. M. Kitojo. The Dar-es-Salaam paper appears in a print run of 1,000.

***Journal of Adult Education***: The annual magazine of the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) of the University of Dar es Salaam was founded in 1977 and has a circulation of 1,500 copies.

***Journal of Building and Land Development:*** The quarterly, which was registered as a newspaper on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1982, belongs to the Dar es Salaam-based Ardhi Institute and has a run of 1,000.

***Journal of International Relations:*** Established in 1976, the quarterly was published by the International Relations Association of the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Journal of the Denning Law Society:*** → *Dar es Salaam University Law Journal.*

***Journal of the Geographical Association of Tanzania:*** Founded in 1967, the magazine of the Geographical Association of Tanzania was published in Dar es Salaam .

***Jua (The Sun):*** The Dar-es-Salaam quarterly of John Bosco Bahinda Aloys Mihigo was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on September 14<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Juhudi (Diligence):*** The Swahili quarterly, whose publication can be traced back to 1974 (date of registration: March 6<sup>th</sup> 1980), is the property of CCM and edited by the SHIHATA Regional Bureau in Mbeya in a print run of 1,000.

***Kagera Leo (Kagera Today):*** The Kagera Writers & Publishers and Dominic Rweyemamu are respectively the owner and the editor of this Swahili monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1988. Published in Bukoba, the paper has a circulation of 15,000.

***Kaka (Brother):*** According to the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975, p. 4), this publication appeared in 1966.

***Kakakuona Magazine:*** The quarterly of the Tanzania Wildlife Protection Fund is edited by Ahmed Richard in a run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: October 20<sup>th</sup> 1989.

***Kalamu (Pencil):*** The Swahili weekly of the Dar es Salaam-based SAB Investment Co. Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Kale (The Past):*** The Historical Association of Tanzania was the publisher of this paper which came off the presses in 1972.

***Kalulu:*** The children's monthly, which is named after a popular rabbit, was registered as a newspaper on December 5<sup>th</sup> 1991. Owned by Heko Publishers Ltd., it is edited by Ben R. Mtobwa (→ *Heko*) in a print run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Kamal:*** The Tanga publication, which appeared in 1965, belonged to the Hindu Students' Union.

***Kanisa Letu (Our Church):*** Between 1962 and 1964, the monthly was edited by the Archdiocese of Korogogwe in both English and Swahili.

***Karibu Tanzania (Welcome to Tanzania):*** The quarterly magazine of the Tanzania Tourist Corporation has been published in Dar es Salaam since 1970.

***Karimjee Secondary School Magazine:*** This periodical was published between the years 1965 and 1967.

***Katoliki:*** → 5.9, *Mwenge*.

***Kibaha Leo (Kibaha Today):*** This Swahili paper appeared in Kibaha in 1971.

***Kibaha News:*** The Kibaha publication was founded in 1966.

***Kibaha Wiki Hii (Kibaha This Week):*** The weekly Kibaha newspaper was published in 1972 and edited in Swahili.

***Kibo Leo (Kibo Today):*** Being the property of the Kibo Paper Industries Ltd. in Dar es Salaam, the quarterly is edited by R. Mchome in a print run of 500 copies. Date of registration: August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1993.

***Kigonsera Horizons:*** This publication appeared in 1971.

***Kilimanjaro Leo (Kilimanjaro Today):*** The CCM regional bureau in Moshi is the owner of this Swahili monthly edited by Partrick Makomu. The publication was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 29<sup>th</sup> 1978 and has a circulation of 16,000.

***Kilombero News:*** → *Habari* (a).

***King'ora (a):*** → 5.9.

***King'ora (b)***: The monthly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on June 8<sup>th</sup> 1995, belongs to the King'ora Publishers Ltd. in Dar es Salaam.

***Kingo (Shield)***: Registered on December 20<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Dar-es-Salaam monthly is the property of Gaba Ltd. and edited by James Gayo Mpuya in a print run of 10,000.

***Kinoleo (Kino Today)***: This publication appeared in Kinondoni in 1974.

***Kiongozi***: → 5.9.

***Kiswahili, Fashih na Ufanisi (Swahili, Literature, and Prosperity)***: Founded in October 1971, the magazine has been published by the „Chama cha Kiswahili“ (Swahili Society) of the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Kiswahili***: → Swahili, 5.9.

***Kiu (Thirst)***: The quarterly of the Kiu Publishers & General Enterprises Ltd. in Dar es Salaam was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on February 20<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Kivuko***: → Mbioni.

***Kivukoni College Newsletter***: → Mbioni.

***Kiwanda Chetu (Our Factory)***: The publication of the Tanganyika Textile Industries Ltd. appeared from 1966 to 1968.

***Kombora (The Bomb)***: The Swahili paper was established in 1992.

***Kuchele***: Owned by the Newala Development Fund, the quarterly is edited by A. H. Omari in a run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: August 17<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Kufundisha Watu Wazima (Teaching the Adults)***: The Swahili monthly appeared in Mwanza in 1970.

***Kumbuka (Remember!)***: Founded in 1962, the Swahili paper was published by the Lutheran Bible School in Mwika.

***Kumekucha Kilimanjaro***: The Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 7<sup>th</sup> 1994, is owned by D. Ndesamburo and N. Lyimo.

***Kumekucha***: The Dar-es-Salaam weekly is the property of Subaha Enterprises Ltd. and edited by Kisimbo Mdimu in a print run of 5,000. Date of registration: July 25<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***Kusare***: → 5.9.

***Kutoka Jimboni (From the Province)***: Edited by Sr. Frida in 1980, the Catholic paper was published by the Diocese of Dodoma.

***Kwetu (a) (Home)***: The Swahili-language publication of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was edited by the director of the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) in a print run of 10,000 copies. The paper was first mentioned in the press directory of 1970/71.

***Kwetu (b)***: R. Mawazo was both the owner and the editor of this Swahili fortnightly which appeared in Musoma in 1990.

***Lamp***: The journal of the Tanganyika Literary Club appeared in 1963.

***Langambo***: The newspaper of TANU's regional office in Tabora was published in 1974.

***Law Reports of Tanzania***: → *Tanzania High Court Digest*.

***Lawyer Tanzania, The***: The quarterly of the Tanganyika Law Society is edited by Hamida H. Sheikh in a run of 1,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: November 30<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Lembuka***: → 5.9.

***Lengo (Target)***: Founded in March 1964, the Swahili fortnightly is published by the East African Venture Ltd., a Lutheran company jointly established by the Christian Councils of Tanzania and Kenya. Whereas *Lengo* is edited by Nancy Mwendamseke in a print run of 20,000 in Dar es Salaam, its English-language sister paper, *Target*, appears in Nairobi (60,000 circulation). According to Raymond J. Mndeme, *Lengo* is a „Christian witness reflecting the soundness,

richness, truth and universal humanness of the Word become Flesh.” (Mndeme 1981, p. 11)

***Lete Raha (Take a Rest)***: Being the property of The Guardian Ltd. in Dar es Salaam and edited by Edmund Msangi, the Swahili weekly was launched on November 5<sup>th</sup> 1995 (date of registration: October 4<sup>th</sup> 1995). In 1996, the newspaper had a circulation of 10,000.

***Liberation***: Karim Essack was the owner of the English monthly which was published in Dar es Salaam from 1990 to 1992.

***Light, The (a)***: The publication of the Khoja Shia Ithnaasheri Supreme Council was published from 1965 to 1968.

***Light, The (b)***: The fortnightly, which was launched in 1967, is owned by the Bilal Muslim Mission to Tanzania and edited by Seyyid S. A. Rivzi in a run of 3,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Lipuli***: → 5.9.

***Lishe (You Shall Nourish)***: The director general of the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC) in Dar es Salaam is the editor of the Swahili quarterly which has a circulation of 10,000 copies. Date of registration: April 14<sup>th</sup> 1978.

***Lugha ya Taifa Milambo (National Language Milambo)***: This Swahili publication appeared in 1972.

***Lugha Yetu (Our Language)***: The linguistic magazine, which aims at the development and the propagation of the Swahili language, was launched by National Swahili Council („Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa”) in Dar es Salaam in 1969. Published bi-annually, its print run came to 5,000 in 1991.

***Lulu (Pearl)***: The Swahili monthly, which appeared in Tanga in 1990, was the property of J. P. Joba.

***Lulu Yetu (Our Pearl)***: The Swahili paper was published by the Likonde Seminary in 1971.

***Lumen 2000***: The co-ordinator of the Catholic Schools of Evangelisation is the publisher of this Dodoma quarterly which was registered on January 9<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Lumuli Iwa Busukuma (The Torch of the Sukuma People)***: Registered on July 27<sup>th</sup> 1993, the quarterly is owned by the Bujora Archdiocese in Mwanza and edited by Fr. Alex Mgonya in a run of 400 copies.

***Lumuli***: → 5.9.

***Lyamungu Newsletter***: The bulletin was published from 1973 to 1975.

***Macho (Eyes)***: This Swahili publication appeared in 1965.

***Maelezo Feature Service***: Published by the Tanzania Information Services (TIS), the paper's target groups are the Tanzanian embassies abroad. The publication is edited in both Swahili and English and appears in a print run of 170 at irregular intervals.

***Maendeleo katika Jamaa (Development in the Society)***: Founded in 1968, the Swahili monthly was owned by the Lay Apostolate in Peramiho.

***Maendeleo ya Jamii (Development of the Society)***: Owned by the Community Development Department in Dar es Salaam, the Swahili quarterly is edited by Ismail Mwinshashi and has a circulation of 25,000. On May 20<sup>th</sup> 1988, *Maendeleo ya Jamii* was exempted from registration.

***Maendeleo ya Shambalai***: The Swahili magazine was published shortly after independence in 1961.

***Magereza Journal (Prisons Journal)***: This periodical was launched in 1971.

***Mageuzi (Change)***: The Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly of Delta Engineering and Supplies was registered as a newspaper on October 4<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Maji Maji***: Named after the legendary riot against the German colonisation (1905 - 1907), the irregular Swahili paper was founded by the University Branch of the TANU (later CCM) Youth League in Dar es Salaam in 1971.

***Maji Review (Water Review)***: The Dar-es-Salaam publication of the Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals was launched in July 1974 but disappeared after a few issues.

***Majira (Time)***: Tanzania's best selling daily (50,000 circulation) is the property of the Dar es Salaam-based Business Times Ltd. and edited by Sammy Makilla in

Swahili. The first issue of the paper came off the presses on December 27<sup>th</sup> 1993 (date of registration: December 28<sup>th</sup> 1994).

***Majyambele:*** → 5.9.

***Malezi ya Ujana (Childhood Education):*** Registered as a newspaper on November 30<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Swahili quarterly belongs to CCT in Dar es Salaam and is edited by the respective project co-ordinator in a run of 6,000 copies.

***Mali Hai News:*** → *Habari za Mali Hai*.

***Maliasili (Natural Resources):*** The Swahili quarterly was founded in 1974. In 1994, the publication was edited by Hassan Mzee for the Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment in a print run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Malimoto (Hot Property):*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly of the Kaya Publishing Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Malimwengu (Secular Issues):*** Being the property of O. S. Mokea, the Swahili monthly was published in 1990.

***Mama na Mtoto Kigoma (Mother and Child in Kigoma):*** The bi-annual magazine was registered as a newspaper on March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1992, and, since then, the Kigoma publication has been owned by the Community Development Department and edited by Cletus Ponella in a print run of 10,000.

***Mama na Mtoto Mara (Mother and Child in Mara):*** The Regional Development Director in Musoma is the proprietor of this Swahili quarterly. Edited by Daniel Msangya, the publication has a circulation of 4,000 copies. Date of registration: June 17<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Mambo (Affairs):*** The Media Holdings (Tanzania) and John Ngahyoma are respectively the owner and the editor of the Dar-es-Salaam monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on November 26<sup>th</sup> 1993. In 1994, *Mambo's* print run came to 5,000.

***Mambo Leo:*** → 5.9.

***Mamboleo (Modern):*** Appearing in Arusha, the Swahili weekly is edited by the executive secretary of the Arusha Community Development Fund in a run of

10,000. *Mamboleo* was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 7<sup>th</sup> 1990.

***Mambosasa (Current Affairs)***: Registered as a newspaper on June 30<sup>th</sup> 1987, the Tanga monthly belongs to Shaba Publications and has a circulation of 10,000. Its editor is James D. Mgaya.

***Management Development Series***: → *NIP News Bulletin*.

***Manisipaa Leo (Municipality Today)***: The quarterly of the Tanga Municipal Council was edited by James D. Mgaya in 1993.

***Maoni (Opinion)***: Launched in the mid-1980s, the Swahili monthly was owned by the Dar es Salaam-based E. H. Publishers and edited by Aidan Cheche in a print run of 10,000.

***Maoni Yetu (Our Opinion)***: The Swahili paper of the Moaravian Theological College was published in Chunya in 1972.

***Mapambazuko (a) (Dawn)***: The monthly, which appeared in Marangu in 1990, was the property of the Pentecostal Church and had a circulation of 2,000 copies.

***Mapambazuko (b)***: Published in Kagera three times a year, the Swahili paper belongs to Karagwe Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). Date of registration: April 19<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Mapenzi ya Mungu (God's Love)***: Amri Abedi, the renowned advocate of the development of the Swahili language and later minister in Nyerere's cabinet, was the editor of this publication which appeared in Dar es Salaam soon after Tanzania's independence in 1961.

***Mapinduzi ya Kijamaa (The Socialist Revolution)***: Established in 1974, the Swahili monthly was owned by TRDC and edited by Pascal Mbunga in a print run of 10,000 in Tanga.

***Maranatha***: The quarterly of the Seventh Day Adventists is edited by John Kisasa in a run of 20,000 copies in Arusha. Date of registration: May 6<sup>th</sup> 1991.

***Material Management Journal***: The National Board of Materials and Management in Dar es Salaam is the owner of the quarterly which has a print run of 1,000. On

April 27<sup>th</sup> 1988, the publication was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS).

***Matukio (Proceedings)***: Both owned and edited by Peter L. Nkwama, the monthly, which was registered as a newspaper on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1980, appears in Arusha in a run of 20,000.

***Mazingira Yetu (Our Environment)***: Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on December 20<sup>th</sup> 1993, the quarterly of the Dodoma Environment Network is edited by Job de Graaf and Josiah Mshuda in a print run of 500 copies.

***Mbioni***: The monthly newsletter of CCM's Kivukoni College was launched in May 1964 (date of registration: April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980) and is edited by the respective principle in English. In 1991, the publication had a circulation of 4,000. Another periodical, the *Kivukoni College Newsletter*, was published from 1964 to 1975. A Swahili edition of the newsletter, *Mwenge* (The Torch), appeared between December 1964 and June 1974. Furthermore, the college is the owner of an annual magazine, *Kivuko* (Ford), which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980. In 1994, its circulation ranged from 3,000 to 4,000 copies.

***Mbiu ya Uchaguzi (The Bugle of the Elections)***: The Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly of the African International Group of Political Risk (PORIS) was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 12<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Mcheshi (Friendly Person)***: The monthly was the property of Nico Mbajo and appeared in 1990.

***Mchunguzi (a) (The Scout)***: Published in Moshi, the English and Swahili monthly was edited from 1973 to 1974.

***Mchunguzi (b)***: The Dar-es-Salaam monthly of Pan African Communications Ltd. was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on February 28<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***MEIDA Habari (MEIDA News)***: The Dar es Salaam-based Metal Engineering Industries Development Association (MEIDA) and John Tingo are respectively the proprietor and the editor of the quarterly, which was registered as a newspaper on November 19<sup>th</sup> 1980. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 500 copies.

***Meka (Glow)***: The weekly, which was registered on April 24<sup>th</sup> 1996, belongs to the Meka Comics Co-operative Society Ltd. in Mwanza.

***Mfanyakazi (The Labourer)***: The Swahili bi-weekly, which was established by the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA)<sup>79</sup> in 1964, has been one of the most successful publications in Tanzania's media history. At the beginning, it was published as a weekly in a modest print run (10,000), but due to its sensational articles, it soon became one of the country's largest selling papers. In 1994, Hamidu Nzowa edited the Dar es Salaam-based newspaper in a run of 100,000 copies.

***Mfanyakazi wa Mkonge (The Sisal Worker)***: The Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Board was the owner of the Swahili monthly which appeared in a run of 7,500 copies in Tanga from 1964 to 1972.

***Mfukuto (Smoke)***: Founded in 1963, the Swahili quarterly was published by the Catholic Diocese of Sumbawanga. In 1973, the magazine had a circulation of 3,000.

***Michapo (Whips)***: Mashaka Mapunda and John Hokororo were respectively the owner and the editor of the popular Swahili monthly (15,000 circulation) which was launched in Dar es Salaam in 1992. In February 1993, the paper was banned in accordance to The Newspaper Act.

***Michezo Yetu (Our Sports)***: Founded in 1972, the Swahili magazine belonged to the Kichezo Publishers.

***Michezo (Sports)***: Owned by the state-run Tanzania Standard Newspaper Ltd. and edited by Charles Rajabu, the monthly sports magazine appears in a run of 25,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. The paper was established in 1976 (date of registration: March 1<sup>st</sup> 1978) and is published in Swahili, whereas its sister paper, *Sportscene*, appears in English (date of registration: March 7<sup>th</sup> 1978).

***Mihtasari ya Mikutano***: → 5.9.

***Miombo***: The Executive Committee of the Wild Life Conservation Society is the editor of the Dar-es-Salaam quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania

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<sup>79</sup> NUTA was later renamed JUWATA (Jumuia ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania [Union of Tanzanian Workers]) and, subsequently, Organisation of Tanganyika Trade Unions (OTTU).

Information Services (TIS) on August 10<sup>th</sup> 1988. In 1994, *Miombo* had a circulation of 2,000.

***Misakato***: The Moshi monthly, which appeared in 1990, was owned by G. Mchome.

***Mizani (Balance)***: Registered on March 17<sup>th</sup> 1990, the Swahili-language weekly belongs to the Dar es Salaam-based Sherman Publishers and Distributors and is edited by Khalifa M. H. Mohamed in a run of 2,000 copies.

***Mjumbe wa Kristo***: → 5.9.

***Mjumbe wa Moyo Mt. wa Yesh***: The bi-annual publication of the Catholic Apostleship of Prayers in Dodoma was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 18<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Mjumbe wa UNESCO (The UNESCO Delegate)***: The Tanzania National Commission for UNESCO is the proprietor of the Swahili monthly which is edited by L. Shuma. The Dar-es-Salaam paper was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on December 28<sup>th</sup> 1981, and, since then, its circulation has ranged between 12,500 to 22,500.

***Mkombozi (a) (The Saviour)***: The Swahili paper of the CCM Iringa Region was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981. Then, the publication appeared in a print run of 10,000.

***Mkombozi (b)***: Published in Dar es Salaam, the Swahili weekly is owned by the Makwambe Training Company and edited by Khalid Mika in a run of 15,000 copies. Date of registration: June 9<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***Mkulima (The Farmer)***: The Tanganyika Farmers Association is the owner of the Swahili quarterly which is edited by Mathew A. Mangi in a run of 10,000 in Arusha. The agricultural paper was registered as a newspaper on August 23<sup>rd</sup> 1988. Moreover, the association published the monthly *Mkulima wa Kisasa* (The Modern Farmer) which appeared in 1990 (15,000 circulation).

***Mkulima wa Kisasa***: → *Mkulima*.

***Mkutubi***: The Swahili paper of the „Shirika la Huduma za Maktaba Tanganyika” (Association of the Tanganyika Library Services) was established in 1973.

**Mkwawa:** The magazine of the Mkwawa High School appeared in the years from 1964 to 1968.

**Mlezi (The Educator):** The Swahili fortnightly of the Benedictine Abbey in Peramiho replaced → *Tatejo* (5.9) in 1969. Subtitled „Gazeti la Msaada wa Kutangaza Habari Njema“ (Newspaper in Support of the Dissemination of the Gospel), the founding editor, Gerold Rupper, succeeded to establish a publication highly appreciated by its readership. In 1994, *Mlezi* was edited by Vitus Ndunguru. Circulation: 2,500 (1970), 2,600 (1971), 5,600 (1973), 7,400 (1976), 11,200 (1980), 19,600 (1986; 1,700 copies were distributed to Kenya), 19,200 (1992), 9,000 (1993), 10,000 (1994).

**Mlishi:** → 5.9.

**Monthly Newsletter:** The monthly publication of the Dairy Training Institute in Tengeru appeared in 1972 and 1973. After the institution was taken over by the Ministry of Agriculture, the paper was renamed *Monthly Report*.

**Monthly Report:** → *Monthly Newsletter*.

**Monthly Statistical Bulletin:** → *Monthly Statistical Supplement*, 5.9.

**Monthly Statistical Supplement:** → 5.9.

**Motomoto (Come On!):** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1990, the fortnightly is owned by Emmanuel Salehe and edited by Reinfred Masako in a run of 10,000 (40,000 in 1992) in Dar es Salaam.

**Mozambique Revolution:** The „Official Organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front Frelimo“ (subtitle) was published in 1969.

**Mpanzi (The Sower):** The Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika published the Swahili quarterly in Singida from 1962 to 1964.

**Mpiga Picha (The Photographer):** This Swahili magazine appeared in 1968.

**Msafara (The Queue):** Published three times a year, the Swahili paper is owned by the Christian Writing Club in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: May 19<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Msanii (The Expert)***: Published in Kibaha-Pwani, the quarterly is the property of the Coast Region Development Direction and edited by Boniface Sanjula in a print run of 5,000 copies. Date of registration: February 26<sup>th</sup> 1986.

