

THE MEDIA MISSIONARIES



American Support for Journalism Excellence
And Press Freedom Around the Globe



Credits for Media Missionaries

Credits

This report maps the myriad American efforts to develop and support journalism around the globe with fellowships, exchanges, training, grants, loans, equipment, infrastructure, staff, conferences and other means. This study, commissioned in the fall of 2001 by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, tries to identify where money was spent and what lessons were learned after a decade of such work. This report also includes regional analyses and contact information for media development organizations and individuals.

A partial list of individuals interviewed for this report is appended. Crucial research support was provided by Charlie Costanzo of Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse, Wayne Dillehay of the International Center for Journalists, Monroe Price of Yeshiva University's Cardozo School of Law and the Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy at Oxford University, Mark Hallett of the McCormick Tribune Foundation, Joan Mower of the International Broadcasting Board of Governors, Ed Baumeister, Rich and Suzi McClear of the International Research & Exchanges Board, Gordana Jankovic and Bill Siemerling of the Open Society Institute, the Committee to Protect Journalists' report *Attacks on the Press, 2001*,¹ David Hoffman and the regional directors and international managers of Internews, and Knight Foundation director of Journalism Initiatives Eric Newton.¹

Journalist Tim Porter edited the manuscript. Carole Lee and Margaret Fleming Glennon provided invaluable production assistance.

¹The author has been a consultant to Internews and sits on its board.

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'The loss of liberty in general would soon follow the suppression of the liberty of the press; for it is an essential branch of liberty, so perhaps it is the best preservative of the whole. Even a restraint of the press would have a fatal influence. No nation ancient or modern has ever lost the liberty of freely speaking, writing or publishing their sentiments, but forthwith lost their liberty in general and became slaves.'

– *New York Weekly Journal, c 1734*

By James F. Hoge Jr.
December 2003

In 1735, a German immigrant who made a new life for himself in the colony of New York, mainly by printing religious tracts, was placed on trial by a governor attempting to squelch criticism of his administration through the printed word. John Peter Zenger, publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal*, suffered eight months of imprisonment before getting his day in court. When that day came, Zenger faced considerable challenges. His case would be tried by two judges, both of whom were handpicked by the governor. Attempts also were made to tamper with the jury, but they failed. The 12 jurors acquitted Zenger of libel. A tradition of a free press had begun.

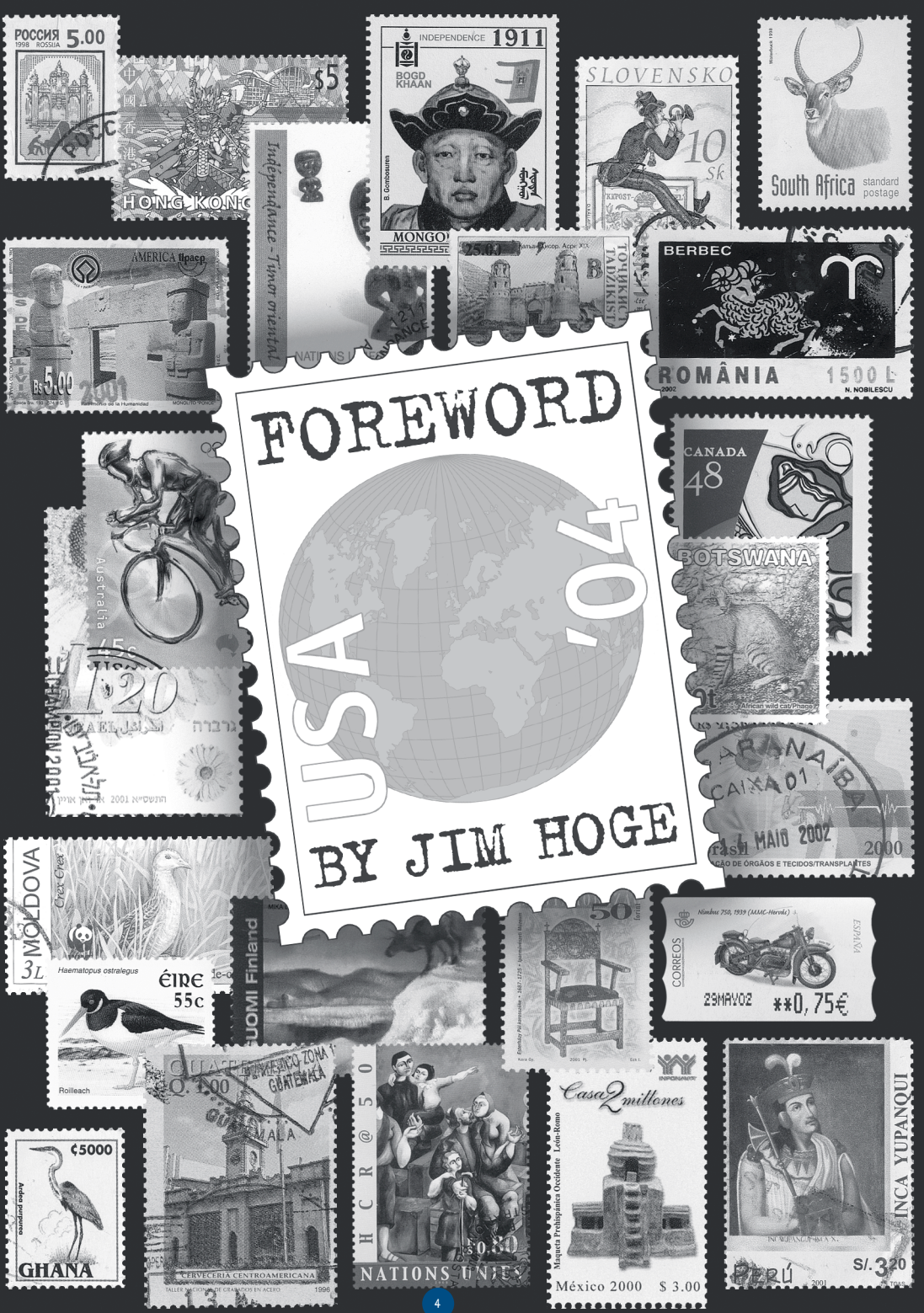
Nearly three centuries later, freelance writer Vanessa Leggett found herself imprisoned for 168 days in a Texas jail. Leggett had refused a grand-jury order to turn over all recorded interviews conducted during her research of a murder case, citing a journalist's right to protect confidential sources. The court dissented, saying it did not recognize such a "privilege." Leggett was released only upon the completion of the grand jury's term. Three months later, her appeal to the Supreme Court was rejected.

These two assaults on the independence of American media provide ample evidence that freedom of the press, even in the world's richest and most powerful democracy,

requires incessant vigilance. No society based on the rule of law, let alone a dictatorship, an autocracy or a theocracy, offers the guarantee of open media. Threats continually abound.

The commitment to press freedom is, therefore, always ongoing. It is also necessary, fundamental to a proper relationship between government and governed. For transitional societies – those that have embarked on the long and arduous journey from communism or dictatorship to democracy – this commitment requires an especially large amount of time and patience. Those unfamiliar with the duties and responsibilities, and pitfalls and shortcomings, of the democratic system may not quickly accept the burdens that accompany its construction.

Journalists are charged with extraordinary responsibilities when plying their trade in a democracy. Their ability to work freely requires dedication to a high quality of objective writing that is ensured only when the media have access to the financial resources that can guarantee editorial independence. Publications and broadcasts that blur the division between reporting and advertising, or between fact and opinion, lack credibility; they perform a disservice to themselves and the public that relies on them. Efforts to reinforce press freedom will consequently prove unsuccessful without corresponding attempts to raise editorial standards, separate editorial and business departments, and



foster management techniques that uphold financial independence.

As this report, *The Media Missionaries*, makes clear, the resources that have poured into transitional societies since 1989 to bolster press freedom and professionalism have led to great progress. Independent media in Serbia, for example, sustained to a great extent by Western aid, contributed to the toppling of Slobodan Milosevic. But, as the report also acknowledges, setbacks are not uncommon. This year alone, noteworthy reversals have occurred in Russia, Zimbabwe and Morocco, among others. These and other countries, in which state-run media predominate, have witnessed the closure of independent media outlets or the harassment and imprisonment of independent journalists.

Ironically, these reversals come at a time when electoral democracy is on the rise worldwide. The most recent installment of *Freedom in the World*, the annual survey by Freedom House of global political rights and civil liberties, notes that gains in personal freedom last year were significant in a range of countries around the world. But advances in press freedom did not necessarily accompany the progress in general civic liberty. In fact, *Freedom in the World* cites 35 countries with ratings for press freedom lower than their ratings in personal freedom.

This dichotomy would probably come as no surprise to noted journalist Fareed Zakaria. In his recent book, *The Future of Freedom*, the Newsweek International editor observes that in recent decades around the globe “Democracy is flourishing; liberty is not.” Zakaria cites the growth of “illiberal democracies,” countries that feature elected leaders who dispense with constitutional

limits on their power and ignore citizens’ basic rights. He describes dictatorships that feel the need to conduct sham elections to curry international approval and legitimacy while fundamental freedoms are routinely suspended. No independent media can long thrive in such a climate.

Zakaria’s thesis illustrates a form of democratic immaturity. Countries that hold fair elections for political leaders may lack sufficient democratic infrastructure to support independent media, among other features of an open society. For that, established civic institutions, notably including an autonomous and transparent judiciary that adheres to an entrenched rule of law, are required.

Even that, however, may not be enough to safeguard journalism. Throughout the 1990s, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in most of central and eastern Europe, the established democracies of western Europe considered regulating press fairness via an ethics code. This idea fortunately never reached fruition. But other countries adopted press-responsibility codes or passed security and insult laws, all of which can be invoked to curb journalism. States with fragile judicial systems are and have been especially prone to doing so. More recently, some governments have exploited threats of terrorism to permit more socially repressive measures that quickly become threats to press freedom.

Such developments serve as a reminder of the critical, incessant need for a vigorous defense of press freedom, further journalism training and higher professional standards. International assistance to bring that about should be redoubled – and not only for these goals. Such efforts can also help promote knowledge within

threatened countries of international media law and raise awareness of the need to lobby courts and governments to secure fundamental media freedoms. In this way, a virtuous cycle begins.

The activities of the staff of the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation in the service of worldwide freedom of the press are substantial. They are among the key players in this area. Thanks to them, much good work has been done and the future of the printed and broadcast word is more secure. In the face of the inevitable obstacles, they – like many of their counterparts – persevere. It is only right that they did and do so.

Working with Knight Foundation, the Washington, D.C.-based International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), which I chair, battles every day to make the world’s press more professional, more effective as a watchdog of officialdom, and more independent of entrenched political and economic interests. Our struggle is an integral part of advancing journalism around the world.

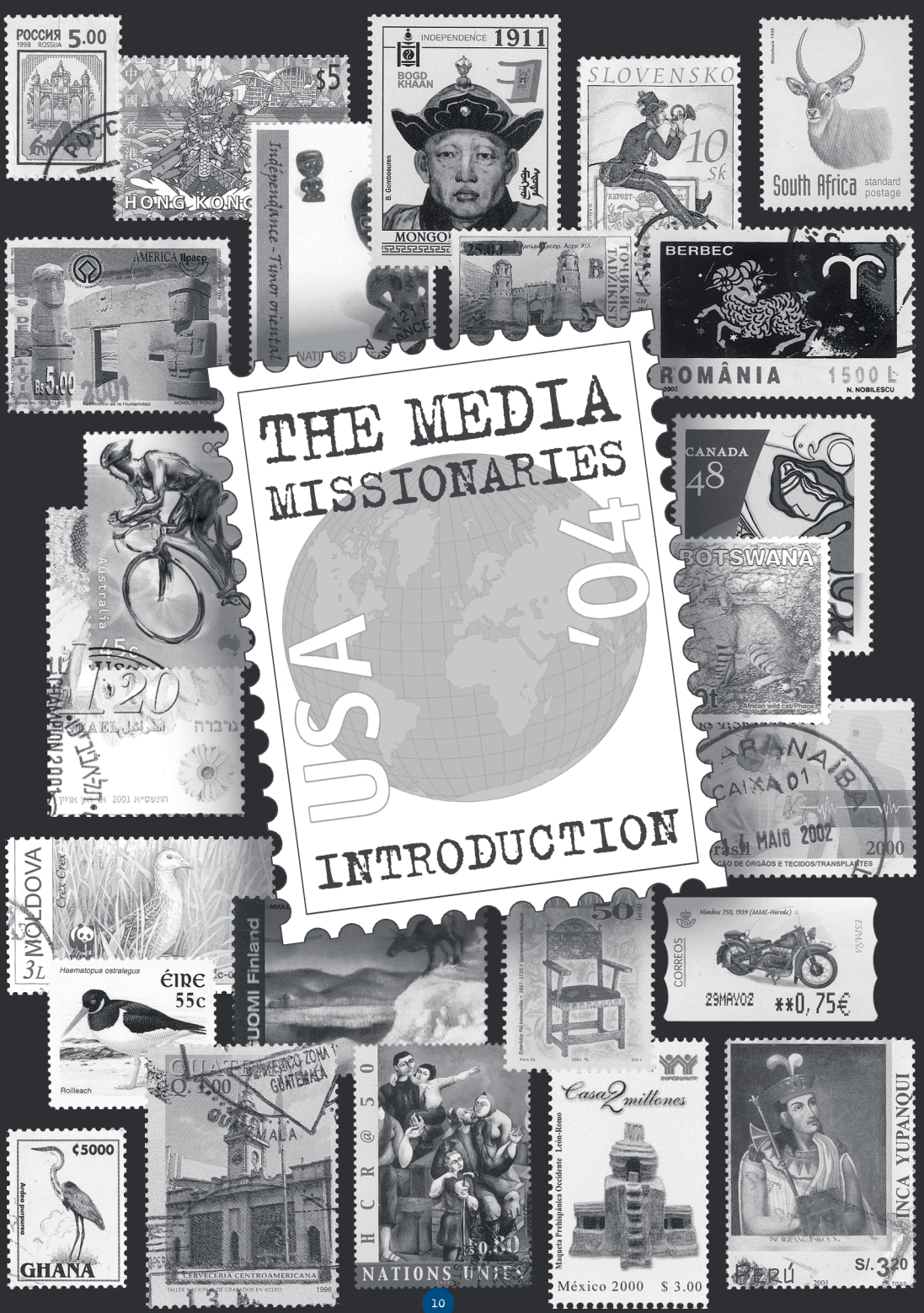
Together, our two organizations, along with many others, provide all the ingredients for more successful media operations. It is undoubtedly a long-term process. But by raising awareness of the need for a safe environment in which the media can display professionalism and integrity, a virtuous cycle begun has greater chances of being sustained. The chances can be further heightened by determining which societies can exploit international assistance for permanent reform and which societies are likely to fail.

Ultimately, securing the position of the Fourth Estate is only one part in the struggle to spread democratic values.

Entire societies must be strengthened and reinforced; citizenries must assume accountability for their own well being, for their own liberties. In this regard, journalists and media owners in every country need to found and empower associations that can lobby on their collective behalf. Indigenous demands for professionalism in safe working environments cannot be wanting. Despite their willingness to help in these endeavors, the United States, other donor-countries and private donors cannot serve as a substitute for that which must be endemic. They cannot do for others what they must do for themselves.

Freedom of the press does not guarantee democracy. The absence of a vibrant, free media, however, assuredly means the absence of true democracy. No form of government should be imposed by one people on another. But the tools to establish what Winston Churchill once described as “... the worst form of Government except all those others that have been tried...” make a valuable and vital gift from one people to another.

James F. Hoge Jr., chairman of the International Center for Journalists, edits Foreign Affairs, a bimonthly magazine of analysis and commentary on international affairs and foreign policy. Before joining the magazine in 1992, Hoge spent three decades in newspaper journalism. In the 1960s, he was a Washington correspondent, and in the 1970s and '80s, were editor and publisher of metropolitan newspapers in Chicago and New York. Under his leadership, the Chicago Sun-Times won six Pulitzer Prizes and the New York Daily News one. He has taught seminars and lectured at a number of universities and is a frequent speaker before a variety of audiences on international affairs, politics and the media.



WHERE ARE WE AFTER A DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT?

When the Communist barricades collapsed in 1989, hundreds of Americans rushed to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics to spread the gospel of democracy. Among them were some of America's most altruistic journalists, who hoped to midwife a newly independent press. Since then, the U.S. government and private agencies have spent more than \$600 million on media development.

The payoff for these millions has been the training and empowerment of thousands of journalists, the establishment of numerous television and radio networks, the resurrection and creation of newspapers and, in some countries, the toppling of corrupt governments due to reporting that was unimaginable before 1989. Balancing these successes, though, is a second wave of repression and censorship in many places, including the core post-Communist societies where most of the money was spent. In much of the former U.S.S.R, for example, millions of dollars in aid have not produced a viable independent media.

The survival of independent journalism in countries where politicians or oligarchs have taken over much of the media depends on the journalists' developing alternative sources of power, such as economic independence, international funding and pressure or local support. Sporadic outbursts, such as the 2001 pro-media street demonstrations and boycotts in Russia, Georgia, the Czech Republic and Kazakhstan, will have no lasting impact unless media

develop more sustained local and regional clout. The journalists need to earn the loyalty of their communities by adopting a professional public service mission.¹ In most of the world, this remains a challenge. Moreover, neither lawyers nor journalists in many of these emerging democracies are familiar with local and international media laws, nor are the courts likely to interpret them in favor of the press.²

A decade is hardly adequate time to develop a robust, professional media culture, particularly under difficult, even dangerous, conditions. Long-term commitment is required to harvest the seeds sown in the last 10 years. The endeavor is valuable and worthwhile, though, for Americans as well as the international community. Information vacuums spawn terrorist cultures, and studies by the World Bank have found that open media are an engine for social change and economic progress.³

The biggest American funders of media development have been the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Open Society Institute, a creation of Hungarian-born financier and philanthropist George Soros. USAID began to promote media development as a democracy-building tool in Latin America in the 1980s, moving to the former Communist bloc in the 1990s where it was joined by Soros' institute and hundreds of smaller nonprofits. Now they are looking toward Afghanistan, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Some U.S. foundations, such as the Freedom Forum, have reduced commitments abroad because of financial declines or changed priorities.

GLOBAL SNAPSHOT

The second generation of media development can build on the lessons of the last decade:

Focus and flexibility: One-size-fits-all media development doesn't work. It must be tailored to a region or a country or even a particular locality. Too many organizations are concentrated in too few places, such as Johannesburg, Phnom Penh, Moscow and the Balkans. Strategic, coordinated work is needed elsewhere, particularly in the Middle East and Africa.

The Middle East: The terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, laid bare the serious stakes for improving media in Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. "Access to accurate information is probably the most desperately needed commodity in the Middle East right now," said Wayne Dillehay of the International Center for Journalists.

- **Iraq:** The nonprofit media developer Internews convened 75 Arab, Iraqi and Western media law experts in Athens in June 2003 to create a model media law for postwar Iraq. The "Athens Group" hoped to develop more support within Iraq for the framework, and then deliver it to the United Nations and the Occupation Coalition Provisional Authority.⁴
- **Afghanistan:** Some U.S. government and private media development money was going into Afghanistan in early 2003, but lack of coordination and security made anything but stop-gap measures impractical, said Dillehay.

- **Palestinian Authority:** Israeli attacks destroyed nearly all Palestinian media in 2002. The State Department in 2003 committed millions to media development once hostilities subside.

Africa: The continent needs every kind of media help. The spread of HIV/AIDS – and the necessity for public health information – heightens the urgency. Modest, targeted programs could make a difference.

Latin America: The region is not a current priority for the largest media developers, so there are opportunities for smaller NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) to build on progress in countries such as Mexico and to address countries in crisis such as Colombia.

Former Communist bloc: The withdrawal of some media developers is premature. In Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other seemingly democratic countries, politicians effectively pressure or block independent media, taking advantage of their vulnerability in a weak advertising market. All major media developers and many smaller ones have had a presence here.

China: This country is a major opportunity, and an equally sizable challenge, for media advocates. It is geographically immense and politically sensitive. Few independent media advocates have tackled China due to its hostile official response to "democracy-building."

- **Motivating factor:** The intense Chinese desire to play a strong role in the world economy provides media development opportunities in the Internet, commercial and academic sectors. The 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2003 SARS epidemic may ease rigid government media policies.

War and peace: Media development goals must match the conflict level:⁵

- **At-risk countries** (where conflict may be imminent): Media assistance may need to focus on supporting a plurality of voices and avoiding inflammatory coverage.
- **Areas of active conflict:** Short-term grants may be needed to support alternative media, providing information that otherwise would be suppressed.
- **Post-conflict and developing democracies:** The goal should be the creation of a self-sustaining independent media that belongs to a culture of democracy and holds accountable other centers of power.

Professionalism and policy: Public service values and ethics training are needed everywhere, but must be combined with practical, technical skills to be palatable.

- **Sustainability:** Because this depends not only on economic independence but also on legal support and political transparency, it is helpful to coordinate media development with broader democracy building.
- **Legal work:** Open media policies and freedom-of-information laws need promotion. Efforts by the International Freedom of Expression Exchange, Internews, IREX, the Committee to Protect Journalists, the World Association of Newspapers, Article 19 and others need to extend beyond monitoring and reacting to abuses.

- **Train for the future:** To legitimize midcareer education and make it more attractive to media owners, emphasize cross-platform skills.

- **Journalism centers:** They can offer training, peer criticism and a unified front against coercion. Their success depends on the size of the service area and the quality of local management.

Models and solutions: Creative approaches and nontraditional funding can overcome obstacles such as low literacy rates and a shortage of capital.

- **Community radio:** It provides a low-cost, low-tech, high-impact solution in rural areas that lack media or telephone infrastructure. It has been effective in Africa, Afghanistan, Europe, Asia and Latin America.
- **Independent news agencies:** Those created in Serbia, Montenegro and Slovakia provide valuable national and international news and serve as a force for media reform. The Slovak Independent News Agency, for example, feeds stories to other independent media and gets 60 percent of its revenue from direct-to-computer specialized news services, such as a banking news digest.
- **Revolving loan fund:** A capital resource similar to the Grameen Bank⁶ could fund media ventures that otherwise might be compromised by their backers. The Media Development Loan Fund's standards are too stringent for regions where the marketplace cannot yet support local media.

1 The word “public” here does not mean government. It means “in the public interest.” At its best, public service journalism offers independent, professional, transparent, honest and relevant news and a fair platform for diverse voices. Public interest journalists are the arbiters of the facts, loyal to the people (“public”) rather than to any special interest group.

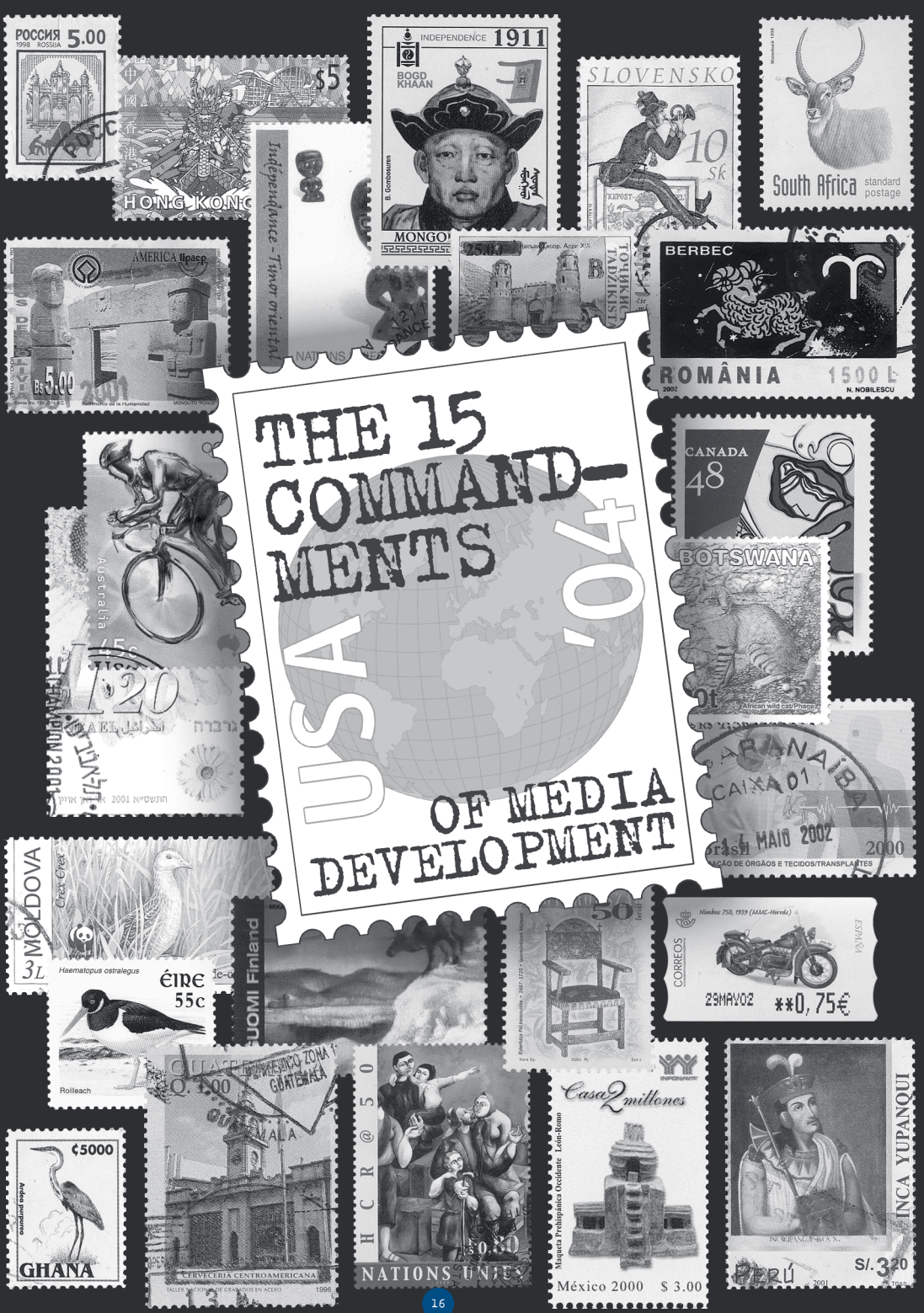
2 Conclusion of participants at a January 2002 media development meeting in Prague convened by the author for Internews.

3 The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development, World Bank Institute, 2002.

4 The entire report and framework are available on the Internews web site, www.internews.org.

5 This section draws from an analysis by Krishna Kumar, USAID.

6 Under this model, a limited pot of loan money is made available to a member of the community, who is then subject to peer pressure to repay the loan before the money can be lent to another person in the group. (WOULD THIS MAKE MORE SENSE IN TEXT??)



1. Structure: Build from the bottom up, not the top down. Western models don't necessarily work. The best media development is local.

- Grassroots support from dedicated locals involved in the strategic planning and project development is mandatory. Don't set up commercial ventures with direct funding that will drive up salaries and make it more difficult for local media to compete.
- Example: Instead of opening a new office in Southeast Asia, the World Press Freedom Committee funded the Thailand-based Southeast Asian Press Alliance. When SEAPA challenges anti-media policies, local politicians can't complain of "Western imperialism" at work.
- In order to solve local problems, foreigners must understand why they have not already been solved locally.

2. Business Models: Economic sustainability must be addressed. This is a challenge everywhere.

- Media in a conflict zone are rarely self-sustaining or fully independent. In a post-conflict or emerging democracy, however, media should be weaned from their dependence on donors as the civic and economic mechanisms develop. This transition could require at least a decade.
- It is time to diversify beyond traditional U.S. advertising and subscription models. In mature democracies, changing consumer habits inspired by the Internet and personal video recorders are challenging these traditional businesses.

In Latin America, monopoly newspaper advertising is a vehicle for narrow political control. In some places, the weak nongovernment advertising market cannot support independent journalism.

Manana Aslamazyan, executive director, Internews Russia: "In Kyrgyzstan, our office is struggling because it's going to be a long time before there's any market for supporting a TV station. Teaching people to sell advertising and rely on that in places where it's physically not possible doesn't make sense."

In Georgia, Erosi Kitsmarishvili, owner of Rustavi 2 television, supports his news operations with cell phone and Internet businesses.

- There is a need at the management level to inject public service values into the media business. Radio B92 in Serbia and Radio 101 in Croatia are models to study.¹ Media developers should share the best practices in this area. Northwestern University's Media Management Center and the Inter American Press Association train managers, but often fail to emphasize public-service journalism.

3. Commitment: Patience and collaboration are essential. Independent media cannot spring to life in anti-democratic societies. This requires a sustained partnership with other democracy developers to create an "enabling environment" of legal and marketplace reform.