***Msemakweli (The Soothsayer)***: The Swahili monthly, which was registered as a newspaper on August 18<sup>th</sup> 1992, is edited by Sylvester M. Gamanywa for the Dar es Salaam-based WAPO in a run of 10,000.

***Mshindi (The Winner)***: Both owned and edited by Kusai Kamisa, the Swahili monthly appears in Dar es Salaam and has a circulation of 15,000. On November 8<sup>th</sup> 1980, *Mshindi* was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS).

***Msimamizi (The Foreman)***: The Swahili paper, which appeared from 1965 to 1968, dealt with the experiences of the foremen of the Mkonge factory.

***Msitu (Forest)***: Being the property of the Dodoma Environmental Network, the Swahili quarterly was registered as a newspaper on January 16<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Mtafiti (Curious Person)***: Registered on April 24<sup>th</sup> 1996, the Dar-es-Salaam weekly is the property of Baagara M. Sagatii and Derek K. Murusuri.

***Mtanzania (The Tanzanian)***: The Swahili daily, which was launched by the *Dimba-Mtanzania-Rai* consortium on September 11<sup>th</sup> 1995 (date of registration: July 27<sup>th</sup> 1995), is one of the country's few quality papers. Edited by Johnson Mbwambo, it appears in Dar es Salaam in a run of 20,000.

***Mtazamo (Observation)***: Being the property of the Tanzania Shoe Company Ltd. in Dar es Salaam, the Swahili quarterly was published in the mid-1980s in a run of 3,000.

***Mtima (The Heart)***: The Benedictine Abbey in Peramiho was the publisher of this Swahili paper which appeared in a print run of 4,000 copies from 1970 to 1986.

***Mtunzi (The Examiner)***: Akuu M. H. Kinyaka edited the Swahili quarterly for the Modern Literacy Services from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. The Dar-es-Salaam paper had a circulation of 10,000.

***Muslimu (The Muslim)***: Launched in 1990, the monthly of the National Muslim Council of Tanzania is published in Dar es Salaam in a run of 10,000 copies.

**Muli:** → 5.9.

**Mulika (Shine):** The magazine of the „Chuo cha Uchunguzi wa Lugha ya Kiswahili” (Institute of Swahili Research) in Dar es Salaam was founded in 1972.

**Muziki Leo (Today’s Music):** The Swahili magazine of the Muziki Leo Publishers appeared at the end of the 1980s.

**Mwadi News:** → *Habari za Mwadi*.

**Mwafrika na Taifa:** → 5.9.

**Mwafrika:** → 5.9.

**Mwamko (Consciousness):** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 13<sup>th</sup> 1996, the Swahili weekly is published by Mwamko Publications Ltd. in Dar es Salaam.

**Mwanamama (Mother’s Child):** The Swahili monthly of the „Umoja wa Vijana Tanzania” (Union of Tanzanian Youths, → *Mwanga*) was edited by Cyprian Masawa in the early 1990s.

**Mwanamuziki (The Musician):** David Nyalla Latiah is the owner of this Mwanza publication which was registered as a newspaper on May 13<sup>th</sup> 1996.

**Mwananchi (The Citizen):** Like → *The Express*, the Swahili bi-weekly is the property of the Media Holdings (Tanzania) in Dar es Salaam. The newspaper, which was founded in 1992 (date of registration: December 3<sup>rd</sup> 1991), is edited by Barnabas Maro in a print run of 30,000 (12,000 in 1992).

**Mwanga (The Light):** The Dar es Salaam-based „Umoja wa Vijana Tanzania” (Union of Tanzanian Youths) and Stephen Mganga are respectively the owner and the editor of this Swahili monthly which has a circulation of 30,000. Date of registration: July 16<sup>th</sup> 1981.

**Mwangaza (a) (The Light):** Launched in 1974, the Swahili monthly was published by Mwanamadete and John Leta in a run of 20,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

**Mwangaza (b):** The Swahili weekly of the Dar es Salaam-based Cordan Ltd. was registered as a newspaper on April 25<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Mwendo (Motion)***: The Bukoba District Primary Schools edited the publication in 1966.

***Mwenge (a)***: → *Mbioni*.

***Mwenge (b) (The Torch)***: The Swahili monthly of the Benedictine Abbey in Peramiho replaced → *Katoliki* (5.9) in 1964. Then, the paper's layout was almost revolutionary since the editorial committee used colour photos in order to illustrate the articles. In the mid-1970s, *Mwenge* was available in 80 % of the country's towns and villages. Editor: Francis Mdachi (1994). Circulation: 15,000 (1964), 12,000 (1973), 12,000 (1981), 33,000 (1992), 50,000 (1994).

***Mwenge (c)***: Launched in 1964, the Swahili publication was edited by the Grewal Primary and Secondary School in Bukoba.

***Mwenzetu (Our Friends)***: The Likonde Seminary paper appeared between 1970 and 1972.

***Mzalendo (The Patriot)***: The Sunday paper, which was launched on April 30<sup>th</sup> 1972, is the sister of → *Uhuru*. Owned by CCM's Uhuru Publications Ltd., the Swahili weekly was once the country's largest selling paper. On special occasions, such as soccer matches between the rivals Young Africans and Simba, *Mzalendo* gained a circulation as high as 120,000 copies. But since the implementation of the multi-party system, the newspaper's print run has fallen disastrously (29,000 in 1996).

***Mzumbe ya Leo***: This Swahili paper was launched in 1967.

***NAEAT Newsletter***: The publication of the National Adult Education Association (NAEAT) of Tanzania was founded in 1973. From 1974, after NAEAT had become the „Chama cha Elimu ya Watu Wazima” (CHEWATA, Swahili translation of the former English title), the paper was titled *CHEWATA Newsletter*.

***Namibia Today***: The organ of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was published in Dar es Salaam from 1972 to 1973.

***Namibia Youth***: This periodical was launched in 1974.

***NATEX Staff News***: The bulletin was established in 1971.

***Nationalist, The:*** The „First African owned English Daily in East Africa“ (subtitle in 1964) came off the presses on April 17<sup>th</sup> 1964. Being the mouthpiece of TANU, it was formally owned by the Mwananchi Printing and Publishing Company which was headed by Joel Mgogo. Then, the paper’s editor was James G. Markham. In 1970, TANU’s daily was edited by Tanzania’s current president, Benjamin W. Mkapa, in a run of 9,532 copies. On April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972, *The Nationalist* was merged with *The Standard* (→ *Tanganyika Standard*, 5.9) to form → *Daily News*.

***NBC House Magazine:*** The monthly of the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1983. Edited by NBC’s managing director, the publication appears in a print run of 3,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Nchi Yetu (Our Country):*** The director of the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) is the editor of the Swahili monthly which was launched in 1964. In 1994, the Dar-es-Salaam paper had a circulation of 50,000 copies (25,000 in 1970/71).

***NCSWS Newsletter:*** Owned by the National Council of Social and Welfare Services (NCSWS) and edited by David D. Rugero, the quarterly appeared during the 1980s.

***Nena (Tell!):*** Rev. Nehemia Hebel Mbazzah is the owner of this Mbeya quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 17<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***NETF Newsletter:*** Registered on October 25<sup>th</sup> 1995, the quarterly of The National Education Trust Fund (NETF) appears in Dar es Salaam.

***New Accessions to East Africa:*** The library of the University of Dar es Salaam was the publisher of this periodical which was only available in 1973.

***New Bingwa International (The New Specialist International):*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly was edited by Ch. Bushiri in 1990.

***New Film Azania:*** The monthly was published in Arusha in 1990.

***New Outlook:*** Launched in December 1961, the political magazine was owned by the New Outlook Journal Ltd. in Dar es Salaam and edited by Joe Kamzora in a run of 500 copies once a month.

***New Safari:*** The quarterly was published by the Arusha-based Kazimoto Associates in the early 1990s.

***News (a):*** → *Habari (c)*.

***News (b):*** Being the property of the Union of Co-operative Society, the Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly was published in a run of 5,000 copies in the late 1980s.

***News Bulletin (a):*** Founded in 1960, the English monthly was published by the Dar es Salaam-based Tanzania Catholic Secretariat Communications Department and edited by Fr. David Matipa. It contained mainly news about the Catholic Church in Tanzania and was read by agencies, news people, and Church leaders.

***News Bulletin (b):*** Published by the Institute of Development Management, the periodical came off the presses in 1972.

***News Bulletin (c):*** → *Habari (a)*.

***News Bulletin (d):*** This information sheet was published by the Tanzania Red Cross Society in 1974.

***News from the Hill:*** The quarterly of the University College of Dar es Salaam appeared from 1964 to 1968.

***News Review Tanzania:*** → *Tanganyika News Review*.

***Newsletter (a):*** The paper of the College of African Wildlife Management in Mweka was published during the 1960s.

***Newsletter (b):*** The publication of the East African Muslim Welfare Society appeared only in 1966.

***Newsletter (c):*** The Ministry of National Education was the publisher of the Dar-es-Salaam periodical which was founded in November 1972.

***Newsletter (d):*** This bulletin of the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) was published in 1975.

**Newsletter (e):** Published by The Pharmaceutical Society of Tanzania in 1981, the English publication had a circulation of 250.

**Newsletter (f):** The Institute of Engineers Tanzania and J. P. Mosha were respectively the owner and the editor of this publication which appeared every two months in the mid-1980s.

**Ngao (Protection):** Established in 1971, the quarterly of the National Insurance Corporation (NBC) is published in a print run of 2,000 in Dar es Salaam.

**Ngorongoro Bulletin:** This information sheet appeared in the mid-1960s at irregular intervals.

**Ngurumo (a):** → 5.9.

**Ngurumo (b) (The Roar):** The Swahili weekly of the Bwikizo Investment Ltd. in Dar es Salaam was registered on October 4<sup>th</sup> 1995.

**Nguvu Kazi (Working Power):** The Swahili monthly belongs to the Ministry of Labour and Youth in Dar es Salaam and has a circulation of 2,000 copies. On July 10<sup>th</sup> 1982, the paper was exempted from registration.

**Nguzo za STC (The Prop of STC):** The Swahili paper was launched in 1971.

**NIP News Bulletin:** The newssheet of the Dar es Salaam-based National Institute for Productivity (NIP) was launched in 1968. Furthermore, NIP owns a quarterly, *Management Development Series*, which has been published since 1978 (5,000 circulation in 1994).

**Nipashe (Tell Me the News):** The first issue of the popular Swahili daily appeared on April 21<sup>st</sup> 1994 (date of registration: May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1993). The newspaper belongs to The Guardian Ltd. in Dar es Salaam, and, in 1996, it was edited by Vumi Urasa in a run of 20,000 copies (25,000 in 1994).

**Nipe Habari (Give Me News):** The Swahili quarterly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1983, is published by the Regional Development Directorate (RDD) in a circulation of 5,000 (8,000 in 1986) in Iringa.

***Njanga Chimala:*** Registered as a newspaper on January 10<sup>th</sup> 1991, the Chimala-based quarterly is owned by Hideo Okada and edited by Charles F. Kirschtein in run of 2,000 copies.

***Njoo Uone:*** → 5.9.

***North Mara Gazette:*** → 5.9.

***Northern News:*** The English fortnightly of the Tanzania News Publishers was edited by Sultan Jersa in Arusha from 1969 to 1973.

***Northern Province Post:*** → 5.9.

***Nova Magazine:*** The monthly was published by the Tai Publishers Ltd. (→ *Fahari*) in Dar es Salaam in 1990.

***Now in Tanzania:*** This paper was established in 1969.

***Ntumitumi:*** The periodical was founded in 1966.

***Nuru (The Light):*** The Pare Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) is the proprietor of the Swahili quarterly, which is edited by Gabriel Mgonja in a run of 3,000 copies (2,000 in 1986) in Same. The paper was registered as a newspaper on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1978.

***Nuru Yetu (Our Light):*** The Swahili monthly was established in the course of the Rural Press Project in 1980. In 1994, the paper was owned by the Ministry of Education and Culture and edited by Paulo Ngailo in a print run 50,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Nutrition Newsletter:*** Established in 1967, the bi-annual publication is the property of the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre in Dar es Salaam. The paper has a circulation of 3,000 copies and is edited by Donald Naveta.

***Nyegezi Weekly News:*** Published by the Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC) in Mwanza, the weekly serves as practice publication for journalism students. It is edited by the head of the Journalism Department in a print run of 5,000. On September 8<sup>th</sup> 1981, *Nyegezi Weekly News* was exempted from registration with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS).

**Nyota (a) (Star):** The Morogoro-based monthly was owned by Eddie Ganzel and edited by Mohamed M. Kassam in a run of 10,000 in the mid-1980s.

**Nyota (b):** Registered on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1992, the Swahili weekly belongs to the General Publications Ltd. (→ *Family Mirror*) in Dar es Salaam. In 1994, the newspaper was edited by Anthony Ngaiza (→ *Business Times, Family Mirror*) in a print run of 30,000 copies.

**Nyota Afrika (Star of Africa):** The Swahili monthly was the result of the merger between → *Mambo Leo* (5.9) and the Kenyan paper *Maisha* in 1963. It belonged to the East African Newspaper Ltd. in Nairobi and was edited by Boaz Omori.

**Nyundo (The Hammer):** Eddy Francis Mwaipopo is the proprietor of this Dar-es-Salaam periodical which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1996.

**OMA:** The mouthpiece of the Organisation of Angolan Women appeared in 1973.

**Opinion:** S. T. Maliti was both the owner and the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam monthly which was registered on September 12<sup>th</sup> 1985. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 10,000.

**Our Past:** This periodical of the Likonde Seminary was launched in 1966.

**Pals International:** Being the property of the Raha Leo Publishers in Dar es Salaam, the quarterly was edited by Asterius Chikuswa in a print run of 10,000 copies. Date of registration: May 10<sup>th</sup> 1990.

**Pamba Yetu (Our Cotton):** The annual magazine, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 11<sup>th</sup> 1979, is published by the Tanzania Cotton Marketing Board in Dar es Salaam. In 1994, the periodical had a circulation of 2,000 copies.

**Pambamoto (Hot Cotton):** The fortnightly of the „Umoja wa Vijana” (Union of Youths) in Dar es Salaam is edited by the Regional Youth Secretary in a run of 20,000. The Swahili-language paper was registered on January 9<sup>th</sup> 1989.

**Pambazuko (a):** → *The Eye*.

***Pambazuko (b) (Dawn)***: The Lembeni fortnightly, which appeared in 1980 in a print run of 700, was owned by the Catholic Diocese of Same and edited by Fr. John Bosman.

***Pambazuko (c)***: A. Mtawazo is the editor of the Swahili quarterly which is owned by the Kibaha branch of CCM. The paper has a circulation of 2,000 and was registered as a newspaper on July 10<sup>th</sup> 1984.

***Pambazuko/Sauti ya Wakulima (Dawn/Voice of the Farmers)***: The Swahili quarterly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1996, is the property of the Dar es Salaam-based MVIWATA.

***Pan-African Lutheran Information***: Owned by the All African Lutheran Churches Information and Coordination Centre in Arusha, the fortnightly is edited by Lalashowi Swai in a print run of 1,000 copies. The paper was founded in 1978 (date of registration: November 21<sup>st</sup> 1978) and pursues the aims „to promote the sharing of information among sister Churches, thus fostering better knowledge of Church activities and needs.” (Eilers et al. 1980, p. 430)

***Papers in Education and Development***: Launched in July 1975, the publication of the Department of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam appears at irregular intervals.

***Parapanda (a) (Trumpet)***: The Dodoma paper was established in 1974.

***Parapanda (b)***: The fortnightly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on July 27<sup>th</sup> 1993, is published by The Grassroots Female Communicators Association in a print run of 5,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Pea (Rhinceros)***: Clemence Ndesumbuka is the owner of this Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly which was registered as a newspaper on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 20,000.

***Pembe Tatu (Trinity)***: The paper of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) appeared in 1964.

***Popian***: The school magazine was founded in 1968.

**Post, The:** The weekly of the Dar es Salaam-based Post Publications Ltd. is edited by Michael Mbeni Mwanatongoni in a print run of 10,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: April 28<sup>th</sup> 1994.

**Printed in Tanzania:** The bibliographical journal of the Tanzania Library Services Board (University of Dar es Salaam) was established in 1963. Later, in 1973, the publication was renamed *Tanzania National Bibliography*.

**Prism:** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on July 28<sup>th</sup> 1993, the weekly is both owned and edited by Gisela and Naaman Mkenwa in a run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

**Professional Accountant:** In 1994, Gideo Shoo edited the quarterly for the Tanzania Association of Accountants in a print run of 10,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: May 30<sup>th</sup> 1987.

**Progress:** The monthly, which was the property of the Dar es Salaam-based Industrial and Lithographic Enterprise Ltd., was edited by Zakaria Bukuzi in the mid-1980s.

**Property Digest:** Founded in 1989, the monthly of the D & J Home Makers Ltd. was edited by Felix Kaiza in run of 3,000 in Dar es Salaam.

**Pwani na Bara:** → 1.5.

**Quarterly Economic Review:** → *Central Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, 5.9.

**Radi (Lightning):** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on September 19<sup>th</sup> 1985, the Swahili monthly is edited by Ndimara Tegambwage for the Tausi Publishers Ltd. in a run of 8,000 in Dar es Salaam.

**Radiance:** Subtitled „An Interscholastic Magazine”, the publication appeared in 1972.

**Rafiki (Friend):** The Swahili weekly of Julius John Mapunda was registered as a newspaper on March 29<sup>th</sup> 1995. A few months later, on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1995, the Dar-es-Salaam paper was banned after it had run an article which was regarded to be likely to cause „incivility” in the army.

***Rai (Opinion):*** The Swahili weekly came off the presses on November 4<sup>th</sup> 1993 (date of registration: October 18<sup>th</sup> 1993). In 1996, the Dar es Salaam-based paper was the property of a consortium which also published → *Dimba* and → *Mtanzania*. The editor was John Bwire. Circulation: 7,000 (first issue), 40,000 (July 1994).

***Raia (a):*** → 5.9.

***Raia (b) (The Citizen):*** The newspaper of the Raia Publishers appears in Dar es Salaam twice a week. Date of registration: December 27<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Rasilimali (Capital):*** The bi-annual magazine, which was established in 1972, is owned by the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) in Dar es Salaam. Edited by the bank's general manager, the paper appears in a print run of 10,000.

***Ray:*** The „Dar Teacher's College Annual Magazine" (subtitle) was launched in 1967.

***Read and Know:*** This publication came off the presses in 1967.

***Research and Information Bulletin:*** The Tanzania National Scientific Research Council in Dar es Salaam and Hosea Y. Kayumbo are respectively the owner and the editor of the bi-monthly, which has a circulation of 10,000 copies. Date of registration: December 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980.

***Research Bulletin/University of Dar es Salaam:*** Subtitled „Summary of Completed and On-Going Research Projects", the bi-annual journal of the University of Dar es Salaam was founded in June 1976.

***Riyadha:*** The Dar-es-Salaam publication of Saidi Seif Hilal was registered on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Rumuli:*** → 5.9.

***Ruvuma Leo (Ruvuma Today):*** The Swahili newspaper of the CCM Ruvuma Region was published in a run of 5,000 in 1981.

***Sadness and Joy:*** The paper was recorded by the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975, p. 9) without the date of its publication.

***Safari Yetu (Our Journey)***: This periodical was published by the Catholic Diocese of Iringa in 1980.

***Safina (Noah's Ark)***: The Swahili monthly of BAKWATA was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1981 and appears in a print run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Sali (Pray!)***: Owned by Every Home Evangelism and edited by Mbazi H. Sangiwa, the Arusha monthly was registered as a newspaper on May 8<sup>th</sup> 1981. In 1994, the Swahili paper had a circulation of 50,000.

***Sanaa na Michezo (Arts and Sports)***: The Swahili weekly of the Dar es Salaam-based Cette International Ltd. was registered on January 20<sup>th</sup> 1989. In 1994, the periodical was edited by Godfrey M. Nyerere in a run of 3,000 copies.

***Sangu Leo (Sangu Today)***: The fortnightly of the Catholic Church in Mbeya was founded shortly after independence in 1961. Edited by Laurence Noronha (→ *Topics*) and Michael Ngalasa, the paper had a circulation of 200.

***Sani***: Saidi Bawji and Nico Mbajo are both the owners and the editors of the Dar-es-Salaam monthly which appears in a run of 30,000 copies. Date of registration: November 16<sup>th</sup> 1978.

***Sauti (The Voice)***: The Swahili quarterly was established in 1964.

***Sauti ya Akajase (The Voice of Akajase)***: The bi-monthly publication, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1993, is owned by Akajase Enterprises in Dar es Salaam and edited by R. A. Akwilombe in a print run of 10,000.

***Sauti ya Amani (The Voice of Peace)***: Established in 1987, the Swahili monthly is the property of the Makenisa ya Kibaptisti (Baptist Churches) and edited by J. B. Mgandilwa in a run of 4,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Sauti ya Bilal (The Voice of Bilal)***: The Dar-es-Salaam bi-monthly, which was founded in 1966, belongs to The Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania and is edited by Dhikiri O. Kiondo. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 30,000.

***Sauti ya Jimbo (The Voice of the Province)***: The Swahili quarterly is owned by the Anglican Church Province of Tanzania and edited by Zakeyo Shabai. Founded in

1978 (date of registration: May 15<sup>th</sup> 1978), the paper appears in a print run of 10,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Sauti ya Kisanji***: The Morogoro quarterly of the Christian Council of Tanzania was registered as a newspaper on December 12<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Sauti ya Maendeleo (The Voice of Progress)***: Owned by the Tanzania Menonite Church, the Swahili bi-monthly is edited by Rev. M. M. Hess in a run of 5,000 in Musoma. Date of registration: May 30<sup>th</sup> 1991.

***Sauti ya Magereza (The Voice of the Prisons)***: First mentioned in the press directory of 1981, the Swahili monthly is published by the respective principal commissioner of prisons and has a circulation of 10,000 copies. In 1993, the Dar-es-Salaam paper was edited by John Nvoka.

***Sauti ya Mara (The Voice of Mara)***: The Swahili paper was launched in 1974.

***Sauti ya Mkwawa (The Voice of Mkwawa)***: This periodical was published in Swahili language in 1972 and 1973.

***Sauti ya Morogoro***: → 5.9.

***Sauti ya Siti (Madam's Voice)***: Established in 1988 (date of registration: March 4<sup>th</sup> 1988), the quarterly of the Dar es Salaam-based Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) is edited by Leila Sheikh Hashim. In 1994, the publication's print run ranged between 2,000 and 8,000 copies.

***Sauti ya Unabii (The Voice of Prophecy)***: This paper was catalogued by the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975, p. 9) without the date of its publication.

***Sauti ya Urafiki (The Voice of Friendship)***: The quarterly, which was registered as a newspaper on March 5<sup>th</sup> 1979, is owned by the Friendship Textile Mill in Dar es Salaam. The circulation of the periodical amounts to 3,000.

***Sauti ya Vijana - Kilimanjaro (The Voice of the Youths - Kilimanjaro)***: Registered on November 29<sup>th</sup> 1982, the monthly of the „Umoja wa Vijana Kilimanjaro“ (Union of the Kilimanjaro Youths) is edited by Richard Rwegasira in a run of 5,000 copies in Moshi.

***Sauti ya Vijana - Shinyanga (The Voice of the Youths - Shinyanga):*** The Youth Advisory and Development Council (YADEC) in Shinyanga is the publisher of this Swahili monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 4<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Sauti ya Wakulima:*** → 5.9.

***Sauti Yetu:*** → 5.9.

***Sayari (Planet):*** Pius Kipengele is the proprietor of this Dar-es-Salaam bi-monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1993.

***Sayu-itu:*** → 5.9.

***Scholar Magazine:*** This periodical was established in 1967.

***Science Journal:*** → *START*.

***Sema (Say!):*** The pamphlet of the Darteco Literary Writers' Group was listed by the Tanzania Library Service (cf. 1975, p. 9) without the date of its publication.

***Semezana (Converse!):*** The Tanzania Non-Governmental Organisation and Mbalwa Kivuyo are respectively the owner and the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam quarterly which appears in a print run of 5,000. Date of registration: August 12<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Service:*** The Catholic paper of the Tanzania Pastoral Research Institute Kipalapala was founded in 1970. Edited by Fr. Theobald Msambure in Tabora, the publication appeared ten times a year and had a circulation of 1,400.

***Shaba (Copper):*** Registered on March 24<sup>th</sup> 1992, the popular Swahili weekly is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based Oliprint Limited and edited by Nestory Lushazi in a print run of 30,000.

***Shahidi (The Witness):*** The „Jarida la Chama cha Kiswahili“ (subtitle, Journal of the Swahili Association) was established in 1971.

***Shangwe (Ovation):*** The weekly of the Dar es Salaam-based Tamba General Enterprises was registered on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Sheria na Haki Zako (The Law and Your Rights)***: The Tanzania Legal Aid Association in Dodoma is the owner of the monthly which is edited by James Mwalusanya in a run of 3,000. Date of registration: November 10<sup>th</sup> 1992.

***SHIHATA News Panorama***: The news agency's 20-page feature service was published in Dar es Salaam in 1991. Edited in English, it had a circulation of 300 copies which were mailed out world-wide.

***Shime (Go Ahead!)***: The Swahili fortnightly, which was registered as a newspaper on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1993, is owned by Rafael Enterprise Ltd. and edited by Willie Chiwango. In 1994, the circulation of the Dar-es-Salaam paper was 10,000.

***Shinyanga Leo (Shinyanga Today)***: Registered on February 21<sup>st</sup> 1995, the Swahili quarterly is owned by the Regional Development Directorate (RDD) Shinyanga.

***Shirika Letu (Our Corporation)***: The Tanzania Sisal Corporation was the publisher of this periodical which appeared in the early 1970s.

***Shujaa wa Imakulata (Immaculate Hero)***: The Franciscan Friars in Arusha are the publishers of this Swahili quarterly which was registered on September 29<sup>th</sup> 1994.

***Shuka (Get Off!)***: Owned by Omar Mrope, Arnold Victor, and Victor Muhanika, the Dar-es-Salaam bi-weekly was registered as a newspaper on January 30<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Sikiliza (Listen!)***: Founded in 1978 (date of registration: July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1978), the annual magazine of the Seventh Day Adventist Church is edited by W. Fenner in a print run of 20,000 copies in Arusha.

***Siku Hizi (These Days)***: Rev. Daudi Nishi was both the owner and the editor of this Swahili monthly which appeared in a run of 15,000 copies in Dar es Salaam during the 1980s.

***Sky Safety***: The bi-annual magazine of the Dar es Salaam-based Tanzania Air Traffic Controllers Association was edited by J. S. Minja in a print run of 5,000 in the late 1980s.

***Someni (Read!)***: The Tanzania Library Association in Dar es Salaam established the publication in 1968.

***Songea Spark***: This periodical appeared from 1969 to 1972.

**Sounds:** Habi Litanga of the Sounds International Ltd. was the editor of this quarterly which had a circulation of 6,000 copies. The publication appeared in Dar es Salaam in the mid-1980s.

**Southern Highlands Region Bulletin:** → 5.9.

**Spearhead:** → 5.9.

**Spokesman:** This paper was published in the years 1966 and 1967.

**Sportscene:** → *Michezo*.

**Sportstar:** Registered on September 4<sup>th</sup> 1989, the weekly of the Adverts and Marketing Services Ltd. is edited by Sylvester Hanga in a print run of 20,000 in Dar es Salaam.

**Spotlight on South Africa:** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly was launched by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1987.

**Standard – Tanzania, The:** → *Tanganyika Standard*, 5.9.

**START:** The news bulletin of the Science Teachers Association of the United Republic of Tanzania (START) was published from 1963 to 1974. Then, it was replaced with the *Science Journal*.

**Statistical Abstract:** → 5.9.

**Straight Talk/Sema Waziwazi:** → *Tuzungumze*.

**Stranger:** This paper was published in the mid-1960s.

**Student Magazine:** The students at the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) in Mwanza published this paper from 1965 to 1967. Then, it was renamed *Hapa Leo* (Here Today).

**Student Voice:** The quarterly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 9<sup>th</sup> 1991, is published by students of the University of Dar es Salaam in a run of 5,000. In 1994, the editor was Alfred Woiso.

**Studies in Adult Education:** Established in 1970, the quarterly was published by the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) of the University of Dar es Salaam.

***Studies in Curriculum Development:*** The Institute of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam was the owner of this magazine which appeared in 1972.

***Sugar and Cane:*** Registered on June 17<sup>th</sup> 1993, the bi-annual magazine of the Tanzania Society of Sugar and Cane Technologists is edited by G. T. Mbagi in a print run of 250 in Morogoro.

***Sunday Nation:*** → 5.9.

***Sunday News:*** → 5.9.

***Sunday Observer:*** The English-language weekly of the The Guardian Ltd. started on September 24<sup>th</sup> 1995 (date of registration: July 28<sup>th</sup> 1995). It is edited by Fili Karashani in a run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Sungura (Rabbit):*** Being the property of the Tanganyika Dyeing & Weaving Mills Ltd. in Dar es Salaam, the bi-annual publication was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980.

***Sunset:*** The daily evening paper of The Guardian Ltd. came off the presses on April 28<sup>th</sup> 1996 (date of registration: October 25<sup>th</sup> 1995). In 1996, it was edited by Lawrence Kilimwiko in a run of 2,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Sunshine, The:*** The Dar-es-Salaam weekly of Mandoha Mfanga was registered as a newspaper on May 27<sup>th</sup> 1994. The print run of the paper ranged between 10,000 and 30,000 copies in 1994.

***Swahili:*** → 5.9.

***Taamuli (Meditation):*** Subtitled „A Political Science Forum“, the bi-annual magazine has been published by the Faculty of Political Science (University of Dar es Salaam) since 1970. In 1991, its print run amounted to 1,000 copies.

***Taarifa (a) (News):*** Founded in 1976, the Catholic paper was published by the Diocese of Nachingwea and edited by John Bosco Mvope at irregular intervals.

***Taarifa (b):*** → *Tanzania News Bulletin.*

***Taarifa ya Takwimu Robo Mwaka:*** → 5.9.

***Taarifa ya Tarakimu:*** → 5.9.

***Taarifa za Kamati (News of the Commission):*** → *Mihtasari ya Mikutano*, 5.9.

***Tabora School Magazine:*** This paper was established in 1974.

***Taifa Letu (Our Nation):*** Owned by Dar es Salaam-based The Guardian Ltd. and edited by Kiondo Mshana, the weekly started on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1995 (date of registration: April 25<sup>th</sup> 1995). In August 1996, the Swahili paper had a circulation of 20,000 copies.

***Taifa Tanganyika:*** → 5.9.

***Taifa Tanzania:*** → *Taifa Tanganyika*, 5.9.

***Tamasha*** (Festivity): Subtitled „Gazeti la Starehe” (Newspaper for Recreation), the Swahili paper of the Tamasha Publications was launched in 1971. It appeared in a print run of 10,000 copies.

***Tan Nordic News:*** This paper appeared in 1971 and 1972.

***TANESCO News:*** The Dar-es-Salaam periodical was established in 1964.

***Tanganyika and Zanzibar Trade Journal:*** → *Tanganyika Trade Journal*.

***Tanganyika Coffee News:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Education Journal:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Gazette:*** → *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, 5.9.

***Tanganyika Herald:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika in the U.K. Press:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Leo (Tanganyika Today):*** The weekly newspaper, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 19<sup>th</sup> 1993, is published by Nuglobe Co. Ltd. in a print run of 100,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Tanganyika Mpya:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika News Review:*** Established in 1963, the Dar-es-Salaam monthly of the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) „(...) aimed at educating or briefing

*Tanganyikas who are abroad working or studying*" (Chintowa 1980, p. 1). In November 1964, the publication was renamed *News Review Tanzania*, and, in 1965, it became the *Tanzania News Review*. Since then, the paper's circulation ranged between 2,500 and 10,000 copies.

***Tanganyika Notes and Records:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Opinion:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Police Journal:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Post:*** The English-language fortnightly was launched by B. I. M. Roberts in 1962 and appeared in Arusha until the early 1990s.

***Tanganyika Standard:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Times & Trade Recorder:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Times:*** Owned by the Tanganyika Enterprises Ltd. in Arusha, the English-language weekly appeared from 1964 to 1967. Its editor was J. Miller.

***Tanganyika Trade Bulletin:*** → 5.9.

***Tanganyika Trade Journal:*** Founded by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1962, the quarterly became the *Tanganyika and Zanzibar Trade Journal* after the union of 1964. In October 1964, the publication was renamed *Tanzania Trade Journal*, and, finally, it appeared as *Tanzania Trade and Industry* in October 1965. The circulation of the English-language periodical came to 4,500.

***Tangaza (a) (Announce!):*** An Anglican pastor, N. Mtowe, was the editor of the Swahili quarterly which was established by the ecumenical Northern Zone for Christian Communications in 1971. The paper had a print run of 100 copies.

***Tangaza (b):*** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Swahili quarterly of the African Evangelistic Enterprise is edited by Grace Bayona in a run of 80,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Tango (Vagrancy):*** The Swahili quarterly was launched in 1992.

***Tantravel:*** The Dar es Salaam-based Tanzania Tourist Corporation (TTC) is the owner of this quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania Information

Services (TIS) on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1986. Edited by Enos Mwabina and Danford Mpumilwa, the periodical had a circulation of 50,000 in 1994.

***TANU Mtwara:*** This newspaper was founded by TANU's Mtwara branch in 1974.

***Tanzania Analysis:*** The Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly of Elvis Musiba was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Tanzania Bankers Journal:*** Published by the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) in Dar es Salaam, the magazine appears in a print run of 1,000 to 2,000 copies twice a year. Date of registration: July 30<sup>th</sup> 1984.

***Tanzania Business Directory:*** → *Tanzania Travel News*.

***Tanzania Business Review:*** Established in 1983, the Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly belonged to the Tanzania Association of Parastatal Organisations.

***Tanzania Buyers Guide:*** Kaabu Hussein Waisa is the editor of the bi-annual magazine which is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based Wiser Communication Ltd.. Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on January 28<sup>th</sup> 1982, the periodical had a circulation of 5,000 in 1994.

***Tanzania Christian Medical Association Journal:*** Being the property of the Tanzania Christian Medical Association in Dar es Salaam, the quarterly is edited by J. P. Shao in a print run of 500. Date of registration: August 29<sup>th</sup> 1990.

***Tanzania Dental Association Newsletter:*** The monthly of the Tanzania Dental Association is edited by Kulpir Singh Gupta in a run of 300 in Dar es Salaam. On September 23<sup>rd</sup> 1982, the publication was registered as a newspaper.

***Tanzania Economic Trends:*** Subtitled „A Quarterly Review of the Economy“, the magazine was launched by the University of Dar es Salaam in 1988. It was edited by the Economic Research Bureau in co-operation with the Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning.

***Tanzania Education Journal, The:*** → *Tanganyika Education Journal*, 5.9.

***Tanzania Engineer, The:*** The Institution of Engineers Tanzania (IET) in Dar es Salaam and S. P. Moshia are respectively the owner and the editor of this bi-annual magazine which was established in 1983. In addition, the same company

publishes the *IET Newsletter* (date of registration: July 30<sup>th</sup> 1984). The run of the periodicals amount to 1,000 each.

***Tanzania Farmer***: Launched in 1985, the Dar-es-Salaam monthly was owned by Alex Khalid and edited by Chyris Lupindu in a print run of 15,000 copies.

***Tanzania High Court Digest***: The Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam was the editor of the English-language magazine which was launched in 1967. Later, in 1973, it was renamed *Law Reports of Tanzania*. In 1979, the publication became the *Tanzania High Court Digest* again.

***Tanzania Import & Export Directory***: The directorate of International Operations of the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) was the editor of the English-language magazine which appeared in 1975. The periodical was published in a run of 3,000 copies at irregular intervals.

***Tanzania in the U.K. Press***: → *Tanganyika in the U.K. Press*, 5.9.

***Tanzania Journal of Economics***: Established in 1989, the paper was published by the Economic Research Bureau in Dar es Salaam.

***Tanzania Journal of Science***: The annual magazine of the Faculty of Science (University of Dar es Salaam) was launched in 1975. Furthermore, the same institution published the *University Science Journal* which was also established in 1975.

***Tanzania Law Magazine***: Registered on November 10<sup>th</sup> 1992, the monthly is owned by the Tanzania Legal Aid Association and edited by James Mwalusanya in Dodoma. In 1994, the publication had a print run of 5,000.

***Tanzania Law Reform Bulletin***: The Law Reform Commission of Tanzania is the proprietor of this monthly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on December 26<sup>th</sup> 1988. In 1994, the paper's circulation amounted to 500 copies.

***Tanzania Law Reports, The***: The publication, which dealt with „Cover cases decided in the Court of Appeal of Tanzania and the High Court of Tanzania“ (subtitle), was launched in Dar es Salaam in 1980.

***Tanzania Management Journal:*** Published in Morogoro, the bi-annual magazine was founded in 1976 and appeared in a run of 3,000 copies.

***Tanzania Medical Journal:*** Established in 1984, the quarterly was the property of the Medical Association of Tanzania and edited by I. A. Mtulia (Fred S. Mhalu in 1994) in a print run of 1,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Tanzania National Bibliography:*** → *Printed in Tanzania.*

***Tanzania News Bulletin:*** The paper was established by Shell and British Petrol (BP) Tanzania Ltd. in 1969. Moreover, the two companies published a quarterly called *Taarifa* (News) which was edited by Abubakar Nsekela in a run of 5,000 in Dar es Salaam (date of registration: November 18<sup>th</sup> 1980).

***Tanzania News Review:*** → *Tanganyika News Review.*

***Tanzania Notes and Records:*** → *Tanganyika Notes and Records, 5.9.*

***Tanzania Police and Prisons Journal:*** The English and Swahili magazine was founded in the early 1980s by the Police Force and Prisons Service in Dar es Salaam.

***Tanzania Police Journal:*** → *Tanganyika Police Journal, 5.9.*

***Tanzania Science and Technology Newsletter:*** The quarterly of the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) is edited by T. Mlaki in a run of 5,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Tanzania Times & Trade Recorder:*** → *Tanganyika Times & Trade Recorder, 5.9.*

***Tanzania Trade and Industry:*** → *Tanganyika Trade Journal.*

***Tanzania Trade Current:*** The Board of External Trade and P. Shija are respectively the owner and the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1987. The *Trade Current*, as the paper is titled from time to time, has a circulation of 10,000.

***Tanzania Trade Journal:*** → *Tanganyika Trade Journal.*

***Tanzania Travel News:*** The quarterly, which was established in 1967, is owned by the Dar es Salaam-based Associated Advertising and Public Relations and

edited by A. C. Kaijage in a run of 5,000 copies. Since 1984, Kaijage has also been responsible for the annual *Tanzania Business Directory* (10,000 circulation) which belongs to the same company.

***Tanzania Veterinary:*** The English publication of the Tanzania Veterinary Association appeared in a print run of 2,000 in 1981.

***Tanzania Weekly News:*** This publication appeared from January 1966 to June 1967.

***Tanzania Zamani (Tanzania in the Past):*** From 1967 to 1976, the Department of History of the University of Dar es Salaam published the paper in co-operation with the Historical Association of Tanzania at irregular intervals.

***Tanzanian Journalist, The:*** Subtitled „Tanzania School of Journalism Student Newspaper” and published from 1975 to 1978, this Dar-es-Salaam magazine was the predecessor of *The Torch* which came off the presses in February 1978. Like *The Tanzanian Journalist*, *The Torch* aims at the provision of practical experience to students of the Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ).

***Tanzanian Mathematical Bulletin:*** The Mathematics Association of Tanzania launched the paper in 1966.

***Target (a):*** → Lengo.

***Target (b):*** Registered on August 16<sup>th</sup> 1994, the monthly is published by the Dar es Salaam-based Tideline Ltd. in a print run of 10,000 copies.

***TASWA Newsletter:*** The bi-annual publication of the Tanzania Social Workers Association (TASWA) is edited by Mnyapule Madai in a run of 5,000 in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: December 19<sup>th</sup> 1988.

***Tausi (Peacock):*** P. Ndunguru was the owner of this Swahili monthly which appeared in Dar es Salaam in 1990.

***Tawene:*** The quarterly, which was registered as a newspaper on July 6<sup>th</sup> 1992, is the property of AFREDA in Dar es Salaam. In 1994, *Tawene's* circulation came to 10,000 copies.

**Tazama (Look!):** Yusuf Halimoja is both the editor and the owner of this Swahili quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on March 30<sup>th</sup> 1987. Published in Dar es Salaam, the periodical appears in a run of 20,000.

**Tazama Uishi (Watch the Life):** Registered on August 12<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Swahili quarterly is the property of the Central Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) in Singida and edited by Rev. Immanuel Barnaba in a print run of 1,000 copies.

**Tea:** → 5.9.

**Technical Fortnightly:** The magazine of the Dar es Salaam Technical College was published from 1967 to 1969. Then, it was replaced with *The College Times* which appeared until 1974.

**Techvoice:** The Magazine of the Technical Institute in Dar es Salaam came off the presses in 1961.

**Tetemeko (Shock):** Being the property of Beda Msimbe, Saullo G. H. Saullo, and John Mndolwa, the Dar-es-Salaam bi-weekly was registered on March 18<sup>th</sup> 1996.

**TEXCO Journal:** The magazine of the National Textile Corporation in Dar es Salaam was registered as a newspaper on May 18<sup>th</sup> 1983. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 1,000 and was edited by A. Kigambo in Dar es Salaam.

**Tija News (Profit News):** Being the property of the National Productivity Council, the quarterly is published in a run of 5,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: October 1<sup>st</sup> 1990.

**Timo:** The fortnightly of the Global Publicity Agency Ltd. appeared in 1990.

**Tingisha:** The Dar-es-Salaam weekly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1993, is owned by Oliga Enterprises and edited by Simon L. Mapunda.

**Topics:** Laurence Noronha (→ *Sangu Leo*) was the editor of this paper which appeared in a print run of 500 from 1962 to 1965. *Topics* was sold after the High Mass said in the Cathedral of Dar es Salaam.

***Torch, The:*** → *The Tanzanian Journalist.*

***TPRI Bulletin:*** Launched in 1985, the English-language quarterly of the Dar es Salaam-based Tropical Pesticides Research Institute was published in a print run of 1,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Track News:*** The quarterly of the Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority was edited by Charles Nzo Mbagi in a run of 5,000 in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: September 10<sup>th</sup> 1990.

***Trade and Industry in East and Central Africa:*** The annual magazine of the Timeca Publishers was registered as a newspaper on September 26<sup>th</sup> 1978. Edited by Joshua Magore in Dar es Salaam, the circulation of the periodical ranges between 10,000 and 25,000.

***Trade Current:*** → *Tanzania Trade Current.*

***Transafrican Journal of History:*** The Department of History (University of Dar es Salaam) was the publisher of this bi-annual magazine which was founded in 1971 and printed by the East African Publishing House in Nairobi.