- Do more pro-active work on policy, ethics and media law. Involve journalists, lawyers and judges. Build web sites with international laws and agreements

translated into local languages.

- Example: Professor Herman Schwartz from American University Law School holds seminars for former Communist bloc jurists and journalists on the mutual benefits of a professional press and a transparent judiciary.

4. Accountability: In many areas, there's too much aid and too few requirements for getting it.

- Give follow-up surveys to training participants. Require them to share the training with their newsrooms. Hold managers accountable, and withhold further aid if these agreements are not fulfilled.
- Encourage local in-kind or financial participation to create "ownership" of the training.

5. People: The right trainers are as important as the funding. Knight Foundation, the International Center for Journalists, Internews and the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) should create a profile of ideal trainers and establish a way to recruit them. Language skills are a great plus. Local partners must be professionally respected.

- Rich McClear, IREX: "We need to find people who want to learn more than they teach, who will not necessarily be doing it for their book ... and who can give, and not take, credit."
- Ann Olson, Knight Fellow: "Too much training I've seen is not training. It's yapping. Lecturing. Talking. Crowing about the First Amendment. Western

trainers talking about 'how I did it.' Not enough interactive training. Not enough practice in seminars so that people get actual learning, not just theory."

- McClear: "Develop more local trainers and foster East-East exchanges."

6. Quality: Bigger is not necessarily better. Quality is far more important than quantity.

7. Assessment: Oversight, feedback and evaluation are crucial.

- Knight Fellow Olson: "The cost of oversight at the local level may be as much as one-third of the original budget and will necessitate decent computers and database expertise to keep good institutional records."
- Require local organizations to track results, not just the money spent.
- Feedback and narrative impact assessments from knowledgeable participants in the field are better evaluations than metric tabulations and regression analyses by U.S. consultants.

8. Skills: Meld journalism values with technical training.

- David Hoffman, Internews: "Tell them you are going to teach them how to be great disc jockeys; you are actually training them how to talk on the radio about HIV/AIDS. You weave ethics into every seminar, even those about management and sales."
- Manana Aslamazyan, Internews: "Provide them with real skills; how to use a video camera, to edit. Teaching

them how to be objective and free doesn't go over so well."

9. Longevity: Training is step one in a long journey that includes formation of support groups and local journalism organizations to provide professional sustenance for trainees. "Parachute professors" are of minimal value.

10. Tools: Provide a variety of training: short workshops, longer immersions, practical advice, grants, research, U.S. or European visits, cooperative program production.

11. Materials: Up-to-date training materials, articles, books and web sites are needed.

12. Motivation: Don't focus just on what's wrong with the country's media; find positive incentives for action so local people will embrace the project.

13. Internet: Teach (and protect) the Internet.

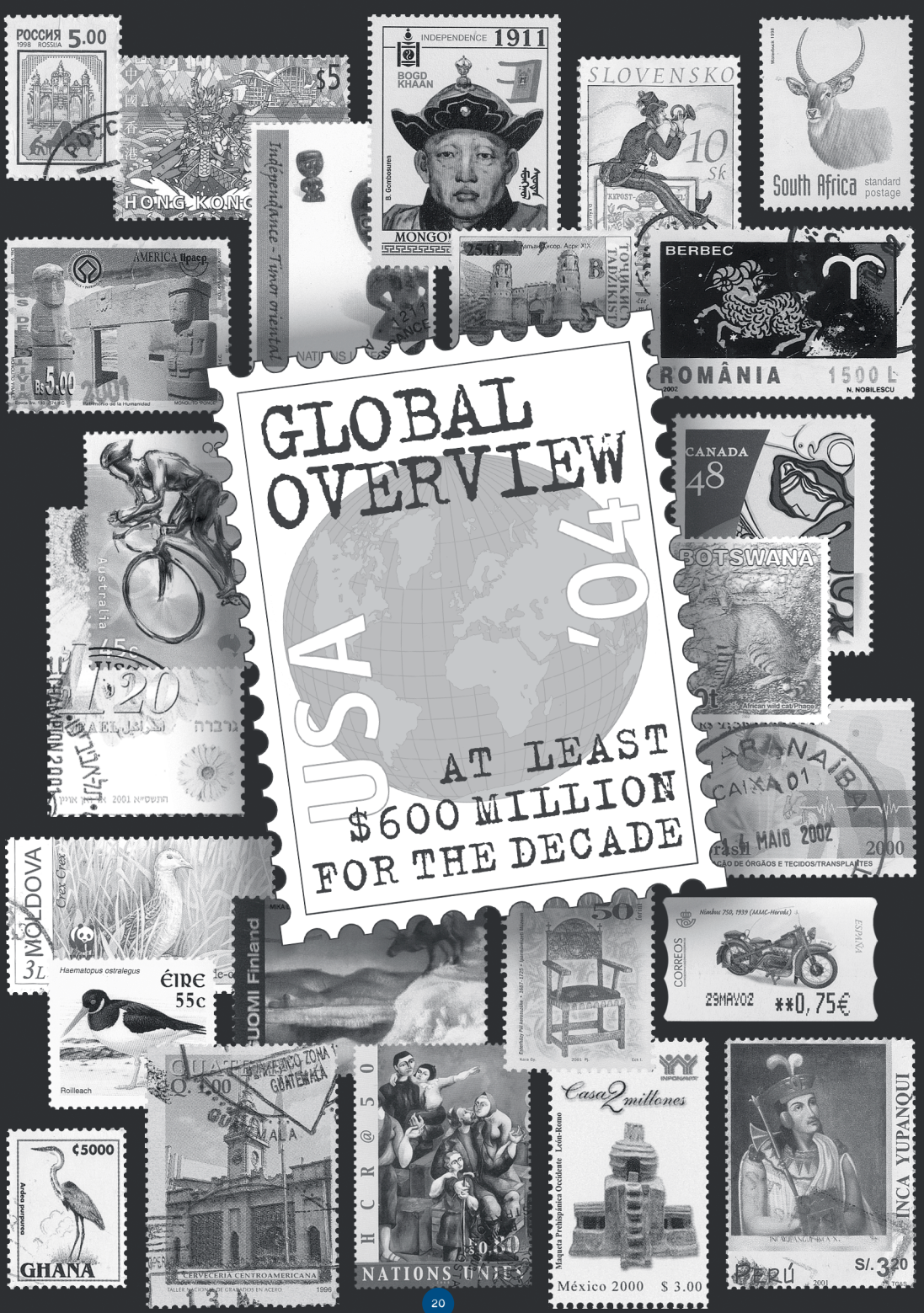
- Convergence is happening. Cross-platform training is essential. The rise of Internet use in Africa proves there are no fixed digital boundaries.
- Intervene before restrictive Internet policies proliferate. Ambitious, autocratic regimes (such as China's) may be swayed by the argument that the global economy demands a technologically savvy workforce.

14. Appropriate Technology: Old technologies still have their place. Community radio, for example, reaches people in Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan and post-conflict

areas such as the former Yugoslavia.

15. Avoid unrealistic expectations:

Bob Gillette, formerly of IREX: "Independent professional media are a necessary ingredient of democracy, but insufficient in and of themselves to assure it. In any transition country, media will develop and prosper without further assistance only as the legal and economic environment for all private business, and broadly the rule of law, develops and matures."



U.S. assistance to foreign journalists was minimal in 1984 when Tom Winship, Jim Ewing and George Krinsky founded the Center for Foreign Journalists,¹ and the first Alfred Friendly Foundation foreign press fellows arrived in the United States. The State Department had a program for several years that brought international journalists to the United States, but no government or private organization was dedicated solely to developing foreign journalism.²

The field exploded in 1989 with the fall of the Iron Curtain. Media, television in particular, became a critical factor as societies exercised newfound political powers. Americans and Western Europeans rushed in to encourage democracy and support the voices of independent, free media. Today, not-for-profit foreign media development³ is a multimillion-dollar undertaking involving hundreds of U.S. and European organizations.

Key Players

By rough estimate, U.S.-based sources devoted at least \$600 million⁴ and probably much more to the cause of independent media over the past decade. Most of the money came from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. Information Service (USIS)⁵ and philanthropist George Soros' Open Society Institute. USAID alone provided an estimated \$275 million from 1991 to 2001.⁶ The U.S. government spends at least \$50 million,⁷ and Soros foundations spend at least \$20 million annually on media development. Other NGOs, such as the Ford, Knight and McCormick Tribune foundations, allocate several million more. Non-U.S. assistance is also considerable.

The European Union has probably donated as much as the U.S. government in money, training, equipment and legal advice. Other international organizations include the Danish Agency for Development Assistance (\$1.4 million in 2000); the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which also is in charge of media policy in Kosovo; UNESCO's Program for the Development of Communication (\$2 million in 2000); the Dutch government through Press Now; the Swedish International Development Corporation Agency; the Canadian International Development Agency; and the German foundations Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.⁸

Most of this money was spent overseas, as American journalists became media missionaries. When U.S. Information Agency official Marvin Stone created the International Media Fund in 1990 with money from the U.S. government's South East Europe Development program, he enlisted U.S. news organizations that otherwise would not, for reasons of independence, use government grant money. Other private organizations followed suit, and hundreds of Americans fanned out into Russia, Eastern Europe and nearby countries, offering workshops, giving lectures and directing more ambitious long-term projects. By the century's turn, it seemed as if every American foundation, university and journalism trade association had a program in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Moscow, Johannesburg or Bosnia.

Some organizations focused on bringing journalists to the United States. The World Press Institute, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Atlantic Council and many government-funded international visitor programs sponsored fellowships. The

private Alfred Friendly Foundation brought 214 journalists from 72 countries to the United States between 1984 and 2002 at a cost of more than \$4.3 million.⁹ Compared to training abroad, programs like this one, which brings about a dozen journalists from developing countries to the United States for six months each year to work in U.S. newsrooms, are relatively expensive (about \$20,000 each). But Alfred Friendly Jr., vice chairman of the foundation, argues that the value of “(immersing) visiting journalists in American free press practices” cannot be duplicated elsewhere. Friendly also finds that large metropolitan newspapers are more willing to accept foreign journalists than to send their own staffers abroad for extended periods.

Following the Money

Media development has generally followed the focus of U.S. and European foreign policy. In the 1980s, for example, when the U.S. military was involved in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Panama, Florida International University won a large government contract to help Central American journalists.

In 1990 the spotlight landed on the former Soviet bloc, where journalism was thawing out after the Cold War. This is where the field of media development burgeoned and where, until 9/11, most of the money had gone, via government grants to Internews and IREX, and via Soros’ Open Society Institute.

In Africa and other regions, U.S. embassies in the 1980s helped local media with small grants, which shrank during the 1990s as interest shifted to Russia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans.¹⁰

“The Cold War is over and Africa lost,” the

Nigerian ambassador to the United Nations lamented in 1990.¹¹ Now there is some increased U.S. donor interest in African media, motivated by the fight to stem HIV/AIDS.

After 9/11, the attention of government and private media developers naturally turned to the Muslim world. The virulent anti-Americanism of the press in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Middle East was thought to have contributed to the rise of al-Qaida and similar groups. In 2002, USAID granted \$1 million to Internews to revive independent broadcast media in Afghanistan. In Iraq, there are plans to create open broadcast and print media as part of the post-conflict democracy-building effort. Media developers should heed the lessons learned in postwar Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo in the 1990s. (*See Close-up: Media Assistance in Bosnia, Page XX*).

Despite the concentration of media developers on the former Communist bloc in the last decade, some smaller groups, such as the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), the Freedom Forum and the International Women’s Media Foundation, were active also in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Other journalism rights organizations, such as the Committee to Protect Journalists and Article 19, campaigned globally for public access to information.

U.S. government and private organizations, respecting the First Amendment separation between the media and the state, generally did not assist media companies that continued to be run by foreign governments. The U.S. government programs were designed to help state-run media become independent as part of a mission to build

democracy and civil society.¹² For the most part, nongovernment journalism support repeated this pattern, with money flowing to privatized or start-up ventures.

Naturally, some news organizations received aid while others, which might have been worthy, did not. At times, these choices skewed the marketplace. In Bosnia and Kosovo, for example, millions of Western development dollars converted some contractors into media moguls. Persephone Miel, regional director for Internews Russia, said that despite these unintended consequences the practice of helping some media organizations over others was necessary. Aid has enabled some local Russian television stations to survive in a market where there is not enough advertising money to go around, she said.¹³ It is better, she said, to help some stations succeed than to let all fail.

Looking Ahead

Despite the hundreds of millions of public and private dollars spent on media development, the global need remains great. Whole populations in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America remain cut off from basic local or international news. Former Communist countries need independent local media in order to establish democratic cultures. The stakes are rising now since the media are so important to acquiring and maintaining political power and since economic health is linked, in part, to information access and digital technologies.¹⁴

In Russia and other former Soviet republics, media control has largely reverted to the state after a brief period of independence. Concerted action is necessary to navigate the labyrinth of legal, policy and economic obstacles that lie ahead. Popular support

of open media can make a difference but the impact may be fleeting. In October 2001, then Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze learned about the power of the audience when he tried to silence television station Rustavi-2 for broadcasting exposés of government corruption. Tens of thousands of people took to the streets to defend the station, and Shevardnadze had to dismiss his government. However, because there was little follow-up to change government policies, the government continues to harass Rustavi-2, station owner Erosi Kitsmarishvili noted.

DONOR MARKETPLACE DILEMMAS

Many media owners are uninterested in public service, or cannot (or will not) pay journalists a living wage. This cripples ethical, professional news coverage. For training to be most effective, programs need management participation. Owners must support trainees and agree with the goals of the training.

Corruption remains rampant. For decades, Mexican political leaders “subsidized” journalists, a practice President Vicente Fox ended on some levels after his election in 2000. In Kenya, Transparency International exposed journalists who were given Korean cars for “overlooking” certain stories. In Russia, 95 percent of newspapers published a press release announcing the opening of a nonexistent stereo store; each press release included a bogus \$200 coupon for the reporter.¹⁵

In Serbia, nationalists hijacked \$250,000 in equipment donated to broadcaster Studio B by the International Media Fund and apparently used it in Knin, Croatia, to broadcast propaganda.¹⁶ Questions about monetary misuse forced funding cutbacks

at a Eurasia Foundation project in Belarus and management changes at the Russian-American Press and Information Center in Moscow.

The commercial values of an emergent media marketplace can collide with the democratic goals of a free press and access to information. In Ukraine, corrupt forces acquired the improved newspapers. In Russia, the lack of a sufficient broadcast advertising pool mean that “politically motivated sources of money, from business and governmental interests at all levels, continue to have far more influence in the media market than is desirable,” said Miel of Internews.

Overcoming official reticence toward the development of independent media, especially in a society with no tradition of a free press, may require persuasive tactics that go beyond right-to-know arguments. A study by Internews Russia, for example, argued that governments have a financial interest in cooperating with independent media because doing so saves them money on subsidies. “We thought it would be controversial, but the [Russian] government welcomed it,” said Mark Koenig of USAID.¹⁷

THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY RADIO

Radio is a cheap and easily accessible source of news since it does not require literacy of its listeners. Mission-oriented community radio stations are thriving in Africa, Asia, Latin America and post-Communist Europe. In Sierra Leone, for example, Andrew Kromah, owner of SKY-FM in Freetown and KISS-FM in Bo, exposes corruption under the moniker “Mr. Owl.” He was honored by ICFJ for his work. Also in Freetown, Frances Fortune, director of the U.S.-funded Talking Drum Studio, success-

fully develops radio throughout the region.

Bill Siemering, creator of National Public Radio’s *All Things Considered* program, works on behalf of the Open Society Institute to help local communities launch radio stations. RadioB-92 in Serbia and Radio 101 in Croatia are important community stations that would not have survived without timely U.S. media support.

Siemering and Rich and Suzi McClear of IREX, who helped develop radio in the Balkans, think public-private economic models similar to NPR and Public Broadcasting Service in the United States might be more sustainable and better serve democratic culture in transitional societies than purely commercial media. USAID assessors in 1999 also concluded that quasi-government public broadcasting was an “overlooked area” for U.S. media support abroad.¹⁸ There are caveats to this approach. Siemering cautioned that “depending upon voluntary listener contributions for over 50 percent of income is not applicable overseas.”¹⁹

GEORGE SOROS

Investor George Soros is probably the largest private contributor to democratic and independent media development. He has created a \$450 million network of 32 foundations,^{xx} at the peak of which is the Open Society Institute, an operating and grant-making institution established in New York City in 1993. Soros’ goal is to “establish a global alliance for open society.”

The scope and complexity of Soros’ philanthropic empire is daunting. It includes locally based OSI foundations in 28 countries, Kosovo and Montenegro that focus primarily on the former Communist bloc,

and two regional OSI initiatives for Southern and West Africa that make grants in 27 African countries.

All Soros foundations participate in media development to some extent. The Open Society Institutes in New York and Budapest administer major efforts. Itemized media projects totaled about \$20 million in 2000, an amount that under-represents OSI’s journalism contributions since it considers open media an organic element of democracy-building and many media efforts are contained within broader projects.

Soros said he intends to support the foundations only until 2010, so OSI is working to make its partnerships, spin-offs and other initiatives self-sustaining. Until then, the foundations expect to spend \$450 million to \$500 million annually, allocating 60 percent to the former Soviet bloc, 20 percent to the United States and 20 percent elsewhere. Their emphasis is on creating a democratic culture that will sustain independent media and public access to information. Specific media initiatives identified in the 2000 annual report as candidates for continued support are the Media Development Loan Fund, Internews, a number of human rights organizations, Romany language media, and efforts to strengthen the rule of law, including media law, in Central and Eastern Europe.

HOT NEW AREAS: INTERNET AND MEDIA POLICY

News consumption in the developed world is rarely bound these days to one medium, and media convergence is becoming a reality. Lee McKnight, a communications professor at Tufts University, points out the “new order of media consumption:” television for breaking news, then Internet,

then print for the next news cycle, and then television again. With technological leapfrogging in Africa, Bangladesh and places previously considered cut off from communications technology, digital training for journalists should be considered virtually everywhere. Today’s radio reporters may be tomorrow’s Internet news writers or videographers.

The Internet has become, in many instances, a “technology of freedom.”²¹ Internet publishing reduces the ability of autocratic governments to censor information. A journalist with Internet expertise can be a “self-contained, independent news production company should his newspaper or broadcast outlet be arbitrarily closed or nationalized by a government hostile to the free flow of information,” said David DeVoss, who ran IREX’s \$2.5 million USAID print media development program in Bosnia-Herzegovina. “In a single day a rogue government can wipe out years of [media development] work. In August 2001 Belarus officials confiscated USAID computers given to the newspaper Volny Horad in the town of Krichev. Simultaneous with that seizure, the Belarusian Justice Ministry warned the Belorusskaya Delovaya Gazeta against publishing information on pro-democracy political groups not registered with the government. In cases such as this, journalists skilled in digital editing and production could provide a fail-safe conduit for the dissemination of unfettered news.”²²

Internews incorporates the Internet into its work in 20 countries. For example, Internews created the Arab Media Internet Network, www.amin.net, the Internet’s largest source of Arab-language news, and it hosts Internews Russia www.internews.ru, the leading web site on Russian media.

Internews also hosts a web-based newsroom management program running at more than 100 Russian TV stations with a central story archive in Moscow.²³

In some regions legal restrictions threaten unfettered Internet access. In response, Internews has launched the Global Internet Policy Initiative, which employs lawyers in 16 countries to advocate directly for open Internet policies and to build local coalitions to do the same.

Use of the web is also a key component of IREX's media development strategy. IREX maintains more than 125 Internet sites in 11 countries that draw more than 13,000 users per month. It also provides computer training, promotes local-language content, maintains more than 2,300 web sites and 60 mailing lists, and allocates small grants for innovative Internet projects.²⁴

Rich McClear tells the story of how Radio 21 in Kosovo was saved during the war through Internet and shortwave ingenuity. Radio Netherlands picked up the audio from Radio 21 for two hours a night and rebroadcast it into Kosovo via shortwave. As the Serb troops closed in, Radio 21 created Hotmail accounts and uploaded all its critical documents before leaving Kosovo. Even though Serbs destroyed the station's paper documents, the Internet became its "history bank" and enabled it to relaunch quickly in Macedonia, where IREX had funded Internet links, and again on its return to Kosovo.²⁵

A \$75 million USAID initiative called Dot.com focuses on Internet policy, access and distance education.²⁶ It is building on pro bono efforts by the Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative of the American

Bar Association, the Covington & Burling law firm, IFEX (International Freedom of Expression Exchange), Internews, IREX, the Electronic Privacy Information Center, Privacy International and others.²⁷ Policy work is the most difficult and the most sensitive task in the media development field. Much of the work to date is reactive. There is plenty of monitoring, but not enough local follow-through.

Media legislation is hard to track. IJNet, a Web site operated by ICFJ with funding by the Open Society Institute, publishes laws from around the world as they emerge. However, many governments don't publish their media laws. Bob Gillette, former director of IREX's Bosnia USAID grant, believes "it should be possible to identify an existing regional organization that becomes an active collector and repository of this information." Yet, even in Bosnia, which is run by the international community, media activists can't keep track of media laws, he said.²⁸ Media developers need to publish more local and international media laws on the web in local languages.

Some unexpected factors are helping in the political struggle for open media. In China, for example, the SARS epidemic, which spun out of control because of the government's secrecy, is prompting a much-needed rethinking of media policy. The growth of the Internet and the carrot of global commerce are also inducing reluctant governments, including China's, to relax some media restrictions. "If you want to be part of the globalization of commerce, you have to be part of the globalization of communication," said David Hoffman of Internews.

Experts believe that incorporating the

advocacy of media policy into traditional capacity building is more effective than expressing it as political engagement against repressive regimes. Locally, journalism syndicates are an effective means for advocating changes in media policy. The Bulgarian Media Coalition, for example, a collection of media associations and free speech organizations brought together by IREX, acts as a united front on media law issues.

FUNDING TRENDS

There are a number of resources that funders can use to map a country's media environment and determine need. The World Bank is starting to track media openness as a factor in economic and political development. The Media Sustainability Index created by IREX "analyzes the status and progress of independent media in 20 countries."²⁹ Crocker Snow Jr. of the Money Matters Institute has a Wealth of Nations Index³⁰ that measures a country's economic prospects based partly on media capacity and public access to information. The Committee to Protect Journalists issues an annual nation-by-nation survey of attacks and restraints on the press. State Department reports on human rights can reveal media problems from country to country. Freedom House publishes an annual press freedom survey and map.³¹ Although it is used widely, some media advocates believe it and similar indices that declare some countries "bad" can antagonize governments that might otherwise tolerate U.S. media development.

Donor interest in Central Europe (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania) peaked in

the late 1990s as media in these former Communist countries seemed to mature. In 2000, the Independent Journalism Foundation closed its Center for Independent Journalism in Prague. But recent experiences with the political takeovers of "private" media in Russia, the Czech Republic and Hungary indicate that departure from Central Europe may have been premature.³² The areas that drew the most funding in 2002 were Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, Russia, South Africa, the Caucasus, South Asia and Cambodia. Afghanistan and the Middle East were the new focus in 2003. South Africa is popular with U.S. journalism trainers and developers. Cambodia offers relative freedom for media, which allows cross-border work to be done with democratic activists in neighboring Burma (Myanmar), Vietnam and Thailand.³³

USAID expects to continue investing millions each year in overseas media development.³⁴ In addition, the World Bank is expressing new interest in independent media as a factor in economic development. Knight Foundation in 2002 expanded its journalism work in Latin America, and others, such as the Alfred Friendly Jr. fellowship program, also continued their efforts without taking government money despite the economic downturn. However, some private foundations were retrenching due to changed priorities and financial setbacks. The Freedom Forum cut 60 percent of its programs, including all international projects. The McCormick Tribune Foundation in 2002 refocused more narrowly on press freedom issues and was limiting new commitments.

BUSH POLICY: INDEPENDENT MEDIA OR PRO-U.S. MEDIA?

Aid organizations must understand in advance any expectations that may be attached by their funders, particularly if the money is coming from the U.S. government. Before the George W. Bush administration, USAID policy stated that it was improper for developers to demand pro-U.S. content from the media they were helping. In “The Role of Media in Democracy,” a 1999 report, the agency emphasized “the need for clear distinctions between media assistance and public information campaigns that promote U.S. policies and viewpoints.” The report warned U.S. policymakers: “Democratic transitions may not be strengthened through the creation of a media which, while free from its own government control, espouses views of foreign governments and reflects their interests. An outlet’s credibility depends on its ability to report news freely.”³⁵ To be sure, U.S. government officials in the field occasionally confused media development with public relations, expecting assisted media to support U.S. foreign policy. Both IREX and Internews, USAID’s largest media developers, rejected an assignment in 2002, for example, from a U.S. official who wanted them to sponsor opposition election coverage against a noxious regime.

In 2003, USAID’s hands-off policy appeared to shift under the Bush administration in the wake of 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It increased funding for public relations – direct efforts to seek international support for U.S. policies – and seemed less concerned about developing truly independent foreign media, particularly if its content might reflect disagreement with U.S. policy. Frustrated

by continued international failure to applaud U.S. development efforts after the U.S.- and British-led invasion of Iraq, USAID Director Andrew Natsios told a 2003 forum of American humanitarian groups that those fulfilling U.S. contracts are “an arm of the U.S. government” and they need to emphasize this connection or lose their funding.³⁶ Some government grantees were concerned that this emphasis on public relations for the U.S. government would undermine the credibility of their “soft diplomacy” support for independent media. It was not clear, at this writing, how serious the policy shift would be or what impact it might have in the field.

RESULTS

Two decades of extensive support for democracy, including advocacy for open media, has made a positive difference in some countries. For example, U.S. democracy programs poured an estimated \$40 million into Serbia from the mid-1990s to 2000. Western Europe and Canada made complementary efforts. The cumulative force of these projects helped the Serbs topple President Slobodan Milosevic in September 2000. “Western aid underwrote much of the independent media in the country,” wrote Thomas Carothers in a paper for the Carnegie Endowment for Peace,³⁷ “helping ensure the expansion of an enterprising network of independent radio and television stations, and the survival of many independent magazines and newspapers. The independent media played a major role in challenging Milosevic’s efforts to control public information.”

It is also fair to say that the donated millions trained tens of thousands of journalists in the former Communist bloc,

Latin America and Africa; nurtured hundreds of broadcast, print and Internet news organizations; and made possible the flow of unprecedented amounts of information to people living in transitional societies. The “enabling environment” – the alchemic mix of economic and legal reforms, political culture and media policies that transforms autocracy into civil society – progressed in some regions over the past decade, only to grow worse in many others.³⁸

Most of the difficulties in media development stemmed from a region’s failure to develop that requisite democratic culture. But media development also has been hindered by competitiveness, overlap, incompetence and turf wars among media organizations. In Serbia, for example, a well-coordinated donor effort that produced common grant applications and weekly meetings, backslid after the conflict subsided, and media grantees began to play one donor off against another. The funding rivalry between U.S. government grantees continues even though they often work effectively together in the field.