***Transporter, The:*** This English publication, which was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981, was owned by NIT and had a circulation of 400.

***Traveller, The:*** The Inter Tourism Ltd. in Dar es Salaam is the publisher of this quarterly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 11<sup>th</sup> 1996.

***Tribune, The:*** Kassim Mpenda is both the proprietor and the editor of this Dar-es-Salaam weekly which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1993. In 1994, the paper appeared in a run of 20,000 copies.

***Truck & Car East Africa:*** → *True Love.*

***True Love:*** The Drum Publications (UK) Ltd. in London was the owner of this English monthly which appeared in Nairobi from 1978 to 1990. Like the company's other periodicals, *Drum* ( → 5.9), → *Big Ben*, *Trust (East Africa Edition)* (1977 - 1988), and *Truck & Car East Africa* (1978 - 1992), *True Love* was also available in Tanzania.

***Trust (East Africa Edition):*** → *True Love*.

***TSJ Weekly:*** The Tanzania School of Journalists (TSJ) in Dar es Salaam is the owner of the weekly which was established in 1980.

***Tujenge Pamoja (Let Us Build Together):*** The Catholic paper launched in 1977 was owned by the Diocese of Mtwara and edited by Fr. Reinhard Chilumba.

***Tujelimishe (Let Us Teach Ourselves):*** Established by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, the Swahili monthly is an integral part of the Rural Press Project. In 1994, the paper was edited by Enos Mwabina in a run of 50,000 copies in Moshi.

***Tujifunze (Let Us Learn):*** The Songea monthly, which was founded by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the course of the Rural Press Project in 1980, has a circulation of 5,000. In 1986, the paper was edited by Ferdinand Ibaraza in a run of 50,000 copies.

***Tujjongee Altare (Let Us Stride to the Altar):*** The Swahili monthly was published by the Benedictine Abbey in Peramiho in 1975.

***Tumbaku (Tobacco):*** Registered on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1993, the Morogoro periodical is owned by the Tanzania Tobacco Processing and Marketing Board and edited by H. H. Liana in a print run of 20,000.

***Tupe Habari (Give Us News):*** Edited by Fr. Wilfried Dinho and published by the Archdiocese of Tabora, the Catholic Swahili paper appeared in 1980.

***Tupeane Habari (Let Us Exchange News):*** The Swahili quarterly was the property of the Lake Region Information Team in Bukoba and edited by Fr. Felician Rwehikiza. Launched in 1969, the paper gained a circulation of 1,200 copies in 1972.

***Tushirikiane Journal (Let-Us-Co-operate Journal):*** The quarterly of the Co-operative College in Moshi was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 16<sup>th</sup> 1984. Edited by Leo Donge, the paper had a print run of 2,000 in 1994.

***Tusonge Mbele (Let Us Develop Ourselves):*** Founded in 1977, the Catholic paper was published by the Diocese of Mwanza and edited by Fr. Thomas Namwage.

***Tuzungumze (Let Us Talk to Each Other):*** The Tanzania Aids Project is the publisher of this Swahili fortnightly which appears in Dar es Salaam (date of registration: May 16<sup>th</sup> 1995). Moreover, the organisation edits the Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly *Straight Talk/Sema Waziwazi* (date of registration: May 19<sup>th</sup> 1995).

***Twende (Let Us Go!):*** The Swahili magazine of St. Andrew's Secondary School in Minaki appeared in 1969.

***Twende Pamoja:*** → 5.9.

***TWICO News/Habari za TWICO:*** The English and Swahili publication was launched in 1972.

***Twiga News (Giraffe News):*** Peter D. Msungu edited the quarterly of the Air Tanzania Corporation in Dar es Salaam in the early 1980s.

***Uchumi (Economy):*** Established in 1970, the „Journal of the Economic Society of Tanzania“ (subtitle) was edited by J. F. Rweyemamu in Dar es Salaam.

***UDASA Forum/Newsletter:*** The magazine of the University of Dar es Salaam was published at irregular intervals during the 1980s.

***Uganda Press Review:*** The English-language monthly appeared in Dar es Salaam from 1990 to 1992.

***Uhai wa Mtoto (The Child's Life):*** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on October 20<sup>th</sup> 1989, the Swahili quarterly is owned by the Regional Development Directorate (RDD) in Morogoro and edited by Beati Ngulumbwe. The periodical appears in a run of 10,000.

***Uhandisi (Engineering):*** The Faculty of Engineering of the University of Dar es Salaam was the publisher of this bi-annual journal which was founded in 1974.

***Uhuru (Independence):*** Launched on independence day (December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961), the successor of → *Sauti ya TANU* (5.9) dominated the Tanzanian press sector for a period of over 30 years. Initially published once a week, *Uhuru* became a daily in 1964. Later, in 1972, a separate Sunday edition, → *Mzalendo*, came off the presses. Due to the rise of private periodicals after 1992, the CCM paper is facing a serious crisis. Circulation: 16,000 (1963), 12,000 (1968), 15,000 (1970), 40,000 (1975), 80,000 (1993), 26,000 (1996).

***Uhuru na Amani:*** → 5.9.

***Uhuru na Umoja (Independence and Unity):*** This publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) was first mentioned in the press directory of 1981. Then, the Swahili paper had a print run of 10,000.

***Ujamaa (Socialism):*** The Swahili monthly of CCM's Kivukoni College in Dar es Salaam was established in 1980 (date of registration: April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980). It is edited by the „Idara ya Propaganda” (Propaganda Department) in a run of 3,000 to 4,000 copies. → *Mbioni*.

***Ujamaa Leo (Socialism Today):*** Launched in 1971, the Swahili quarterly of the Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports was edited by Lucas Mushi in Dodoma.

***Ujumbe (Delegation):*** Registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on April 27<sup>th</sup> 1993, the Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly is published by the Deliverance Sisters in a print run of 15,000.

***Ukombozi (Liberation):*** The Swahili monthly of the CCM Iringa was founded in 1980 (date of registration: September 11<sup>th</sup> 1980) and has a circulation of 10,000 copies.

***Ukulima wa Kisasa:*** → 5.9.

***Ulatati:*** Fidelis Sembera was both the owner and the editor of this quarterly which appeared in the late 1980s.

***Ulimwengu (The World):*** The Swahili weekly became famous in 1967 when its owner, Otini Kambona, published the political ideas of his exiled brother, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Oscar Kambona. As a result, Otini Kambona was arrested, and, thus, *Ulimwengu* forced to cease publication.

***Ulimwengu wa Watoto (Children's World):*** Owned and edited by Frank Seme, the Swahili monthly was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on December 28<sup>th</sup> 1981. In 1994, the periodical had a circulation of 10,000.

***Ulingo wa Jinsia (Gender Platform):*** The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme is the publisher of this Swahili paper which was registered on April 11<sup>th</sup> 1996.

**Ultima:** The monthly of the Ultima Ltd. appeared in Dar es Salaam in 1992 (date of registration: July 1<sup>st</sup> 1992). It is edited by Dorothy Lukindo in a run of 5,000 copies.

**Umma:** → Darlite.

**Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (Union of Tanzanian Women):** The Swahili paper was founded in 1965.

**Umoja:** → 5.9.

**University Echo:** The publication of the Dar es Salaam University Students Union was launched in 1966.

**University of Dar es Salaam Library Journal:** Established in 1987, the bi-annual magazine of the University of Dar es Salaam Library is edited by O. C. Mascrenhas in a print run of 500.

**University Science Journal:** → Tanzania Journal of Science.

**Upanga wa Roho:** → 5.9.

**Upeo (Boundary):** Both owned and edited by Faraji H. Hassan, the Swahili weekly was registered as a newspaper on July 6<sup>th</sup> 1993. In 1994, the publication had a circulation of 30,000 copies.

**Urafiki Leo (Friendship Today):** The Swahili journal was published in 1973.

**Uremi:** → 5.9.

**Urusi Leo (Russia Today):** The Swahili-language weekly of the Novosti Press Agency was launched in 1968. In 1986, the paper was edited by Valery Sharayev in a print run of 25,000.

**Usangu Leo (Usangu Today):** The Mbeya quarterly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1990, is the property of the Kimani Irrigation Project. Its circulation ranges between 2,000 and 3,000 copies.

**Usanii (Artistry):** The Swahili weekly of the Mwanza-based Sahara Communication and Publishing Company Ltd., which is also the owner of Radio

Free Afrika (RFA), has a circulation of 10,000 to 30,000. Date of registration: August 12<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Ushindi Wetu (Our Victory)***: Being the property of the Moravian Church of Southern Tanzania, the Swahili quarterly is edited by James E. A. Mussila in a run of 15,000 copies in Mbeya. The paper was registered as a newspaper on July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1985, but actually, it has appeared since the early 1970s.

***Ushindi***: → 5.9.

***Ushirika (Co-operative)***: The Swahili monthly of the Co-operative Union of Tanganyika Ltd. appeared in a print run of 34,000 from 1964 to 1978. Until 1965, the paper was published once a week.

***USIS Bulletin***: The United States Information Service (USIS) was the proprietor of this newsheet which appeared in 1972.

***Usudia***: The magazine of the Students' Union of the University of Dar es Salaam was founded in 1965.

***Utafiti (Research)***: Launched in 1976, this bi-annual magazine was edited by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (University of Dar es Salaam).

***Utamaduni (Arts)***: Maige Athumani and Mjengwa B. N. are the owners of this monthly which can be traced back to the year 1966. Edited by Maige Athumani, the publication has a circulation of 3,000 copies in 1994.

***Utamu wa Jiji (Charming City)***: This Dar-es-Salaam paper was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on November 9<sup>th</sup> 1995.

***Utume wa Wahi (Timely Dispatch)***: Published by the Diocese of Kigoma, the Swahili paper was edited by Fr. George Leisner in 1980.

***Uzazi Bora (Proper Birth)***: The Swahili quarterly of the „Chama cha Uzazi na Malezi Bora cha Tanzania” (UMATI, Association of Proper Birth and Education of Tanzania) was founded in 1973. In 1994, the paper was edited by C. Mbeleka in a print run of 10,000 in Dar es Salaam.

***Vigilance Africa***: The „Socialist Fortnightly Review” (subtitle) appeared in both English and Swahili in Dar es Salaam in 1965.

***Viongozi wa Kesho (The Leaders of Tomorrow):*** This Swahili paper was published by the primary school in Magomeni/Dar es Salaam in 1967.

***Vision:*** The Media Holdings (Tanzania) and Felix Kaiza are respectively the proprietor and the editor of this monthly which was registered as a newspaper on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993. In 1994, *Vision* had a circulation of 5,000 copies.

***VOCAL:*** „The Voice of Christian African Literature” appeared in 1970.

***Wajenzi Newsletter (Architects’ Newsletter):*** Registered on April 19<sup>th</sup> 1996, the quarterly of the National Board of Architects, Quantity Surveyors and Building Contractors is published in Dar es Salaam.

***Wakati Ni Huu (This Is the Chance):*** The Swahili weekly, which is both owned and edited by Kajubi Mukajanga (→ *Hamasa*), was registered on February 26<sup>th</sup> 1982. In 1994, the Dar-es-Salaam paper appeared in a print run of 30,000.

***Wanasoka Wetu (Our Soccer Players):*** The monthly of the Writers and Publicity Consultants Company was first mentioned in the press directory of 1970/71. Accordingly, the paper had circulation of 15,000. Editor: G. G. Vulata.

***Wanawake na Ushirika (Women and Co-operative):*** Registered on December 1<sup>st</sup> 1992, the Swahili quarterly of the Co-operative Union of Tanzania is edited by Saidi S. Saidi in a run of 2,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Wangaluka:*** → 5.9.

***Warida (Rose):*** Registered on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1995, the Swahili weekly of Omasam Investments Ltd. appears in Dar es Salaam.

***Wasaa (Leisure):*** The Swahili fortnightly, which was launched in 1982, is owned by S. Scotto and Barnaba Mbungo. The latter is also the editor. In 1994, the paper had a circulation of 15,000.

***Washirika News (Co-operative News):*** First mentioned in the press directory of 1981 (date of registration: May 10<sup>th</sup> 1986), the Swahili monthly of the Co-operative Union of Tanzania is edited by Christopher Ngibombi in Dar es Salaam. The print run of the periodical ranges between 200 and 500 copies.

***Watu (The Human Beings):*** The Dar-es-Salaam fortnightly, which was registered with the Tanzania Information Services (TIS) on January 17<sup>th</sup> 1985, is the property of the Kunta Enterprises Ltd. and edited by Deo Masakilija in a run of 10,000.

***Weekend Magazine:*** The English-language weekly of the state-run Tanzania Standard (Newspaper) Ltd. was published in 1990 and gained a circulation of 20,000.

***Weekend, The:*** The paper of the Express Enterprises was published in a run of 1,000 in 1981.

***Weekly Advertiser:*** Registered on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1994, the weekly paper is published by Naeem Printers Ltd. in a print run of 1,000 copies in Dar es Salaam.

***Weekly Mail:*** Owned by the Sahara Communication and Publishing Company Ltd. (proprietor of → *Usanii* and Radio Free Afrika [RFA]), the weekly was registered as a newspaper on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1993. The circulation of the Mwanza publication, which is subtitled „The Tanzanian Informative, Educative and Entertaining Magazine“, ranges between 30,000 and 100,000.

***Weekly Star:*** Owned by Cleopatra Publishing Enterprises and edited by Mwandosha Mfanga, the weekly appears in a run of 20,000 copies in Dar es Salaam. Date of registration: July 27<sup>th</sup> 1993.

***Wela:*** → 5.9.

***What's On:*** This publication was established in 1963.

***Where to Go:*** The periodical appeared in the years 1967 and 1968.

***Winnower, The:*** The Dar-es-Salaam monthly, which dealt with rural development, was launched by the Mars Publicity Services Tanzania Ltd. in 1979. Circulation in 1981: 1,000.

***Wisdom:*** → *Busara* (b).

***Woman's Star:*** Zainab R. Bakilana is the proprietor of this monthly which appeared in a print run of 2,000 in Dar es Salaam in 1990.

***Young Africa:*** → 5.9.

***YWCA Newsletter:*** The bi-annual magazine of the Tanzania Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was published in Dar es Salaam in the late 1980s.

***Zuhra:*** → 5.9.



## 7 Mass Communication on Zanzibar (1888 – 1996)

### 7.1 Tanzania's First Newspaper: Msimulizi

Long time before the establishment of the first papers on the mainland, newspaper reading had been nothing unusual for the commercial class on the islands of Zanzibar, i. e., Unguja and Pemba. From 1826, Unguja, which is commonly referred to as Zanzibar, had maintained strong business relations with Salem (Massachusetts), an American trading port (cf. Bennett 1961, p. 94). As a result, two Salem papers were also circulated on the island, the *Essex Register* (1820 – 1840) and the *Salem Gazette* (1827 – c. 1880). Both periodicals contained regular shipping reports and general information on Zanzibar (cf. Bennett 1984, pp. 18 – 19).



**Figure 25:** Tanzania's first newspaper, *Msimulizi*, was published by the UMCA on Zanzibar in October 1888.

Until the mid-1870, it was not possible to publish any kind of print media on the island for the simple reason that there were no production facilities. Only in 1875, when Sultan Bargash returned from a visit to Great Britain with a printing machine using both Arabic and Roman scripts, the publication of newspapers was no longer hindered by the lack of technical equipment (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 1).

As a consequence, in October 1888, the Anglican UMCA which had been active on the island from 1864 established the first periodical of Tanzania's media history – *Msimulizi* (The Storyteller). At the very beginning, the Swahili-language school magazine was edited by Swithun Ulumana, an African teacher. He defined the paper's editorial policy as follows:

*„Killa miezi miwili tumepewa ruhusa ya kukusanya habari za hapa Unguja, ndio za Mkunazini na Mbweni na Kiungani, na kupata pia habari za pande za Boonde na za Nyassa na za Newala na miji ya kule, na kuzipigia chapa hapa Kiungani na kuzifanya kuwa kitabu kidogo, killa miezi miwili kitabu*

*kipya, na kuchanganya nazo habari za kazi za Upelekwa mgine, kama habari za ndugu zetu kule Mwita ao pangine kwa kadiri kutakavyojaliwa kuzipata, na kutia pia habari yoyote itakayowapendeza mskikie. Na kitabu hiki kitakachopigwa chapa killa miezi miwili kitawaletea habari zetu mpya na za ndugu zetu za pande zote. Killa miezi miwili habari ngine. Tena kwa kuwa kitabu hiki kama kitatusimulia habari za ndugu zetu killa mahali, tumepika jina 'Msimulizi'.*<sup>80</sup> (Msimulizi, Vol. 01, No. 01, October 1888, p. 2)

The paper's twelve pages consisted of a report on „Kuja Kwake Sayid Khalifa Kiungani” (The Arrival of Sayid Khalifa in Kiungani) and an essay on „Ginsi Tuliovyokwenda Ndugu Zetu Kwenda Nyassa” (How We and Our Friends travelled to Nyassa). In addition, local news from Mbweni, Kiungani, and Mkunazini were added by „Waletaji Habari” (correspondents). In this respect, it is noteworthy that the article from Mbweni was written by Mildred Maua who thus became the first female journalist in Tanzania's media history.

In December 1888, Editor Ulumana was replaced with Hugh Swinton Mtoka who improved the paper's quality by running stories on a wider range of topics. For example, he introduced special columns for readers' poems and announcements of personal interest, such as births and deaths. As a consequence, in December 1890, *Msimulizi* already comprised 34 pages.

Nothing is known about the reasons for the UMCA paper's cessation in 1895 for a period of nearly one decade. Then, in March 1904, *Msimulizi* was relaunched by Rev. Weston and S. Chiponde who edited Tanzania's first periodical until the hostilities of the First World War began (cf. Lemke 1929, p. 20).

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<sup>80</sup> „We have been granted the permission to gather news from Zanzibar every two months, particularly from Mkunazini, Mbweni, and Kiungani as well as from the regions of Bonde, Nyasa, Newala, and the towns there, and to print them here in Kiungani in order to get a small book, every two months a new one, and to add news on the work of other missions, such as the news from our brothers in Mvitu, or, somewhere else, we will be authorised by paying a certain amount to obtain and add news which you wish to hear. Moreover, this booklet, which will be printed every two months, will deliver our news and those of our brothers in different places to you. Every two months various news. Finally, we have named this booklet the 'Storyteller' because it will tell us about our brothers everywhere.”

## 7.2 From the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty to the End of the Second World War

In 1890, the so-called Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty adjudged the islands of Zanzibar as a protectorate to the British Crown. Formally, the sovereignty of the Sultan was recognised, but, in reality, he became a political marionette (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 192).



Figure 26: *The Gazette*, the proclamation paper of the British government, was launched on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1892.

After assumption of power, the British administration realised the need of a proclamation medium which would facilitate the communication among the government officials in the empire's East African territories, i. e., Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar. Hence, on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1892, *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate* came off the presses (cf. Zanzibar Protectorate 1958, p. 11). Actually, the publication was launched as a private paper, but soon, it became the official government organ (cf. Bennett 1984, p. 19). Besides administrative announcements and local news, the weekly ran articles on international politics and economy

(„Reuter's Telegramms”), informed about the East African climate („Meteorological Observations”), and told serialised novels (e. g., Rudyard Kipling's „Folly Bridge”). Initially published in English language only, the editorial committee soon decided to translate the contents into Swahili and Arabic. During the first years of its existence, *The Gazette*, as the periodical was commonly known, appeared in a print run of 400 copies (cf. Zanzibar Protectorate 1914, p. Q5).

Then, in 1902, *The Samachar* (The News)<sup>81</sup>, was published by Fazel J. Master in English and Gujerati. The Sunday paper comprised 30 pages and was mainly read

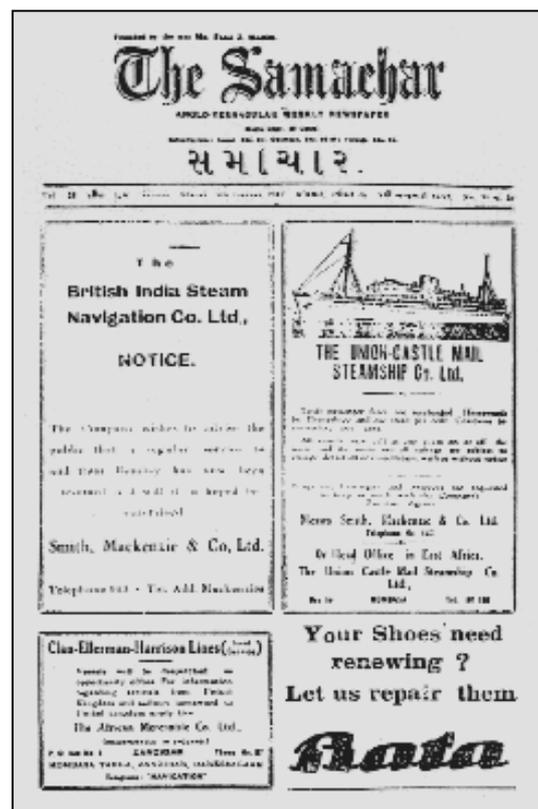
<sup>81</sup> In the Blue Books of the British Administration, the newspaper is listed as *Zanzibar Akhbar* until 1917.

by Asian merchants. Accordingly, its topics focused on the political and economical situation in India whereas only few material on Zanzibar was carried. On the occasion of the paper's 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the editor formulated the function of „The Oldest Indian Newspaper Established in Zanzibar, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, Devoted to an Impartial Study of the Interest of all the Different Classes of British East Africa” (subtitle):

*„The Samachar has been the choice of the people since its inception. It still holds his affection, for its roots are deep down in the structure of the Indian newspaper tradition. (...) We intend to carry on the tradition, a little old fashioned perhaps of giving the news of the week. There are other newspapers that confine themselves to politics, the course of East Africa. That is why all races subscribe to The Samachar. For in the columns of this newspaper, without fear or favour we present the facts as they are.” (The Samachar, Vol. 60, No. 01, May 7<sup>th</sup> 1961).*

However, the weekly had to cease publication in 1968 after Zanzibar's Revolutionary Government had introduced a new economic policy which strengthened the state's control over business transactions. Consequently, the majority of the Asian community which had dominated the commercial sector left the island. *The Samachar* which was dependent on the Indian readership and their advertisements could not longer survive. The printing machine was confiscated and, later, used for the production of stationery (cf. Hamdani 1981, p. 6).

Besides *The Samachar*, another two private publications appeared before the First World War, though these never gained the importance of the newspaper described above. The weeklies *The Hindi* (Gujerati) and *El-Najah* (Arabic) were both founded in 1912 and disappeared as early as 1914.



**Figure 27:** Edited in English and Gujarati, *The Samachar* was mainly read by Asian merchants (by the permission of The British Library, M. C. 1762).

Due to the increasing demands for proper information during the First World War, a small number of new papers were launched. A case in point was an afternoon daily called *Ruta* (Information) which appeared in 1914. The mimeographed newsheet, which was the property of Khalil Ali Khalil, became Tanzania's first daily newspaper. As a matter of fact, it carried only reports received from the government. Nevertheless, *Ruta* attracted many Indian and Pakistan readers and was edited in English and Gujarati until 1918 (cf. *ibid.*).

After the war had come to an end, the British administration subsidised the establishment of publications which were expected to stimulate the various sectors of Zanzibar's economy. For example, *Mkulima* (The Farmer), the four-page weekly of the Agricultural Department, was distributed to farmers throughout the island free of charge. Other institutions produced similar periodicals: The Glove Growers Association published the *Produce Market Report* and the *Quarterly Market Report*, which both carried price lists and other information on cloves, copra, and coconut oil, and the Customs Department was the owner of the *Monthly Trade Information* running material about the principle goods of import and export (cf. *ibid.*, p. 10).

Furthermore, the government encouraged school magazines in order to inform teachers and students on activities of special interest and to enable them to exchange their ideas. A case in point was *The Normal Magazine* which was launched by the Teacher Training College in April 1927. Initially edited by L. W. Hollingsworth in English and Swahili, from June 1931 onwards, the paper was printed only in Swahili „(...) *kwa sababu sasa wasomaji wengine wa 'Normal Magazine' ni watu wasiojua Kiingereza.*”<sup>82</sup> As a result, the monthly was renamed *Mazungumzo ya Walimu wa Unguja* (Conversation of the Teachers of Unguja). Later, the paper became the *Seyyid Khalifa School Magazine* which was but a shadow of its predecessors. Contrary to the interesting articles and funny jokes of the early issues, the magazine's eight pages contained unfactual stories and many empty spaces (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 3).

Back in 1922, one of the most ambitious newspapers of Zanzibar's press history was launched – *The Zanzibar Voice*. The English and Gujarati paper belonged to Biharilal N. Anantani and was published in both a daily and a weekly edition. Whereas the first had a print run of 400 copies (cf. *ibid.*), the latter gained a

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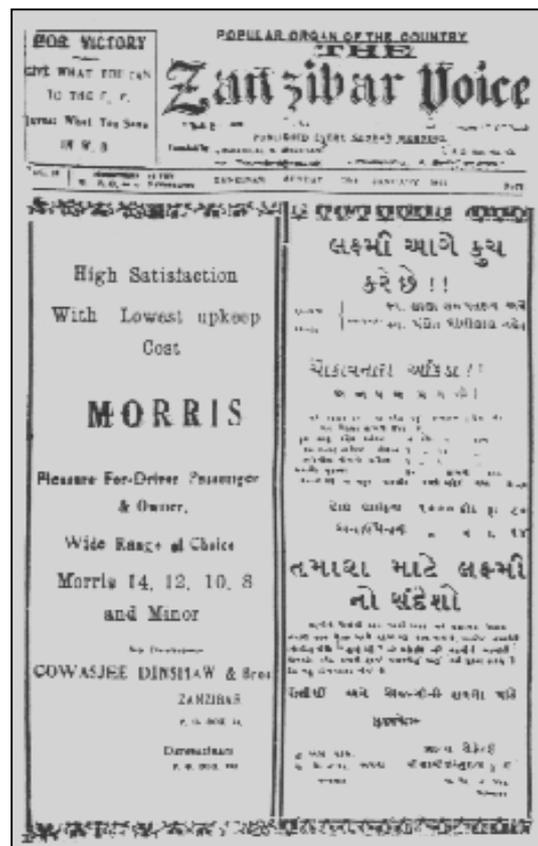
<sup>82</sup> „(...) because a few readers of the *Normal Magazine* have no command of the English language.”

circulation of 700 (cf. Zanzibar Protectorate 1922, p. 54). Most issues of the paper's contents were dealing with the Indian subcontinent, news on Zanzibar were scarce. Anantani defined the editorial policy of *The Zanzibar Voice* as follows:

*„In spite of many rude shocks, the Journal has adhered to its avowed non-party and non-sectional policy as the exponent of public affecting the common interests of all in Zanzibar, irrespective of race, colour or creed with the sword of starvation perpetually hanging over its head. (...) In due discharge of this duty as public press, it believes more in pleading reason than in serving spicy dishes or mere bombast.”* (*The Zanzibar Voice* [weekly edition], Vol. 10, No. 01, July 5<sup>th</sup> 1931, p. 5)

In the late 1940s, this journalistic credo had already fallen in oblivion, and the paper made a stand for the Indian National Association (INA), which had come into being before the First World War in order to represent the interests of the Asian commercial and financial class. But after the revolution of 1964, the tone of *The Zanzibar Voice* changed, and the paper started to carry articles on educational and health problems as well as on development issues. Nevertheless, both editions of *The Zanzibar Voice* suffered the same fate as *The Samachar* and disappeared in 1968 (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 3).

Apart from the British and Asian communities, the third influential class on Zanzibar was the Arab population whose political and socioeconomic interests were represented by the Arab Association. In 1929, the organisation established the fortnightly *Al-Falaq* (The Dawn) which had a circulation of 200 copies and was edited in Arabic and English. At that time, the paper was used to articulate the demands of Arab landowners but without bearing ill-will towards the colonial government (cf. *ibid.*, p. 4).



**Figure 28:** *The Zanzibar Voice* appeared between the years 1922 and 1968 (by the permission of The British Library, M. C. 1760).

On September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1939, the administration established an Information Office which was put under the auspices of the Director of Education. The major aims of the institution were, on the one hand, the propagation of government policies, and, on the other hand, to inform the population about the progress of the Second World War. In order to fulfill these objectives, two public address equipments were installed: the first was set up in Beit-el-Ajaib in the Stone Town area which was dominated by Arabs and Asians, and the other was mounted on a van which was used in the African part of Zanzibar Town, Ng'ambo, and the rural areas (cf. *ibid.*).

Furthermore, the Information Office published the following three periodicals (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 4):

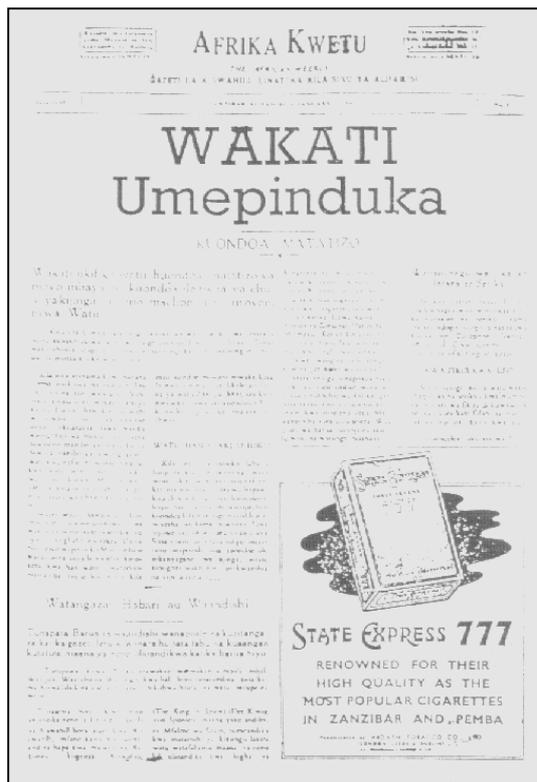
- 1 the *Daily News Bulletin* was a Swahili-language evening paper which was distributed to coffee shops, social clubs, reading rooms, and the district officials in rural areas;
- 2 the mimeographed weekly *Habari za Wiki* (News of the Week) had a print run of 250 copies which were handed out free of charge;
- 3 the *Monthly Newsletter* provided a summary of the major events of the last month.

The Second World War caused a new outlet for publishers since the existing papers were not able to make good the information deficiency of the population. As a result, Khalil Ali Khalil launched *The Zanzibari* in 1939. The weekly Swahili paper was edited in a run of 1,000 copies, and its contents focused on international and local news, poems, Koran verses, births and deaths announcements, letters to the editor, &c.. In the same year, Khalil revived his Gujarati and English daily *Ruta* which had already been published during the First World War. Both papers disappeared after Khalil's death in the late 1940s (cf. *ibid.*).

Another periodical, *Mwongozi* (The Leader), came off the presses on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1941. The weekly, which was edited by Ahmed S. Kharusi and Masoud M. Riami in English, Swahili, and Arabic, was an open supporter of the Arab Association and gained a circulation of 1,000. The paper had to cease publication after the revolution of 1964 when Kharusi fled the country.

In 1945, the *Zanzibar Times* was established by the Muslim Association, an Indian organisation which strongly opposed the policies of INA. The English and Gujerati weekly, which was edited by Anwerali Ladhi in a run of 500, disappeared in the early 1950s due to financial problems.

### 7.3 The Politicisation of the Press during the Pre-Revolution Era



**Figure 29:** The weekly *Afrika Kwetu* published in 1948 became the first African-owned newspaper of Zanzibar.

An eye-catching characteristic of the Zanzibar press until 1948 was the total lack of print media belonging to Africans although their major representations of interests, the African Association and the Shirazi Association, had already been established in 1934 and 1939, respectively. But only in 1948 - two years after the first African representative had been nominated to the Legislative Council - M. A. Reihan Mzigua, a founding member of the African Association, launched *Afrika Kwetu* (Our Africa). At the very beginning, the English and Swahili weekly had a circulation of 800 copies which were mainly circulated in Ng'ambo. But soon the paper became a vital medium to voice African demands for independence from both the British

administration and the Arab oligarchy. As a consequence, the print run of *Afrika Kwetu* increased to 2,000 in the late 1950s. But, as a matter of fact, the weekly reached many times more people since the news were read out to illiterates or semi-literates Africans in public places. The newspaper ceased publication after the revolution when its editor became mayor of Zanzibar (cf. Hamdani 1981, pp. 16 - 17).

Back in 1948, the British administration suggested that the government nomination of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council should be replaced with public elections. Each community would have the right to elect its own representative, and all residents who had the status of „British Protected

Persons" or „His Highness' Subjects" would obtain the franchise. The Arab Association objected the proposal to bestow the title „British Protected Persons" on Indians with the argument that Zanzibar possessed a separate and constitutionally autonomous national identity. For a period of more than three years, the Arab Association and government officials secretly negotiated without reaching a consensus (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 5).

The vice-president of the Arab Association, Seif Humoud, wanted to discuss the debate publicly by using the organisation's mouthpiece, *Al-Falaq*. But after the executive committee had rejected his plan, Humoud launched his own newspaper, *Al-Nahdha*, in 1951. The weekly, which was edited in English and Arabic, was extremely hostile to the administration's policies, and, as a consequence, Humoud was arrested and fined several times (cf. *ibid.*; Lofchie 1965, p. 134).

Zanzibar's political situation reached a crucial stage in 1951 when the government presented the so-called „Rankine Plan" which was named after the British Resident Sir John Rankine. *The Zanzibar Voice* explained the critical passage of the proposed regulation to its readers:

*„The Legislative Council should consist of the British Resident as President, four ex-officio members (being the four ex-officio members of the Executive Council) and nine official members and twelve unofficial members nominated by the Sultan on the advice of the British Resident. The present unofficial membership is eight only. It is the intention that the twelve unofficial members should be four Arabs, four Africans and three Indians and probably one European." (The Zanzibar Voice of October 9<sup>th</sup> 1955. Quoted from Lofchie 1965, p. 139)*

Shortly before the vote on the Rankine Plan, a certain Ahmed Lemky became member of the Arab Association and, subsequently, the editor of *Al-Falaq*. After the organisation had officially agreed with the new constitution, Lemky was heavily disappointed about this decision. As a consequence, he started a scathing editorial campaign against colonial rule and demanded immediate constitutional reforms (cf. Lofchie 1965, pp. 140 - 143). For example, *Al-Falaq* attacked the policy of the colonial secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, which was - in the eyes of Ahmed Lemky - responsible for „(...) mass killings of Nigerians, Gold Coasters, Malayans and other colonial peoples." (Quoted from Scotton 1972, p. 246) Consequently, the British administration arrested nine Arab leaders and charged them with sedition (cf. Scotton 1972, p. 246). The case attracted great attention: The local radio station, „Sauti ya Unguja" (Voice of Unguja, → 7.5), even advised

the people to stay at home since the court's seating accommodation was limited. The hearing took two days, and the broadcasting station, which was usually on air only in the afternoon, transmitted for six hours from the early morning (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 6). The defendants were heavily fined, and, with effect from June 16<sup>th</sup> 1954, *Al-Falaq* was suspended from publication and its printing press confiscated for a period of twelve months (cf. Colonial Office 1955, p. 45). However, the affair paved the way for the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) which was founded in 1955. ZNP represented the interests of the Arab upper class which, on the one hand, expressed its loyalty to the Sultan and, on the other hand, advocated for Zanzibar's political independence from Great Britain (cf. Herzog 1986, p. 193).

But not only ZNP supporters were dissatisfied with the political situation, the Rankine Constitution also outraged the African community since the seats in the Legislative Council were not shared along population-statistical lines. Hence, in 1957, the African Association headed by Abeid Karume and the Shirazi Association were merged in order to form a forcible political alliance, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). Later, in 1959, a few Shirazis on Pemba split off and established the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 193 - 195).

The foundation of political parties led to a rapid increase of the total number of periodicals, though:

*„Few of these newspapers were actual news media in the usual sense of that term. Very little of their contents pertained to the transmission and dissemination of information about the day-to-day events of a current political process. Zanzibar's newspapers could be compared to partisan pamphleteering more than to anything else. They were purchased and read on almost exclusively party lines, and performed a symbolic rather than a communication function. Their content was strictly editorial and consisted basically of constant repetition of party symbols, myths and stereotypes. Their basic purpose was to reaffirm the convictions on the loyalty of party supporters and thereby to strengthen an already existing commitment.“* (Lofchie 1965, p. 210)

The following table reveals the paper's party affiliation and their prior political goals:

**Table 24:** The Party Press on Zanzibar

<b>Party/ Pressure Group</b>	<b>Political Aim</b>	<b>Opponents</b>	<b>Print Media</b>
<b>ASP</b>	Independence under African government	ZNP, ZPPP, British administration	<i>Afrika Kwetu, Agope, Agozi, Kipanga, Mkombozi, Mwiba, Sauti ya Afro-Shirazi, Ukombozi</i>
<b>ZNP</b>	Independence and supremacy of the Sultan	ASP, British administration	<i>Adal Insaf, Mwongozi, Sauti ya Jogoo, Umma, Vanguard, The Worker, Zanews</i>
<b>ZPPP</b>	Independence and supremacy of the Sultan	ASP, British administration	<i>Sauti ya Wananchi</i>
<b>British administration</b>	Delay of independence by adhering to the status quo	ASP	<i>Maarifa</i>
<b>Private</b>	Independence	British administration	<i>Al-Nahdha, Mwangaza, The Samachar, The Zanzibar Voice</i>

With the exception of the 1952-established *Maarifa* (Knowledge), all major newspapers called for Zanzibar's self-government. For example, the weekly *Adal Insaf* (Justice), which had been founded in 1948 and had supported the policies of ZNP from 1956, pleaded frequently and very passionately for independence:

**„WE WANT FREEDOM NOW“**

„THE REAL reason why Tanganyika and Somaliland are being granted independence is that H. M. Government is in no position to refuse either of those countries freedom. H. M. Government would not willingly grant freedom to any of her African territories, in spite of repeated assertions to the contrary. If Britain could hold on to her empire, she would do so. (...) Why should Zanzibar be denied freedom? Because Zanzibaris are unfit to govern themselves? Rubbish! Nonsense! Even Sir Hillary Blood<sup>83</sup> doesn't believe that fantastic tale. Germany and Japan are considered to be free, yet both waged war of aggression in which innocent men, women and children were slaughtered by the thousands. Britain's own history is a catalogue of wars but Britain is considered to be free. To whom has Zanzibar done any harm? Whose Human Rights has Zanzibar threatened? Why should aggressors be free when the peaceful are held in bondage and exploited. Zanzibar is entitled to freedom. Britain dare not refuse her.“ (Adal Insaf, Vol. 13, No. 06, August 27<sup>th</sup> 1960, p. 1)



Figure 30: The weekly Adal Insaf backed the ZNP (by the permission of The British Library, C. misc. 732).

On the opposite, the British administration tried to appease the crowd through the weekly Maarifa, to which an Arabic supplement called Kijumbe (The Go-Between) was added in 1959 (cf. Colonial Office 1962, p. 63).

„Ni siasa ya Serikali za Kiingereza tangu zamani kuziongoza zile nchi zilizokuwa chini yake mpaka ziweze kupata Serikali zake wenyewe (self-government) au uhuru kamili (independence) baada ya kuyakinisha kuwa watu wote wanayo nafasi ya kupata maisha mema na kuwa watu hao hawatofanyiwa dhulma na ye yote ndani au nje ya nchi hizo.“<sup>84</sup> (Maarifa, Vol. 13, No. 15, April 9<sup>th</sup> 1959, p. 1)

<sup>83</sup> Sir Rudolph Robert Hillary Blood was then the Constitutional Commissioner on Zanzibar.

<sup>84</sup> „It has been the policy of the British government at all times to lead the colonies and mandated territories to their self-government or independence after it had made sure that all people have the possibility to live well without repressions from nationals or foreigners.“

What remained was the question by which party Zanzibar would be governed after the dissolution of the British administration. In the elections of June 1961, the ASP won 49.9 % of the vote whereas the ZNP and ZPPP gained a combined percentage of only 48.7. But since the 23 seats of the Legislative Council were decided under the first-past-the-post system, the Arab coalition won the elections by being successful in 13 constituencies (cf. Platzer 1993, p. 239).

„There it became increasingly evident to African leaders that when the British left the Arabs would be in complete control. In short, there was little if any prospect of African self-government on Zanzibar in the near future. (...) The African press of Zanzibar attacked the Arab community as violently as the African press of Kenya attacked the European community.” (Scotton 1972, p. 437).



**Figure 31:** An article in *AGOZI*, a weekly associated with ASP, led to heavy riots which cost 68 people their lives (by the permission of The British Library, C. misc. 732).

A case in point was the English and Swahili weekly *AGOZI* (African General Organisation for Zanzibar Independence). The paper belonged to Jamal Ramadhan Nasibu, a former sea man, who had founded the Young African Union (YAU) and the Young Social Union (YASU) in 1943 and 1954, respectively. In 1955, Jamal had become the first president of the Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Trade Unions, and, even in the same year, he had launched his first newspaper, *Sauti ya Wafanyakazi* (The Voice of the Workers). The paper had ceased publication after a libel case in

which Nasibu had been sued for defaming a football association (cf. Hamdani 1981, pp. 21 - 22).

*AGOZI* succeeded *Sauti ya Wafanyakazi* in 1959 and became the organ of the Zanzibar African Youth Movement (ZAYM) which had been established by Nasibu in 1958 in order to „(...) wage an economic war against the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.” (Hamdani 1981, p. 22) Edited in a print run of only 300 copies, it reached as many as 4,000 people in the urban areas (cf. *ibid.*). After the elections of June 1961, Nasibu and ASP officials used *AGOZI* to accuse the British administration of electoral fraud. The African population was alarmed and 68 persons lost their lives in the subsequent riots. As a result, the government

declared a state of emergency and confiscated the *AGOZI's* press for one year. But Nasibu did not give up yet: Even in 1961, he started another weekly, *AGOPE* (African General Organisation for Political Education), which was edited in a run of 300 copies. Although the paper did not attack the British administration or the Sultan directly, it was banned in 1962. As a consequence, Nasibu launched another newspaper, the bi-weekly *MWIBA* (More Work Illustrate Better Africa) which published the views of ASP's deputy secretary, Abdalla Kasim Hanga, who had declared in public that he did not support the Royal Family. *Mwiba* was suspended from publication and Nasibu compelled to apologise through „Sauti ya Unguja“ (→ 7.5) and the government-run paper *Maarifa* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 24).

Another popular fighter for Zanzibar's self-government was Abdulrahman Mohammed who was respectfully called Babu (Grandfather). The story of his struggle against the British administration and his subsequent political career will be told in the following chapter.

### **7.3.1 Portrait IV: Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu and Zanews**

In 1961, the daily *Zanews* (Zanzibar News Service) was launched by ZNP's general secretary, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu, in both an English and a Swahili edition. Born in 1922, Babu had been educated at the Makerere University in Kampala during the 1950s and had joined the party in 1957 (cf. *Sunset*, No. 81, August 5<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 1).