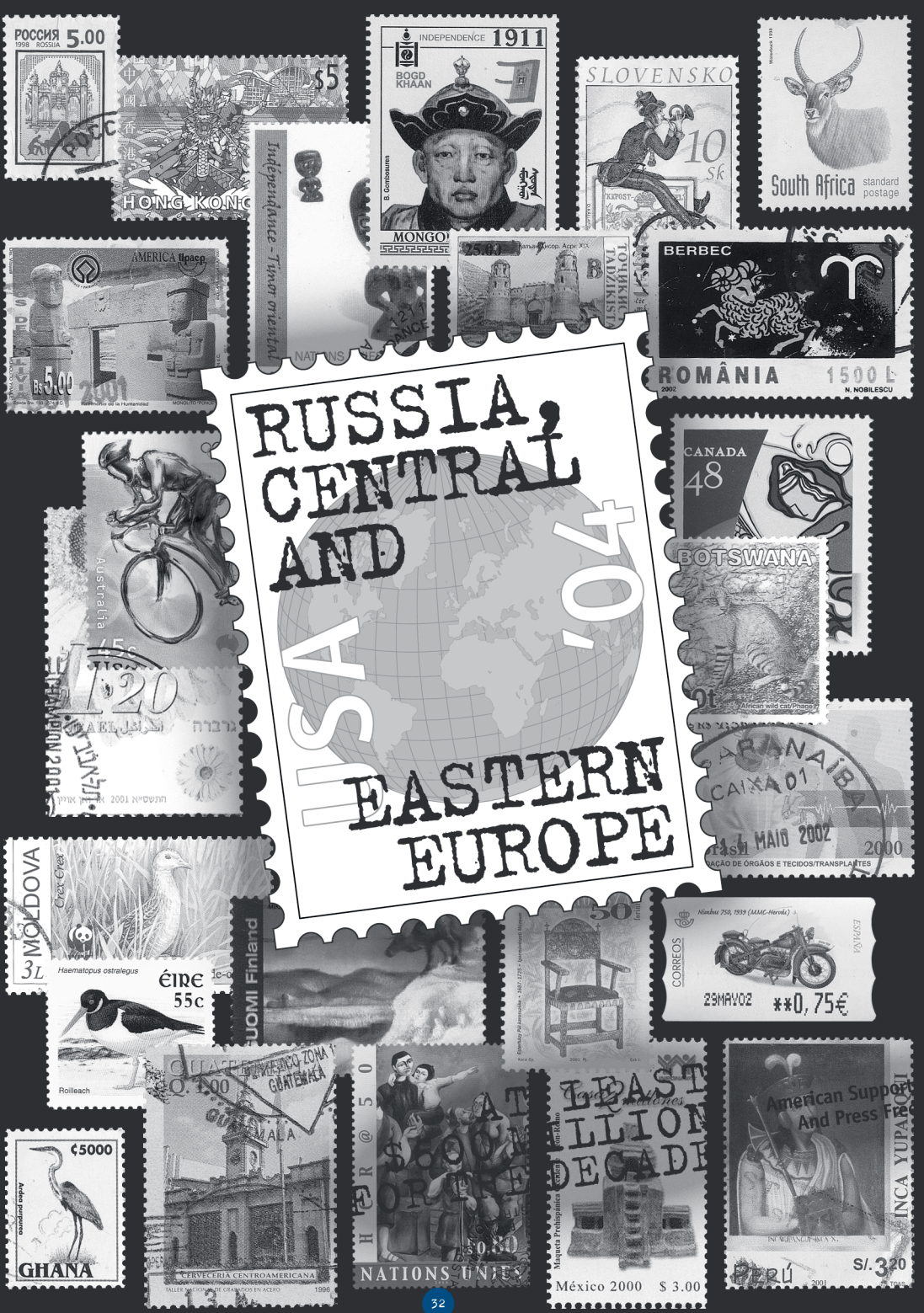
“We have failed at multilateral issues because there are too many players who want to lead,” said Frank Vogl of Transparency International. “There is a tremendous competitiveness out there ... a broader coalition is needed.”

These issues may have been inevitable in a field that grew so large so quickly in such unstable political settings. The challenge ahead is to learn from the past and address the repressive legislation and market forces that continue to bedevil journalists. Wayne Dillehay of ICFJ summed it up: “There’s more than enough work for us all to do.”

- 1 Now the International Center for Journalists.
- 2 Wayne Dillehay, interview, Oct. 31, 2001.
- 3 "Media development" in this report means capacity building for foreign independent journalism, including training, legal support, equipment, grants, fellowships, journalism associations, schools, etc. "Independent journalism" means the attempt to serve as an honest broker of information and debate by distributing content not dictated by governments or funders. This report does not include public relations work or programming on VOA, RFE/RL, the BBC, etc.
- 4 None of the major donors, including the U.S. government, the Open Society Institute foundations, the Ford Foundation or others, have consistently line-itemed or aggregated the money they have invested in international media development. This number is a rough projection based on figures provided by USAID, Congressional Research Service, Internews, IREX, McCormick Tribune Foundation, the OSI 2000 report, interviews, Internet searches, and other resources.
- 5 Now reduced to the Bureau of Public Diplomacy in the State Department.
- 6 David Black, project officer for USAID's media development programs, provided an estimate of \$250 million to \$275 million by e-mail to the author in December 2001. It is almost impossible to determine how much the U.S. government spent from all of its various budgets. Wayne Dillehay points out that USAID also funds "Indefinite Quantity Contracts" (IQCs), which preapprove a consortium of groups to draw on hundreds of millions of dollars to deliver certain kinds of assistance. For example, the International Center for Journalists is involved in three IQCs – a global human rights project administered by Freedom House, another in Algeria and a third with Cassals and Associates that will likely lead to media projects in Nigeria.
- 7 This is a pre-Iraq war estimate. Numbers may change significantly if the United States undertakes a major reconstruction of Iraq, Afghanistan or other countries related to the war on terrorism.
- 8 This list is from Monroe Price's global media development report, *Mapping Media Assistance*.
- 9 Alfred Friendly Jr., Alfred Friendly Foundation vice chairman, notes to the author, summer 2002. This program, launched with an endowment from late Washington Post editor Alfred Friendly, forswears government funding. Fellows must be fluent in English, have at least three years of newsgathering experience and be employed at nongovernment publications in their own countries. AFF created a new fellowship in 2002 in the name of slain Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl that gives preference to applicants from Pakistan.
- 10 Theoretically, the U.S. government may also have provided earmarked funding for foreign media development over the years, including some covert support during the Cold War. Tracing that would require a Freedom of Information Act request, which is beyond the scope of this project.
- 11 Maj. Gen. Joseph Garba, quoted in "Lessons for the Media from Foreign Aid," John Maxwell Hamilton, *Media Studies Journal*, Fall 1999, p. 103.
- 12 "The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach" June, 1999, USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support and Research, p.37. USAID's policy of funding only nonstate media may be too

- rigid, according to a 2003 analysis of USAID's Russia media assistance, by Krishna Kumar and Laura Randall Cooper. "First, any assistance that helps institutionalize the norms of professional journalism in the state-owned media outlets improves the enabling environment for independent media. ... Second, in many cases, it is difficult to determine the ownership of the enterprise. Although nominally commercial, a large number of regional newspapers get direct and indirect subsidies from the state." P.38. "Promoting Independent Media in Russia," USAID Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, PPC Evaluation Working Paper No. 7, January 2003.
- 13 Russia has just one-tenth of the ad money spent per capita in Poland, and one-seventieth of the United States media ad money, said Persephone Miel of Internews.
- 14 See Roumeen Islam, draft *World Development Report 2002, Building Institutions for Markets*, Chapter 10. That draft became *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*, op. cit.
- 15 Frank Vogl, Transparency International, World Bank Institute/USAID meeting in Washington, D.C., October 2001.
- 16 Rich McClear, interview, Oct. 9, 2002, with Jovan Arezina, director of Studio B; also, International Media Fund report *Incomparably Bad*, chapter on Serbia/Montenegro, 1995.
- 17 Mark Koenig, World Bank Institute/USAID media meeting, op. cit.
- 18 USAID, *Role of Media in Democracy*, op. cit., p.37.
- 19 Bill Siemering, memo to author, July 2002.
- 20 Assessment based on the Open Society Institute's 2000 annual report and interviews with Gordana Jankovic, Bill Siemering and other Soros representatives and their colleagues.
- 21 The late scholar Ithiel de Sola Poole's famous phrase, coined before the Internet was even invented.
- 22 David DeVoss, *The Case for Digital Journalism*, proposal shown to author, August 2001.
- 23 Internews web site.
- 24 IREX web site.
- 25 McClear, memo to the author, summer 2002.
- 26 The grant is divided among three government media contractors: Internews will do policy; the Academy for Educational Development will do exchanges; and the Educational Development Corporation will do distance education.
- 27 The array of Western organizations promoting media rights and policy is so large that the International Freedom of Expression Exchange was created 10 years ago to convene them all into a network that offers training and other support.
- 28 Gillette attended the World Bank Institute/USAID media discussion, op. cit.
- 29 IREX, www.irex.org/msi/index.asp.
- 30 Money Matters Institute, www.moneymattersinstitute.org/html/wealth_of_nations_index.html.
- 31 Freedom House, www.freedomhouse.org/research/pressurvey.htm.
- 32 IJF still has centers in Bratislava, Bucharest and Budapest,

- and runs a journalism program at the Royal University of Phnom Penh.
- 33 The situation in Thailand deteriorated in 2001-2002. Independent journalists are often attacked. For more detail, see the Asia section of this report.
- 34 David Black, interview, Oct. 31, 2001.
- 35 USAID, *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach*, op.cit, p 12.
- 36 Jack Epstein, "Charities at Odds with Pentagon; Many turn down work in Iraq because of U.S. restrictions," San Francisco Chronicle, June 14, 2003.
- 37 Thomas Carothers, "Ousting Foreign Strongmen: Lessons from Serbia," Carnegie Endowment, Vol. 1, No. 5, May 2001. However, U.S. contributions to the anti-Milosevic campaign were only helping a local movement to remove him from power, Carothers found: "Even when a democracy aid campaign is extensive and sophisticated, it is at most a facilitator of locally rooted forces for political change, not a creator of them."
- 38 Price and Krug, *The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media*, op. cit.



OVERVIEW: A DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT

The story of U.S. public and private media development aid to the post-Communist world is extensive and complex.¹ With glasnost and the fall of Communism, Americans poured into the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe to participate in the region's exciting rush toward democracy. In 1990, Secretary of State James Baker announced the formation of a new International Media Fund, headed by former USIA official Marvin Stone, to help establish independent media across the former Communist bloc. Prominent American journalists swarmed into Warsaw, Prague, Budapest and Moscow. Charles University in Prague found itself besieged by American journalism school partners. "Parachute professors" were everywhere. "The joke became something like, 'We've had U.S. media assistance; Ben Bradlee was here for lunch one day,'" recalled trainer Ed Baumeister,² who worked in the region for much of the decade.

In the former Communist world, no private philanthropic organization arrived earlier, was more generous or had more influence in democracy-building than George Soros' Open Society Institute. The agency has spent \$360 million over the last decade in Russia alone.³ While just an estimated 10 percent of that went specifically to media development, all OSI grants aim to support the development of democracy and civil society, the "enabling environment" necessary for independent journalism. OSI funding played a key role in the early days of Russian media development. For example, OSI gave Internews \$80,000 to found Moscow's first independent radio station, Radio Echo. "If Echo hadn't been in the Moscow White House, Yeltsin wouldn't have been able to broadcast, and might have lost the coup," said Manana Aslamazyan of Internews.

During the heyday (1993-94) of media development in the former U.S.S.R., thousands of private commercial television stations were created. "There was a time when two new companies were being opened every day," said Aslamazyan. Under her leadership, Internews is credited with much of this broadcast development. Thousands of newspapers also began publishing, some with training or other assistance from U.S. developers. In 1995, for example, the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune helped the English-language Vladivostok News launch a web site, vn.vladnews.ru/, that still publishes today.⁴

COORDINATING THE MEDIA MISSIONARIES

As American journalism trainers in the early 1990s tripped over each other in foreign restaurants, they realized more coordination was required. The Center for Foreign Journalists (ICFJ), with \$50,000 each from the International Media Fund and the Freedom Forum, created the Clearinghouse on the Central and East European Press to track media development and training. The Academy for Educational Development, a government contractor, followed broadcast media for a year. Since then, ICFJ has been collecting both print and broadcast assistance data, which it publishes on IJNet, www.ijnet.org.

James Greenfield, a former New York Times editor, also concluded that a more systematic in-country approach was needed. His Independent Journalism Foundation,⁵ led also by Nancy Ward and Don Wilson, and backed by the Knight and New York Times foundations, established Centers for Independent Journalism first in Prague, then in Bratislava, Bucharest and Budapest. These resource centers offer help in basic

LIDOVE NOVINY VS. GAZETA WYBORCZA

In the economic free-for-all after Czechoslovakia's 1989 Velvet Revolution, a group of entrepreneurs finagled control of Lidove Noviny, a 100-year-old national treasure that was, before World War II, the most respected Czech newspaper. The Freedom Forum's Seigenthaler spent six months in Prague training the staff in newspaper management. Czech-American Martin Stransky, whose grandfather had closed Lidove Noviny rather than give it to the Nazis, wanted to repurchase the paper but found only a 2 percent stake available. The paper's other new Czech owners listened well to Seigenthaler – perhaps too well. They launched a flamboyant marketing campaign and then sold their stock at a hefty profit to the Swiss-based Ringier publishing empire. Lidove Noviny became just another foreign-owned newspaper with down-market content.

The Lidove Noviny story contains an important lesson: Training at an organization whose owners are not committed to journalistic values can waste time and money. It may be more effective to work on a region's "journalism culture," training journalists from multiple organizations and working on the legal and economic factors that support independent media.

Perhaps the greatest newspaper success story in post-Communist Europe is that of Gazeta Wyborcza, which began in Warsaw as an underground Solidarity paper and evolved in 1989 into the first independent daily in a Communist country. Today it is Poland's major newspaper. When the Communists fell, Cox Newspapers invested \$5 million in cash, plus sweat equity, and sent advisers in every area except editorial. "They wouldn't take that; their fear was that we would control the editorial page," said Cox's Andy Glass.⁷ Cox saw it as a good business model and entry point for other communications opportunities in Poland, including cable and cell phones. When Gazeta became a public company, Cox's 12 percent investment paid off big. "We could pay for our Cox Washington bureau many times over for what we made on Gazeta," Glass said. To be sure, much of Gazeta's success was due to Poland's "enabling environment," which had elements of civil society lacking in the Czech Republic – among them a vibrant labor movement and a strong Catholic church – as well as an early economic "shock treatment" shift to capitalism.⁸

journalism, research, database building, circulation and business practices. (The Prague operation was closed in 2000). They work with visiting Knight Fellows from the United States, local print and broadcast journalists and their professional organizations. "In my view, they are the ideal form of media assistance," said Baumeister, who was with them in the early days and later worked for IREX.

In 1992, Greenfield, Tom Winship and Dana Bullen of the World Press Freedom Committee brainstormed with Creed Black of the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation to create the Knight International Press Fellowship Program. The program, run by ICFJ, emphasized long-term media assistance by U.S. journalists whose work would be tailored to specific local needs.

In Russia, The New York Times partnered with Izvestia, Hearst started a paper in Moscow, and Internews, then a small California organization, began to build the country's first independent television network. Freedom Forum opened regional media libraries with the Centers for Independent Journalism and other partners. U.S. government spending rose significantly. Internews became USIS' and USAID's primary broadcast development contractor in the former Soviet Union. Five years later, the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), a government-funded Cold War scientific exchange, began doing media training and now has huge USAID contracts throughout the former Yugoslavia and newly independent states.

U.S. universities got involved, with varying results. The University of Missouri launched the American University in Bulgaria, which has had success in teaching journalism. In Warsaw, however, the Rutgers University

media center was plagued with internal problems and lost its U.S. funding. In Moscow, New York University's Center for War, Peace and the News Media founded the Russian-American Press and Information Center (RAPIC), now the Press Development Institute. RAPIC focused on print training and grew to 19 field offices. Despite a promising beginning, it became an expensive quagmire of union problems and other management issues that served as a cautionary example of what to avoid.⁶

Independent newspapers appeared everywhere. Cox Newspapers invested in Warsaw's Solidarity paper, Gazeta Wyborcza. In Prague, 23-year-old American Lisa Frankenberg started the Prague Post, a successful weekly English-language newspaper. A few blocks away, editor John Seigenthaler worked to revive the venerated old Czech newspaper, Lidove Noviny.

U.S. GOVERNMENT AID EXPANDS, 1996-2000

In 1996, Marvin Stone disbanded the International Media Fund because USAID funders wanted tighter control over media development. USAID had won a turf battle with USIS over managing media aid, which meant that government-funded media development projects now had to serve USAID's policy objectives. At that point, "helping independent media was not seen as an independent activity," one IREX veteran recalls. "Those doing the assistance to independent media were looked on more and more as agents of the U.S. government, as indeed they were."

USAID had been funding Internews for five years without seeking competitive bids. In 1995, USAID sought proposals for Promedia, a four-year, \$18 million program

focused on Central and Eastern Europe.⁹ "Five years after the dramatic end of Communism, too many media in the region, especially outside the capitals, continue struggling along in an in-between world: half free, unprofitable, demoralized, dependent, living hand to mouth, uncertain whether they have a future," USAID said. IREX won the contract for the program. Promedia emphasized practical business needs for self-sustaining media organizations, rather than "exercises in journalism theory."¹⁰

The Knight International Press Fellowships served as a model for Promedia. The National Forum Foundation (now Freedom House) was a partner, as was ICFJ, which brought the journalism expertise IREX lacked. But the consortium arrangement did not work well, according to a subsequent USAID assessment. ICFJ withdrew after 18 months, dissatisfied with the progress of the project and USAID's micromanagement of it.

Initially, Promedia was beset with endless field studies, a chaotic work planning process, inconsistent aims and poor coordination. While IREX worked on training, in-country activities and association building, Freedom House identified future leaders for study tours and ran the Romania program. The USAID assessment directed its harshest criticism at Freedom House, which vigorously disagreed with the report's conclusions.¹¹

Nonetheless, Promedia made a positive difference. It strengthened the Croatian Journalists Association and founded a Romanian circulation-auditing organization that represents 60 publications. In Slovakia, Promedia and the local television association designed a technical template for a "model station," and it negotiated reduced

prices so stations could upgrade equipment. In Ukraine, it established a student newspaper at the state university's journalism department. The law firm of Covington & Burling, working pro bono with Promedia, analyzed proposed laws, engaged in program design and policy debates and trained media lawyers.

By 1998, the project's assessors found, some media were still struggling, some were successful and free, and quite a few were profitable. "Only a few are demoralized, and rarely do these organizations live 'from hand to mouth.' None of the media leaders interviewed felt the field lacked a future," the report found.¹²

INTERNEWS AND IREX: COMPETING FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT¹³

In 1999, USAID allocated \$48 million for Promedia II, a second round of contracts. IREX won the bulk of the work;¹⁴ ICFJ got the contract for Georgia. In Bosnia, IREX built a small commercial Sarajevo news agency into the only independent, national news agency. It also poured resources into Nezavisne Novine, a Bosnian Serb daily whose editor lost both legs from a car bomb in October 1999 but who returned to work (joking that he was a "limited edition" of his former self). IREX planted a satellite-fed TV transmitter in a hotel room in Srebrenica, a bombed-out, devastated community that otherwise had no television. Rich and Suzi McClear, working with IREX, wrote effective business plans for radio stations in the former Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Albania and elsewhere. Veton Surroi, publisher of the Koha Ditore newspaper in Kosovo, gave IREX high marks for its work there.¹⁵ Throughout the region, IREX created freedom of information and Western-style civic defamation laws and

developed training in newspaper editing, reporting, graphics and business operations.

Internews, also financed by millions of dollars in USAID media development contracts,¹⁶ expanded into 22 countries. Its trainers focused first on building local Internews organizations staffed by local trainers. Throughout the 1990s, it was immersed in broadcast development, launching TV stations in provincial cities, linking them into program-sharing networks, enlisting them to produce programming and sponsoring news awards competitions. Internews hired lawyers to fight for media laws and defend embattled journalists. Ann Olson, a Knight Fellow who worked in Russia, said that Internews "made independent TV in Russia what it is, step by step, because it was the one on the ground when everything started, and grew as independent TV grew. The importance of that mutual growth cannot be underestimated."¹⁷

Internews and IREX, which compete for many of the same contracts and sometimes work together in the field, evolved from different cultures, missions and ideology.

IREX established itself in Washington, D.C., during the Cold War by using government grants to sponsor scientific and cultural exchanges with the U.S.S.R. Even though IREX today is becoming more of a media development organization, it still does at least half of its work in nonmedia areas.¹⁸

Internews was founded by peace activists in the San Francisco Bay Area. It televised "space bridge" forums to foster dialogue between U.S. and Soviet citizens. Still headquartered in tiny Arcata, Calif., Internews approaches its development work with the goal of creating local

organizations in each country that can carry out the media development, industry representation and media monitoring.¹⁹ These organizations typically recruit the most promising local broadcasters and train them to make Internews-contracted programs. The result is a pool of shared programming and a powerful network of Internews alumni in the Russian broadcast industry who provide lasting impact even as a combination of a weak advertising sector, unscrupulous politicians and media oligarchs undermine the independence of most stations.²⁰

Selling U.S.-style objectivity and balance to journalists in the transitional societies where Internews and IREX work is more difficult than providing urgently needed business, technical, marketing, management and legal assistance.²¹ Some American "media missionaries" have criticized Internews for emphasizing commercial skills over journalistic values in its development of independent broadcasting. In fairness, however, it must be noted that Internews sponsors journalism awards competitions and offers other incentives that stress quality.

The rap among journalists against IREX, on the other hand, has been that it was sometimes too eager to please its U.S. government funders. Internews recently developed an explicit code of ethics that prohibited accepting journalism content directives from any donor.²² Several IREX insiders and other media developers said IREX has not always maintained that distinction as it moved from academic exchange to media developer. IREX President Mark Pomar disputed that view, saying that IREX's mission was to build a civil society, not the advancement of government policy.²³ "Most of our trainers

are former Knight Fellows," he said. "...We're not a human rights organization. We do not lobby against or for certain governments." Even before the new Bush administration policy, Pomar acknowledged the existence of "daily tension" with government officials, but said IREX staff "stood their ground" against such pressure. Rich McClear, a veteran IREX trainer, defended the organization's independence and noted that IREX has continued to support some promising media outlets that displeased the U.S. government.²⁴

It was not clear as of this writing how the Bush administration's emphasis on getting a pro-U.S. response for its aid would affect these two large U.S. government-funded media developers. The success of their work depends, paradoxically, on their media clients' independence not only from their own governments but also from foreign governments, including the United States.²⁵

DISAPPOINTING RESULTS: INDEPENDENT MEDIA STILL ELUSIVE

The environment needed to nourish independent media in the former Soviet bloc does not yet exist. There are about 20,000 officially registered newspapers in Russia, but only about a third of them publish.²⁶ These are the primary sources of local information for most of the country. A USAID analysis concluded: "A majority of the regional newspapers are not economically viable, managing to survive only with political or business underwriting. Their presence poses a major problem for the growth of independent regional print media. It also makes it difficult for international donor agencies to ... discriminate between publishers genuinely aspiring to independence and others who have become partisan to one degree or another."²⁷

USAID feels television development has been more successful, but many stations, not able to sustain themselves on Russia's anemic advertising industry, fell victim to shady investors. By 1995, rival media moguls Boris Berezovsky (ORT) and Vladimir Gusinsky (NTV) had accumulated enough TV stations (as well as newspapers and magazines) to fiercely challenge the Kremlin and President Vladimir Putin. While some important journalism was done, particularly on the war in Chechnya and other embarrassments to the Putin government, Berezovsky and Gusinsky generally used the media as political weapons instead of trying to develop civil society through a watchdog press.

"The media didn't learn too well to preserve themselves," said Manana Aslamazyan of Internews Russia. "They gave many pretexts to be closed, to be punished, to be silenced." Putin's allies used the courts to close down Berezovsky and Gusinsky and pursue them on criminal charges stemming from irregular business practices. "Formally speaking, the government never closes the media down for speaking freely. There is always some economic, some business issues to be used as a pretext," Aslamazyan said.

Even Radio Echo, which broadcasts news and analysis to 70 cities as part of Gusinsky's network, is back under the state control. Putin has effectively reinstated government control over the most important media in the guise of neutralizing his political rivals. There still are 600 to 700 television companies working in Russia,²⁸ more than half of them calling themselves independent, but Putin controls the important national television and radio channels as well as the major newspapers and magazines. Unfortunately, the public does not differentiate between those media

that are independent and those that are political shells, Aslamazyan said. "The concept of reputation does not really work. It is not possible to say who is good and who is bad."²⁹

Russian journalists cannot challenge powerful institutions or the government without worrying about reprisals. Crusading journalist Grigory Pasko, who documented the Russian Navy's mishandling of nuclear waste, was jailed for 20 months; American financier Boris Jordan, installed as NTV director, was fired following aggressive coverage of the government's handling of the 2002 Moscow theater hostage crisis in which 129 hostages were killed. NTV has been a focus of debates about freedom of speech since 2001 when Gazprom, the government-connected natural gas monopoly, took it over.³⁰

What has happened to media in Russia has been repeated, in some fashion, in most former Soviet states. A downward economic and political spiral afflicts them all, making it harder for media to establish a financial footing. Many, if not most, locals who invest in media know they are going to lose money, but do so in order to accrue political or financial influence.³¹

Much of the media training in the former Soviet republics has been focused on advertising revenue, market research and the production of programs with broad audience appeal, such as soap operas, game shows and news. Official and social corruption is endemic, and officials are hostile, sometimes violently so, toward journalists who unmask it. Self-censorship is a way of life for most local journalists, who may accept payoffs to write or avoid certain stories.

Even in freer Central and Eastern Europe, the privatized media have not consistently practiced reliable consumer or watchdog journalism. In the Czech Republic and Hungary, politicians control broadcast councils that give out licenses. Broadcast ownership is not transparent, accountability is rare, and journalism is often amateurish. Convincing journalists to question government action is still difficult in many of these countries. Czech journalist Jan Urban concluded that the challenge of media development in post-Communist societies was like trying to "teach old cats to bark."³²

CONCLUSION: ANY SIGNS OF PROGRESS?

It would be a mistake to assess too harshly the media development and training done in this region – or to be overly pessimistic about the future. The stain of Communism had decades to soak into the social, political and economic fabric. The cleansing forces of democracy may take just as long. Thanks in large part to these altruistic media development efforts, trained journalists are in place throughout Russia and the other new states, local journalism associations exist that fight for better media laws, and even a civic journalism project is under way in a number of Russian cities, including Rybinsk, Yaroslavl region, where the TV station R-40 is working with the regional court to establish a system of justices of the peace.³⁹

There is also progress in Bosnia. Following the OBN debacle, a more genuine grassroots effort, the five-station Mreza Plus network, was launched in August 2001 with \$500,000 from USAID. It turned a profit five months later. "After six years of assistance," said IREX's Gillette, "a critical mass of reasonably professional, private, independent Bosnian media had

MEDIA ASSISTANCE IN BOSNIA

The international community plowed an estimated \$7 million to \$10 million in media development money into the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, to counter state media used in Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic's "ethnic cleansing" campaign against Bosnia.³³ Some of the money was used successfully to support the important alternative Radio B92 in Serbia. After the 1995 Dayton peace accords, the U.S. government invested another \$23 million – augmented by 17 million euros from the European Union – on developing independent media as part of the overall effort to establish democracy in the region. Media supported by this aid ultimately played a central role in the Milosevic's fall from power.³⁴

By 1996, as the peace accords went into effect, 110 newspapers and magazines, 41 radio stations, 17 television stations and four news agencies were operating in Bosnian-controlled territory.³⁵ Typical projects included the Swiss-financed Free Elections Radio Network, which covered the Bosnian areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Britain's Overseas Development Agency, IREX and the Open Society Institute collaborated on the influential newspaper Nezavisne Novine, which remains one of the best and most successful Bosnian papers.³⁶

The assistance helped keep some opposition information flowing during and after the conflict, but the International Crisis Group concluded in 1998 that due to continuing political and economic instability there had been "few breakthroughs" in developing stable independent media in Bosnia. The biggest disappointment was the Open Broadcast Network (OBN), a \$20 million effort in 1996-97 of the U.S. Information Service, the European Union, several European governments and the Open Society Institute. OBN, based in Sarajevo, was a network of new television stations that sought international support in order to compete with partisan state broadcasters. Instead, said former IREX Bosnia director Robert Gillette, these affiliates became "serfs in their own land" with no say in the management or ownership of the venture. OBN evolved into a centralized operation run out of the Office of the High Representative (the international official who was governing postwar Bosnia),

(Continued on next page)

MEDIA ASSISTANCE IN BOSNIA

(Continued from previous page)

with directors who lived outside the country. Its grassroots credibility was nil.³⁷ The network ended up competing with member stations, treating them as affiliates and then broadcasting over their coverage areas on its own transmitters. OBN also undermined the local marketplace by paying inflated, foreign-style salaries for on-air talent. The ICG labeled OBN a “disaster which should be scrapped.” The donors withdrew their support.

A scorched postwar landscape is hardly fertile ground for civil society and its key facilitator, independent, “honest broker” media. Even Sarajevo’s once-heroic *Oslobodjenje* newspaper, celebrated in the United States for its daily publication during the siege of the city, has fallen on hard times and lowered its standards in today’s corrupt, internationally run state. At least two critical lessons emerge from this history: Successful media development requires the concurrent creation of an “enabling” economic and political environment; and the development of independent media takes much longer than one might expect.