From the start, *Zanews* was a bulletin with partisan passions for Zanzibar's independence, and, as a result, the daily print run of 1,000 copies per edition was soon sold out. In 1962, Babu became Zanzibar's Minister for Defence and External Affairs, but this position did not grant him a journalistic carnival licence. In the early morning hours of May 4<sup>th</sup> 1962, ZNP's general secretary and two other journalists of *Zanews* were placed under detention and charged with sedition. In the lawsuit of May 22<sup>nd</sup>, Babu was sentenced to a 15 months period in prison „(...) *just because I called the British imperialists*“, he claimed at a London meeting of the Royal African Society (cf. Shivji 1994).

To *Zanews'* remaining staff, the hidden motives of these imprisonments were obvious:

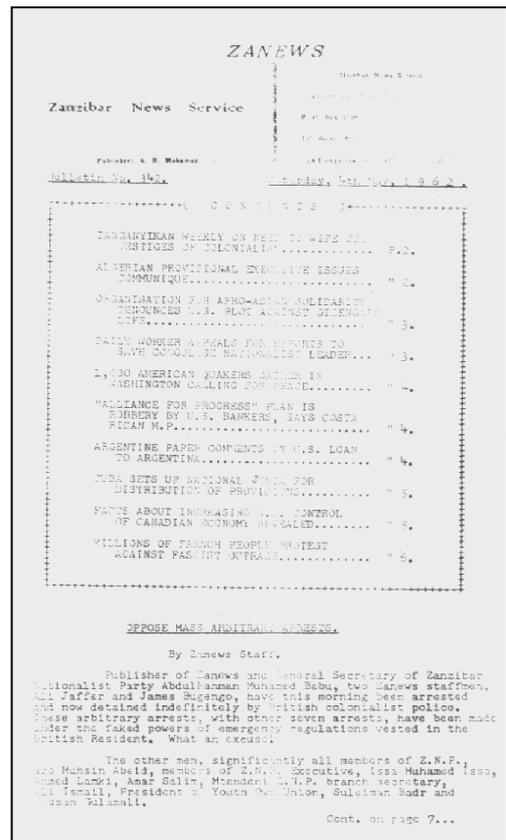
*„These arbitrary arrests, with other seven arrests, have been made under the faked powers of emergency regulations vested in the British Resident. What an excuse!” (Zanews, No. 342, May 4<sup>th</sup> 1962, p. 1)*

*„The reason is clear, the imperialists do not like to see people and their leaders, who have progressive thoughts, struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great struggle, the oppressors constantly hound them, receive their progressive teaching with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaign of lies and slander.” (Zanews, No. 343, May 7<sup>th</sup> 1962, p. 1)*

After Babu had been released in 1963, he started to edit the ZNP paper *Sauti ya Umma* (The Voice of the People). Later that year, he broke with ZNP in order to establish his own Umma Party (People's Party), and *Sauti ya Umma* became its mouthpiece (cf. Herzog 1986, S. 196). Subsequently, Babu formed the Association of Zanzibar Journalists (AZJO), which issued its declaration of principles on August 16<sup>th</sup>. Accordingly, the AZJO wanted to protect journalists from infringement of their rights, and, moreover, it pleaded with:

*„(...) all elected members of the national assembly to protest most strongly on behalf of the victimised journalists whose only 'crime' is to be the opponents of the regime. (...) we also appeal to all East African journalists, to all African journalists' organisations to bombard this government with protest telegrammes and resolutions to express their legitimate disgust in no uncertain term.” (Quoted from Hamdani 1981, p. 31)*

Jamal Ramadhan Nasibu was appointed the first chairman of the association, and Salim Ahmed Salim became its secretary. The radicalism of reporters organised in the AZJO was considered a threat by the government. In 1963, the British



**Figure 32:** Babu's typewritten bulletin *Zanews* appeared in 1961.

administration impounded the passports of some journalists - an action which led to world-wide protests (cf. Hamdani 1992, p. 8).

The co-operation with journalists from other African newspapers, such as *Afrika Kwetu*, *Agope*, *Jamhuri*, and *Kibarua*, gave Babu an in-depth understanding of ASP's political struggle. In the election of July 1963, ASP under the leadership of Abeid Amani Karumi gained 53,4 % of the vote, but the Arab coalition of ZNP and ZPPP won in 18 of altogether 31 constituencies (cf. Platzer 1993, p. 260). When Zanzibar gained independence of the British Crown on December 10<sup>th</sup> 1963, the government of Sheikh Mohammed Shante (ZPPP) was confronted with a strong African opposition. As a consequence, the government made reprisals on ASP and the Umma Party, such as the denial of exit permits or strengthening its control over African-owned print media. After a state of emergency had been declared on December 25<sup>th</sup> 1963 and the Umma Party had been outlawed on January 6<sup>th</sup> 1964, there was every indication that the government proposed the establishment of a Police State (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 270 - 271; Aumüller 1980, p. 105). The armed revolution of January 12<sup>th</sup> 1964 brought the Arab oligarchy to an end. Abeid Karume became Zanzibar's president and, after the Umma Party had been merged with ASP, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu was appointed Minister of State.

AZJO ceased operation in mid-1964 since most of its representatives had been nominated to political executive posts. After Zanzibar's union with the mainland on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1964, Babu was appointed Tanzania's Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives. During the following years, he was entrusted with several ministerial departments in Nyerere's cabinet, but when Karume was assassinated on April 7<sup>th</sup> 1972, Babu was accused of complicity and sentenced to death. However, the capital punishment was never executed (cf. *Daily News*, No. 6488, August 6<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 1). Instead, he was transferred to the mainland where he stayed in jail until 1978. After protests from global human rights organisations, e. g., Babu was Amnesty International's „Prisoner of the Month“ in October 1977, he was set free on the 14<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the union (cf. Amnesty International Publications 1978, p. 87).

Subsequently, Babu was offered a university fellowship in the United Kingdom where he joined NCCR-Mageuzi in 1992. In October 1995, he was appointed the running mate of Augustine Mrema, but his bid for vice-presidency was rejected by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) which had raised doubts on his

eligibility. On August 4<sup>th</sup> 1996, Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu died in London's Chest Hospital (cf. *Sunset*, No. 81, August 5<sup>th</sup> 1996, p. 1).

#### **7.4 The Death and the Resurrection of the Zanzibar Press after the Union**

On January 30<sup>th</sup> 1964, the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba became an one-party state. As a result, the print media of Zanzibar's prohibited parties, ZNP and ZPPP, disappeared. Many Arab journalists, such as the former editor of *Mwongozi*, Ahmed Seif Karusi, fled the island to escape retaliatory measures. Hence, the total number of the Zanzibar print media had already shrunk by the time of the Tanzanian union.

The colonial Information Office, which had been under the Provincial Administration since June 1<sup>st</sup> 1947, was incorporated into the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS) shortly after the revolution. As a result, the government paper *Maarifa* was replaced with a new publication, *Kweupe* (The Light). Karume's Swahili-language mouthpiece was edited in a run of 6,000 copies three times a week and distributed throughout Unguja and Pemba.

The Indian community continued to print their papers until the late 1960s when a new economic policy was implemented following the principles of the Arusha Declaration. Due to the nationalisation of important business branches, many Asians lost their means of subsistence and left. Consequently, the once influential Gujarati press disappeared (cf. Hamdani 1992, pp. 2 and 8).

Hence, Karume's Revolutionary Government had a monopoly on Zanzibar's print media sector. On October 24<sup>th</sup> 1970, *Kweupe*, which had only printed radio transmissions from „Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar“ during the last years, was succeeded by two weeklies, the English-language paper *Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish* and its Swahili translation *Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga*:

*„The Zanzibar Government is publishing this paper today in English and Swahili with aim to enlighten our brothers on the mainland of Africa and our fellow Tanzanians as the modus operandi we employ in achieving good results, and at the same time making it clear to them all the danger of following the inapplicable laws as well as the bad policy of hesitating to do*

*what is good for us for fear of some other people.” (Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish, Vol. 01, No. 01, October 24<sup>th</sup> 1970, p. 2)*

However, whether *Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish* nor *Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga* attracted many readers. The Zanzibar journalist Mariam Hamdani gives an explanation for the failure of these papers:

*„The weeklies had a circulation of 6,000 and were sold at 30 cents a copy. They were not popular, were irregular, and were not written in the style of newspapers. They often carried long feature stories, sometimes without a single photograph, and without an entertainment page or cartoons. They did not carry any advertisements apart from cinema shows. Due to a shortage of skilled and unskilled manpower and printing facilities, sometimes the papers were three months late. Government workers were compelled to buy the paper by direct deduction from their salaries.” (Hamdani 1992, p. 8)*

Similar to *Daily News* and *Uhuru* on the mainland, *Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish* and *Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga* served the interests of the government's policies. But when Karume was assassinated in 1972, the weeklies lost their most prominent advocate, and, finally, they disappeared in 1974. Hence, there was no single newspaper edited on Zanzibar. This situation was to last for a period of nearly 20 years if the army monthly *Nyuki* (The Bee, 1980) and the Rural-Press-Project paper *Jipatie Maarifa* (Acquire Knowledge, 1982) are left out of account. Instead, Dar-es-Salaam publications started to play a more important role on the islands, though they were not able to bridge the local information gap.

The major reason for the absence of Zanzibar print media was the bad condition of the technical equipments. In 1963, 15 printing presses had been in operation on Unguja, but, due to lacking maintenance, only four of them were working in 1980 - those were needed for stationery production. In August 1980, the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government and the German Democratic Republic signed an agreement to facilitate the installation of a new printing press on the island in order to launch a new paper by the year 1983 (cf. Hamdani 1981, p. 34).

However, it took until January 12<sup>th</sup> 1992 when *Nuru* (The Light) - the first newspaper since 1974 - appeared. The Swahili weekly was founded by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, and, accordingly, President Salmin Amour Juma wrote the paper's first editorial on the model of Nyerere's press charter of 1970 (→ 6.3.1):



**Figure 33:** The foundation of *Nuru* brought the press-less period on Zanzibar to an end.

**„ANDIKENI UKWELI,  
TETEENI HAKI“**

„Ndugu Wananchi,  
Kuanzishwa kwa Gazeti hili ni hatua muhimu ya kihistoria kwa maendeleo ya Visiwa vyetu vya Unguja na Pemba. Kwa muda mrefu tokea gazeti la mwisho la ‘Ukweli Ikidhihiri’ liliposita kuchapishwa watu wa Zanzibar walikuwa na shauku kubwa ya kuwa na gazeti la Zanzibar. Ni kweli, magazeti yetu mengi Tanzania, hasa *Daily News*, *Uhuru* na *Mfanyakazi*, yamejitahidi sana kutoa nafasi kubwa kwa matukio ya Visiwani. Lakini kutokana na sababu mbali mbali, zikiwa ni pamoja na ukubwa wa nchi yetu na nafasi hasa katika magazeti haya, haja

ya Zanzibar kuwa na gazeti lake limetokea dhahiri. Miongoni mwa mambo ambayo binaadamu hupendelea kuyajua kwa undani zaidi ni yale ambayo yanamhusu yeye na mazingira yake na karibu. (...) Hapana sababu ya kuogopa watu kupata habari zinazohusu maendeleo na taasisi zao na hali yao. Kuwanyima kuzipata habari hizo ni kuwanyima haki yao ya kidemokrasi. (...)

Tumeanzisha gazeti hili kwa nia njema ya kutumika watu wa Zanzibar, Tanzania na nchi za nje kwa jumla. Miongoni ya gazeti hili ni haya yafuatayo:

1. Kutoa habari za kweli na zilio sahihi ambazo zitasaidia kuleta maelewano na kuimarisha umoja wetu.
2. Kusaidia kuelimisha jamii juu ya mambo mbali mbali ya hapa Zanzibar na Tanzania na yatayohusu fani nyingine.
3. Kuhimiza mijadala juu ya masuala mbali mbali kwa lengo la maendeleo. (...)
4. Kutoa burudani na kuendeleza utamaduni, silka na maadili ya watu wa Visiwani.

Katika kuifanya kazi hii ni muhimu kutilia maanani sheria, uhuru na mtu binafsi na haki zake.<sup>85</sup> (*Nuru*, Vol. 01, No. 01, January 1<sup>st</sup> 1992, p. 1)

<sup>85</sup> WRITE THE TRUTH, DEFEND THE RIGHTS. „Compatriots, the establishment of this newspaper is an important step in the history of the progress of our islands of Unguja and Pemba. Since the final issue of *Ukweli Ukidhihiri*, the people of Zanzibar have been very keen on a Zanzibar newspaper. It is true that many of our newspapers in Tanzania, such as *Daily News*, *Uhuru*, and *Mfanyakazi*, have offered great possibilities to events on the islands. But owing to various reasons, combined with the vastness of our country and the special possibilities in these

The first issue of *Nuru* had a circulation of 10,000 copies, but, due to marketing and printing problems, the print run was reduced to 5,000 in 1995 and to 2,000 in 1996. 500 copies were distributed to Pemba. At the time of research (August 1996), the paper employed 46 people of whom 20 were journalists. The managing editor was Ahmada Haji Ali. In accordance to Zanzibar's salary scheme, reporters holding a diploma in journalism earned TSh 16,000 per month (US-\$ 28 in 1996) whereas university graduates were paid TSh 18,000 (US-\$ 32). Asked about the newspaper's independence of the government, *Nuru's* Chief Subeditor, Ali Rashid Salim, answered frankly:

*„We are totally under government obligation. Nuru follows orders of the government, which issues guidelines to us, and the ethics of journalism. To prevent criticism of the government as well as to attract oppositional readers, Nuru tries to avoid politics.“* (Interview with Ali Rashid Salim, August 13<sup>th</sup> 1996).

Another Swahili paper, *Jukwaa* (Platform), came off the presses on April 10<sup>th</sup> 1995. The privately owned weekly (proprietor: Mohamed Raza) is by no means controversial to the Zanzibar government. Edited by Ali Mwinyi Kai in a run of 300, *Jukwaa* had ten employees which were paid a minimum of TSh 25,000 in August 1996 (US-\$ 44) (cf. Interview with Mussa Juma Mussa, August 12<sup>th</sup> 1996).

## **7.5 Voice of the Islands: „Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar“**

Whereas the establishment of the mainland's radio station was the product of long discussions, Zanzibar's broadcasting services were launched after a relatively short period of preparations (cf. Colonial Office 1953, p. 45)<sup>86</sup>. When

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newspapers, the need for Zanzibar to publish its own newspaper has been obvious. Among the things human beings like to know with their heart are those which affect themselves and their close environment. (...) There is no reason to be afraid that people get news about development, their institutions, and their conditions. To refuse them to get these news is to refuse their right to democracy. (...) We have launched this newspaper with the best of intentions to be read by the people of Zanzibar, Tanzania, and foreign countries in general. The aims of this newspaper are the following: 1. To publish true and correct news which will help to bring explanations and strength to everyone of us. 2. To support the education of the society on various things about Zanzibar and Tanzania and other social questions. 3. To accelerate the discussion about the various questions on the aim of development. (...) 4. To publish entertainment and to perfect the culture, the characters, and ethics of the people on the islands. In performing this task, it is important to consider the laws, the freedom of the private person and his/her rights.”

<sup>86</sup> Idi Abdulla Farhan, an employee of the Department of Festival, Arts and Culture, likes to recall the story about Abdulla Buesh who first made a radio receiving set accessible to the public in

Tanganyika's administration first heard of the broadcasting plans of the Zanzibar government in April 1950, Governor Richard Turnbull instructed the Department of Social Services to inform the British Resident on Zanzibar, Sir Vincent Glenday, that the mainland's radio station was due to commence in near future, and that its programmes could be picked up also on the islands (cf. TNA 40935). Glenday responded:

*„We have been planning for some time to broadcast in a small way from Zanzibar with the assistance of Messrs. Cable and Wireless Ltd., who operate a short-wave transmitter here. A small studio has been established at the newly build Civic Centre known as Raha Leo and present plans are to start with a short daily service, from 5 to 6 p.m. consisting of news, readings from the Koran and suitable music. The broadcast will be picked up by community receivers in Rural Areas where no receiving sets can be afforded by the people; the programmes will also be relayed over loud speakers in the selected places in Zanzibar Town.”* (Letter of Sir Vincent Glenday to The Member for Social Services, B. Leechman, May 11<sup>th</sup> 1950, TNA 40935).

After a period of experimental broadcasting, „Sauti ya Unguja” (The Voice of Unguja) went on air on March 15<sup>th</sup> 1951. Although the equipment was spartan (a gramophone, a microphone, and a mixing console of an old public address amplifier), letters of appreciation were received from Tanganyika, Kenya, Portuguese East Africa, the Comoro Islands, and Madagascar after a few days (cf. Abdalla 1985, p. 9). The station, which then employed eight radio journalists and five technicians, broadcast for one hour daily from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m. except Sundays. During Ramadhan, the transmission time was changed to 9.15 p.m. to 10.15 p.m.. The programme began with a ten minutes recital from the Koran followed by local and world news. The subsequent talks on religion, agriculture, education, or other subjects of local interest were eventually succeeded by music. Further items included discussion groups, brain trusts, concerts, and plays. The major language used was Swahili, a few transmissions were also broadcast in Arabic (cf. Colonial Office 1953, p. 45; 1955, p. 45).

In the first half of 1956, experiments were made in relaying programmes from neighbouring stations and from the BBC Arabic Service. But these trial runs were not favourably received by regular listeners, who wanted an extension of the time of direct broadcasting instead (cf. Colonial Office 1957, p. 42). Consequently, „Sauti ya Unguja” increased its daily transmission time to three hours in 1957 and four hours in 1958. The station was on air from Monday to Saturday from 1.30

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1939. Every day, many Zanzibaris crowded into Beit-el-Ajaib, the famous House of Wonders, when Buesh turned on the foreign news from 10.30 p.m. to 12 p.m. (cf. Farhan 1996, p. 1).

p.m. to 2.30 p.m. and 4.30 p.m to 7.30 p.m.. During Ramadhan, the programmes were now transmitted from 9 p.m. to 12 p.m..

Very popular was the lunch-hour broadcast, which was introduced in 1957. It was a light programme with commercial advertising. The afternoon and evening transmissions included recitations of the Koran, feature programmes, talks, discussion groups, plays, music (both recorded and performed by local artists), the BBC Swahili news, women's and children's programmes, and a weekly half-hour of Pemba news. From 1958, all broadcasts were transmitted in Swahili language (cf. Colonial Office 1959, p. 52).

Soon after the union, „Sauti ya Unguja” was renamed „Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar” (STZ). Then, in 1966, the Revolutionary Government started to expand the station: The old building in Raha Leo was renovated, and the installation of a 50 kW short-wave transmitter for broadcasting to the mainland and overseas was resolved. The installation was only completed in 1986 (cf. Hassan 1988, p. 3). Thus, it was possible to listen to the programmes within a radius of 3,000 km. In 1991, STZ had also two medium-wave transmitters with 20 kW and 50 kW for local reception, but these were often out of order (cf. Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar 1991, p. 2).

In reference to the programme's contents, STZ put much weight on information and education after 1964. High priority was also given to religious broadcasts. In the area of political reporting, in 1991, there were four locally produced news blocks a day, at 3 p.m., 7 p.m., 9 p.m., and 10.45 p.m.. In addition, bulletins from RTD were transmitted at 7 a.m., 8 p.m., and 10 p.m. (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 59). The share of local news was disproportionately high (68 %), but coverage on Pemba, which was served by a separate booster station, was neglected (cf. Hassan 1988, pp. 11 and 27). Educational programmes were made available by international organisations, such as UNESCO and FAO. Moreover, the BBC supported school broadcasts by providing English-language courses. During the period from 1974 to 1992, i. e., when Zanzibar did not have a local newspaper, STZ became an important channel of interpersonal communication. Fees for private announcements, such as births and deaths, enabled the station to recoup some of its operating costs (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 60).

In 1990, financial difficulties led to the reduction of the transmission time from 18 to 11 hours a day. But with Chinese subsidies amounting to US-\$ 2 million, a new studio was inaugurated in 1993. Through the installation of an additional 50 kW

transmitter in 1994, STZ's transmission time was increased to 14 hours a day (6 a.m. to 9 a.m., 12 p.m. to 11 p.m.). Furthermore, the station broadcast from 9 a.m. to 12 a.m. on weekends. In addition to the Swahili service, Arabic and English programmes are due to be launched by the year 2000 (cf. Interview with Kassim Suleiman Kassim, August 8<sup>th</sup> 1996). According to an audience survey of the „Deutsche Welle“ (cf. 1994, p. 11), 5.2 % and 3.5 % of Tanzania's population are using STZ to gather information on home news and international affairs, respectively.

At the time of the survey (August 1996), 200 people were employed with STZ. The minimum salary for administrative personell was TSh 15,000 (US-\$ 26), for Form VI leavers 17,000 a month (US-\$ 30) (cf. Interview with Kassim Suleiman Kassim, August 8<sup>th</sup> 1996).

## **7.6 TV Zanzibar - Africa's First Colour Televison**

In August 1971, government authorities conceived the idea to establish a television station in support of STZ's mass education campaigns<sup>87</sup>. Subsequently, the Revolutionary Government signed an agreement with the London-based PYE TVT which became responsible for the installation of the equipment. The engineers of PYE TVT examined the infrastructure on the island and concluded that the only building suitable for housing Zanzibar's television centre was the Municipal Hall (today Karume House). Due to the then auspicious economic conditions, the station was equipped with top-grade products during 1973, such as a new 5 kW UHF transmitter (cf. Interview with Jaffar Suwed Kassingo, August 14<sup>th</sup> 1996).

After programmes had been broadcast on a trial basis from March 9<sup>th</sup> 1973, Television Zanzibar (TVZ) was inaugurated on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1974. A Goanese, A. R. Mendes, was appointed the first director. Being Africa's first colour television network, TVZ's programme was initially transmitted for only one hour a day. Since the station did not have any recording equipment, all the broadcasts were live. TVZ opened on 7 p.m. with a half-hourly children's programme. After a

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<sup>87</sup> On July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1948, the British administration had introduced a mobile cinema, i. e., a van which showed 16 mm. films - basically of educational contents - to the audience. On average, ten shows a month had been screened in rural areas. The scheme had later been continued by the Revolutionary Government until the establishment of TV (cf. Hamdani 1981, p. 17). In reference to Leonard W. Doob (cf. 1966, p. 29), mobile cinema vans were an extremely useful device in developing regions.

**Table 25: Directors of TVZ**  
(1971 - 1996)

A. R. Mendes .....	1971 - 1981
Chande Mumin .....	1981 - 1984
Abdalla Mwinyi.....	1984 - 1986
Victor Pereira .....	1987 - 1988
Hamad B. Mshindo .....	1988 - 1990
Omar Yusuf Chunda.....	1991 - 1992
Juma Ali Simba.....	1992 - 1996
Hassan Abdalla Mitawi .....	since 1996

filler, usually a short film which enabled the staff to change the studio's scenery, the adult programme went on air (cf. *ibid.*).

During 1974, twelve engineers of TVZ were sent to a six-months training course at the Plymouth Polytechnic in Great Britain. One of them, Severino L. Kiwango, was later appointed chief of the

production department. Among his duties was the recruitment of teachers, who were employed as producers and, then, instructed by Kiwango with the assistance of John Matthews (BBC) and Jan Kinket (Radio Netherlands Training Centre, RNTC). After the purchase of recording facilities, the transmission time was increased to two hours a day which raised the need for additional production staff. Since most of the applicants did not have any professional knowledge of the medium, they were sent to training courses in Australia, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Korea, Kenya, Malaysia, The Netherlands, and the USA (cf. *ibid.*).

On October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1977, Zanzibar's then president, Aboud Jumbe, gave his „TV Guideline Speech“, which - like Nyerere's press charter (→ 6.3.1) - can be regarded as classic of Tanzanian media policy:

*„I have stated time and time again that TV in Zanzibar is an investment on development, a tool by means of which our people can enhance their own development. We in Zanzibar are absolutely committed to education through colour TV. We must therefore create an atmosphere conducive to the development of the education through the means we envisage. But learning cannot be imposed by force upon large numbers of indifferent people. It must be acquired through their willing consent and this is something which the Ministry concerned can with your assistance endeavour to achieve. One advantage what we have is that very many people throughout the islands agree on the need for education in general. For a country as vast as Tanzania whose many tribes understand a common language and share a basic cultural heritage, much can be achieved through mass media, particularly television.“* (Quoted from Kivikuru 1990, appendix 1, p. 11).

Consequently, educational programmes were given priority. TVZ produced broadcasts for schools and literacy campaigns. Agricultural programmes were

introduced providing lessons on farming methods, such as the use of fertilisers and the appropriate choice of crops. Moreover, health transmissions dealt with pre- and ante-natal care and the prevention of various diseases (cf. Television Zanzibar n. y., p. 2).

In regard to TVZ's news bulletins and current-affairs programmes, the contents were strongly biased. News of local and national interest were followed by reports on friendly countries and non-aligned states (cf. *ibid.*).

In August 1996, TVZ was transmitting from 5 p.m. to 9.50 p.m. (5 p.m. to 10.50 p.m. on weekends and holidays). According to the station's programme manager, Jaffar Suwed Kassingo (cf. Interview on August 14<sup>th</sup> 1996), 55 % to 60 % of the broadcasts were locally produced. In 1990, TVZ had an annual budget of TSh 60,000 (US-\$ 400) for the acquisition of foreign films which meant in practice that only free programmes could be transmitted. Thus, watching an episode of the German detective series „Der Alte“ (The Old Man) is nothing unusual on Zanzibar (cf. Lederbogen 1992, pp. 64 and 66). Foreign broadcasts are provided by TRANSTEL, which is operating from the premises of the „Deutsche Welle“ in Cologne, the Dakar-based Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa (URDNA), and „Canal France International“ (CFI). Apart from the newscasts, foreign programmes are not translated but transmitted in the original language, which is English in most cases. The upshot of such programme management was revealed by a 1989 survey of viewers: 70 % of them could neither understand or even follow the foreign programmes (cf. Ali 1989, p. 13). As a consequence, a brief Swahili introduction has been added to the movies. Since 1988, TVZ has its own satellite receiver which was financed by the United States Information Service (USIS). Hence, most of the educational programmes (15 to 20 % of TVZ's total output) come via satellite from WORLDNET and C-SPAN (cf. *ibid.* p. 67).

Due to financial problems - TVZ has an annual budget of c. US-\$ 120,000 (cf. Japan International Cooperation Agency et al. 1995, p. 23) - the international news agencies have long stopped supplying their services. Not even SHIHATA is received. The solution of the problem has been the „monitoring“ of news programmes from STZ, RTD, Voice of Kenya, BBC, and „Deutsche Welle“ (cf. Lederbogen 1992, p. 67).

**Table 26:** Weekly Programme Schedule of TVZ in 1996

Time p.m.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.
5.00 - 6.00	Interview, magazine	Interview, magazine	Channel Africa	Interview, magazine	Internat. news	Sports	Prayer
6.00 - 7.00	Physics, English	Sesame Street	Drama, adventure	English, chemistry	Religion	Cartoon	Sports
7.00 - 7.05							
7.05 - 8.15	Agri-culture	Health	Com-mentary	Develop-ment	Com-mentary	Sports	Music
8.15 - 8.45							
8.45 - 9.45	Docu-mentation	Various	Drama	Politics	Religion	Internat. news	Movie
9.45 - 9.50						Various	Various
9.50 - 10.45						Various	Various
10.45 - 10.50							

	Varieties
	Children's programme
	News
	Adult programme

The number of recipients has been growing slowly although the government subsidised the purchase of TV sets. In 1981, Ng'wanakilala (cf. 1981, p. 65) claimed that there were 40,000 receiving sets on the islands. In the late 1970s, CCM had decided to buy 7,600 sets and to install them in party offices in order to enable more people to enjoy TV. However, all of the very popular communal viewing places had been closed by 1990 (cf. Kivikuru 1990, p. 17). An audience survey of the „Deutsche Welle“ conducted in 1992/93 revealed that already 23.8 % of Zanzibar's households had their own TV set. Altogether, 2.3 % and 1.5 % of the Tanzanian population used TVZ to gather information on national and world affairs, respectively (cf. Deutsche Welle 1992/93, pp. 7 and 11). In 1995, it was estimated that 100,000 TV receivers were in use on the islands (cf. Japan International Cooperation Agency et al. 1995, p. 15). Then, TVZ had a weekly reach of 26 % in Zanzibar, with small audiences to ITV (5 %) and DTV (3 %) (cf. BBC, International Broadcasting Audience Research 1995, p. 3)

TVZ's technical and organisational state is deplorable; most of the equipment is practically out of order (cf. Berwanger 1990c, p. 1). The transmitters are located in Masingini on Unguja and in Chake Chake on Pemba. The Masingini station had used the 5 kW UHF transmitter from 1973, but this broke down in 1993. Consequently, a Rohde-Schwartz 10 kW UHF transmitter was purchased. The Rohde-Schwartz 5 kW VHF transmitter in Chake Chake has been maintained in good condition (cf. Japan International Cooperation Agency et. al. 1995, pp. 12 - 13). Since 1995, much has been done for the station's restoration: On October 12<sup>th</sup> 1995, President Amour dig the first spade for the construction of a satellite communication station at Fumba which will provide telephone services and transmit the programmes of TVZ. The costs of the project amount to US-\$ 65 million, which are partly covered by British, Irish, and Italian grants. Then, on May 23<sup>rd</sup> 1996, the Japanese government, which had assisted TVZ from 1986, handed over US-\$ 3.5 million to the television station. Moreover, a co-operation contract covering a period of ten years was signed. In addition, TVZ receives grants and equipment from UNESCO, UNICEF, and Germany (cf. Interview with Jaffar Suwed Kassingo, August 14<sup>th</sup> 1996).

At the time of the survey (August 1996), TVZ employed 190 people of whom 15 were stationed on Pemba. They were paid in accordance to Zanzibar's salary scheme, i. e., trained journalists got a minimum of TSh 16,000 per month (US-\$ 28) (cf. *ibid.*).

## **7.7 Government Control of the Information Sector**

During the first 50 years of the British administration, the Zanzibar newspapers were left on their own because there was simply no need for press regulations. The Arab and Asian print media mainly focused on commercial items and were by no means hostile to the government, and Africans had no access to newspaper production.

The situation dramatically changed when the hostilities of the Second World War broke out in Europe. Due to the rising demand for information and the increasing number of newspapers resulting from this, the British administration tried to strengthen legal control over the press by enacting the Newspaper Decree No. 11 of 1938. Accordingly, all print media had to be registered, and anyone who published or distributed periodicals without prior registration was liable to a fine

not exceeding 1,000 s.. Moreover, the law determined that one copy of every published print medium had to be delivered to the government free of charge. Anyone who failed to comply with this regulation was ordered to pay a fine of 200 s. (cf. Hamdani 1981, p. 12).

On September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1939, the administration established an Information Office which was put under the Director of Education. As already mentioned, the major aims of the institution were the propagation of governmental policies and information about the progress of the war.

After the Second World War, more and more political pressure groups and parties calling for independence were formed. The government responded with the confiscation of printing presses, and particularly editors of African newspapers were charged with sedition. The most prominent victims were Ahmed Lemky, Jamal Ramadhan Nasibu, and Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu. Moreover, so-called „Public Relations Meetings” were introduced in order to encourage the exchange of ideas between the administration and the public. The first of the monthly assemblies, which were headed by the acting chief secretary and joined by Arab, Indian, and Shirazi associations, was held on December 24<sup>th</sup> 1948 (cf. Hamdani 1981, p. 17).

In 1964, Zanzibar became a one-party state which led to the death of the political press. The colonial Information Office was replaced with the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS) shortly after the revolution. Following the guidelines of the Arusha Declaration, the government started to nationalise the most important economic sectors in 1968. The Indian community, which had hitherto dominated the most important business branches, left the island, and, as a consequence, the Asian papers disappeared. Thus, the Revolutionary Government’s monopoly on the Zanzibar press began.

Despite the formation of a single union government on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1964, Zanzibar’s information sector has remained a matter of the Revolutionary Council. When Television Zanzibar was launched in 1974, the government decided to establish the „Wizara ya Habari, Utangazaji na Televisheni” (HUTV, Ministry of Information, Broadcasting, and Television) which was subdivided into three departments: Information and Broadcasting, Television, and the Printing Press Corporation. According to Yahya Haji Jecha (cf. 1981, p. 2), these subdivisions were assigned to fulfill the following duties:

- 1 to ensure that the information sector carries out its responsibilities in educating the masses on party policies and to emphasise the implementation of government plans;
- 2 to inform foreign countries about projects on the isles;
- 3 to improve printing facilities so that they could render better services to the party, government, and the population.

During the 1970s and 1980s, all the mass media were in the hands of the government which sometimes led to power struggles within the Revolutionary Council. For example, when Joseph C. Asama was appointed Director of Information and Broadcasting in 1978, some party officials tried to consolidate their position by demanding favourable coverage from STZ. They even directed announcers to stop a particular programme or prohibited to play certain records. Those who did not obey were dismissed or punished by being hit with a cane. After Asama had reported these incidents to Aboud Jumbe, the president issued the order that no one had the right to interfere with radio activities unless he or she was authorised by himself (cf. Karama 1991, p. 11).

In order to regulate the use of filmed material, the establishment of a National Censor Board was legislated under Section 22 of Act No. 6 of 1983 (cf. Omar 1990, p. 26). In 1990, the 40-head censorship committee, which consisted mainly of employees of various ministries, met at TVZ twice a week for a close scrutiny of foreign films meant to be shown on television or in cinemas. Their criteria were clear: „*No sex and the hero must win.*” (Lederbogen 1992, p. 66).

When it became more and more apparent that Tanzania would not be able to prevent the implementation of a multi-party system, and, thus, the formation of an independent press, the Zanzibar government tabled The Zanzibar Newspaper Bill in August 1988, which was subsequently passed as The Zanzibar Newspaper Act (No. 5 of 1988). Similar to the mainland’s press law of 1976, the new decree gave far-reaching and subjective rights to the president and the minister in charge of the information sector.

In respect of Section 17, the minister has the power to require any publisher to execute a bond. Moreover, Section 30 enables

*„(...) the Minister to suspend publication of any newspaper if he is of the opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order to do so.” (Zanzibar 1988, p. 1).*

Section 34 determines the powers of the president:

*„If the President is of the opinion that the importation of any publication would be contrary to the public interest he may in his absolute discretion prohibit the importation of such publication; and in the case of a periodical publication may prohibit the importation of any part of future issue thereof. Again if the President is of the opinion that the importation of the publication of any specified person would be contrary to the public interest, he may, in his absolute discretion, prohibit either absolutely or subject to specified exceptions or conditions, the importation of the future publications of such person.” (Zanzibar 1988, p. 2).*

In addition, referring to Section 8, no person shall print or publish any newspaper unless the proprietor, printer, and publisher have each filled in an affidavit containing essential information about the intended publication. Anyone who fails to comply with this provision commits an offence punishable upon conviction by a fine of not less than TSh 5,000 (US-\$ 250 in 1988) but not more than TSh 20,000 (US-\$ 1,000) or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years. Moreover, the publishers are obliged to deliver or to send by registered post a copy of every newspaper printed to the registrar (cf. *ibid.*). According to the report of the Nyalali Commission (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1992a, p. 168), the provisions of the act violate Article 18 of the Zanzibar Constitution which guaranteed freedom of expression.

In the run-up to Zanzibar’s general elections on October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1995, all mass media were working unremittingly for the CCM candidate, Salmin Amour. The monitoring team of AJM observed a *„public relation drive for CCM”* (AJM 1995, p. 4) on TVZ and STZ whereas the Swahili weeklies, *Nuru* and *Jukwaa*, were far from fair reporting. AJM concluded: *„The whole affair seems to have been a well calculated conspiracy between the media and the state against the opposition (...).”* (AJM 1995, p. 4).

On election day, journalists were not allowed to report from polling booths and counting halls. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) feared that some of them were supporters of certain political parties trying to influence the decision of the voters.

After Amour had won by a narrow margin, and accusations of massive vote-rigging against CCM did not cease to be heard, the government started to gag the press to an alarming extent. In early 1996, the authorities revoked the press card issued to a veteran journalist, Salim Said Salim. On January 25<sup>th</sup> 1996, Tanzania's widest-circulating daily, *Majira*, was banned from Zanzibar for carrying articles which - in the eyes of the authorities - aimed at the disruption of peace and unity of the islands. By announcing the ban, Zanzibar's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Issa Mohamed, said that any person being caught circulating *Majira* or a part of it, openly or secretly, would face the rigours of the law. Subsequently, on January 29<sup>th</sup> 1996, the police arrested Mbarouk Yussuf Ali at Zanzibar port in possession of a copy of the daily paper. Furthermore, Taitus Mwinyi, a resident of Lushoto on the mainland, was jailed for one month on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1996. He was also caught at Zanzibar port carrying three copies of *Majira*.

## **7.8 Press Register IV**

***Adal Insaf (Justice)***: Founded in 1948, the weekly of Rutti A. Bulsara was published in Gujarati, Swahili, and English. From 1961 to its cessation in 1968, the paper appeared in a daily frequency. The circulation of *Adal Insaf* ranged from 800 (1962) to 4,500 (1968). → *Zanzibar Who's Who & Trade Directory*.

***Afrika Kiveta***: The English and Swahili weekly was published from 1967 to 1968.

***Afrika Kwetu (Our Africa)***: The first African newspaper of Zanzibar was established only in 1948. The weekly was edited in both English and Swahili and had a print run of 1,000 copies. *Afrika Kwetu* disappeared in 1963. Supplement: *Tarishi ya Afrika Kwetu* (The Courier of Our Africa).

***AGOPE***: → *Sauti ya Wafanyakazi*.

***AGOZI***: → *Sauti ya Wafanyakazi*.

***Al-Falaq (The Dawn)***: The weekly mouthpiece of the Arab Association was edited from 1929 to 1964. On June 16<sup>th</sup> 1954, the Swahili and English paper, which had a circulation of 450, was suspended from publication for a period of twelve months. But in 1955, *Al-Falaq* was relaunched as a fortnightly.

***Al-Nahdha***: The vice-president of the Arab Association, Seif Humoud Faysal Al Said, was the owner of this weekly which appeared from 1951 to 1954. Edited in Arabic, English, and Swahili, the paper gained a circulation of 600.

***Al-Tariyqa***: Being the property of the Zanzibar Protectorate Education Department, the monthly magazine was edited by F. Webber in both English and Swahili language from 1955 to 1957.

***British Information Service***: This publication of the British Information Service appeared in 1961. The English and Swahili periodical had a print run of 350.

***Daily Commercial Report***: J. P. Patel was the publisher of the English and Gujarati daily which was established during the First World War.

***Daily News Bulletin***: The Swahili-language newsheet was founded by the Information Office in 1939 and gained a print run of 250 copies. In the same year, the office published the weekly *Habari za Wiki* (News of the Week, 250 circulation) and the *Monthly Newsletter*.

***El-Najah***: The Arabic weekly was published from 1912 to 1914.

***El-Usbueyeh***: Edited in Arabic and Swahili, the weekly appeared in a run of 600 from 1914 to 1918.

***Gazeti Rasmi***: → *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate*.

***Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa, The***: → *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate*.

***Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate, The***: Launched on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1892, the proclamation paper of the British administration was the first newspaper in Tanzania's media history not published by the Church. Initially, all articles were edited in English, but later, some announcements were also translated into Swahili and Arabic. The title of the weekly changed from time to time: *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* (1900), *Official Gazette* (1908), *The Zanzibar Official Gazette* (1964), *Gazeti Rasmi* (Official Gazette, 1964 - 1968). A *Legal Supplement* carried information about changes and enactments of laws and ordinances.

***Habari za Wiki* (News of the Week)**: → *Daily News Bulletin*.

***Jamhuri (The Republic)***: The Swahili paper was founded by Abdalla Suleiman in 1961.

***Jasho Letu (Our Sweat)***: The Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labour (ZPFL) was the proprietor of this Swahili publication which was edited by P. Makanjuki in a run of 400 copies at irregular intervals.

***Jipatie Maarifa (Acquire Knowledge)***: The Swahili monthly was launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the course of the Rural Press Project in early 1982. At the very beginning, it was printed by the National Printing Press in Dar es Salaam in a run of 30,000 copies, but since the Government Printing Press on Zanzibar has been in charge of the paper's production, the circulation of *Jipatie Maarifa* has declined to 5,000. As a result, Editor Ali Mwinyikai reduced its frequency of publication to six times a year.

***Journal of the Indian National Association***: The monthly magazine of the Indian National Association (INA) was published in English and Gujarati from 1915 to 1921 in a run of 325 copies.

***Jukwaa (The Platform)***: The Swahili weekly came off the presses on April 10<sup>th</sup> 1995. At the time of the survey (August 1996), it was owned by Mohamed Raza and edited by Ali Mwinyikai (→ *Jipatie Maarifa*). Its circulation was 600.

***Kibarua (The Casual Labourer)***: Owned by the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions (FPTU), the free Swahili daily was edited by Ahmed B. Quallatein in a run of 500 from 1961 to 1963.

***King George The VI. School Magazine***: The Zanzibar Protectorate Education Department was the proprietor of this Swahili and English monthly which appeared in the late 1950s.

***Kipanga (The Hawk)***: Founded in 1961, the Swahili daily was owned by Abdalla S. Natepe and S. A. Suleiman and edited by Abeid Salim. After the union, the production of the paper was taken over by the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS). *Kipanga* ceased publication in 1968.

***Kwacha (Resignation)***: The Swahili paper of the Umma Party was published only in 1963.

***Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga (Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish):*** The Swahili weekly and its English-language sister, *Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish*, were established on October 24<sup>th</sup> 1970 as successor of the government paper → *Kweupe*. Both editions were edited by Salim Abdul'man in a run of 6,000 copies until 1974.

***Kweupe (The Light):*** Established on January 18<sup>th</sup> 1964, the Swahili daily was published by the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS). Later, the frequency of publication was reduced to three times a week and, finally, to once a week. The circulation ranged between 6,000 (1964) and 15,000 (1966) copies. In October 1970, *Kweupe* was replaced with the new government weeklies → *Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga* and *Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish*.

***Maarifa (Knowledge):*** The free weekly of the Information Office was published in English and Swahili from August 1952 to January 1964. In 1959, the Arabic supplement *Kijumbe* (The Middleman) was added to the paper. Circulation: 500 (1955 - 1956), 5,000 (1958), 6,000 (1959), 7,000 (1960).

***Madhu Kari:*** Rambai Trivedi was the editor of this Gujarati paper which appeared once a month in a run of 300 in the 1930s. Simultaneously, Trivedi also published another Gujarati monthly, *Sihnad*, which had the same circulation as *Madhu Kari*.