Radio B-92 director Veran Matic cautions further that donors should avoid forced, artificial ventures. “Only those initiatives which have taken root and become an integral part of the social fabric of the area in conflict stand a chance of yielding satisfactory results,” he said. “Initiatives from the outside ... can never do more than mimic cultural patterns, this mimicry is obvious to the local community, and the information it carries is disregarded.”³⁸

now reached a point where they can sustain themselves – if Bosnia’s economy continues at least the slow growth it has shown over the past several years, and if they survive the international community’s policy caprice.”⁴⁰

Perhaps the biggest commercial success story is in Poland, where major broadcasters and print media enjoy economic independence and relative freedom from government control. *Gazeta Wyborcza* paid off enormously for its investors and its corruption stories have toppled government officials. Unfortunately, political scandal touched *Gazeta* itself in 2003, but whether it damaged the newspaper or affected its role in the community is not yet known.⁴¹

The institutional roots of open media cling tenuously to these newly sovereign territories. A 2003 USAID study concluded that its media programs in Russia, if ended today, would leave behind “only two enduring institutional legacies: Internews Russia and its community of independent television broadcasters [and] ... a looser group of jurists specializing in media issues and drawing on the expertise and contacts of the Moscow Media Law and Policy Center.” Media watchdogs such as the Glasnost Defense Fund and the Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations, supported by such NGOs as OSI, would also be likely to survive, the USAID study said.⁴²

RUSSIA, CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: LESSONS LEARNED AND UNMET NEEDS

1. A media operation run by a foreign government will lack the credibility of an independent local voice. Western professional standards and salaries can distort the marketplace for the local media. It is better to support local entrepreneurs.

2. Money went in too fast, with too little planning, pacing or coordination.

3. Focus on quality over quantity. “The very number of media organs and international media projects dilute the impact of alternative media,” ICG concluded. Kumar and Cooper’s USAID assessment determined that RAPIC “never separated the wheat among its clients – publications likely to make their own way financially as well as politically – from the chaff.”⁴³

4. One-time equipment donations don’t ensure a media operation’s survival, and may serve only to enrich the media owner. Equipment should remain the property of the donor to ensure its correct use, ICG proposed. In Serbia, donors and the Association of Independent Electronic Media set up a trust in the Netherlands to hold equipment. In Slovakia, IREX did matching grants with the stations holding title, but with what amounted to a lien.⁴⁴

5. Stay for the long haul. Early media training programs in the post-Communist world were faulted for focusing on capital cities and one-time workshops with little systematic follow-up. They needed better language skills and integration of local resources, a study for USAID concluded.⁴⁵ “If a project is worth backing, it should be given sufficient financial support to make it a long-term success, including if

necessary, money to pay salaries,” ICG said.

6. Sustainability is the next big challenge. Independent media in countries where politicians or oligarchs abuse them for self-interest need alternative sources of influence – economic independence, international pressure or local public support. Public defense of media will evolve only with a more professional and self-critical press corps. In Belarus, Georgia, Ukraine and neighboring republics, it is important not simply to set up foreign-funded media that expect to live from grant to grant. Where appropriate, capital should be provided, perhaps on the Grameen Bank principle – a broadcast association, for example, lends money to one station, and until it is repaid no other loans will be made, making it a priority of the entire broadcast community to have the initial loan repaid. Public-private models like NPR and PBS should be considered.

7. More legal and policy work is essential. Neither lawyers nor journalists in these emerging democracies know much about local or international media laws.⁴⁶

8. Build organizations that do their own training and mentoring.

9. A motivated news audience may be even more important than total press freedom. Public cynicism, along with corruption and political interference, hamper the development of independent media.

10. Regular donor oversight and evaluations might prevent problems like those at RAPIC (now PDI) in Moscow.

11. Greater coordination among media developers and policy advocates would save money and improve effectiveness.

12. Quality benchmarks are needed for professional print and broadcast journalism.

13. Self-censorship is a big hurdle.

14. Media assistance varies widely. Donors or contractors do not have a “global media development strategy,” Monroe Price of Yeshiva University noted, a gap that may be inevitable given differing cultures and needs. Even so, funders should understand clearly the long-range regional strategies that shape their investments. How important to the funder is marketplace viability? Objectivity?

15. In some regions, journalism schools should be reformed to provide continuing midcareer education. In other places, midcareer training is not yet accepted and needs to be developed. Professional journalism organizations and centers will be better in some places than academic institutions.

16. Having one organization monopolize media development in any country is not ideal. “If it’s not a strong organization, the country suffers,” noted one developer.

17. The success of independent journalism depends largely on a country’s other political and economic factors, “including market economics, a legal framework and media policy, as well as public service journalism training.”

18. Be flexible, “look at the opportunity of the moment,” said IREX’s Mark Pomar. “That opportunity very much depends on the local partner.”

19. If journalists or organizations don’t want the training, don’t force them into it. “Don’t waste your time sending trainers to reluctant people who say, ‘It’s free, so we might as well do it.’ Concentrate on people who are eager to have you,” advised James Greenfield.⁴⁷

20. As civil society develops in a country, the NGOs tend to become more specialized, with some focusing on monitoring media content, others working on freedom of information legislation, etc.⁴⁸



RUSSIA, CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: COUNTRY REPORTS

Russia

The history of post-Communist media development in the former Soviet Union has been summarized above. Key U.S. media development organizations in Russia are: Internews, OSI, IJF, IREX, Freedom House, ICFJ/Knight Fellows and the Media Viability Fund. In 2001, IREX Promedia took over the Press Development Institute (formerly RAPIC) with a \$3.5 million contract from USAID. Kumar and Cooper's analysis for USAID provides a solid overview of the history of U.S. government work in the region.⁴⁹

Albania

IREX has trained journalists and developed programming since 1995. The Open Society Foundation for Albania (OSFA) spent \$277,000 on media in 2000, including a cross-border project with the Association of Greek Publishers. This project will be expanded to media in Macedonia and Montenegro, with matching funds from a Canadian government foundation. OSFA merged its media training with the Albanian Media Institute and will continue funding it for a limited time.

Armenia

Newspapers are political organs and are not reliable. For the most part, the public is uninformed. "In Armenia in the past two years, there has been a resignation of a president, a shootout in the Parliament, and six months ago the government was on the verge of a peace agreement with Azerbaijan, yet little of this information made it to the regions of the country, and

almost none was covered by the pluralistic regional media," said one Internews developer. Tigran Nagdalyan, chairman of Armenia's Public Television and Radio, was assassinated in December 2002. Internews has an organization in Yerevan that offers training and media law support to 50 broadcast stations. The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia spent \$86,000 on media in 2000. With the Yerevan Press Club and Internews, it sponsored a journalism and violence workshop. It also supported publication of new journalism textbooks and J-school education for practicing journalists. Internews has brought together Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani broadcasters to create the region's first television news magazine. IREX works with print journalists.

Azerbaijan

Media problems are severe. Although government control is stricter than in Russia, the private press manages to play an opposition role in politics – but it's a dangerous business. In July 2001, President Heydar Aliyev took over the leading Baku television company, whose president, Faig Zulfugarov, then sought political asylum in the United States. Internews has an organization in Baku. IREX does some Internet training.

Belarus

Government criticism is dangerous for journalists. Internews and IREX are active here. The World Free Press Institute collaborated for three years on a training program with the Belarusian Association of Journalists, funded by the Eurasia Foundation, but a financial scandal at the Ukrainian Eurasia Foundation office killed it.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

(See "Case Study: Media Assistance in Bosnia," Page XX; also see Serbia, below)

IREX is completing a three-year, \$15 million USAID contract in Bosnia. Fund for an Open Society-Yugoslavia spent \$1.2 million, and Open Society Fund-Bosnia-Herzegovina spent \$252,000 supporting independent media in 2000. Efforts to improve Balkan journalism continue at all levels, including small projects like Boston public radio station WBUR's 10-year-old exchange program, which brings about 25 Balkan print and broadcast journalists to Boston each year to work for two months at local media outlets. It is funded with \$300,000 from the U.S. government.

Bulgaria

Open Society Foundation-Sofia spent \$229,000 on media in 2000. It spun off its Media Development Center, which now has other funding. The American University in Bulgaria, started by the University of Missouri, has a good journalism school. IREX trains broadcasters at its studio in Sofia, works on media-law reform and was instrumental in establishing ABRO, the local radio and television association.

Croatia

IREX provided business training and other assistance to Radio 101 in Zagreb. With the BBC, IREX helped connect local television stations through program sharing and a fiber optic system. IREX also set up a satellite system. Open Society Institute-Croatia spent \$229,000 on media in 2000, supporting pockets of resistance to the government, which uses state-controlled media to limit civil society.

Czech Republic

(See "Case Study: Lidove Noviny vs. Gazeta Wyborcza," Page XX).

Although the Czech Republic was deemed to have "graduated" from needing media assistance, public and private broadcast media are struggling to maintain independence from political influence. The Center for Independent Journalism closed in 2000, following the departure of Pew, Ford, and most of Soros' activities. The Freedom Forum gave its library to the U.S. Embassy. Chains from Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands own most newspapers. Broadcast ownership is mostly opaque. Vladimir Zelezny, a shady Czech entrepreneur whose market-dominating TV NOVA was funded by American investor Ronald Lauder, not only ran off with the station's profits, but used his scandal-mongering "Ask the Director" talk show to build his political power by attacking President Vaclav Havel and his liberal democratic allies. The Czech Parliament crafted a disastrous press law in 2000 that allowed subjects of news stories the "right of reply" regardless of the truth of the original article. Newspapers rebelled and published blank news pages to demonstrate what the law's impact would be, but then they dropped the issue. Only when international press groups picked up the fight, using a scathing European Union report on the proposed law, did the politicians retreat.

Georgia

Real journalism can be dangerous here. Reporter Georgi Sanaya of Rustavi-2 television was shot to death in July 2001. His killer remains free. But there is public

support for courageous reporting. In October 2001, the state threatened to shutter Rustavi-2 after it aired reports on government corruption, but when KGB goons entered the station it turned its live cameras on them. Thousands of people surged into the streets to protest the government's actions. Then President Eduard Shevardnadze was forced to dismiss not only the corrupt officials identified in the broadcast, but his entire cabinet. The Open Society Georgia Foundation spent \$106,000 on media work in 2000, including an Internet training program for 15,000 young people, and anti-corruption and investigative journalism projects. ICFJ is working effectively with print media on a USAID contract. Former Knight Fellow Margie Freaney heads the Caucasus School of Journalism and Media Management in Tblisi. Internews and IREX have been active here.⁵⁰

The biggest issue here is not lack of training, but structure of the media. Journalists, who make about \$30 a month when they are paid at all, lack incentives for professionalism. Media outside Tblisi are tightly controlled. Conferences are viewed as pleasant, but ineffective. The most constructive work is long-term and local with people who speak Georgian. One American doing development work in Tblisi said a recent journalism graduate who could spend a few years training and reporting would do more good than a planeload of experienced journalists who fly in for a conference.

Hungary

This is still a hotbed of U.S. media assistance. Soros' highly regarded regional Network Media Program, run by Gordana Jankovic, is in Budapest. IJF also has a Center for Independent Journalism there,

which has a successful training program for Roma journalists. Algis Lipstas of OSI has helpful insights on the role of the media centers throughout the region. The Hungarian press is the most privatized in Eastern Europe, but also the one with the most foreign investment. Nearly 80 percent of newspapers are foreign owned.⁵¹ Broadcasting is influenced by politics. The government appoints only loyal party members to the board that oversees national television and radio. The result is content gerrymandering. Budapest Mayor Gabor Demsky, a member of the opposition, couldn't get his Hungarian day speech on the air in 2000, the first time in nine years it wasn't broadcast.

Kazakhstan

The environment for media development is harsh. President Nursultan Nazarbayev has thwarted open media and other aspects of democratic culture. In January 2003, opposition journalist Sergei Duvanov was sentenced to three and a half years in prison for allegedly raping a young girl. Human rights and media organizations called the trial politically motivated and part of the government's repression of the media. Internews has been active here.

Kosovo

The media development story in Kosovo includes pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict phases.⁵² Today's fragile post-conflict setting provides a natural proving ground for the fundamental tension between hate-mongering and free speech. The New York Times complained in an editorial that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) media regulators were muzzling some news organizations, but analyst Stacy Sullivan contended that the suppression of hate speech was necessary to stabilize the country. "The allegations

frequently being printed or broadcast in Kosovo's media are dangerous and detrimental to creating peace in the region," she said. "The New York Times suggested that there was a healthy and vibrant press in Kosovo before the war and that, left to their own devices, Kosovars would simply recreate this. However, this conception of the pre-war media space is mistaken. The OSCE should be vested with a more vigorous mandate to end incendiary broadcasts and nationalistic mudslinging currently taking place in Kosovo's media space, because such words are detrimental to the peace process."⁵³

IREX helped to rebuild the broadcasting system in Kosovo, which assured national coverage before the elections, and established the KosovoLive news agency. Kosava Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and IREX have supported RTV 21 and Koha Vision. KFOS funded media training for Kosovar students at American University in Bulgaria. KFOS spent \$68,000 on media work in 2000, including a library and Internet program to give isolated populations access to global information. Internews has a modest radio training operation in Pristina that creates cross-Balkan programming. It also teaches radio, video and Internet skills at the University of Pristina and at Kosovar radio stations. The Institute for War and Peace Reporting and Internet provider IPKO created the Balkan Media Resource Center, which uses a Ford Foundation grant to provide Kosovo journalists in Pristina with free Internet access. The Institute also operates a news service that disseminates local stories.

Macedonia

The Open Society Institute-Macedonia spent \$181,000 on media in 2000. It provided legal assistance to journalists who were

harassed during an election and helped lawyers from the Macedonian Press Center in Skopje defend journalists against defamation.

Moldova

Several Soros foundations have supported the Independent Journalism Center in Chisinau, which has developed media law and offered seminars for civil servants and journalists on implementation of a new access to information law. Soros Foundation-Moldova spent \$77,000 on media, making international journals and newspapers available through libraries. It publishes an on-line newsletter. IREX does Internet training.

Montenegro

IREX helped create the MINA news agency and MEMO 98, an NGO that trains media monitors. IREX also supported the development of Blue Moon TV, using trainers from its Slovakia program. Open Society Institute-Montenegro spent \$208,000 on media in 2000. OSI also works on freedom of information access, electronic media regulation, broadcast production and, with five other donors, supports the Montenegrin Media Institute, which promotes regional cooperation and offers education for journalists and media professionals.

Poland

Independent media are vibrant. Gazeta Wyborcza is one of the biggest media success stories in the post-Communist world, even though it was recently embarrassed by a scandal involving its parent company's attempt to purchase a television station. Radio and television have effective legal protection against outside interference. The Stefan Batory Foundation (a Soros unit) spent \$70,000 on media in 2000, including support for investigative reporting and a media

campaign against corruption that inspired 30 media groups to launch their own anti-corruption activities.

Romania

Radio is big. Knight Fellows and others offer training at the Center for Independent Journalism in Bucharest. IJF also took over the third year of a journalism school at the University of Bucharest. The Open Society Foundation-Romania spent \$47,000 on media in 2000, focusing largely on education, health, Roma programs, mediation and economic development and rural access to communication and education.

Serbia

Fund for an Open Society-Serbia and IREX supported the Association of Independent Electronic Media, including Radio B92, which played a major role in the election that overthrew Slobodan Milosevic. IREX gave B92 business training and other assistance. IREX also helped media outlets pay for the Beta independent news service, and provided newsprint grants that were key to the survival of important newspapers such as Blic and Danas. Internews is creating broadcast programming from offices in Belgrade and Sarajevo. Media Development Loan Fund's Prague office supports the Banja Luka Reporter.

Slovakia

Since the end of the Vladimir Meciar regime in 1998, the fear that confronted journalists is largely gone, according to Rich McClear. IJF's journalism program at Academia Istropolitana Nova was no longer offered by 2003.⁵⁴ From 1999 to 2001, IJF had not only created that journalism program but trained about 450 judges in media issues, with help from Mark Wolf, a U.S. District Court judge from Boston.

Open Society Fund-Bratislava spent \$108,000 on media in 2000, including work for passage of a freedom of information act and an FOIA handbook for state administrators. IREX concentrated on local television, helping the local TV association, Lotos, with organization, digital conversion and training. IREX also helped create the Slovak Independent News Agency, which provides a news feed for other media.

Slovenia

Open Society Institute-Slovenia, which closed in 2000, spent \$187,000 on media, founding an institute for Internet research and a debate center and sponsoring international study trips for Slovene journalists. Its programs were transferred to the Peace Institute in Ljubljana, another Soros project.

Ukraine

Journalists Georgi Gongadze and Ihor Oleksandrov were murdered in 2000 and 2001, respectively. Their attackers remain unpunished. The government is "relicensing" many of the 600 licensed broadcast media outlets to assume more control in anticipation of parliamentary elections. Media ownership is nontransparent. There is no freedom of information law. Self-censorship, forced by criminal libel suits, tax evasion charges and other forms of media harassment, continues. Ongoing support for legal assistance to media is a high priority.⁵⁵ USAID grants IREX (print) and Internews (broadcast) about \$1 million each annually for media development. USAID also funded formation of 30 regional press clubs through the Ukrainian Market Reform Project. Reporters Sans Frontieres does some seminars with French experts at the Institute of Mass Information, and German foundations finance the Academy of Ukrainian Press. The Ukrainian Broadcasters Association, created with

aid from the U.S. National Association of Broadcasters and Internews, is developing well because the broadcasters took over its management after initial help. The association, assisted by Internews and IREX, in December 2001 defeated a negative law on political advertising and agitation. Yet many broadcasters, still dependent on NGO grants, have not established economic independence or a public service mission.

- 1 Price, *Mapping Media Assistance*, op. cit., elucidates the mission and history of the media development efforts in the former U.S.S.R.
- 2 Baumeister, a former CBS producer and editor of the Trenton Times, served as vice president of James Greenfield's all-volunteer Independent Journalism Foundation. He later worked with IREX in Central Europe.
- 3 Manana Aslamazyan, Internews. (OSI says it doesn't have good estimates for the amount invested to date on media development.)
- 4 Kumar and Cooper, *Promoting Independent Media in Russia*, p.31.
- 5 IJF's 2000 budget was \$1.2 million, including a three-year Knight grant of \$250,000 a year that expired in 2002.
- 6 See Kumar and Cooper, op. cit., pp.26, 36, for detailed analysis of RAPIC.
- 7 Andy Glass, interview, November 2001.
- 8 Gazeta's heroic stature may have dropped a notch by an editor's involvement with a confusing political insider scandal early in 2003. Peter Green wrote about Gazeta editor Adam Michnik's difficulties in "Polish Tale of Bribery and/or Politics and/or Journalism," *The New York Times*, Feb. 12, 2003.
- Earlier, Timothy Garton Ash wrote a positive piece about the development of Gazeta from a thin underground rag to Poland's most powerful daily in "Helena's Kitchen," *The New Yorker*, Feb. 15, 1999.
- 9 The countries were: Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia/Montenegro, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Bosnia.
- 10 Development Associates, *Evaluation of the USAID Professional Media Program in Central and Eastern Europe*, (commissioned by USAID/ENI Office of Democracy, Governance and Social Reform), October 1998.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 The author is an unpaid member of the Internews board of directors.
- 14 IREX won contracts for Yugoslavia (including Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo), Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania and Ukraine. It said in 2002 that it also had government contracts for \$7.7 million in Kosovo, \$3 million in Montenegro, and \$3.5 million in Russia.
- 15 Surroi, interview, Prague, October 2001.
- 16 Internews raised \$107.7 million in government funding over the decade; it has raised another \$17.7 million from other funders since 1987, President David Hoffman said in a December 2001 interview.
- 17 Olson, interview, December 2001. The Washington Post also editorialized that Internews had launched a "revolution" and was "one of the more successful agents of change in the former Soviet Union."
- 18 IREX President Mark Pomar, interview; Mark Whitehouse and Rich McClear, memos to the author.
- 19 Price, *Mapping Media Assistance*, op. cit., p.7.
- 20 Kumar and Cooper, *Promoting Independent Media in Russia*, op. cit., praises Internews' specific contributions to Russian media.
- 21 For example, the author of this report went to Russia in 1993 at the request of New York University's Center on War, Peace and the News Media to train journalists in election coverage. The journalists generally dismissed the American model of providing neutral coverage of both sides of an issue. Said one old Soviet reporter in Moscow with some outrage, "Let me get this right. For 70 years we have been waiting to say what we think. Now you're telling us not to do this?"
- 22 The author chaired Internews' task force on ethics and drafted its code of ethics.
- 23 Critics included several former IREX staff, other media trainers and IREX competitors. Pomar delegated IREX decision-making power to the people in the field, which was a "huge plus" for effective work, according to one insider. But the local U.S. embassies played too big a role in agenda-setting for at least one trainer, who left after concluding that IREX had shifted from an NGO to a "government-operated NGO." The author interviewed Pomar by telephone in December 2001.
- 24 Rich McClear, memo to the author, summer 2002.
- 25 USAID, *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach*, op. cit, p. 12.
- 26 Dmitri Surnin, Media Viability Fund, letter to Eric Newton, Knight Foundation, July 2002.
- 27 Kumar and Cooper, *Promoting Independent Media in Russia*, op. cit., p. 9.
- 28 Persephone Miel, e-mail to author, August 2002.
- 29 Aslamazyan, comments at an Internews conference, Prague, January 2002.
- 30 *The New York Times*, "Russian Court Frees Reporter," Jan. 24, 2003; Associated Press, Feb. 5, 2003.
- 31 Marjorie Rouse, Internews, telephone interview, Nov. 20, 2001.
- 32 Jan Urban, "Until Old Cats Learn How to Bark," *Media Studies Journal*, Freedom Forum, Fall 1999.
- 33 For detailed analysis of media assistance in the former Yugoslavia, see: International Crisis Group, *Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 1998; Robert Gillette, *Building and Protecting Media in Bosnia: A View from the Field*, paper for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburgh, Nov. 22, 2002; and Rich McClear, Suzi McClear and Peter Graves, "I Called for Help and 100,000 People Came" (the author saw a draft of this report dated Dec. 9, 2002). The author also relied on a memo prepared by IREX for this report.
- 34 McClear, McClear and Graves, *ibid*, p.1 of Dec. 9, 2002 draft.)
- 35 International Crisis Group, op. cit.
- 36 Gillette, op. cit. Gillette headed IREX's operations in Bosnia until fall 2001.
- 37 *Ibid.*; also International Crisis Group, op. cit.
- 38 Monroe Price and Peter Krug, *The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media*, USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, Dec. 1, 2000.
- 39 For more information, contact Kira Magid of Internews, magid@internews.ru, or Vladimir Danilichev, danilichev@internews.ru.
- 40 Gillette, op. cit.
- 41 Peter Green, "Polish Tale of Bribery and/or Politics and/or Journalism," *The New York Times*, Feb. 12, 2003.
- 42 Kumar and Cooper, *Promoting Independent Media in Russia*, op. cit., p. 35.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 44 McClear, memo to the author, summer 2002.
- 45 Development Associates, *Evaluation of the USAID Professional Media Program in Central and Eastern Europe*, op. cit.
- 46 Conclusion of participants at a January 2002 Internews regional meeting in Prague convened by the author while serving as a paid consultant to Internews.
- 47 Greenfield, interview, Nov. 8, 2001.
- 48 OSI Network Media Program report, *Perspectives of the Media Developments in the Transitional and Developing Societies*, Budapest, June 2001.
- 49 Kumar and Cooper, op. cit.
- 50 Interview with a regional U.S. official familiar with both IREX and Internews, November 2001.
- 51 Joel Rubin, "Transitions – A Regional Summary," *Media Studies Journal*, Freedom Forum, Fall 1999.
- 52 See Stacy Sullivan, "Kosovo," in Monroe Price, ed., *Restructuring the Media in Post-Conflict Societies: Four Perspectives*, background paper for the UNESCO World Press Day Conference in Geneva, May 2000.
- 53 Sullivan, *ibid*, p. 42.
- 54 Patti McCracken, e-mail to the author, June 26, 2003.
- 55 Report from Internews Ukraine, December 2002.



Latin America, with a mature media industry, a culture of freedom and some of the best journalists in the world, would seem to have little in common with Russia and Eastern Europe. Yet, as newspapers and broadcasters in the former Communist countries move beyond privatization and become subject to the oligarchic forces of corrupt ownership and political pressure, they begin to resemble media in Latin America, where owners and political leaders have traditionally colluded to decide what is acceptable as “news.”

In Latin America, newspapers have historically set the political agenda, although politicians in some countries, such as Venezuela, are more concerned about control of the airwaves. That is why the rise of more independent, investigative newspapers, such as Mexico City’s Reforma, is so important. Faced with legal, and sometimes physical, attacks, these newspapers deserve international support and the entire portfolio of media development assistance – training, fellowships, legal aid and more.

The pressures on the Latin American press may be less overt than the physical threats and takeovers in Belarus and Kazakhstan. The challenges may even look like normal concerns of the marketplace. But they often seek the same end: political coercion. Latin America has a shortage of capital for investing in independent media. In most of the region, government advertising is the media’s main source of income, and other advertisers follow the government’s lead. Thus, independent media, if unwilling to support the government in exchange for its advertising patronage, can be squeezed out. In some countries, only one or two advertising agencies control the marketplace and even own the media outlets outright.

Governments and their corporate allies can “embargo” news organizations by denying them access to advertising. This happened in El Salvador when a radio station reported corruption involving earthquake-relief money. In Guatemala, the country’s leading newsmagazine, Cronica, blamed government blacklisting for financial problems that led to its 1998 sale to a right-wing business group.

To some extent, the media themselves perpetuate this situation by accepting tainted advertising money. Several organizations are interested in counteracting these practices. Rosental Alves, the Knight Chair professor at the University of Texas who specializes in Latin American journalism, said loans could be more viable in Latin America than in regions that have no capitalist tradition. The Media Development Loan Fund would like to provide “bridge” capital that could sustain media organizations during periods of embargo, but MDLF is new to the region, and it is unclear how involved it will become. Also, there may be legal remedies. The Inter-American Court of Justice, based in Costa Rica, has ruled that such embargoes are prohibited, opening the way for possible lawsuits by the press.

Latin American journalists also need professional training and education about the role of a free press in a democracy.

“People who are journalists don’t know how to be journalists or how journalism works in a free society,” said Alves. “You also have a need to educate judges and public officers about what a responsible free press is about.”

The most serious problems exist in the

THE CELAP STORY

In the midst of the wars in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the U.S. arrest of Manuel Noriega in Panama in 1989, the U.S. government invested money for media in Central America in order to help support the development of a democratic culture. From 1988 to 1997, USAID provided nearly \$14 million for the Latin America Journalism Project (LAJP) in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama. Florida International University launched the project in Miami and then in 1996 ceded its operations to the Center for Latin American Journalism (CELAP) in Panama.

During LAJP's decade of operation, it trained some 6,800 journalists. Although some skeptical Latin American journalists dismissed the project as a U.S. public relations ploy, LAJP had a positive impact on the quality of Central American journalism, according to an assessment done for USAID by the Center for Democracy and Governance.¹

Despite organizational problems with Florida International University – its record-keeping and curricula were lacking and its textbooks were not ready in time to be of much use in the training – it helped establish an effective training program, a Spanish-language journalism review (Pulso del Periodismo) and an annual awards competition (Premios de PROCEPER) that provides incentives for quality journalism. Journalists trained by CELAP were less willing to accept censorship and more aware of the importance of strong, independent media serving democracy, assessors found.

CELAP's leadership receives mixed reviews. On the one hand, its board contains respected academics such as Alves, and courageous journalists, such as Roberto Eisenmann Jr., who fought against Noriega and founded Panama's best newspaper, La Prensa. On the other hand, the board also includes politically connected publishers who have alienated some of the new independent media. There is disagreement about whether CELAP is smart to have brought these powerful publishers into the fold or less effective because it has been co-opted by them.

rural areas and the judicial systems that still uphold insult laws dating back to the Napoleonic Code. The International Center for Journalists is in the midst of a three-year project funded by the McCormick Tribune Foundation to educate journalists throughout Latin America on such issues.

On the plus side, said Alves, Latin American journalists want to learn how North Americans do journalism, creating an opportunity for “partnerships we would never have seen before.” Unfortunately, resources are more limited than ever. Some U.S. funders, hurt financially by stock market declines, are unable to continue at previous levels. The Freedom Forum, which once invested \$100,000 a year in Latin America, has canceled all international programs.

CELAP: LESSONS LEARNED²

1. Quality-of-journalism projects need to engage media owners. This may be a delicate proposition, but managers need to endorse reforms if they are to be instituted. More projects should specifically target owners.
2. The program created a network of alumni journalists, who spread their knowledge to peers and to younger journalists. Their impact depended on their professional standing and willingness to train others.
3. There is a demand for issue-specific, advanced journalism courses on the environment, education, health, women's issues, human rights and social justice, indigenous rights and economics.
4. Ethics training reduced newsroom corruption.
5. Personal safety issues and lack of

management support inhibited the promotion of investigative journalism.

6. Legal changes, while necessary, are insufficient since current laws are ignored. Training about legal journalistic rights is a good idea, as is eliminating archaic laws that suppress free speech.