***Mazungumzo ya Walimu wa Unguja:*** → *Normal Magazine, The.*

***Mazungumzo:*** → *Normal Magazine, The.*

***Mfanya Kazi (The Labourer):*** The Federation of Progressive Trade Unions (FPTU) was the proprietor of this Swahili bi-weekly edited by Ahmada Shafi from 1964 and 1966.

***Mkombozi (The Saviour):*** Ali Mwinyigogo and A. Twala were both the owners and editors of this Swahili bi-weekly which heavily supported the policies of ASP. In its year of foundation, 1961, the paper had a circulation of 1,100. Later, *Mkombozi* was published at irregular intervals.

***Mkulima (The Farmer):*** The Swahili weekly of the Zanzibar Protectorate Agriculture Department was launched after the First World War. It was distributed free throughout the island of Unguja.

**Monthly Newsletter:** → *Daily News Bulletin*.

**Monthly Trade Information:** The monthly of the Zanzibar Protectorate Customs Department was published from the early 1920s to the revolution of 1964.

**Msimulizi (The Storyteller):** In October 1888, the first periodical of Tanzania's media history was founded by the UMCA on Zanzibar. Edited in Swahili, the paper appeared every two months until 1895 when it ceased publication for a period of nearly one decade. In March 1904, *Msimulizi* was relaunched and survived until the First World War.

**Mwangaza (The Light):** The Swahili and English paper was founded by Abdalla Amour Suleiman on July 14<sup>th</sup> 1954. The weekly, whose frequency of publication became extremely irregular in its year of cessation, 1961, had a print run of 350 copies.

**MWIBA:** → *Sauti ya Wafanyakazi*.

**Mwongozi (The Leader):** Launched on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1941, the weekly was the property of Masoud M. Riami and Ahmed S. Kharusi. The latter edited the paper together with Ali M. Barwani until its cessation in 1964. Published in English, Swahili, and Arabic, *Mwongozi's* circulation ranged between 600 and 1,000 copies.

**Ngao (Protection):** Yusuf Khamis Yusuf was the publisher of this Swahili paper which appeared three times a week from 1963 to 1964.

**Normal Magazine, The:** The monthly, which was owned by the Teacher Training College and edited by L. W. Hollingsworth, was first published in April 1927. Then, all articles were printed in English. With effect from the issue of June 1931, the paper was renamed *Mazungumzo ya Walimu wa Unguja* (Conversation of the Teachers of Unguja) and edited in Swahili. In January 1948, the periodical became *Mazungumzo* (Conversation), and, after a sharp decline in quality, it disappeared as *Seyyid Khalifa School Magazine*.

**Nuru (The Light):** The Swahili weekly of the Revolutionary Government came off the presses on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1992. Then, it was the first publication of general interest after a long haul of 18 years. At the time of the survey (August 1996), the managing editor of the paper was Ahmada Haji Ali. Circulation: 10,000 (1992), 5,000 (1995), 2,000 (1996).

***Nyuki (The Bee)***: The eight-page Swahili monthly of Tanzania People's Defence Force Zanzibar was published in 1980. Then, it was the only periodical edited on the islands. *Nyuki* was printed by KIUTA in Dar es Salaam.

***Official Gazette***: → *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate*.

***Produce Market Report***: The quarterly, which appeared shortly after the First World War, was - like the *Quarterly Market Review* - the property of the Glove Growers Association. Both papers disappeared in early 1964.

***Quarterly Market Review***: → *Produce Market Report*.

***Ruta (Information)***: The first daily of Tanzania's media history was founded by Khalil Ali Khalil in 1914. The English and Gujarati paper ceased publication in 1918 but was relaunched in 1939. In both cases, *Ruta* mainly carried direct translations of news received from the government. Moreover, Khalil was the proprietor of the Swahili weekly *The Zanzibari*, which was published from 1939 to the late 1940s. Then, Khalil died and both papers, which had gained a print run of 1,000 copies each during the Second World War, disappeared.

***Sal Sabih***: The Gujarati monthly of the Khoja-Shija-Ithnaasheri community was edited by Mohammed Valli Dharsee in a run of 500 during the inter-war period.

***Samachar, The (The News)***: Established in 1902, the English and Gujarati weekly was published by Fazel J. Master. In the year of its cessation, 1968, the paper had a circulation of 7,500 copies.

***Sauti ya Afro-Shirazi (The Voice of Afro-Shirazi)***: The mouthpiece of ASP was edited by Joseph Fikirini in English and Swahili. From its beginning in 1959 to 1961, it was published once a week in a print run of 300. Then, it appeared at irregular intervals until 1963.

***Sauti ya Jogoo (The Crowing of the Cock)***: The only paper which has hitherto been published on Pemba appeared between 1960 and 1963. The Swahili publication belonged to ZNP and was edited in a run of 500.

***Sauti ya Umma***: → *Umma*.

***Sauti ya Vijana (The Voice of the Youths)***: The Youth's Own Union (YOU) of ZNP published the Swahili paper in a print run of 500 in the early 1960s.

***Sauti ya Wafanyakazi (The Voice of the Workers):*** Jamal Ramadhan Nasibu was both the owner and the editor of this Swahili and English weekly which appeared in 1955. Then, it had a circulation of 300 copies. After the paper had been suspended from publication, Nasibu launched - one behind the other - the Swahili weeklies *AGOZI* (African General Organisation for Zanzibar Independence, 1959 to 1961), *AGOPE* (African General Organisation for Political Education, 1961 to 1963, contained also some English material), and *MWIBA* (More Work Illustrate Better Africa), 1962 to 1963). All of them were banned in the course of legal procedures.

***Sauti ya Wananchi (The Voice of the Citizens):*** Being the property of ZPPP, the Swahili daily was edited by Juma Ali Bakari in a run of 500 from 1960 to 1964.

***Seyyid Khalifa School Magazine:*** → *Normal Magazine, The.*

***Sihnad:*** → *Madhu Kari.*

***Statistical Bulletin:*** Established in 1979, the annual review has been published by the Department of Statistics.

***Tai (The Vulture):*** The Swahili daily, which appeared in 1961 in a run of 300, was both owned and edited by A. S. Natepe and S. A. Sleman.

***Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish:*** → *Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga.*

***Twikale Mwe:*** The English bi-weekly was launched by the United States Information Service (USIS) in 1961. The free paper had a circulation of 300 copies.

***Ukombozi (Liberation):*** The Swahili daily was published by ASP's Youth League.

***Umma (The People):*** Launched in 1960, the English and Swahili daily was edited by Ibuni Saleh who was a strong supporter of ZNP. After Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu (→ *Zanews*) had been released from prison in 1963, he took over the edition of the paper which was subsequently renamed *Sauti ya Umma* (The Voice of the People). When Babu broke with ZNP later that year, the daily became the mouthpiece of his own Umma Party (People's Party) which was prohibited on January 6<sup>th</sup> 1964. Consequently, *Sauti ya Umma* was forced to cease publication.

***Vanguard:*** The ZNP paper, which was established in January 1959, was edited by Rutti A. Bulsara.

***Voice of the Workers, The:*** This periodical appeared in the mid-1950s, but it soon ceased publication.

***Worker, The:*** ZNP's Federation of Progressive Trade Unions (FPTU) published the English weekly in a run of 500 from 1960 to 1963.

***Zanews (Zanzibar News Service):*** The daily newspaper of Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu was published in an English and a Swahili edition in a run of 1,000 copies each from 1961 to 1964.

***Zanzibar Daily Voice, The:*** → *The Zanzibar Voice.*

***Zanzibar Official Gazette, The:*** → *The Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate.*

***Zanzibar Times:*** Anwerali A. Ladha was both the owner and the editor of this Gujarati daily (later edited weekly) which was published in English and Gujarati from 1945 to the early 1950s. The paper had a circulation of 1,000.

***Zanzibar Voice, The:*** Established in 1922, the Gujarati and English weekly (subtitle: „A Weekly Journal on Commercial, Political, Social and Literary Matters”) was the property of Biharilal N. Anantani. Furthermore, Anantani published a one-page Gujarati daily of the same name which became *The Zanzibar Daily Voice* in 1957. Both editions disappeared in 1968. Circulation (weekly): 700 (1922), 900 (1924), 1,150 (1925), 1,200 (1927), 750 (1940).

***Zanzibar Who's Who & Trade Directory:*** The annual English publication was produced by the former printing press of → *Adal Insaf* between the years 1973 and 1977.

***Zanzibari, The:*** → *Ruta.*

## **8 Summary and Conclusion**

The study in hand deals with the development of the Tanzanian mass media from the publication of the first newspaper to the recent democratisation process, which has caused a significant increase of private media institutions.

The starting point was the year 1888 when the quarterly *Msimulizi* was published by the UMCA on Zanzibar. Then, in mid-1890, the first periodical of mainland Tanzania, *Mtenga Watu*, came off the presses of the UMCA Central Station on Likoma island.

By that time, the German administration and the settlers had no print media representing their interests. The government even had to publish administrative announcements in the British *Gazette of Zanzibar and the East African Protectorate*, which appeared on Zanzibar on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1892. But on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1899, the first issue of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was edited by a certain Willy von Roy whose blunt racialism is in the focus of the first portrait. In 1912, the government imposed a German-East-African press law which was the first attempt to restrict freedom of expression. When the British conquered German East Africa in 1916, a total number of 20 newspapers and magazines had already appeared.

But, as a matter of fact, all press activities fell a victim to the First World War. On September 16<sup>th</sup> 1916, members of the East African Expeditionary Forces published *The Morogoro News*, which disappeared after only five issues. The subsequent absence of print media was to last for nearly three years.

Only after Tanganyika had been adjudged to Great Britain as a mandate of the League of Nations, the official *Tanganyika Territory Gazette* was launched on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1919. Later that year, on November 19<sup>th</sup> 1919, the influential settler paper *Dar-es-Salaam Times* (later *Tanganyika Times*) appeared. The weekly managed to maintain its role as the mouthpiece of the British community for a period of more than ten years. Then, the newspaper was superseded by the *Tanganyika Standard* launched by the Nairobi-based East African Standard Ltd. on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1930.

Until 1937, the indigenous population had no access to the print media. The British government regarded information to Africans as an administrative necessity

and prevented oppositional publications through the Newspaper Ordinance of 1928. But Erica Fiah (portrait 2) found a way to evade the decree and established *Kwetu* on November 18<sup>th</sup> 1937. Thus, *Kwetu* became the first African-owned newspaper in Tanzania's press history.

After the Second World War, the nationalists' struggle for independence stepped up. Consequently, a strong anti-imperialistic press appeared. For example, the leader of TANU and first president of the autonomous nation state, Julius Nyerere, was the editor-in-chief of the movement's organ, *Sauti ya TANU*. The British administration responded to this development by publishing papers in favour of the status quo and, furthermore, by strengthening the legal apparatus. In 1958, Nyerere was charged with sedition and heavily fined. Other journalists even suffered a harder lot: The editors of *Mwafrika*, Rashidi Bagdelleh and Robert Makange, served six months in prison for accusing the British of exploiting the country. The press register of Tanganyika under British administration lists 161 publications.

The second arm of colonial policies was the broadcasting station „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam“ which came into operation on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1951. Even when the station was transformed into a public corporation on the model of the BBC on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1956, the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) remained the public relations unit of the colonial administration.

After Tanganyika had become independent on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961, President Julius Nyerere was dissatisfied with the fact that the major print media were in private hands. In addition, he wanted more direct control over broadcasting which the quasi-independent status of the TBC might not have given him. Therefore, Nyerere established the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1964 whose first trial was the nationalisation of the TBC on March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965. Subsequently, the broadcasting station was renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), which became the most important propagator of Nyerere's policies during the following years.

The „Tanzanisation“ of the media, which was executed in accordance to the government's post-colonial policy of „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“, continued with the nationalisation of *The Standard* on February 5<sup>th</sup> 1970. Portrait 3 considers the circumstances of this decision and characterises the new editor of the daily, Frene Ginwala. On April 26<sup>th</sup> 1972, *The Standard* was merged with the party paper *The*

*Nationalist* (est. April 17<sup>th</sup> 1964) to form *Daily News*. In order to silence oppositional voices, Nyerere introduced The Newspaper Act of 1976 which was based on colonial ordinances. The new decree made it practically impossible for private editors to launch a newspaper without the government's consent. The fact that the constitution of 1977 guarantees freedom of expression is a paradox of Tanzania's media history.

The monopoly on the media sector enabled the government to carry out ambitious adult education projects out of which the radio study groups (1967 - 1975) were extraordinarily successful. Another initiative, the Rural Press Project, which was established as an integral part of an UNESCO/UNDP campaign on functional literacy in 1974, has not been able to achieve similar results.

The policy of „Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“ led to several actions in favour of a self-reliant media system. The state-run journalism training centre, Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ), was inaugurated on August 14<sup>th</sup> 1975, and, subsequently, the national news agency SHIHATA came into being on November 12<sup>th</sup> 1976. The Tanzania News Agency Act empowered SHIHATA to operate as the sole receiver and distributor of news within the country.

After the political changes in Europe in the late 1980s, most African countries followed the „advice“ of international donors to implement democratic structures. „Mageuzi“ officially started on February 27<sup>th</sup> 1991 when President Ali Hassan Mwinyi appointed a commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the United Republic, Francis L. Nyalali. The so-called „Nyalali Commission“ was given one year to collate people's views on the debate whether Tanzania should continue with the single-party system or adopt political pluralism. Moreover, the commission was assigned to analyse the laws of the country in order to evaluate their compatibility with the new political direction.

On February 17<sup>th</sup> 1992, Nyalali accomplished the task by presenting the full report to Mwinyi. In fact, there were some high-explosive findings, particularly in regard to the media system. The commission recommended that The Tanzania News Agency Act of 1976 should be amended in a way that SHIHATA retained the right to collect and disseminate news but without preventing other agencies or persons from doing the same. In addition, The Newspaper Act of 1976 and The Zanzibar Newspaper Act of 1988 were regarded as contradictions to Article 18 (1) of both the union and the Zanzibar constitutions. Whereas the monopoly of

SHIHATA was dissolved through an appropriate amendment of June 12<sup>th</sup> 1992, both newspaper ordinances were still in force at the time of research. Although the establishment of privately-owned print media was no longer prevented, the government had prohibited the publication of altogether four periodicals by August 1996.

An initiative of journalists to regulate the news flow by themselves led to the establishment of the Independent Media Council of Tanzania (IMCT) on February 14<sup>th</sup> 1996. IMCT, which was constituted as a voluntary, autonomous, and non-statutory body, aims at enforcing professional ethics and protecting individuals against invasion of privacy. Although the council's power is based on moral authority, it can be given legal weight if IMCT testifies against an offender in court. But, as a matter of fact, the council had still not taken up its work by the time of the survey.

As already mentioned, the democratisation process has caused the mushrooming of both print and electronic media. The press register of independent Tanzania catalogues 730 newspapers and magazines of which more than a half were launched during the last five years. Moreover, three television networks and eight radio stations operated on mainland Tanzania at the time of the survey. The Broadcasting Services Act of April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1993 has brought the monopoly of RTD to an end, but the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission had not issued licences for nation-wide transmission to private media owners by August 1996. As a consequence, the government was in the position to utilise radio, the only medium reaching virtually everyone in the vast country, for propaganda purposes during the election campaign in 1995. Thus, the landslide victory of CCM and Benjamin W. Mkapa was also considered a victory of RTD.

In respect of media history, Zanzibar (Unguja) was always ahead of the mainland. The island did not only have the first newspaper, *Msimulizi*, but also the first daily of the country: The English and Gujarati paper *Ruta* was published in 1914. Moreover, on March 15<sup>th</sup> 1951, Zanzibar's broadcasting station „Sauti ya Unguja“ was inaugurated just a few months before „Sauti ya Dar es Salaam“. By launching the first colour television in Africa on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1974, Television Zanzibar is also on Africa's media-historic record.

Due to Zanzibar's different sociocultural, political, and economic development, the information sector has never been a union matter. During the British

domination (1890 - 1963), the press was mainly used to serve the colonial administration and the Sultan. In 1938, indigenous newspaper production was prevented by imposing Decree No. 11. On the eve of independence, arbitrary arrests and sedition charges tried to calm the political awakening of the African population. The most prominent victim was Abduhrahman Mohammed Babu, a later minister in Nyerere's cabinet (portrait 4).

After the revolution and the subsequent union with the mainland in 1964, the Zanzibar press experienced a sudden death. Between 1974 and 1992, no single general-interest paper appeared on the island. But due to the increasing number of privately owned periodicals on the mainland, the Zanzibar government legislated the Zanzibar Newspaper Act of 1988 which empowered the President to ban „foreign“ publications. This is exactly what happened to Tanzania's leading newspaper, *Majira*. On January 25<sup>th</sup> 1996, the Dar-es-Salaam daily was suspended from circulation on Zanzibar for carrying articles which - in the eyes of Zanzibar's government - aimed at the disruption of peace and unity of the island. Two persons who possessed copies of the paper were jailed for one month each.

At the time of research, Zanzibar had two weekly newspapers: The governmental *Nuru* and the private *Jukwaa* were established on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1992 and April 10<sup>th</sup> 1995, respectively. Both were by no means critical to the system and - together with radio and television - the formed a broad alliance against the opposition in the 1995 general elections. Similar to the mainland, the media made a great contribution to the victory of the ruling party, CCM. The press register of Zanzibar lists 75 publications.

From the viewpoint of the system theory, the study reveals some interesting results. The most important is probably the finding that the mass media have been an overrated instrument of power. In none of the societies under investigation, the control of the media granted the continuance of the ruling system. Instead, the strain on the public communication sector contributed to the formation of oppositional circles, for instance, in the case of Willy von Roy vs. the German administration, Julius Nyerere's struggle for independence through *Sauti ya TANU*, or the successful resistance of Tanzanian journalists to the Media Professions Regulation Bill.

Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the mass media played a crucial role in the political and socioeconomic development, especially in post-colonial

Tanzania. Whereas both the Germans and the British undertook only half-hearted attempts to incorporate the communication channels into the development process, Nyerere's government utilised the mass media as effective tools in adult education and the formation of national cohesion. In both spheres, the attempts were crowned with extraordinary success: The radio study groups of the 1970s combined traditional and modern communication methods which actually anticipated the academic debate on the Oramedia and Multiplicity approach, and the national integration process was supported by the media through classical propaganda techniques, such as the creation of system-endangering enemies, the reverence for political leaders, and the propagation of the national language, Swahili.

A prerequisite for these media performances was the existence of captive audiences which was ensured by more or less restrictive laws inherited from the colonial past. But since the implementation of the multi-party system, the performances of mass communication have been dysfunctional in the above-mentioned spheres. The scoop-hunting resulting from the strong competition on the Tanzanian media sector has given way to political-extremist views endangering the unity of the country, and the high proportion of foreign programmes transmitted by the electronic media leads to the dissemination of Western life-style and values. Hartmut Deckelmann (cf. 1978, p. 61) hits the point when he calls television in Africa a Trojan horse. Moreover, the commercial orientation of the independent mass media causes a further widening of the information gap between the urban centres and the rural areas. Private media owners are subject to market tendencies, and, thus, they cannot afford to invest in media ventures in the countryside.

Notwithstanding these grievances, freedom of expression is a fundamental human right indispensable for the progress of a democracy. Independent media provide alternative discussion platforms which are substantial for the political discourse as well as the economical and social development of a given society. But as long as newspapers are simply banned from publication and broadcasting licences revoked for not verifiable reason, democratisation will remain a theoretical concept in the Tanzanian case. So, what has to be done?

The only promising way out of the crisis seems to be the establishment of a dualistic media system in which a core sector under public law safeguards the interests of the nation accompanied by commercial mass media overseeing the

performances of the government. In other words, more emphasis has to be put on the development of the public communication sector by both the United Republic of Tanzania and international donors.

In regard to the private media, it is hoped that the training of journalists may be enhanced within the few next years and the Independent Media Council of Tanzania (IMCT) is able to accomplish its tasks as an autonomous body guiding the achievements of mass communication. In both cases, ethical values have to be put into the centre of interest. One of Africa's leading communication scientists, Francis P. Kasoma, states that present journalism ethics are too much based on Western ideas resulting from colonialism and neo-imperialism. Instead, he suggests that the news people should adhere to Africa's traditional ideals:

*„It is important to emphasise that the journalism ethical values that Europeans and Americans brought to Africa were embedded in their long cultural history and tradition. One such value was not to violate individual rights. In other words, the individual, rather than the wider society, was seen as the direct beneficiary of ethical journalistic behaviour. Western journalism ethics, therefore, aimed to serve society through the individual, rather than serving the individual through society. As we have seen, such an outlook does not correspond with African moral philosophies.” (Kasoma 1994, p. 29)*

Hence, the wheel comes full circle with the demand that Tanzanian media professionals must summon up courage to realise the implementation of a self-reliant journalism. But first, basic research on this issue has to be conducted which makes the foundation of a university communication department or both the extension and co-operation of the Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ) and the Nyegezi Social Training Centre (NSTC) absolutely necessary.



## 9 References

### 9.1 Newspapers

Note: Each newspaper below is listed with its place of publication, the name of the archive recorded, the appropriate shelfmark and the period of availability. Titles without archive information were available on street sale (SOAS = School of Oriental and African Studies, NL = Newspaper Library of the British Library, PRO = Public Record Office, ICS = Institute of Commonwealth Studies [all in London], TNA = Tanzania National Archives [Dar es Salaam]).

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*Kwetu*: Dar es Salaam. TNA; 2374; 1928 - 1930. SOAS; M. 3899; 1939 - 1942.

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- Pwani na Bara*: Dar es Salaam. SOAS; Per. 3L/295005; 1910 - 1916.
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## 9.2 Interviews and Letters

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