7. News writing, balance, editing, in-depth reporting and technical production were improved.

MEDIA OWNERSHIP: THE BIGGEST OBSTACLE

Daunting obstacles confront those hoping to improve the quality of journalism in Latin America. Corruption and low salaries are major detriments, as are security threats, drug trafficking, the influence of military and authoritarian regimes, and censorship pressure applied by political as well as commercial interests.

USAID expressed special concern about the concentration of media ownership in Central America.³ In Honduras, for example, six families control most of the nation's media, providing President Carlos Flores Facusse with favorable access denied his opponents. In Guatemala, fewer than a dozen families and a handful of individuals control the media.⁴

Throughout Latin America, owners may discourage reporters from critical business journalism because “businesses ultimately have social, political or economic links to conglomerates that own the reporter's outlet,” the USAID assessment found. “This system allows freedom of expression for media owners rather than their employees. In such a system, unless owners have a true interest in improving

their profession instead of simply maximizing profits, reporters cannot hope for a change of conditions.”⁵

Economic security for independent media is, therefore, paramount. John Lavine of Northwestern University's Media Management Center recounted the words of a Paraguayan newspaper owner who had just been released from prison. “In the U.S., freedom of the press and all those things matter,” he said. “... Here, the first thing is we must be is an independent business. If we're not, the government, or the church, or the dictator will own us, and all the laws in the world won't be able to help”⁶

There are some encouraging changes to build on. Investigative reporting by independent newspapers has played an important role in the downfall of some corrupt leaders.^{vii} Mexican President Vicente Fox's decision to end under-the-table subsidies of pro-government newspapers led to the near-bankruptcy of the prominent newspaper Excelsior, which New York Times reporter Tim Weiner, writing when Excelsior was sold in December 2002, called “an exemplar of the corrupt tradition of political advertising masquerading as news.”

THE JOURNALISM IN THE AMERICAS PROGRAM

Journalism in the Americas is an ambitious initiative launched in August 2002 to address the weaknesses in Latin American media development: Lack of coordination among donors and recipients,⁸ training redundancies in investigative, business and economic reporting; isolated efforts that fail to complement each other;⁹ and sporadic, uncoordinated U.S. Embassy programs.

Headed by Alves, the University of Texas

professor, Journalism in the Americas will incubate training programs (focusing on Mexico and Brazil), offer workshops to more than 500 journalists, create Internet-based learning modules and sponsor an annual training forum.

The program is underwritten by \$3.6 million in grants from the Knight and McCormick Tribune foundations, the Inter American Press Association and the International Center for Journalists. ICFJ will use its IJNet web site to track media laws and other support efforts, provide training tips and serve as a means for Latin American networking. ICFJ already publishes a Spanish-language web site (www.icfj.org/libertad-prensa) devoted to its Medios y Libertad de Expresion project. It should be expanded into Portuguese.

Journalism in the Americas will also include a Michigan State University conference on environmental journalism in Latin America; a World Affairs Council project that will take U.S. editors to Latin America with the goal of improving U.S. media coverage of the hemisphere; a Florida International University training center in Peru; photojournalism workshops in Mexico, Panama, Argentina and Peru; two annual Harvard Nieman fellowships for Latin American journalists; and U.S. visits by Latin American journalists and trainers through the Inter American Press Association's Gateway Program.

LATIN AMERICA: OTHER NEEDS AND

LESSONS LEARNED

1. Journalism training programs need evaluation. USAID's assessment of CELAP is unusual. More oversight would weed out ineffective programs. The Knight and McCormick Tribune foundations have improved their programs and focus due to systematic evaluation by outside assessors.
2. Journalists need legal advice and representation (as well as international attention) to combat harassment by punitive politicians using outmoded laws. CPJ, IFEX and Libertad's e-mail lists are important here. A larger, collaborative effort on media law and policy could be helpful.
3. Local partners are essential. "Parachute" journalism trainers from USAID should at least be followed up with local partners to improve relevance, credibility and impact.
4. Programs need to expand beyond big cities. A country-by-country focus may be more effective than a regional focus.
5. A version of the Inter American Press Association is needed for television and radio journalists, perhaps with an emphasis on cross-platform training.
6. More culturally relevant publications, books and case studies are needed. Knight Fellow Ken Dermota wrote a manual for investigative journalists in Chile that he would like to expand for other countries.
7. Journalism teachers need to be taught. Establish a program for faculty to visit newspapers. Support the jobs and curriculum for full-time, trained faculty. Invite journalism professors to the media training sessions.
8. Be wary of alliances with local



universities. Some are too old-fashioned. Others may splinter the journalism community by being overly competitive.

LATIN AMERICA: COUNTRY REPORTS¹⁰

Argentina

Argentina is a nation in trouble. It is defaulting on \$140 billion in foreign debt. The poverty rate exceeds 50 percent and the political class has been repudiated. Virulent anti-Americanism abounds, rooted in the economic crisis. Argentina has a long tradition of well-written newspapers, but investigative journalists suffer harassment, and the press in general is strained by the downward financial and political spiral. The organization Periodistas defends free press and denounces violence against journalists. The newspaper El Liberal of Santiago del Estero is facing lawsuits filed by 4,000 women affiliated with the ruling party, seeking \$19 million for material that had already been published by another paper. A government invasion of privacy suit against journalists from Clarin, the national daily, was dismissed, but the Supreme Court upheld an action against Noticias, a newsmagazine that reported former President Carlos Menem's extramarital affair. That ruling prompted Periodistas and the Committee to Protect Journalists to file a complaint with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington.

Brazil

Investors are punishing Brazil for electing President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, who promises reform for the poor through his Workers Party. This huge country has 80,000 journalists in 31 chapters of the National Federation of Journalists. Michael Cowan, a 2000 Knight Fellow, reported that Brazil, despite an unemployment rate of 20 percent, an illiteracy rate of 30

percent, a sizable population of street children and rampant urban violence, has a relatively stable democracy and economy. News media are "healthy and robust," Cowan said. "The days of censorship are a thing of the past; investigative journalism is alive and well. A variety of viewpoints are expressed in the nation's major media outlets."

Unfortunately, journalism can still be deadly in Brazil. At least 10 Brazilian journalists have died on the job since 1992, Rosental Alves reported in CPJ's magazine, *Dangerous Assignments*. Drug traffickers assassinated Globo Television reporter Tim Lopes in June 2002 after he won the nation's top journalistic prize, the Premio Esso, for exposing the traffickers. To honor Lopes, Journalism in the Americas' first workshop was held in Brazil in August 2002, drawing 65 Rio de Janeiro journalists. "Lopes' death has energized Brazil's journalism community, and that's exactly what he would have wanted," Alves wrote.

Brazilian journalists are required to hold university journalism degrees in order to work. Sadly, most journalism faculty have never worked in the profession, and modern newspaper techniques, such as enterprise reporting or humanizing stories, are rare.

Chile

Potential local partners include the Chile School of Journalism and Diego Portales University, a private, nonprofit institution in Santiago. Ken Dermota was there as a Knight Fellow through August 2000. He said the practice of journalism has deteriorated in the decade since the end of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's 17-year dictatorship. Television Nacional, the most-watched network, is owned by the state. President Ricardo Lagos, a Socialist

in office for the past three years, is pushing for repeal of a law that allows journalists to be imprisoned for criticizing judges, military commanders or cabinet members,¹¹ even for publishing mundane facts that are already part of the public record.

Colombia

In Cartagena, writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez founded the Foundation for New Iberian-American Journalism. Seven journalists were killed in an extraordinary six-month spate of violence in 2001, the IAPA reported. Media are beset by economic problems. The best newspaper, El Espectador, has lost so much money it cut publication from daily to weekly. Colombia, once capable of documenting its own abuses, "has shifted to a country incapable of policing and monitoring itself," said Frank Smyth of CPJ. Maria Cristina Caballero, who received CPJ's International Press Freedom award in 1999, came to the United States for Friendly and Neiman fellowships after receiving death threats for her coverage of Colombia's drug wars and massacres of peasants. When she returned to Colombia in August 2002, new President Alvaro Uribe, pressured by both leftist and rightist militias, had abrogated constitutional rights. "It is not easy to know which is more scary, the ghost of urban terrorism or the ghost of authoritarianism. Colombians need ... protection against both," Caballero wrote in a New York Times opinion piece.¹²

Costa Rica

Costa Rica is home to the Inter-American Court of Justice (part of OAS), where cases can be filed to support journalists. Efforts are under way to bring press law into accord with the American Convention on Human Rights, which Costa Rica ratified in 1970.

Guatemala

The press is independent but weak economically. A few families own most of the media and support the leading politicians. One positive anomaly is the number of rural pirate community radio stations that have arisen since the 36-year civil war ended in 1996. "While television, cable and the Internet are making inroads throughout the continent, radio remains the most powerful mass medium in the region," wrote Knight Fellow Maria Martin, an NPR producer, in 2003. These stations face opposition, and a new law (supported by the national broadcasting association) limits bandwidth allocation.¹³ Soros-supported organizations made grants in Guatemala totaling \$112,711 in 2000, primarily in media work.

Haiti

The local Open Society Institute affiliate, Fondation Connaissance et Liberte, spent \$40,000 on media work in 2000.

Mexico

President Vicente Fox launched a new era in Mexican journalism three years ago when he announced his intention to end political payoffs to reporters. The newspaper Excelsior, for decades the voice of the PRI, the former ruling party, nearly folded when the subsidies ended. La Jornada, the longtime leftist tabloid, and the newer, flashier Reforma and El Norte, do investigative journalism. They have good writers and tough editorials, and have run into some problems as a result.¹⁴ A Monterrey family intent on having an independent, American-style paper founded Reforma in 1993. It is the largest circulation, nontabloid national newspaper in Mexico and has a center-right political philosophy.

Bureaucracies in Mexico's 31 states have not adopted Fox's reformist approach and

serious problems remain for local and regional journalists. Between 150 and 240 journalists are harassed or attacked each year in Mexico, particularly along the Mexico-U.S. border.¹⁵ Journalists also lack fraternal cohesiveness, with the older generation, to a great extent, still expecting bribes.

Radio is not developed fully in Mexico, said Peter Lauffer of Internews. A powerful radio network and indigenous language stations could reach millions of illiterate people not served by television or newspapers. There is pirate radio with low-power stations, but civic groups have not won permission from the government to broadcast. Commercial radio is not news-oriented. Most noncommercial radio is run or funded by the state.¹⁶

Mexicans prefer television to newspapers as a news source, an April 2001 poll by Reforma found. A quarter of Mexicans have televisions. Grupo Televisa, which has held a half-century commercial broadcasting monopoly, captures 80 percent of the television audience and is seen as a mouthpiece for the PRI, the political party that held Mexico's presidency for 70 years. The other 20 percent of the television audience belongs to Grupo Azteca, a struggling 10-year-old company. Canal 40, once part of Azteca, broadcasts independent news programming in the Valley of Mexico. Mexico's 1970s-era broadcast law establishes licensing procedures that, in practice, are widely believed to be political. There is no transparency about licensing decisions or the financial backers of the licensees. There is no appellate process.¹⁷

Newspapers and newsmagazines have

traditionally been the most important media in Mexico because the educated elite reads them. The masses, for the most part, don't read newspapers. Estimates of Spanish illiteracy are as high as 70 percent. The Internet reaches only 2 percent of the population. Reporters use U.S. government web sites and similar data sources to obtain information about their own country that is denied to them locally.¹⁸

Academics and human rights activists are working with the Fox administration to draft a Mexican freedom of information act, but some media activists say the administration's proposed replacement for the punitive 1917 press law does not go far enough. In May 2001, the Universidad Iberoamericana, the Mexican Association of Newspaper Editors, the Foundation for Information and Democracy, the Reporters Fraternity of Mexico and several newspapers convened a meeting in Oaxaca, which produced the "Oaxaca Declaration," supporting the right to information.

Investigative Reporters and Editors has an office in Mexico City. The Fundacion Manuel Buendia helps journalists in jeopardy and publishes the journal *Revista Mexicana de Comunicacion*. Universidad Iberoamericana journalism coordinator Omar Raul Martinez Sanchez, who heads the Buendia foundation, said Mexican J-schools teach only public relations and technical training without discussing journalistic or democratic values.

Nicaragua

Cristiana Chamorro Barrios, the daughter of former President Violeta Chamorro, runs the Fundacion Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, a pro-democracy foundation that also works for freedom of expression and fights poverty in Nicaragua.

Peru

The country is recovering from the 10-year rule of the corrupt authoritarian Alberto Fujimori. President Alejandro Toledo's popularity has fallen from 70 percent to less than 20 percent since his election in 2001, and the privatization process has been halted. Instituto Prensa y Sociedad in Lima monitors attacks on press freedom and has a toll-free number journalists can call if they are attacked, which happens especially in remote areas. Canal N, Peru's new cable TV station, broke the story of corrupt spy chief Vladimiro Montesinos that led to fall of Fujimori regime. "Media owners and their political allegiances also changed, becoming more critical of the government," said Knight Fellow Mandalit del Barco. The Open Society Institute may open a human rights organization in Lima that presumably would assist with media work.

Uruguay

Knight Fellow Maria Martin found in 2002 a mature and sophisticated radio sector. Overall, the media are resource-poor, and a decade of military dictatorship left a legacy of media self-censorship.¹⁹

Venezuela

Populist strongman President Hugo Chavez cares more about controlling broadcast than print. His chief political opponent, Caracas Mayor Alfredo de Peña, is a former television talk show host.

1 Noreen Janus and Rick Rockwell, *The Latin American Journalism Project: Lessons Learned*, World Learning Inc., for USAID, December 1998.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3 *Ibid.* In Central America, such media giants as HBO, CNN, Disney, ESPN, and CBS of the United States and Angel Gonzalez of Mexico may crowd out the development of local voices. ICFJ does not agree that this is a big factor since most of these networks are available to only a small audience. However, this ownership trend, which also is controversial in North America, bears watching.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

6 Lavine, interview, Nov. 27, 2001.

7 The Freedom Forum has funded Rutgers Professor Silvio Waisbord to write a book about the growth of investigative reporting in Latin America.

8 Wayne Dillehay, interview, October 2001.

9 Rosental Alves, interview, Nov. 14, 2001.

10 More information available from Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press, 2001*, and from IJNet, www.ijn.net.org.

11 Clifford Krauss, "Chile's Leader Remains Socialist but Acts Like Pragmatist," *The New York Times*, Dec. 10, 2001.

12 Maria Cristina Caballero, "Is Colombia Doomed to Repeat its Past?" *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 2002.

13 Maria Martin, "Community Radio, Breaking Sound Barriers," *KNIGHTline International magazine*, Winter 2003.

14 A Reforma reporter who wrote a story about the mayor of Mexico City based on the local equivalent of an official GAO report was sued for criminal defamation.

15 Peter Lauffer, Internews Network, proposal for study of media in Mexico, June 29, 2001.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 Martin, "Community Radio, Breaking Sound Barriers," *op. cit.*

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

No region needs more media help than Africa, a continent marked by fragile democracies, weak institutions, widespread illiteracy, little access to technology and a dangerous health crisis. In order to bolster government accountability, independent, professional journalists are critically needed.

State control of media is rampant. There are few trained independent broadcasters or print journalists, and they often lack the means to carry out their trade, working on a shoestring with antiquated equipment. Most of the population does not have access to newspapers. Nevertheless, some Africans do make money in the media, particularly in radio.² And journalism can affect democracy in some places. Ghana and Senegal are success cases, where media changed the way the countries work, according to Joan Mower, former head of the Freedom Forum's international programs.

The African press follows the European tradition of partisan newspapers. In some countries, such as Angola and Rwanda, there is no notion of reporting both sides of a story. Across most of Africa, political news dominates coverage. Government papers espouse the government line; others reflect the opposition. Reporting typically is based on "leaks" from a politician. Multisource stories or independently verified information is rare. Economic news is based on government or corporate press releases, with little or no analysis. Environmental reporting is almost nonexistent.

African journalists generally want more training, ranging from how to use a keyboard to web development. Basic writing could be improved, as well as copy-editing,

which is often ignored. Management training in the media business is also needed. It is helpful, for example, that the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ) has created five annual Foster Davis Fellowships to teach leadership skills for newsroom management to African journalists at the Poynter Institute in Florida.

Despite a huge increase in AIDS awareness, reporting on health and women's issues is spotty and superficial. Papers generally don't have "women's" or "health" sections. Taboos are rampant, particularly about AIDS. One promising area is in U.S. grants for radio projects, which, in the name of teaching Africans "how to be great deejays," encourage programming about HIV/AIDS education.

Capital to purchase new printing presses and computers is needed; used equipment that will fall apart is not useful.

European organizations and the U.S. government, using the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), have done most of the African media development. From 1985 to 1993, Africa accounted for about half the work of the International Center for Journalists.³ ICFJ has sent 27 Knight Fellows to nine countries in Africa in the last seven years. ICFJ helped reform the technical universities (Technikons) throughout South Africa, developed journalism school curricula in Ethiopia and Botswana and ran anti-corruption training in Nigeria. It has strengthened media centers in Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, Senegal and Uganda, and developed community radio in South Africa. ICFJ's new McGee Journalism Fellowship in Southern Africa sends someone to southern Africa each year.



Policy efforts and legal help are needed. In Nigeria, for example, the constitutions support a general, weak, but ineffective, claim to press freedom.⁴ Connecting journalism and legal groups regionally can head off repressive new laws. MISA headquarters in Namibia signaled to Botswana that a repressive media law was about to be passed; the Botswana chapter had missed it. International attention also is important. “Without international pressure, the local policy work is not effective,” concluded Ann Hudock of World Learning, a USAID media developer.^v

RADIO: THE HOTTEST MEDIUM

South African community radio has been one of the most successful in the world, due in large part to assistance from the Open Society Foundation for South Africa, headquartered in Cape Town. Frances Fortune, director of the Talking Drum Studio in Sierra Leone, has also been active in developing local community radio. Andrew Kromah, owner of KISS-FM in Bo, Sierra Leone, and SKY-FM in Freetown, exposes corruption under the *nom de guerre* Mr. Owl. He received a special ICFJ award in October 2002.

Most African radio is AM government broadcasting, especially in the Francophone countries, but the most popular and accessible medium is FM radio; call-in shows are the most typical kind of program. There is a great need to develop quality newscasts on such private, profitable radio stations as Joy FM in Ghana or Radio Phoenix in Zambia.

In the 1970s and 1980s, subnational identities became a strong force, and short-range FM broadcasting found a role. In Zaire and Congo, ethnic religious groups used FM because it was cheaper and clearer. In Nigeria, Muslim fundamentalists

set up FM stations. The downside of short-range broadcasting is fragmentation. When Congo was breaking up, for example, a fearful population turned to the radio for news, but there was no one voice that could speak to the nation as a whole.⁶ The Netherlands and the United States have strengthened FM capacity, but there is no plan to network FM stations.

INTERNET: THE NEXT GREAT MEDIUM

Internet access and policy are at a critical stage in Africa. “The potential of Internet in Africa is staggering,” concluded a 2001 Carnegie Corporation magazine story. Six years ago, only 11 African countries had Internet access. Now all 54 have permanent connections, and a competitive market for Internet service providers is growing across the continent.⁷ Africa’s information famine can be eased through the “leapfrog” technology of the Internet, the article predicted.

Internet-enabled communication, education and commerce ventures are in the biggest cities and smallest towns. In Nairobi, Kenya, African Virtual University, www.avu.org, links students from 24 African colleges to classrooms and libraries worldwide. In Togo, Internet-based telephone services connect towns that have never had phone service. Craftspeople from Cameroon sell their woodcarvings via PeopleLink, www.peoplink.org. A women’s fishing co-op in West Africa negotiates prices with overseas buyers for its 7,350 members.

“Even in the poorest sections, [the Internet] is too cheap to ignore. It is more cost-effective for the poor than the rich,” noted Daniel Wagner of Literacy.org.⁸ He urges media developers to consider the

growing interdependence of literacy and technology and to focus their effort on the bottom quarter of the “digital divide” because “the upper three-quarters will take care of itself.” Yet most information technology developers are looking toward the middle class because it holds the greatest potential for commercial success.

Despite these recent gains, Africa still lags behind the rest of the world in Internet use. Outside of South Africa, there is an estimated one Internet user for every 750 people. Globally, the ratio is one in 35. In North America, it is one in three.^{ix}

Africa has a plethora of information technology obstacles – the absence of a telephone infrastructure, an uneducated, illiterate workforce, and unsupportive political policies. “African governments are the big barrier to progress in this area as in most areas,” said former United Nations aid worker Nancy Hafkin.¹⁰

The Internet connects and empowers news organizations, making them a force for change, said Tim Carrington of the World Bank Institute, citing the example in Zambia of people downloading a banned newspaper and distributing it on the streets.^{xi} One of the institutions teaching journalists computer-assisted reporting and Internet skills is Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l’Information et de la Communication (ISSIC) in Senegal.

AFRICA: LESSONS LEARNED AND UNMET NEEDS

1. Radio journalism training holds great potential. This is the favored medium in Africa, but news programming is poorly done.
2. Internet training and support could play an important role in independent media and democracy development.
3. Bottom-up initiatives work best. The most popular programs are homegrown.
4. Such basic supplies as computers, paper and pens are always needed (except perhaps in Johannesburg).
5. Basic reporting skills are deficient: How to write a lead, how to conduct an interview, how to find information, how to report both sides of a story.
6. Media resource centers are useful in some countries.
7. Workshops on graphics and design would also be helpful. Papers lack logic in story and ad placement.
8. Journalists need encouragement to break the taboo against HIV/AIDS reporting.
9. Training is needed in environmental and economic reporting.
10. Ethiopia and Eritrea need special help.
11. Good (not used) printing presses would be very helpful.
12. International and local organizations need to collaborate to combat repressive laws and support endangered journalists.

AFRICA: COUNTRY REPORTS

English-Speaking West Africa

English-speaking journalists in West Africa are, for the most part, relatively sophisticated compared to those elsewhere in Africa. In Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, and Ghana, the first African country to attain independence, the British left a legacy of a vibrant media. Despite years of dictatorship and repression in both nations, their current media scene is quite strong. In contrast, devastating civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia have destroyed most media. Overall, there is a shortage of good journalists, many of whom left for safer professions, such as advertising, in the 1980s. Media need to be developed now as a business, but those in charge don't have management training. Most media "have some public information functions, but they have other [ethnic, religious or political] agendas. They are not really ... [independent] media," says Nigerian journalist Dapo Olorunyomi of the Panos Institute.

Ghana

- The Africa Institute of Journalism and Communications offers good intensive training courses and a two-year diploma program. Knight Fellows Remer and Virginia Tyson were impressed with director Kojo Yankah.
- The Ghana Institute of Journalism is the primary postgraduate school for journalists. Although standards are relatively high, with many courses taught by working journalists, the facility is run down and lacking technical resources. Contact: David Newton, director.

- The Ghana Journalists Association is an active organization of private and public journalists. It needs money to convert its government-donated building into a training-oriented press center. Contact: Gifty Affenzi-Dadzie, president.
- The West Africa Journalists Association is a regional press-freedom group that received a \$100,000 Ford Foundation grant in 2001. It lacks leadership. Its former head, Kabral Blay-Amihere, is a well-known investigative journalist.
- The Media Foundation for West Africa strives to do media analysis in the region, but the group needs money, according to Mower. It held a major regional conference in Burkina Faso in 2000. Contact: Kwami Kari-Kari.

Liberia

Under former President Charles Taylor, Liberia was an unsettled and dangerous place for journalists. Journalist Hassan Bility was held incommunicado for four months in 2002 after being accused of conspiring against Taylor.¹²

- Search for Common Ground, www.sfcg.org, operates Talking Drum Studio, which produces 30 hours a week of radio programming.
- The Liberian Institute of Journalism is an independent group that has done a series of workshops, including computer training funded by the Freedom Forum. It is run by a Libero-American, Vinicius Hodges.
- The Press Union of Liberia received \$35,000 from the National Endowment for Democracy for workshops in 2001.



➤ The Association of Liberian Journalists in the Americas, based in Boston, represents Liberian journalists in exile. Contact: Isaac Bantu, ex-BBC reporter.

Nigeria

Unlike most other West African countries, Nigeria enjoyed a free press from 1859 until 1966, when the media were nationalized. Even under colonial rule, Nigerian journalism flourished, creating a tradition of professional, investigative reporting. Unfortunately, six years after Nigeria gained its independence in 1960, a military coup took over the news media and tightened access to information. After a brief democratic resurgence, Africa's most virulent military regime took power in 1980. Beneath a veneer of democracy, layers of ethnic and religious forces vie for influence. The private media sector languishes, despite some loosening of laws and new business investments. There are 45 journalism schools, 18 of which award degrees. Nigeria needs media management, not journalism training, said Dapo Olorunyomi of the Panos Institute.¹³

Nigeria's Muslim culture can complicate journalism. When the Miss World contest was held in Lagos in the fall of 2002, Isioma Daniel, a 21-year-old reporter for the newspaper *This Day*, unwittingly sparked riots that led to 250 deaths and made her the target of a fatwa death decree. Daniel wrote that the contestants were so lovely that "in all honesty, [Mohammed] might have selected a wife from one of them." In the ensuing civic eruption, the offices of the newspaper were burned and Daniel, a Christian who studied in England and aspires to be a journalist in the United States, was forced into hiding to avoid local security police.¹⁴

- The Independent Journalism Centre, which publishes the *Nigeria Media Monitor*, is the best-known media-training group. Babafemi Ojudu, the editor of *The News and Tempo*, is a key player.
- The Institute for Media and Society is an NGO based in Nigeria run by cartoonist Akin Akinbulu. The Freedom Forum and the Ford Foundation have funded it.
- The Ford Foundation has also given \$280,000 to the Independent Television Producers Association of Nigeria and \$140,000 to Inter-press for conflict resolution.
- Panos Institute created a manual on diversity coverage used in most of the nation's journalism schools. It is funded by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa, World Bank Institute, Ford Foundation and the U.S. Institute for Peace.
- International Center for Journalists and Cassals and Associates are working on a USAID-funded anti-corruption training project. ICFJ will offer workshops on how to use investigative reporting techniques to cover corruption.
- Internews created Media Rights Agenda in Lagos, which is run by Edetaen Ojo, edet@mediarightsagenda.org. Internews recently added an Internet lawyer to its Lagos office.

Sierra Leone

- Search for Common Ground operates a Talking Drum Studio, directed by

Frances Fortune in Freetown. It has done a lot to develop community radio.

- The International League for Human Rights, www.ilhr.org, has run some monitoring and training programs.
- The International Foundation for Election Systems, www.ifes.org, is planning some election and media training.
- The National Endowment for Democracy has given money to Radio Bo for equipment.
- ICFJ recognized Andrew "Mr. Owl" Kromah, owner of KISS-FM in Bo and SKY-FM in Freetown, for his campaign against corruption.

FRANCOPHONE AFRICA

Mali

- The Maison de la Presse is home to the Freedom Forum library. It is well used and has three computers with Internet access. Maison has a strong director, Sadou Yattara. It receives some government money.
- Panos runs an office in Mali.

Niger

- The National Endowment for Democracy gave \$20,000 to independent Radio Anfani for programming.

Senegal

- The African Women's Media Center in Dakar was created by the International Women's Media Foundation.
- Institut Supérieur des Sciences de

l'Information is a Senegal-supported training center for journalists, teaching computer-assisted reporting and Internet skills.

- The Open Society Initiative for West Africa has an office in Dakar.

EAST AFRICA

Burundi

- This is a very dangerous place for journalists and trainers. Talking Drum Studio has been very successful under the circumstances.

Ethiopia and Eritrea

The desperate needs of journalists make Ethiopia a special case. The Committee to Protect Journalists found in the summer of 2002 that the Ethiopian government still suppresses alternative voices despite the end of its two-year border conflict with Eritrea. "In Ethiopia, which was Africa's foremost jailer of journalists until recently, three reporters are now serving time for their work, while more than 40 others have fled abroad to avoid trial for alleged press offenses. The picture is even bleaker in Eritrea, where leaders banned the entire private press in September 2001," wrote Yves Sorokobi, CPJ Africa program coordinator.¹⁵

Sorokobi said Ethiopia's press corps is fighting government plans to create proxy private newspapers with cash from the strongest political group in the ruling coalition, the Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front. The front also has political and business ties to Meganet Corp., which controls a news service and Radio Faana, the only private broadcaster in a country.¹⁶

Media development efforts in Ethiopia:

- The U.S. government spent \$120,000 between 1996 and '98 on journalist training.
- Duke University brings Ethiopian journalists to the United States each year.
- The Freedom Forum twice sent University of California, Berkeley, professor Neil Henry to Ethiopia to develop journalism programs at private Unity College, the nation's only school offering real journalism courses.
- World Bank Institute did some economic training.
- There is a professional group, the Ethiopian Free Press Journalists' Association, run by Kifle Mulat, which fights for press freedom.

Kenya

- Nairobi is a favorite venue of international media developers. Among Kenya's plethora of media organizations:
- The Network for the Defense of Independent Media in Africa does monitoring. Run by Sam Mbure, it is a member of IFEX.
- The Media Institute, a member of IFEX, was run by former journalist David Makali, but he left in 2000 to study at Columbia University. It is unclear who is leading the institute.
- The Mohammed Amin Foundation, which focuses on training broadcasters and photographers, was inspired by one of Africa's best-known journalists, Mo

Amin, whose early pictures of the Ethiopian drought led to the famine coverage in the 1980s. He was killed on an Ethiopia Airlines flight hijacked over the Indian Ocean in 1996. His son, Salim Amin, runs the foundation.

- The World Free Press Institute did a workshop in Nairobi, one of eight workshops in East Africa.¹⁷

Rwanda

The U.S. government gave some media development money after the 1994 Tutsi genocide, but it wasn't much, said Joan Mower, who trained English-speaking radio and print journalists there in 1996. The nation has no daily newspaper. (A paper is trucked in from Kampala, Uganda.) "Ten million people have no daily paper because there's no one who will lend money for a printing press," Mower said. Rwandan journalists found out only by chance that a new media law was about to be passed.

Internews made a documentary of the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal that has been shown to audiences throughout the country, including to prisoners who allegedly participated in the massacre. "For the African continent, seeing a former minister sitting in a cell, that in itself is sending a very powerful message. It means this is real. Now we are answerable," said Agwu Ukiwe Okali, registrar for the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.^{xviii}

Tanzania

- The Tanzania Journalists Association is effective. Contact: Joe Kadhi, who teaches journalism at the United States International University, which put together some impressive workshops for the Freedom Forum.

- In Arusha, Internews supplies English-language coverage of the International War Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda and does other media development work.

Uganda

The Uganda Journalists Association represents independent journalists. Contact: Charles Onyango-Oddo of the Monitor newspaper. Most good Ugandan journalists attended Makerere University. There is a vibrant print press, but broadcasting needs development. The U.S. government gave about \$350,000 for media training in the mid-1990s.

Zambia

Zambia's newspapers are either anti- or pro-government with no semblance of balance, according to Mower. Mike Daka, the executive director of the Zambia Institute of Mass Communications (Zamcom), is "the strongest person I worked with in Africa," said Mower. Andy Mosher, deputy foreign editor of The Washington Post, was a Knight Fellow at Zamcom, which has received money from a number of funders, including the U.S. and Zambian governments, and runs a full range of training.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Media freedom has eroded in much of the region since 2000. ICFJ inaugurated the McGee Journalism Fellowship in Southern Africa, which is based in Botswana and sends a fellow to southern Africa each year.

Angola

A closed government and an ongoing civil war make Angola perilous for journalists. Rich in oil and diamonds, Angola needs more international as well as local news coverage.

- The National Endowment for Democracy has given \$20,000 for media and peace training.
- The U.S. government gave about \$2 million to Voice of America and World Learning in the 1990s for training and to strengthen media organizations.
- UNESCO collaborated with Switzerland-based Foundation Hirondele, www.hirondele.org, to do radio workshops, primarily for women.

Botswana

The government of what had been one of Africa's most respected liberal democracies cracked down on the press in 2001. Proposed legislation would allow the government to decide which newspapers can operate and to seize any publication at will. ICFJ helped the University of Botswana's Gaborone campus develop a top-notch journalism department serving five southern African countries. This is home of ICFJ's McGee Journalism Fellowship, which brings an American journalist to southern Africa each year.

Democratic Republic of Congo

This is another difficult country for journalists. Journalists in Danger keeps up with abuses of journalists. The U.S. government has a Central Lakes media project designed to bring journalists from diverse areas together for peer discussion. An outbreak of violence in 2003 has further complicated such work here.

Namibia

The Media Institute of Southern Africa, based in Windhoek and headed by Luckson Chipare, is the top monitoring organization. It got \$800,000 from the U.S. government. It holds conferences,

publishes reports and contributes to journalists' legal defense funds.

South Africa

- The Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, www.iaj.org.za, located at the University of Witwatersrand, is an excellent organization set up by Allistair Sparks and the late Donald Woods and now run by Hugh Lewin. This is the premier regional training organization, Mower said. It receives money from U.S. government and other sources. It has a relationship with the Poynter Institute.
- Open Society Foundation for South Africa is based in Cape Town and has an office in Johannesburg. It was handing out about \$5 million in grants annually, including some to community radio and other media projects. Program officer Jean Fairbairn, jean@ct.osf.org.za, pushed community radio projects. "Jean developed training on election coverage which resulted in community radio stations being cited by two monitoring groups for providing the best election coverage," said Bill Siemering of the Open Society Institute.¹⁹
- Foundation for Media Excellence in Johannesburg was founded by Jeri Eddings, formerly of the Freedom Forum. Her partners include Edward Boateng of CNN and Doyin Abiola of Nigeria.

- Rhodes University in Grahamstown is aggressive about bringing Africans into journalism. Guy Berger, the head of the journalism department, is skilled at securing international support and funding. Educator Betty Medsger went on a Freedom Forum assessment trip. Adam Powell and others have worked with Berger on Highway Africa, an annual media and technology conference.

Zimbabwe

Journalists and democratic activists are under siege. A delegation from the World Press Freedom Committee visited Harare in spring 2001. Among its disturbing findings:

- A so-called freedom of information law crafted to control the news media through licensing of journalists and a press council system.
- Increasing violence against journalists.
- Public verbal abuse of journalists by government ministers.
- Official abuse of criminal defamation laws to stifle news coverage.

Geoff Nyarota, editor of *The Daily News*, was charged with criminal defamation for an article he wrote on a U.S.-based lawsuit against President Robert Mugabe. The paper was bombed, and two foreign correspondents, Joseph Winter and Mercedes Sayagues, had to leave the country.

1 This section is based largely on a memo to the author from Joan Mower.

2 Joy FM in Accra, Ghana, is popular and is a moneymaker. The Daily Nation media company in Kenya, owned partly by the Aga Khan, has long made a profit. Sud Communications in Senegal has profitable newspaper, radio and Internet operations.

3 Wayne Dillehay, e-mail to author, Dec. 19, 2001.

4 Mower, op. cit. Nigeria previously benefited from a sophisticated, vigorous journalism sector.

5 World Bank Institute/USAID media policy meeting, op. cit.

6 Dapo Olorunyomi, World Bank Institute/USAID media meeting, op. cit.

7 Daniel Akst and Mike Jensen, "Africa Goes Online," *Carnegie Reporter*, Spring 2001.

8 Wagner spoke at a Harvard University conference, October 2001.

9 Ibid.

10 Hafkin, Harvard conference, op. cit.

11 Carrington, World Bank Institute/USAID media meeting, op. cit.

12 CPJ, *Dangerous Assignments*, Fall/Winter 2002, p. 3.

13 Olorunyomi, op. cit.

14 Judy Bachrach, "It's a Mad, Mad Miss World," *Vanity Fair*, March 2003.

15 Yves Sorokobi, "War and Words," *Dangerous Assignments*, Fall/Winter 2002, p. 8.

16 Ibid.

17 Clay Haswell, e-mail to the author, July 4, 2002. They also held workshops in Uganda and Tanzania.

18 Okali's quote, which appeared originally in *The New York Times*, is from *Internews' 2000 annual report*.

19 Siemering, memo to the author, July 10, 2002.

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

To understand the importance of independent professional media, just look at the cost of their absence in the Middle East. Most Arab countries severely restrict media, thwarting the possibility of even-handed, fact-based journalism. For decades, the sanctioned news coverage has diverted attention from local accountability, enflamed passions and sharpened biases rather than elucidating facts. America has been a favorite surrogate target. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Americans were stunned by the enmity of the Arab world toward the United States and the extent to which it blames the United States for its social and economic troubles.

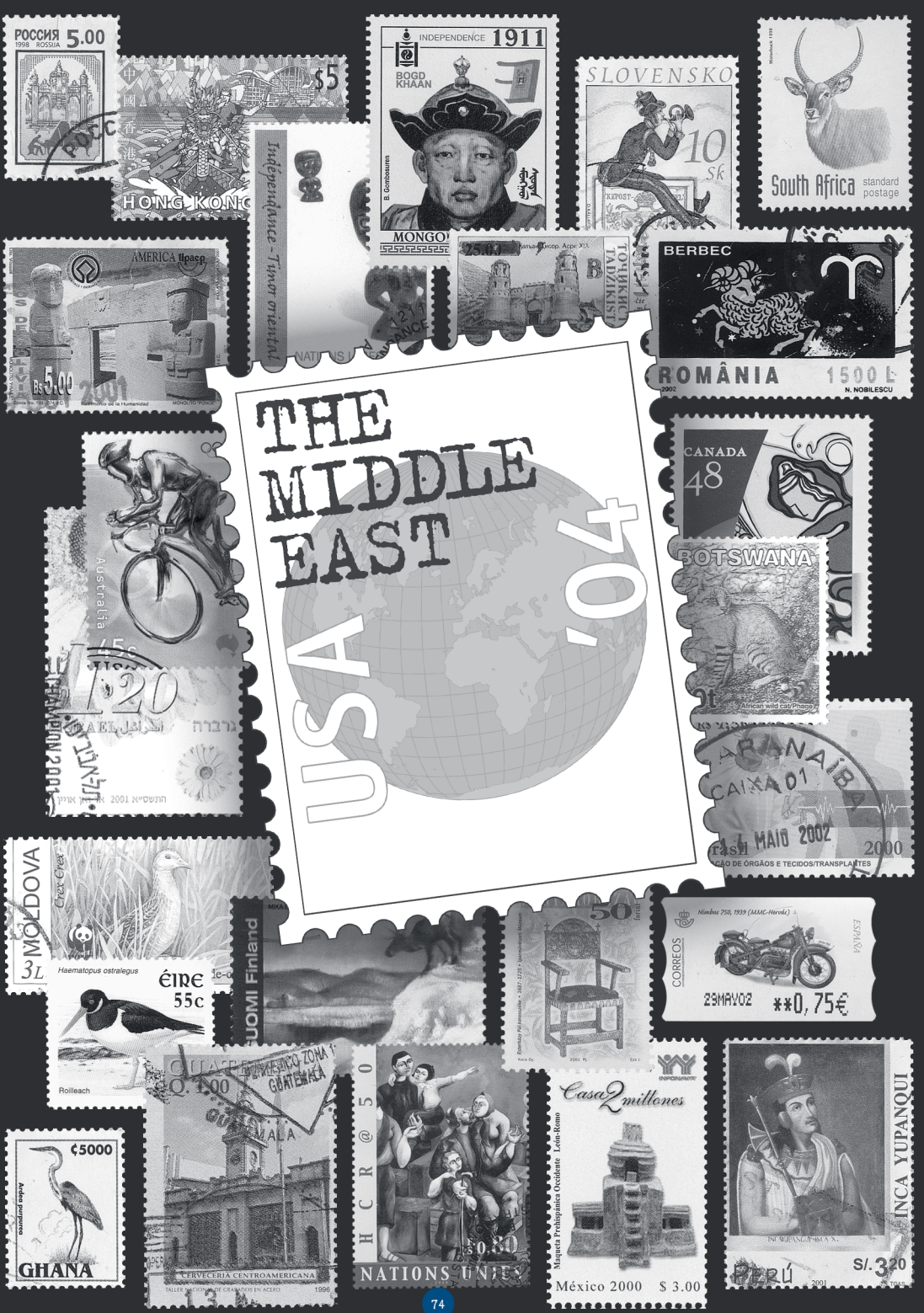
The Middle East – and some Muslim nations in North Africa – missed out on the post-Cold War trend toward democracy, as Joel Campagna pointed out in the Committee to Protect Journalists’ 2001 survey.¹ Media are either controlled outright, with no room for dissent, or undermined by draconian laws, censorship and harassment. The most extreme examples were Saddam Hussein’s Iraq and Libya. Algeria, Jordan and Syria enacted stiffer press-related criminal laws in recent years. Most countries ban or confiscate foreign publications deemed unfavorable to the government. Campagna documented how journalists are attacked, jailed and murdered with impunity across the region.

A few oases of progress can be found. Private publications have sprung up alongside controlled media in some countries. Courageous journalists, such as those working for Morocco’s *Le Journal Hebdomadaire* and *Demain Magazine*, and Lebanon’s weekly *Al-Nahar*, continue to struggle. The Internet, new Europe-based

pan-Arab newspapers, and regional satellite channels, including *Al-Jazeera*, Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation and the Middle East Broadcasting Centre, which is run out of London, provide news outside of government control, Campagna noted. Affluent Middle Eastern viewers can bypass the official media via satellite dishes and access international as well as regional programming.² Bahrain’s emir is pushing political reforms that may improve media freedom.

Still, professional, balanced journalism is not available to most Middle Eastern citizens. “The practice of freedom of speech is still something new in Arab media. Objectivity is a very subjective issue,” said *Al-Jazeera* editor Hafez Al-Mizari.³ For years, the governments of Egypt and Saudi Arabia have escaped public accountability for economic, political and other problems by encouraging their national media to blame the United States and by punishing any criticism of the government. Egypt’s leading newspaper editor suggested that the United States poisoned relief packages in Afghanistan and deliberately dropped food supplies in areas that had been land-mined.^{iv} Unfortunately, the Egyptian press is the media opinion leader of the Middle East.

Preposterous conspiracy theories about Jews creating the World Trade Center attacks are commonly believed throughout the region. In 2002, Egyptian television broadcast “*Horseman Without a Horse*,” a 41-part series based on the infamous anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The series, which was also seen in Syria and Lebanon, was “an artistic work which only reveals the Zionist schemes to seize Palestine,” said Mohammed Sobhi, a popular Egyptian actor who starred in and produced the program. The drama’s



protagonist was a “journalist” who gave credibility to the *Protocols*.⁵

Why didn’t Americans spread the idea of open journalism through the Middle East as zealously as they did in the post-Communist world? The answer lies in a combination of regional factors: Longstanding Arab hostility toward the United States because of its support of Israel; U.S. government disinterest in undermining the authority of autocrats who otherwise were helpful to national oil and security interests; and the lack of local democracy movements necessary to sustain independent media.

In 2002, some media development was under way in Lebanon, Jordan and Qatar. BBC and the Reuters Foundation had training centers in Lebanon. The State Department was planning several three-month media projects in the Middle East and Gulf States. ICFJ had a Voice of America contract to train Al-Jazeera television journalists.

But since open media emerges as part of a democratic culture, the Middle East has been ill-prepared for American-style media development. This remains true when change comes from outside military intervention, as it did in Afghanistan and Iraq, instead of from within, as part of a social movement, as it did in the former Communist bloc.^{vi} It is too soon to tell whether the U.S.-led Iraq war would plow the ground for democracy or lead to greater anti-American backlash.

Print journalism, particularly from Egypt, shapes elite and political opinion throughout the Middle East. Television is important, but radio is the medium of choice for most Arab citizens, as it is in other undeveloped regions. The Internet also offers opportu-

nity for Middle Eastern journalists and activists, and Dubai has set out to be the regional Internet hub. CPJ estimated the number of Internet users in the Arab world would double to eight million by 2003.⁷

Locals who promote press freedom pay dearly. In Jordan, for example, journalists must belong to the Jordan Press Association in order to work. In 2000, the organization expelled its own secretary-general, Al-Hadath editor Nidal Mansour, for starting the Center for Defending the Freedom of Journalists. The association declared Mansour no longer a full-time journalist and said he had accepted foreign funding for CDFJ, a violation of the association’s rules. Mansour also lost his newspaper job.⁸

Jordan’s first woman newspaper editor, Mahassen al-Emam, left the same press association after its leadership attacked her for accepting foreign money to conduct a training conference. Al-Emam, recipient of the 2002 Knight International Fellowship Award, established the Arab Women Media Center in December 1999 in Amman, to strengthen women’s role in Arab media. Most regional governments and official press oppose AWMC. Knight Fellow Joanne Levine conducted training there in 2002-03.⁹

The U.S. government did undertake some limited media development work in the 1990s, mostly in the West Bank and Gaza.¹⁰ Internews started the Arab Media Internet Network (AMIN) www.amin.org, in 1996 to post Palestinian and other Arab newspaper articles and to monitor journalism attacks. AMIN has had no funding for two years, but it draws more 80,000 users a month, according to Internews.

In 1996, the Ford Foundation, Internews and the Open Society Institute helped create a television station at Al Quds University in Ramallah. Modeled after American public television, it offered an alternative to the authorized propaganda and game shows typical of the region, broadcasting sessions of the Palestinian Legislative Council and a Palestinian-Israeli version of “Sesame Street.” One of the station’s founders, Daoud Kuttab, endured a week in Palestinian jail for airing a legislative debate on corruption in the Palestinian Authority. On April 2, 2002, Israeli soldiers sacked the station – destroying video archives, equipment and cameras – and briefly detained the staff.¹¹

Military and terrorist activities pervaded the region in 2003. The U.S.-led Iraq war, which was unpopular throughout the Middle East, appeared to undermine the already limited opportunities for U.S. media development. In the midst of the ceaseless cycle of suicide-bombings and military reprisals in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the international press sometimes found itself targeted or excluded. On April 6, 2002, for example, Israeli soldiers attacked reporters with tear gas and stun grenades as they covered Israel’s assault on Ramallah.¹² In a series of raids that month, Israel destroyed all local Palestinian television capacity – 15 stations in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, said Whayne Dillehay of ICFJ. Some of it has since been rebuilt.

After the 9/11 attacks on the United States, the Palestinian Authority barred journalists from covering street celebrations.¹³ The Committee to Protect Journalists was asked to investigate two U.S. military incidents which killed journalists during the Iraq war, including a missile attack on Al-Jazeera’s operations in Baghdad that killed one of

the station’s correspondents and a U.S. tank shell that killed two international journalists at Baghdad’s Palestine Hotel.

Better strategies for approaching the Middle East’s chronic media problems are urgently needed. David Hoffman of Internews argued in 2002 for aid to develop professional, independent media instead of the Bush administration’s propaganda approach toward the Middle East. “People who have been propagandized all their lives welcome the alternative of fact-based news,” he contended in a Foreign Affairs magazine article. Independent media don’t automatically guarantee moderation, he said, but they at least offer “new space for moderate voices that can combat anti-Western propaganda.”¹⁴ Hoffman noted that the World Bank’s World Development Report found that countries with private, independent media had better economies, less corruption and higher rates of education and health.¹⁵

AL-JAZEERA, 'THE TINY STATION WITH THE BIG MOUTH'

For Americans, the most controversial news organization in the Middle East is Al-Jazeera television, which received and broadcast Osama bin Laden's videotapes after the 9/11 attacks. Al-Jazeera was started in 1996 by the foreign ministry of Qatar and some former Arab employees of the BBC. It was a feisty operation by Mideast standards. Al-Jazeera soon was ruffling Middle Eastern rulers by broadcasting interviews with Israeli leaders and some critical coverage of Arab regimes.¹⁶ "Sixty Minutes" profiled the new network, calling it "the tiny station with the big mouth."

By Sept. 11, 2001, Al-Jazeera seemed to have dropped the BBC approach and become overtly anti-American. Critics nicknamed the station, which is funded with \$30 million from Qatar, the Bin Laden Broadcasting Corporation.¹⁷ "Day in and day out, Al Jazeera deliberately fans the flames of Muslim outrage," professor Fouad Ajami charged in *The New York Times* magazine, arguing that even when the station interviewed U.S. officials it set them up with biased insinuations. Al-Jazeera provided one of the Arab world's few opportunities to watch President Bush and other U.S. officials tell their side of the story after 9/11. But there is no doubt that Al-Jazeera heels to popular Arab sentiment. For example, it canceled on "technical" grounds a planned interview with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on April 5, 2002, because of protests from Palestinian officials, nearly 150 Arab journalists, and a crowd gathered outside the network's Arab League summit headquarters. Yasser Abed Rabbo, Palestinian information minister, said it wasn't "appropriate that a war criminal [Sharon] be given a chance to appear on an Arab media platform."¹⁸ Ironically, Al-Jazeera exemplifies some of the worst aspects of U.S. media culture. "They are sensationalist, the political version of Jerry Springer," said Lebanese newspaperman Hisham Melhem.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Al-Jazeera is seen as less biased than other Arab media and thus was "embedded" for a while with U.S. forces in Iraq in an attempt by the U.S. government to communicate with Arab viewers.

(Continued on next page)

**MIDDLE EAST (AND NORTH AFRICA):
COUNTRY REPORTS****Algeria**

Under the Information Code of 1990, journalists can be imprisoned up to 10 years for publishing "false or misleading" information that "harms state security." They can be fined or jailed for defaming the president. The government has not investigated the murders of 58 reporters and editors killed between 1993 and 1996. ICFJ trained Algerian journalists how to use investigative reporting techniques to cover human rights issues, but it is not surprising that newspapers rarely tackle sensitive subjects. Fellow journalists harassed Habib Souaidia when his book, *The Dirty War*, exposed Algerian human rights crimes. Foreign journalists are monitored and restricted.²²

Egypt

Out of Egypt comes some of the most influential – and implausible – journalism in the Middle East. Insult laws were passed in 1995 and immediately 99 journalists were imprisoned.^{xxiii} The state owns the broadcast media and shares in the major newspapers. Newspapers are strictly licensed, and President Hosni Mubarak appoints their editors. Few independent papers exist. A recent television series gave credence to the anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Journalists who "incite hatred," "harm the national economy" or offend a foreign head of state can be criminally prosecuted. The American University in Cairo offers some journalism courses.

Iran

A power struggle between moderate and hard-line forces produces cycles of liberalization and restriction on media and democracy. President Mohammad Khatami's

election in 1997 resulted in social and political reforms and the emergence of a liberal press that took on such issues as official corruption. In 1999, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei started closing moderate publications for perceived transgressions. When Salam published a government document outlining moves to curb press freedom, it sparked the largest student protests since the Islamic revolution. The Khamenei government approved the new law anyway. Since the crackdown began, the government has banned 54 newspapers.²⁴

In 2001, a parliamentarian who denounced the anti-press measures was jailed for libeling the courts, CPJ said. The same year, investigative reporter Akbar Ganji received a 15-year sentence of prison and internal exile for attending a conference in Berlin on the Iranian reform movement. Guardian reporter Geneive Abdo and her husband, Reuters bureau chief Jonathan Lyons, fled the country in February 2001 amid harassment after they interviewed the jailed Ganji.²⁵ On a positive note, editors Mashallah Shamsolvaezin and Latif Safari were released from prison in 2001.

Tehran, a city of seven million, has about 1,500 Internet cafes, 450 of which were shut down for several months to protect the state telecommunications monopoly against competition from low-cost Internet phone service, CPJ said. In 2001, the government required Internet providers to relinquish their assets to the state. Conservative authorities control television and radio. Satellite dishes, which bring international programming into Iran, are popular, but authorities confiscated about 1,000 dishes and arrested some owners in 2001 in the wake of provocative broadcasts from U.S.-based Iranian opposition groups, CPJ said.

Satellite television (such as Al-Jazeera), while prohibitively expensive for most Arab citizens, is one of the least censored media in the Middle (Continued from previous page)

East. A half-dozen other Arab-owned satellite channels preceded Al-Jazeera. The relatively staid Middle Eastern Broadcasting Centre, for instance, owned by a relative of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, has a slightly larger news audience than Al-Jazeera and twice as many viewers.²⁰

Islamic fundamentalists are also taking to the airwaves. Al-Manar television in Lebanon and AL-Mustaqbal in the West Bank town of Hebron are tied to Hezbollah and Hamas, Hoffman said. "Because these stations employ higher standards of journalism than local state-run media, they have enjoyed sizable audiences who come to them for the quality of the news, if not the Islamist messages and propaganda they scatter within."²¹

Iraq

Saddam Hussein executed journalists who were critical of him, his family or government officials. Private Internet access was forbidden, as were modems and cell phones. Fax machines could be used only with government permission, CPJ said. During their assault on Baghdad in April 2003, U.S. forces killed two journalists and injured four others when a tank fired on the Palestine Hotel, where the international press corps was based. CPJ is investigating the incident.

Internews convened 75 Arab, Iraqi and Western media law experts in Athens in June 2003 to create a model media law for postwar Iraq. The "Athens Group" hoped to develop more support within Iraq for the framework and then deliver it to the United Nations and the Occupation Coalition Provisional Authority.^{xxvi} Government funders seemed divided on how to proceed, however, as Andrew Natsios, the Bush administration appointee heading USAID, expressed frustration that development aid was not generating more positive publicity for the United States. His apparent new priority on public relations over creation of truly independent media alarmed some media developers, who felt it would undermine their work not only in Iraq, but around the world.²⁷

A U.S. Army official in Iraq reported in July 2003 that newspaper, radio and television journalists in the city of Mosul were interested in creating independent media, but uncertain how to proceed. "We've had many tremendous breakthroughs with the media here. We've been teaching them about modern technologies, marketing, business ethics and much more. Now we've come to what could be called a rut," Army

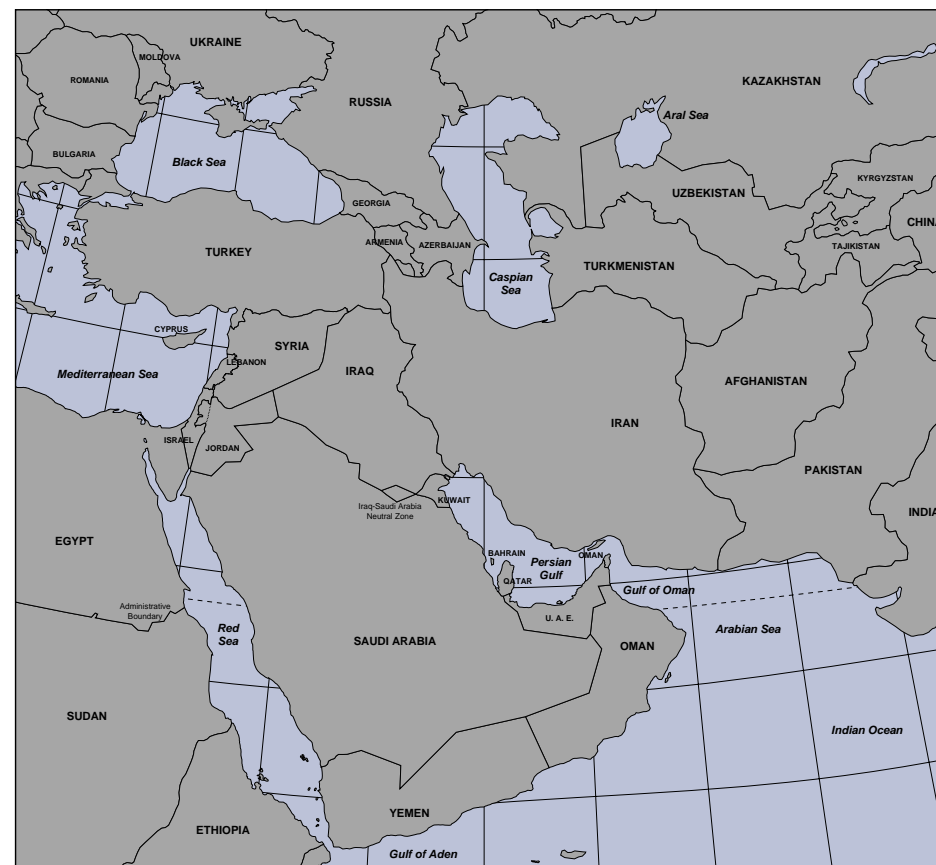
Public Affairs officer Mary Xenikakis wrote in an e-mail to the author. "The great group of journalists I've been working with have been exploring, for the first time, what it means to go out and get a story on their own free will. I've found that being self-supportive is turning into a challenge for them." She asked for nongovernmental organizations to "take on a small role in helping make the journalists of Iraq succeed." Equipment and training are both needed, she said, noting that to her knowledge, Mosul was so far "the only city in Iraq that is trying to run its media independently."²⁸

Israel

Israeli media are mostly uncensored and "extremely lively," according to CPJ. Restrictions and hazards, however, increased with the escalating violence. In 2002, gunfire from Israeli troops "was the most dangerous and immediate threat to journalists in Israel," CPJ said. In some cases, soldiers seemed to have deliberately targeted journalists.²⁹

Jordan

Press freedom has deteriorated since the enthronement three years ago of King Abdullah II despite his promises to liberalize media laws. The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent U.S. war on terrorism provided a pretext to restrict free expression, CPJ reported. It is a crime to "insult the dignity of the king" or to incite others to do so. Jordanian officials barred Israeli reporters from covering the March 2001 Arab summit in Amman, saying later that they simply did "not wish to see Israelis."³⁰ Even though the government technically ended its own broadcast monopoly in 2000, there are no provisions for establishing private broadcast stations, according to CPJ.



The state requires mandatory membership in the Jordan Press Association. In 2000, the group expelled Nidal Mansour, editor of *Al-Hadath*, for starting a press freedom organization, the Center for Defending the Freedom of Journalists.³¹ The Arab Women Media Center, founded by Mahassen al-Emam in 1999, has sponsored training conferences for more than 350 journalists and nonjournalists despite government opposition. Al-Emam left the official press association after 20 years as its only female officer because it criticized her acceptance of foreign funds. She now writes for Paris- and London-based Arab publications.

Kuwait

The Kuwaiti press is freer than most of its Middle Eastern counterparts. No one is officially protected from media criticism except the emir. After watching CNN during the 1991 Gulf War, Kuwaitis joined in the regional proliferation of satellite stations.³²

Lebanon

Much of the Lebanese press is unrestricted, but self-censorship is rampant, said former Knight Fellow Ken Freed.

There is some training. The Reuters Foundation was still offering workshops in

May 2002 in Beirut. ICFJ ran a three-year program on investigative reporting, selecting local reporters for internships at U.S. papers. ICFJ also worked to improve journalism departments at two local universities. Government interference is routine. Officials harassed journalists from AL-Nahar for critical reporting on Lebanese military human rights issues and the Syrian presence in Lebanon. Political figures use the media as private megaphones. Many own news outlets or pay off journalists. Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri promoted his election via his television station, Future TV. The International Women's Media Foundation protested when Raghida Dergham, the diplomatic correspondent for AL-Hayat in New York, was indicted in 2001 on the treasonous charge of "dealing with the enemy" because of her balanced reporting on a United Nations debate over the Lebanese-Israeli border.³³

Morocco

Hopes for greater political freedom after King Mohamed VI came to power in 1999 have faded. "The independent press continued to push the limits of free expression – and just as quickly found them," CPJ reported.³⁴ The three liveliest independent newspapers – Le Journal Hebdomadair, AL-Sahiffa and Demain – were closed in 2000 but reopened in 2001 under slightly altered names despite harassment from the government.³⁵ International support was critical to keeping Le Journal operating.

"When an article is published in Le Journal, [it] is immediately going to have international attention because it is going to be reported in the French media, and other European countries are going to pick it up," noted Abdelislam Maghraoui of Princeton University.

He said Moroccan authorities want to keep an appearance of a "liberal, moderate and democratizing" government so it prefers more subtle forms of media harassment. For example, Aboubakr Jamaï, publisher of Le Journal and Assahifa, said the government asks advertisers to not use the newspapers and as a result they have lost 70 percent of their advertising. They remain the two "most important papers in Morocco," according to CPJ's Hani Sabra.³⁶

Palestinian Authority

U.S. government media development in the Middle East has focused mostly on the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinian National Authority's "heavy-handed and arbitrary treatment of journalists has fostered an oppressive climate of self-censorship in the Palestinian press," CPJ concluded. The PNA closed AL-Jazeera's Ramallah office for several days because it broadcast an unflattering portrait of Yasser Arafat. It also prevented journalists from covering anti-American street celebrations after the 9/11 attacks.

Internews was active in the 1990s in developing Palestinian broadcasting and Internet journalism. The Ford Foundation and the Open Society Institute founded the AL-Quds Institute for Modern Media and a television station modeled on PBS. The Israeli army destroyed the station, along with 14 others, in April 2002, but some have been rebuilt. The Arab Media Internet Network publishes Palestinian journalism.

Qatar

ICFJ has a Voice of America contract to assess the training needs of journalists working for the Qatar Broadcasting Corp., the parent company of AL-Jazeera television. (See *AL-Jazeera case study*, Page

XX). The emir of Qatar, Hamed bin Khalifa Al Thani, resisted U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell's official requests after 9/11 to rein in AL-Jazeera. The emir invests \$30 million a year of state funds in the satellite network. The emir abolished the Ministry of Information and ended formal newspaper censorship in the 1990s, but self-censorship is widespread. One newspaper editor was beaten by three relatives of a government minister he had criticized, and an American was jailed for after he sought opinions on a web site about the relative beauty of the emir's wife compared to that of a Qatari professor, CPJ reported.³⁷

Saudi Arabia

Recognizing that it couldn't insulate its population from BBC or CNN, the Saudi royal family established its own network, London-based Middle Eastern Broadcasting Centre. CPJ describes Saudi Arabia as "one of the most closed societies in the world," tolerating no political dissent, particularly from the press. The government appoints editors, and writers can be dismissed for any reason. Foreign journalists are constrained and monitored. Saudis circumvent restrictions with satellite dishes (which are forbidden) or Internet cafes, where "in-house hackers ... connect users to banned sites."³⁸

Syria

President Bashar AL-Assad retrenched from his 2000 press liberalization after he ran into resistance from conservatives, according to CPJ's Joe Campagna. While Syria allows some independent media, "the margins of acceptable discourse are strictly limited" under new decrees issued in September 2001, Campagna wrote.

Still, public interest in serious journalism has been stirred. Syrian journalists report

more freely in regional newspapers, such as AL-Nahar in Lebanon and AL-Hayat in London, and on AL-Jazeera television.³⁹ The U.S. State Department had warned Lauren Ross of Internews in 2001 that Syrian officials might not even meet with her, but she found a tentative openness to media assistance. In fact, a Syrian minister complained to her that no one was reading their papers (which are filled with fawning coverage of the president), so they had to do something.⁴⁰ The government runs all Internet service, and web sites about Israel, sex or Syria's poor human-rights record are blocked.

Turkey

Turkish journalists have a strategic advantage over many of their neighboring colleagues: Their country wants to join the European Union, so it is revising media laws and is expected to release jailed journalists, CPJ reported. Two companies – the Sabah group and Dogan Medya – own much of the print and broadcast media. In 2001, Sabah lost some of its holdings to Dogan after its president was jailed for embezzlement and corruption. Turkish journalism still suffers from self-censorship and ideological prejudice, CPJ found. Private radio and television stations, which have been proliferating, are sometimes censored or closed. There is no law governing Internet use, but an on-line discussion administrator was jailed when someone posted a harsh critique of government human-rights problems on his web site.⁴¹

United Arab Emirates

The Emirates, especially Dubai, have designated themselves as a center for new media. Dubai Media City was launched in 2001 as a regional news hub for international journalists. Internet City puts much of the

government on line. Even so, the government blocks political and sexual content as it wishes. Print journalism is treated more harshly. Authorities detain or harass government critics. Self-censorship prevails.⁴²

Yemen

Yemen has a lively opposition press, but journalists who criticize the government may be intimidated and jailed, CPJ reported. Broadcast media are generally pro-government.

1 Joel Campagna, "Overview: The Middle East and North Africa," CPJ, *Attacks on the Press*, 2001.

2 Roumeen Islam, draft *World Development Report 2002*, Ch. 10, op. cit.

3 Hafez Al-Mizari spoke to the Nieman Foundation, Feb. 3, 2002.

4 The New Yorker magazine and New York Times columnist Tom Friedman provided distressing reports after 9/11 about the pervasive influence of the anti-American press in Egypt and throughout the region.

5 Salah Nasrawi, "Egyptian TV plans to Air Series Based on Anti-Semitic Book," Associated Press, Oct. 24, 2002. Historians have dismissed *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as a forgery created by Czar Nicholas II's secret police to blame Russia's problems on Jews. But in today's Middle East, it is widely believed to be a factual revelation of a rabbinical cabal.

6 See Afghanistan section of this report. Because Afghanistan had no tradition of independent media, Western trainers were having trouble establishing even radio programming there in the fall of 2002. The idea of private media engendered suspicion and resistance, according to Ivan Sigal of Internews.

7 Campagna, op. cit.

8 Much of this section is based on Joel Campagna, "Overview: The Middle East and North Africa," *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, Committee to Protect Journalists.

9 Joanne Levine, "She Won't Stay Down," KNIGHTline International magazine, Winter 2003.

10 Whayne Dillehay, interview, October 2001.

11 Daoud Kuttub, "Forced Off the Air in Ramallah," AMIN, April 6, 2002.

12 "Israeli Soldiers Force Reporters Out of Ramallah," The New York Times, April 6, 2002.

13 It was awkward for Americans to complain about this since the U.S. government barred reporting of most U.S. military activities in Afghanistan. The U.S. government reversed this policy and "embedded" journalists with U.S. and British troops in Iraq.

14 David Hoffman, "Beyond Public Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2002, Vol. 82 No. 2.

15 The report later was expanded into *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*, op. cit.

16 Peter Johnson, "Al-Jazeera's Stature Is Rising" USA Today, September 2001.

17 Hafez Al-Mizari, op. cit.

18 Zena Karam, "Arab journalists protest Al-Jazeera interview with Sharon," Associated Press, April 5, 2002.

19 Hisham Melhem, Internews directors meeting, October 2001, Washington, D.C.

20 Melhem and Lauren Ross, Internews meeting, op. cit.

21 Campagna, "Overview: The Middle East and North Africa," op. cit.

22 Melhem, op. cit.

23 Campagna, op. cit.

24 Dangerous Assignments, Fall/Winter, 2002, CPJ.

25 Campagna, *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, op. cit.

26 The entire report and framework are available on the Internews web site, www.internews.org.

27 Jack Epstein, San Francisco Chronicle, op. cit.

28 Mary Rose Xenikakis, 22nd Mobile Public Affairs Detachment, U.S. Army, e-mail to the author, July 7, 2003.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Lauren Ross, Internews meeting, op. cit.

33 Campagna, *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, op. cit.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Hani Sabra, profile of publisher Aboubakr Jamaï, Dangerous Assignments, Fall/Winter 2002, pp. 20-22, CPJ.

37 Campagna, *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, op. cit.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Lauren Ross, Internews, op. cit.

41 Campagna, *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, op. cit.

42 Ibid.

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

After 9/11, the American attitude toward media development in Central Asia shifted from indifference to exigency. Despite security concerns (heightened by the murder in Pakistan of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl) and a lack of infrastructure, millions of dollars in funding was descending on Afghanistan as this report was compiled. The greatest need was for coordination and an assessment of what aid would be effective.

In the Central Asian republics, democratic advocacy of any kind is challenging. To the south and east there are pockets of activity: East Timor, Phnom Penh, Bangkok and, most recently, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Indonesia's independent media need support. The Philippines, Thailand and India have strong organizations, some of which have been helped by the Open Society Institute, Knight Fellows, Internews, the Freedom Forum and others. The Asia Foundation used to be active but has receded.¹

The rapid collapse of the MediaWatch project in Singapore illustrates the continuing need for small grants to struggling local efforts. Lacking operating funds, founder Tan Chong Kee gave up after seven months. The organization had hoped to raise media standards and encourage fair reporting.

The disappointed organizers included NGOs, former journalists and intellectuals.²

China's media scene has liberalized since the government's assault on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in 1989, but random crackdowns occur and pro-democracy workers can be punished severely, even executed. Partly because the U.S.-China relationship fluctuates on such issues as human rights, religion and free expression, China remains largely untouched by U.S. media assistance. The Wales-based Thomson Foundation has a small program, but most media NGOs have not ventured into this unpredictable, high-stakes environment.

The most important media advances in China are being compelled by commerce. China views the Internet as essential to its success in the global marketplace (see *China's Internet Opening, Page XX*), so it provides the most tantalizing potential for open media development since the Communist revolution. The SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) crisis applied new pressure on Chinese media controls, and the 2008 Beijing Olympics, with its accompanying corps of international press, may create special opportunities to train Chinese journalists.



AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN: WAR PUTS THEM ON THE MEDIA MAP

Media developers arrived in Afghanistan in the spring of 2002, soon after the overthrow of the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban regime. They found no coordination, no Internet access and poor security, said Wayne Dillehay of ICFJ. USAID sponsored three-month, \$1 million media projects in Central Asia. Internews used one of those grants to create the Open Media Fund for Afghanistan, which provides seed money for start-up media. Internews also sponsored a newspaper covering the formation of the transitional government, and it joined the BBC's efforts to broaden Radio Kabul's reach in the country. The BBC spent an estimated \$1 million to give the station two studios, an FM transmitter, training and a satellite system to rebroadcast news via shortwave.³

Also active in Afghanistan were the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, Baltic Media Center (funded by the Danish government), AINA (a French group headed by National Geographic photographer Reza),⁴ and Media Action International, which specializes in reporting on humanitarian crises and assistance.

Internews assessed the Afghan media landscape in February 2003. Some key points:

- Radio is the main source of news for most Afghans. More than 85 percent of Afghan men have a radio, a 1999 survey found. Radio programming under the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban regime was limited to religious or government broadcasts.
- Radio Kabul broadcasts only in the morning and in the evening. Newscasts are written at the state-run Bakhtar News Agency and then recorded for broadcast. International radio, including the BBC, Deutsche Welle, Voice of America and Radio Free Afghanistan, is available.
- Television and radio equipment is 1960s vintage, which limits program production.
- Skilled broadcasters are scarce. Television was off the air during the Taliban regime.
- Print media is problematic. The Taliban destroyed most presses, and Afghanistan's 36-percent literacy rate is among the world's lowest. New newspapers were starting up, however, including 90 in Kabul alone.
- A press-freedom bill adopted in 2002 ended years of censorship and the Taliban's total ban on free speech, but included troubling provisions requiring government licensing and limiting print ownership to Afghan citizens.⁵

After the war, critics feared that beaming Radio Free Europe-style broadcasts or public relations propaganda into the region would be counterproductive. Without a strong effort to develop local news producers, they envisioned media becoming a problem instead of an engine for reform.

"Like Bosnia was before it, Afghanistan will probably be carved up into journalistic fiefdoms by local powers with an interest in keeping enmity alive, further fragmenting the country's fragile society," wrote Anthony Borden and Edward Girardet

in *The New York Times*. "So far, international efforts have focused on broadcasting news reported by non-Afghans ... these efforts may do some good, but they will also soak up enormous amounts of precious aid. ... What Afghans need most from their journalists [are] not explanations from the outside world and its views, but reliable information and honest debate within their own society."

State broadcasting returned to Kabul nine months after the Taliban fell in November 2001. By summer 2002, 15 regional or state radio stations were broadcasting, Ivan Sigal of Internews reported.⁶ The U.S. military and U.N. International Security Assistance Force installed medium-wave transmitters. Internet and satellite radio also existed. "But one voice is conspicuous for its absence," Sigal noted. "As of September 2002, only one private Afghan radio station broadcasts in the country."⁷

Commercial and nonprofit radio have not flourished in Afghanistan as they have in other post-conflict countries, said Sigal, because Afghanistan has no tradition of independent broadcasting or impartial reporting. Indeed, the idea of private media engenders suspicion and even resistance. More important, unlike the recent political revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe, Indonesia and Peru, "the media were almost irrelevant to the fall of the Taliban" because it came about due to external military force, Sigal said.⁸

Despite some advances, few there believe the present peace will lead to long-term political stability and successful media reform, Sigal wrote. "Getting private radio stations on the air will require challenging entrenched cultural attitudes and interests in the broadcasting bureaucracy, the ministries and in powerful political factions."

In Pakistan, the U.S. war on terrorism altered government support for open media. An April 2002 Internews report provided an overview on the media environment:

"Prior to the new Western focus on Islamic terrorist groups, Pakistan was moving slowly toward reducing government control of media. Now the West is offering Gen. [Pervez] Musharraf's government strong incentives to cooperate in the fight against terrorism [which] ... appears to be accelerating the trend toward media openness. A new broadcast law, passed in January 2002, will enable the first commercial television and radio

stations to operate. Nongovernmental media associations are forming and are already informally advocating policy changes in large metropolitan cities such as Karachi and Lahore. Major newspapers cite increased freedoms to criticize the government, as well as increased intimidation from the Pakistani Secret Services (ISI). Internet cafes are opening in cities from Peshawar to Balochistan, but major concerns about access to information still exist. The first universities dedicated to IT (information technology) education and development have opened. Yet officials have recently gone on record stating that broadcast news not approved by the government still will not be tolerated.

"Meanwhile, the first exclusively Internet-based nongovernment news service opened in July 2001, and has operated with a growing subscriber base throughout the war in Afghanistan. ... Pakistan is neither democratic nor open at this time, but the possibilities for media development and the free flow of information are more promising than they have been for a decade. The first legislation allowing for nongovernment broadcast media is a tangible illustration of that change ... a window of opportunity exists to explore, and possibly assist, media development. Any such assistance must focus on freedom of expression, news and information dissemination, and the development of independent electronic media. But the process is long, as Pakistan's transition to democracy may be protracted and difficult. Conditions for journalists in Pakistan today are perilous."⁹

The Alfred Friendly Foundation created a new fellowship in 2002 in the name of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl, who was murdered by terrorists in Pakistan. The fellowship will bring a foreign journalist, preferably a Pakistani, to work for six months in a U.S. newsroom.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA: EMBATTLED MEDIA

Central Asia is home to the “Stans” – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – former Soviet republics still encumbered by remnants of Communist culture and autocratic leaders who wield media for their own ends. Newspapers are neither factually reliable nor comprehensive. Most people don’t read them. Governments have shut down the best Central Asia television stations on the pretext of licensing problems. Official censorship, self-censorship and corruption in all aspects of society, including the press corps, are pandemic. Those rare journalists who dare to expose corruption are targeted for serious reprisals, even murder.

Media training here focuses on financial survival, emphasizing advertising revenue, market research and program production (soaps and game shows) more than journalism or ethics. The cast of media developers is familiar, mirroring other ex-Communist bloc efforts: USAID through IREX and Internews, the Open Society Institute, ICFJ, Freedom Forum (until 2002) and the Committee to Protect Journalists.

OSI, through its North Caucasus Media and Civil Society Program, is active throughout Central and South Asia.

Journalists from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan recently formed the Central Asian and Southern Caucasus Freedom of Expression Network, *www.cascfen.org*. Based in Baku, Azerbaijan, the group is led by Azer H. Hasret (*hasret@azeurotel.com*), who also runs the Azerbaijan press group IPIANC.

Developing civil societies and open media

in these nations would bring not just stability, but hope. It would also mitigate the terrorist threat against the United States by filling a dangerous information void that breeds misunderstanding and fear. Governments impose what OSI called “extraordinary limits on foreign broadcasting.” Censorship is pervasive. The official media channel anti-American propaganda to an otherwise uninformed public, which has very little access to independent sources of news or information.¹⁰

In contrast, democratic India’s media marketplace is relatively free, and full of tabloid gossip. CPJ reports, however, that some journalists have been attacked, especially in Kashmir.

Nepal’s once-open media were silenced and other civil liberties were suspended as of Nov. 26, 2001, after the crown prince killed 10 members of the royal family and then took his own life.

SOUTHEAST ASIA: BACKSLIDING

Indonesia, Thailand and Cambodia loosened media restrictions in 2000, a promising development for the growth of civil societies. Civil unrest in Indonesia, however, and a harsh political shift against independent journalism in Thailand diminished those hopes in 2001-2002. In Cambodia, the government of Prime Minister Hun Sen was seeking more standing on the world stage, and Phnom Penh became a haven for media development organizations, including those working to help embattled media in neighboring Burma (Myanmar).

The Philippines has “a tradition of free expression that makes it one of the most open societies in Asia,” CPJ said.

Reporting by the respected Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism helped force President Joseph Estrada from office in 2001.

CPJ, the World Press Freedom Committee, OSI, Internews, UNESCO, Scandinavian media organizations and the World Bank are active in Southeast Asia.

A respected resource on media throughout Southeast Asia is Kavi Chongittavorn, *kavi@nationgroup.com*, who edits *The Nation* magazine in Bangkok. He founded and heads both the Thai Journalists Association and SEAPA, and he represents both IFEX and Transparency International in Bangkok. A 2002 Nieman fellow at Harvard, he hopes to create a comparable program in Southeast Asia to bring journalists to a local university for sabbatical studies.

CLOSE-UP:**CHINA’S INTERNET OPENING**

China is the world’s largest unclaimed media prize. AOL Time Warner and Rupert Murdoch’s News Corp. have contracts to operate in the mainland region near Hong Kong. Self-censorship appears to be key to commercial success. News Corp.’s Hong Kong-based Phoenix TV, which also has two Chinese investors, broadcasts Taiwanese and Japanese soap operas, a dating game and other light fare that will not challenge Beijing’s authority. When the Communist leaders complained to Murdoch about BBC reports that were critical of China, News Corp. dropped the BBC from the Phoenix TV network.¹¹

The Chinese seem freer to speak and read than to act, according to Elizabeth Rosenthal of *The New York Times*. Media liberalization is applied unevenly. Since the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, the government has at times vigorously suppressed democracy and religious freedoms. For example, Hu Shigen, a physician, is only 10 years into his 20-year prison sentence for advocating press freedom and trade unions. Dissident Ren Wanding told Rosenthal that several hundred activists like himself are watched, have lost their jobs because of their political beliefs, and cannot publish their writings or have computer access.¹²

So far, the Internet has provided the best opening for independent journalists in China. Despite rules requiring that state media provide all web news, officials treat the Internet more liberally. The government generally looks the other way on stories that don’t involve narrowly defined political news, and it does not always apply onerous 1980s media laws to the Internet.

Although commercial web sites are barred from doing reporting, the People’s Daily, the official Chinese Communist Party organ, publishes stories on line that don’t appear in the newspaper. It was the People’s Daily’s on-line edition, for example, that first reported the April 2001 collision between U.S. and Chinese military planes over the South China Sea and the 1999 U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. In 2001, when more than 40 teachers and students died from an explosion at a primary school in Jiangxi, Internet journalists reported that the government lied when it said students were not manufacturing fireworks.

(Continued on next page)

CHINA'S INTERNET OPENING

(Continued from previous page)

"We plan to adopt policies towards Internet media that are preferential and more lenient than those for traditional media," government official Qian Ziaoqian told Anthony Kuhn of the Los Angeles Times. "It's not possible to apply the past methods of managing traditional media to the Internet."¹³ Hundreds of local newspapers feed web portals like *Sina.com* and *Sohu.com*, giving Chinese access to information about their own country.

Ensuring Internet openness is one of the most tantalizing targets for commercial as well as NGO media development work. China has about 60 million Internet users, a small fraction of the nation's 1.3 billion residents. The state Ministry of Information Industry said the Internet industry's annual business volume is nearly \$840 million. Will the Internet be regulated as television is, or licensed like a newspaper, or treated simply as a cash cow like the telephone system? AOL Time Warner's entry into the Chinese market in fall 2001 was a positive step, but how much self-censorship will it impose in exchange for this commercial prize?

Despite its interest in joining the global digital revolution, China has secretly tried and imprisoned 33 people for on-line "subversion," Amnesty International reported.¹⁴ Liu Diu, a 22-year-old chat-room organizer, was arrested for posting satirical essays on line.¹⁵ Thousands of Internet cafes, closed after a fatal fire in Beijing, were allowed to reopen only after installing software that monitors e-mail accounts and blocks many web sites.

The Chinese government's attempts to hide the 2003 SARS epidemic from its own population and the world led to a severe global reaction, with international investors departing in droves as this report was written.¹⁶ China's interest in reversing this problem, and in making the most of the 2008 Olympics in Beijing, may provide new opportunities for advocating open media and expression.

ASIA: COUNTRY REPORTS

CENTRAL ASIA

Afghanistan

(See *Afghanistan and Pakistan: War Puts Them on the Media Map*, Page XX.)

Wall Street Journal columnist Ahmed Rashid, who works with Internews, said Television-Kabul uses obsolete Russian equipment and a "dish made of Coca-Cola cans" so it can broadcast only five miles outside of Kabul. There remains a dearth of local news, he said, with BBC's broadcasts drawing the most viewers. Rashid warned Western donors that recovery could be "a messy ordeal, with two steps forward followed by two steps back." He said the United States should be actively engaged in the redevelopment and "sit on top" of the countries and agencies involved.¹⁷ Also active are USAID, the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, Baltic Media Center, AINA and Media Action International.

Kazakhstan

The repressive government recalled many broadcasting licenses in 2002 for alleged violations of language and mass media laws. It also closed the country's best independent daily newspaper a few years ago. Internews is active. Its local director is Oleg Katsiev, oleg@internews.kz.

Kyrgyzstan

Internews provides legal support and training for broadcasters. Indiana University is a major partner of the American University in Central Asia, originally founded with help from the University of Nebraska. The Open Society Institute funds the university library and computer support. Faculty from the United States teach a range of subjects, including media law and ethics.¹⁸

Tajikistan

Internews helped form the National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan in 1999. Media repression is similar to that in the other "Stans."

Turkmenistan

Media repression is similar to that in the other "Stans."

Uzbekistan

The nexus of political, economic and ethnic problems in Central Asia is the verdant Ferghana Valley, which extends across Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.¹⁹ The region resists international attention or intervention.

The Uzbek government is draconian in its repression of journalists. Only international pressure gained the release of Ruslan Sharipov, president of the Union of Independent Journalists of Uzbekistan, after his arrest for reporting human rights violations. Uzbek security services have intimidated Yevgheniy Dyakonov, founder of the on-line magazine *Zone*, and attacked his family.²⁰ Government censors control newspapers, which are forbidden to indicate that stories have been altered. Newspapers cannot report on Russia, Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan, because they have uneasy relations with Uzbekistan. Nothing can be reported about border conflicts, alcoholism, drug addiction, natural disasters involving human casualties, agricultural problems, disease outbreaks, or criminal activity or investigations.²¹

Internews and the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Uzbekistan operate here.

SOUTH ASIA

Bangladesh

The news media gained a measure of freedom in 1991 when a civil rebellion toppled the military government, but government threats against journalists are still common. Reporter Tipu Sultan of the news agency United News of Bangladesh, was beaten nearly to death in 2001 after he reported on a politician allied with then Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. After reports that cohorts of Social Welfare Minister Mizammel Hossain embezzled flood relief money, Hossain told colleagues in a private meeting, "Wherever you find journalists, break their bones," CPJ reported. Among the journalists murdered in 2001 was Shamsur Rahman, senior correspondent for the national daily *Janakantha* and a frequent contributor to the BBC's Bengali-language service.²²

In late 2002, motivated by concerns that critical reporting might portray Bangladesh negatively during the U.S. war on terrorism, authorities cracked down on "information terrorism." They arrested two European and two Bangladeshi journalists who were working on a documentary for Britain's Channel 4. The Europeans were released; the Bangladeshis said they were tortured. A Reuters stringer was jailed for allegedly quoting a government official as saying that al-Qaida may have been behind some bombings in northern Bangladesh.²³

Even though Bangladesh is a poor, primarily rural country, most of the print media are in the urban areas. More than 80 dailies publish in the capital, Dhaka, including five good English language newspapers.²⁴

Nearly half the population is illiterate, including 71 percent of the women, according to the World Bank.²⁵ In the past, more than 80 percent of newspaper advertising came from the government. Today, the private sector accounts for 70 to 90 percent of advertising in most leading newspapers. Recently, the government granted private ownership of electronic media, and a private satellite television channel (ETV) draws as many viewers as the official government channel, BTV. Two private cable channels (Channel I and ATN Bangla) opened recently.

The media have reported on corruption in the banking and foreign exchange industries (resulting in government reforms), uncovered illegal allocation of residential lands, exposed environmental problems and raised the public's awareness of their rights.

On the negative side, many reporters are politically partisan and dependent on official handouts. Press independence is in its infancy, and the advertising market remains weak, according to the World Bank Institute.²⁶

India

India's free press, notorious for its gossip tabloids, is "probably the strongest pillar of its democracy," CPJ said. Still, the Kashmir crisis has led to attacks on local and foreign journalists. Tax inspectors raided the leading newsmagazine, Outlook, after it ran an expose of the prime minister's office. A commission was set up to investigate the government after web publisher *Tehelka.com* filmed senior officials taking bribes from journalists posing as arms dealers, but it "seemed more interested in investigating the news outlet's questionable reporting methods," CPJ said.

Pakistan

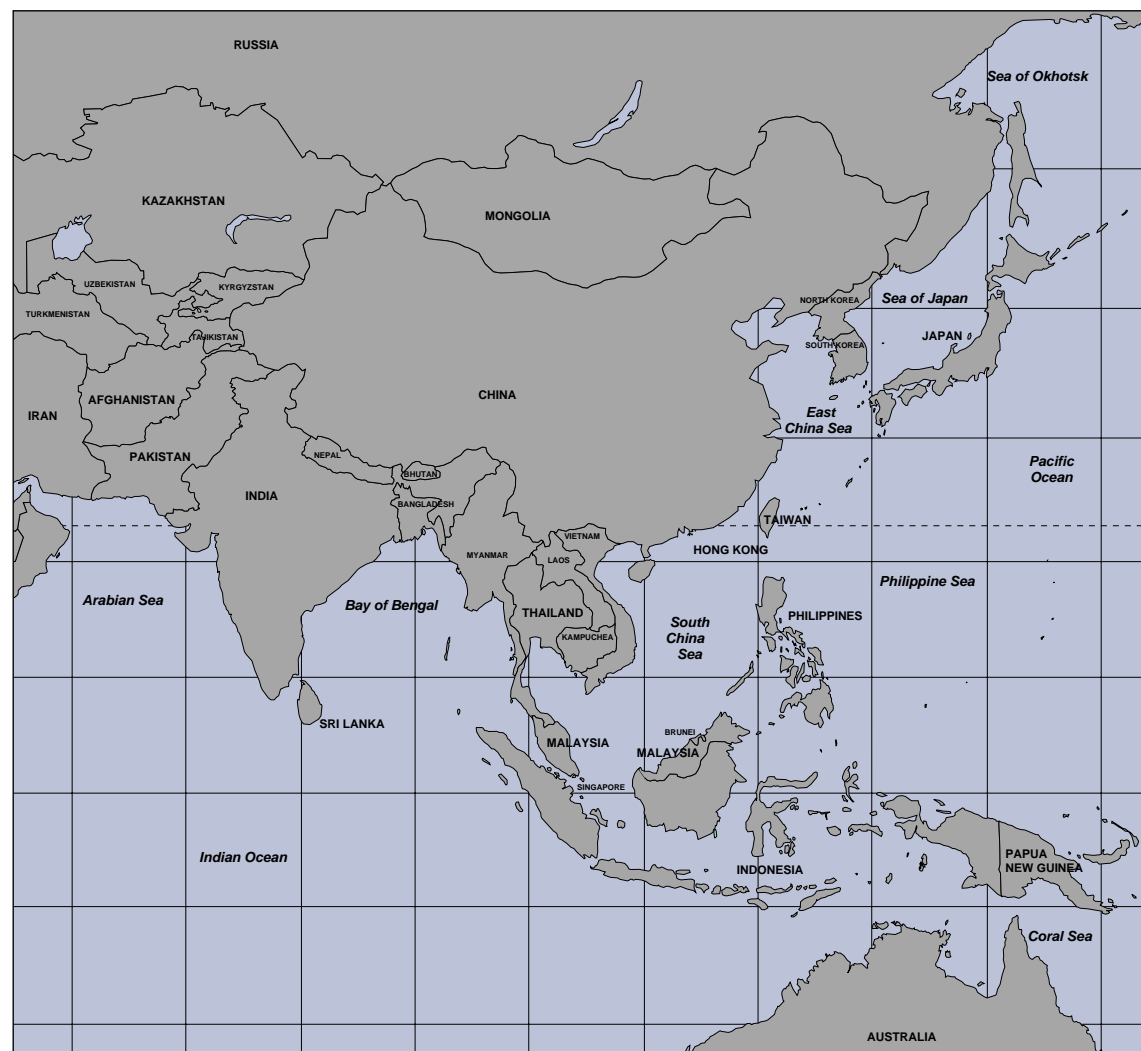
(See *Afghanistan and Pakistan: War Puts Them on the Media Map*, Page XX.)

Pakistan, which recently privatized its radio and television, is undergoing a major transition that would benefit greatly from U.S. assistance. To be sure, working in this region remains dangerous for Americans, as Daniel Pearl's murder dramatized. Collaboration with other foreign and local groups may help ease the danger for American developers.

Pakistan revoked its newspaper licensing law years ago so that the only legal power officials have had over the print press is delay. "If you don't get a license, you wait four months, and it's assumed you have a license," said news agency owner Owais Aslam Ali, head of the Pakistan Press Foundation.²⁷ Legal protections exist for newspapers, but implementation is uneven, he said. Newspaper ownership is consolidated among four large companies. More training could solve most of the press freedom problems, he said. Ninety percent of readers get their news in Urdu from publications that are strongly anti-American and don't carry international news. Two-thirds of the population is illiterate.

Nepal

Until the assassination of the royal family in November 2001, Nepalese media were relatively free (although they could face prosecution for reporting on the Maoist insurgency). After the assassinations, the government suspended most civil liberties and arrested more than 50 journalists, CPJ said. International response was muted. One U.S. official stated, "We hear from most mainstream journalists in Nepal that they're confident that they and their work will not be affected by the restrictions."



The comment was "met with surprise and frustration" by the country's leading journalists, CPJ said.

The Nepal Press Institute was established in 1984 to expand the country's 100-year-old newspaper industry with training and other services. The popular Gaon Ghar newspaper was created with colorful graphics and large fonts to reach rural villages in 75 districts.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Burma (Myanmar)

Few places are more hostile to journalism than Burma, which CPJ described as a place "where one of the world's most repressive dictatorships does its best to ensure that local newspapers carry anything but news." The Ministry of Information and Culture runs the largest television station; the military controls the second largest.

Even so, the Open Society Institute and the Southeast Asian Press Alliance are supporting the Burmese press. The Burmese Independent News Agency covers Burma from Thailand, where most media assistance organizations are head-quartered. Thai journalist Kavi Chongkittavorn is well versed on media developments here.

Cambodia

Phnom Penh became a trendy capital for media development after the Paris peace accords and elections in 1993. Knight Fellow Ann Olson moved here from Russia to launch IJF's journalism program at the Royal University of Phnom Penh. IJF conducted a major journalism training project around the 2003 elections. Internews is considering starting a program.²⁸ [UPDATE?]

There are few media constraints except defaming the king, said Kavi Chongkittavorn. He described a game journalists play to compete for foreign media aid: They "attack the king, the newspapers are shut down, and international media organizations come in." At the same time, he said, Cambodia's six competing media advocacy organizations "fight among themselves, so the government has its way."²⁹ As a result, it is better to ally with the tried-and-true IJF and Southeast Asian Press Alliance for training, which is needed particularly to promote investigative journalism against corruption.

In 2003, the owner of the Smbok Kmum radio station and the editor of the Rasmei Angkor newspaper were charged with inciting riots against the Royal Thai Embassy and Thai businesses in Phnom Penh. The riots followed publication of comments by a Thai actress who allegedly demanded that Cambodia return the Angkor Wat temple complex to Thailand.

The actress later denied having made the demands. The radio station broadcast rumors (later proved to be false) that Cambodian Embassy staff had been killed in Thailand in retaliation for the violence in Phnom Penh. This incident is troubling on several fronts: the media's lack of professionalism in reporting rumors, the over-reaction by the public and the arrest of the journalists. Cambodia needs a more professional journalism sector, combined with public education and reform of media laws.

Cambodia is a "curious situation" since the print press is "unbridled to a degree rarely seen in most countries" while the electronic media are controlled by the government, said A. Lin Neumann of the Committee to Protect Journalists.³⁰ The opposition Sam Rainsy Party has been repeatedly denied permission to start a radio station. The six television stations, which once broadcast such innovative programs as call-in talk shows with government ministers, now are self-censored. The death of ousted Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot in 1998 went unreported on radio and television.³¹ The rush of funding into Cambodia in the 1990s lacked coordination or long-term planning, Neumann said. Most efforts involved short-term seminars that lacked careful recruitment of participants or follow-up. The Khmer Journalists Association attracted help from the Asia Foundation in the early 1990s. The association became inactive after the 1997 coup. USAID has since funded a one-year certificate program in journalism at the University of Phnom Penh, whose teachers include respected journalists Reach Sambath of Agence France-Presse and Kher Munthit of The Associated Press.

UNESCO and its partner donors, the Danish and French governments, began the

Cambodian Communication Institute in 1994 in with the Ministry of Information. This relationship with the government hampers its effectiveness because some journalists are leery of monitoring and reprisals.³² Sek Barisoth is the director.

Indonesia

Former President Suharto was a "visionary in understanding the power of television," but the broadcast network he created ironically contributed to his downfall in May 1998, Neumann said in a 2000 report for the Freedom Forum.³³ Suharto launched Indonesia's first satellite in the 1970s so he could feed news about his nation-building programs even to rural villagers. Radio was the most popular medium, but there were 17 million television households in Indonesia, and about 85 percent of households in major urban centers owned a television.³⁴

Suharto relatives or friends controlled all the private television networks through various companies. But in 1998 when riots broke out in the midst of the Asian economic crisis, these media shrugged off their government censors and showed pictures of the mobs and of police shooting students. Suharto was forced out, and journalists reinvented themselves. Television began running investigative reports, civic talk shows and live political coverage. Private radio stations multiplied from 762 in 1998 to 1,200 by 2000, Neumann said. Despite "harrowing accounts of individual harassment," journalists reported few instances of government meddling under former President Abdurrahman Wahid.

The East Timor independence conflict in 1999 created a new crisis, one in which journalists became targets of violence. Anti-separatist militia attacked the territory's two radio stations and burned

the building of the only daily newspaper, Suara Timor Timur. They threatened and beat foreign journalists. While some Indonesian journalists were also attacked, many Indonesian newspapers took the side of the military against the separatists and Australian peacekeepers. ISAI, the Jakarta-based media center, studied the coverage of the four mainstream Indonesian newspapers and concluded that they had uncritically relied on official Indonesian government information during the crisis.

Indonesian journalists are interested in higher professional standards, but uncertain how to attain them. Universities offer little. Envelopes of money are routinely distributed to reporters at press conferences and other events. Journalists need to police themselves and clean up their corrupt practices, Neumann said. The best training seems to come from the top news organizations, he noted. "It may take years to create an environment where quality journalism is practiced at all levels," he concluded.³⁵

The Southeast Asian Press Alliance has branches in East Timor and Jakarta. Internews has run \$17 million in USAID-funded programs here since 1998, supporting the emergence of television stations and building the first television schools. It has also produced radio programming for more than 100 stations. In coordination with an Indonesian women's rights organization, Internews helped create Indonesia's first women's radio program, which reaches an estimated five million women.³⁶ Internews also worked with the United States to develop national television and radio in East Timor. Another Internews project, Reporting for Peace, teaches journalists how to cover conflict without inciting more violence.

Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim country, and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, the mainstream Indonesian press reported that Israel or "the Jews" were responsible, CPJ noted. Widespread anti-U.S. demonstrations followed. Neumann warned in 2000: "Today's greatest threat to the press in Indonesia may be not from government censors but from the street. Increasingly, mobs have directed their fury and violent acts not at newsmakers but at those who report the news."³⁷

An Internews study noted these other Indonesian developments.³⁸

- Institut Studi Arus Informasi, described as a "freewheeling circle of independent thinkers," was founded in 1994 with the resources of the weekly newsmagazine Tempo, which was closed for political reasons. ISAI offers prizes for investigative journalism, roundtables on media issues and support for progressive media laws.
- Lembaga Pers Dr. Soetomo (Dr. Soetomo Press Institute) is a training institution for print journalists founded by the manager of Media Indonesia, one of the country's main daily newspapers.
- Persatuan Warawan Indonesia (PWI) is the official journalists union. Journalists must join this government-oriented guild in order to work.
- Aliansi Jurnalis Independen is a print-oriented organization that competes with PWI. It was founded in 1994 after the government closed several newsmagazines.
- Forum Wartawan Radio was created in

1998 to promote professional radio journalism and combat official newscast rebroadcast requirements. Eric Sasono of Delta Radio in Jakarta was the primary founder.

- Persatuan Radio Siaran Swasta Nasional Indonesia is an association of radio station owners. While a creature of the Suharto government, the organization has a progressive wing that is challenging restrictive media laws.
- Ikatan Jurnalis Televisi Indonesia, the television journalists' association, was started in 1998 by popular broadcaster Desi Anwar and others. It is meant as an alternative to PWI.
- A 1998 Asia Foundation project funded by USAID trained 200 newspaper and radio journalists.

Malaysia

The press is strictly controlled and almost no independent news is allowed. "The sole bright spot in this bleak landscape is the Internet," said CPJ, "which has thus far escaped government control or censorship, largely because [Prime Minister] Mahathir (bin Mohamad) wishes to attract foreign investment."³⁹

Philippines

A study of Southeast Asian countries ranked the Philippines highest in making public records available.⁴⁰ The media are relatively free, but investigative journalists in rural areas have been murdered with impunity. Neumann of CPJ wrote about the shooting death of investigative reporter Edgar Damalerio on May 13, 2002, in Pagadian City. Even though witnesses identified the killer as a local police officer with a notorious criminal record, he was

not arrested. "In the countryside, far from the capital, warlord politics, official corruption and a breakdown in the judicial system have contributed to the fact that 39 journalists have been murdered since democracy was restored in 1986 – and all those cases remain officially unsolved," Neumann wrote.⁴¹

The American Enterprise Institute ran a series on access to economic information, working with the local Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility.⁴² The Freedom Forum canceled its Internet Library project.⁴³

Singapore

The authoritarian government pressures the media so heavily that MediaWatch, a nonprofit group created in March 2001 to improve professional journalism standards, closed seven months later. Donors "refused to finance MediaWatch's budget of \$122,500 because they considered media watching a political exercise," concluded Lauren Ross of Internews.

Thailand

The Thai press was considered one of the freest in Southeast Asia until Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, the country's richest man and telecommunications czar, reversed media freedoms established in Thailand's 1997 reform constitution, said Kavi Chongkittavorn, founder of the Thai Journalists' Association. Shinawatra, who rose to power in 2001, has harassed foreign journalists from the Far Eastern Economic Review and The Economist. He bought Thailand's only private independent station, iTV, and used it to monopolize the news flow and win office.

NGOs have been more active than the U.S. government in media development.⁴⁴ The

Freedom Forum invested \$50,000 in establishing a headquarters for the Thai Journalists' Association. Canadian training in television and broadcasting five years ago led to the formation of the Thai Broadcasters' Association. "Thai journalists don't have proper training, and those who have proper training aren't very good," according to Chongkittavorn. His association, the most respected national journalist group in Southeast Asia, addresses that need by bringing academics and journalists together to create midcareer training courses.

Some journalists are doing notable work. Prasong Lertratanawisute, editor of the biweekly business paper Prachachart, investigated the finances of a powerful political deal-maker, leading to his indictment and resignation.⁴⁵ Amnat Jongyotying, editor of the Phak Nua Raiwan newspaper in Chiang Mai, was shot in an assassination attempt in April 2000 and lives under the threat of death.⁴⁶

Radio remains the most important news source, especially in rural areas. The country's 500 stations must carry feeds from the government's Radio Thailand, but they can also broadcast their own programming. In 2001, the Freedom Forum found that 145 of the stations were operated by the government's public relations department, 128 by the Royal Thai army, and 62 by the Mass Communication Organization of Thailand. The government owns five of the six television networks and the prime minister effectively runs the sixth.

"It is one thing to launch a campaign in the newspaper for clean government, but it is quite another to build an institutional framework into which the information, once reported, can be channeled," Neumann said. "The most significant thing about

Thailand's drive toward a more open society is that the press now has real tools at its command in the drive to get at good stories," including laws that are "giving the country a real shot at a functioning, though imperfect, ever-evolving democracy."⁴⁷

Vietnam

The state owns all of the country's nearly 500 media outlets and restricts what journalists can publish. The government inspects all foreign news video transmitted out of Vietnam.⁴⁸ International PEN and IFEX were working on the case of 20 writers who were jailed or put under house arrest following the accession of Le Kha Phieu as general secretary of the Communist Party in April 2001. In a series of steps in 2002, authorities ordered state-owned Internet service providers to block politically and morally unacceptable web content and further restricted the country's 4,000 Internet cafes, according to a report on IJNET. For more information about PEN's Vietnam campaign, contact ftw@pen.org.

NORTH ASIA

North Korea

The Communist government controls all media, and given the high level of tension between North Korea and the United States this is not a likely area for any Western training. The government monitors and restricts movement of foreign journalists. Local media could not cover the historic trip by Kim Jong Il across China. Criminal laws restrict Internet access. Listening to foreign broadcasts or possessing dissident publications are crimes against the state and may be punishable by death, CPJ reported.

South Korea

In the 1960s, the government gave away radio receivers as part of a literacy campaign, which inspired the expansion of community radio. A liberalized newspaper licensing law in 1987 unleashed the press. The number of daily newspapers grew from six to 17 in Seoul, and the papers became more diverse all over the country.⁴⁹

Mongolia

Media are relatively free, but they lack professionalism or a public-interest mission. Journalists worry that the growth of a sex-oriented tabloid press will lead to government censorship of all media. New private radio stations in Ulaanbaatar, the capital, primarily broadcast music. None do significant news or information programming, said the Mongolian Foundation for Open Society (MFOS). There are opportunities for effective media development. Bill Siemering of OSI and Knight Fellow Corey Flintoff of NPR were involved in a successful rural radio project to serve the nomadic herders. MFOS provided equipment and building renovations to create five local radio stations. It also funds editorial quality projects at newspapers. Others developing local radio include UNESCO, USAID and the Press Institute of Mongolia. A pair of Mongolian trainers spent two years at the University of Missouri, which, with IRE, developed course materials. A local press institute offers a nine-month training course and an Internet center for journalists.

China

(See "China's Internet Opening," Page XX)

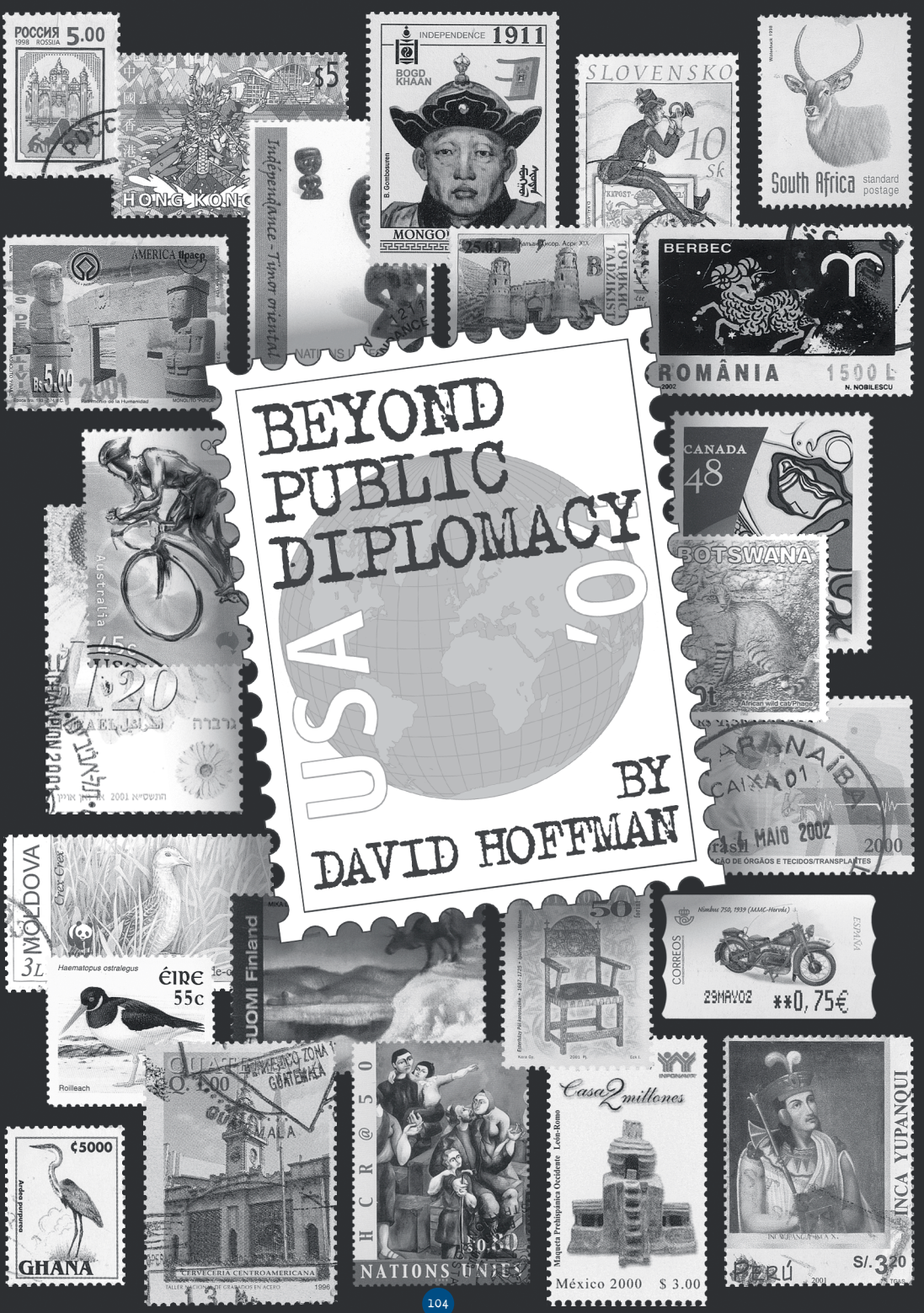
China will always be in a class by itself. Some media openness is allowed, but the danger of government repression is

omnipresent. CPJ cautioned that China is the "world's leading jailer of journalists."⁵⁰

China's keen interest in participating in the global economy, repairing international credibility following the SARS epidemic, and making the most of the 2008 Beijing Olympics provides unprecedented opportunities for media development. In 2001, AOL Time Warner and News Corp. obtained media contracts in southern China near Hong Kong, possibly opening the door for other independent media. News Corp., however, dropped BBC news from its China network after government complaints about its coverage, a concession that some in the international media community consider too high a price to pay for access to the market.

Monroe Price's Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy and the School of Journalism and Communication at Peking University established a summer program on media law, the World Trade Organization and China. The program involved graduate students, academics, government officials, lawyers, regulators, business people and media professionals who studied such topics as U.S. and European media regulations, ownership and concentration policies and constitutionalism, new media licensing, Chinese media regulation and the impact of the WTO on media policies and intellectual property, according to Bethany Davis of the Oxford Programme.⁵¹

- 1 Wayne Dillehay, interview, October 2001.
- 2 ChannelNewsAsia.com; Lauren Ross, Internews.
- 3 David Hoffman, interview, April 1, 2002.
- 4 Reza goes by only one name.
- 5 Internews Web site, February 2003.
- 6 Ivan Sigal, "Being Heard," *Dangerous Assignments*, Fall/Winter 2002, pp. 23-4, CPJ.
- 7 Ibid. Radio Solh in Jabal Saraj, 50 miles south of Kabul. It was originally funded by Northern Alliance defense minister Ahmad Shah Massoud with support from French NGOs, and served as the voice of the Northern Alliance against the Taliban.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Internews funding proposal to OSI, April 2, 2002.
- 10 Open Society Institute Central Eurasia Project policy statement, "Why Should Promoting Open Society Be a Part of U.S. Anti-Terrorism Policy in Central Asia?"
- 11 Anthony Kuhn, "China Phoenix Rises," IPI Reporter, Fourth Quarter, 1999, International Press Institute.
- 12 Elizabeth Rosenthal, "Chinese Freer to Speak and Read, but Not Act," *The New York Times*, Feb. 12, 2003.
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- 14 Christopher Bodeen, "Rights Group Details China's Crackdown on Internet Users," *Associated Press*, Nov. 27, 2002.
- 15 Rosenthal, op. cit.
- 16 Interview with Jonathan Kauffman, *The Wall Street Journal*, April 2003.
- 17 Ahmed Rashid, interview in *Internews Report*, Spring 2002.
- 18 Herbert Terry, visiting professor from Indiana University, at American University of Kyrgyzstan, e-mail to an Internews colleague, August 2001.
- 19 Open Society Institute Central Eurasia Project policy statement, "Why Should Promoting Open Society Be a Part of U.S. Anti-Terrorism Policy in Central Asia?"
- 20 IFEX action alert, April 2, 2002.
- 21 Adele Lotus, "The Sound of Silence," *Dangerous Assignments*, Summer 2001, CPJ. (Lotus is a pseudonym used by an Uzbek journalist.)
- 22 A. Lin Neumann, "One True Thing," *Dangerous Assignments*, Summer 2001, CPJ.
- 23 CPJ e-mail update, Jan. 26, 2003.
- 24 Mahfuz Anam, "The Media and Development in Bangladesh," *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*, p. 268, op. cit.
- 25 Ibid., p. 267.
- 26 Ibid., p. 274.
- 27 Owais Aslam Ali, interview, March 8, 2002.
- 28 Kathleen Reen, Internews directors meeting, op. cit.
- 29 Kavi Chongkittavorn, interview, November 2001.
- 30 A. Lin Neumann, Cambodia section in "Restructuring the Media in Post-Conflict Societies: Four Perspectives," a background paper for the UNESCO World Press Day Conference in Geneva, May 2000. Edited by Monroe Price, Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy, Oxford University.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 A. Lin Neumann, Freedom Forum report on Indonesian media, 2000.
- 34 Kathleen Reen and Eric S. Johnson, Internews analysis of independent broadcast media in Indonesia, Oct. 18, 1998.
- 35 Neumann, Freedom Forum, op. cit.
- 36 *Internews Report*, Winter 2000-01.
- 37 Neumann, Freedom Forum, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
- 38 Reen and Johnson, Internews, op. cit. This list of Indonesian organizations warrants updating. When Internews was in Indonesia studying media development possibilities there, the atmosphere for reform was "heady," Reen and Johnson found.
- 39 *Attacks on the Press*, 2001, CPJ.
- 40 Roumeen Islam, draft *World Development Report 2002*, Ch. 10, op. cit.
- 41 *Dangerous Assignments*, Fall/Winter 2002-03, CPJ. Neumann also completed a detailed report on the Philippines media landscape for Internews in 2002.
- 42 Roumeen Islam, draft *World Development Report 2002*, Ch. 10, op. cit.
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- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid., p. 34.
- 48 Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Press Freedom Under Attack," op. cit.
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- 51 Bethany Davis, e-mail to the author, Aug. 2, 2002.



By David Hoffman
President of Internews Network

Weapons of Mass Communication

“How can a man in a cave outcommunicate the world’s leading communications society?” This question, plaintively posed by long-time U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke, has been puzzling many Americans. Osama bin Laden apparently still enjoys widespread public approval in the Muslim world (witness the skepticism in many Muslim countries toward the videotaped bin Laden “confession” released by the White House in December). Indeed, the world’s superpower is losing the propaganda war.

“Winning the hearts and minds” of Arab and Muslim populations has quite understandably risen to the top of the Bush administration’s agenda. Military operations abroad and new security measures at home do nothing to address the virulent anti-Americanism of government-supported media, mullahs, and madrassas (Islamic schools). Moreover, as the Israelis have discovered, terrorism thrives on a cruel paradox: The more force is used to retaliate, the more fuel is added to the terrorists’ cause.

But slick marketing techniques and legions of U.S. spokespersons on satellite television will not be sufficient to stem the tide of xenophobia sweeping through the Islamic world. When antiterrorist ads produced by the U.S. government were shown recently to focus groups in Jordan, the majority of respondents were simply puzzled, protesting, “But bin Laden is a holy man.” The widespread antagonism to U.S. regional policies themselves further limits what public diplomacy can achieve. Until these

policies are addressed, argues American University’s R. S. Zaharna, “American efforts to intensify its message are more likely to hurt than help.”

As the United States adds weapons of mass communication to weapons of war, therefore, it must also take on the more important job of supporting indigenous open media, democracy, and civil society in the Muslim world. Even though many Muslims disagree with U.S. foreign policy, particularly toward the Middle East, they yearn for freedom of speech and access to information. U.S. national security is enhanced to the degree that other nations share these freedoms. And it is endangered by nations that practice propaganda, encourage their media to spew hatred, and deny freedom of expression.

Terror, Lies, and Videotape

Washington’s immediate response to the attacks of Sept. 11 was to try to figure out how best to spin its message. The chair of the House International Relations Committee, Henry Hyde (R.-Ill.), called for the State Department to consult “those in the private sector whose careers have focused on images both here and around the world.” As a result, former advertising executive Charlotte Beers has been appointed undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs, and even the Pentagon has hired a strategic communications firm to advise it.

Once the stepchild of diplomats, public diplomacy has only recently taken its rightful place at the table of national security. The communications revolution has made diplomacy more public, exposing the once-secret work of diplomats to the global fishbowl of life in the 21st century.

Moreover, the cast of actors in international affairs now includes nongovernmental organizations, businesses, lobbyists, journalists, and Internet activists. In an era of mass communications and electronic transmission, the public matters. The “street” is a potent force and can undermine even the best-crafted peace agreement.

Fully aware that the war on terrorism requires the cooperation of both world leaders and the Western and Muslim “streets,” Washington turned to the news media to disseminate its message. At home, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice persuaded U.S. networks to limit videotaped broadcasts from bin Laden. And abroad, Secretary of State Colin Powell and Vice President Dick Cheney took turns strong-arming the emir of Qatar to rein in the transnational satellite TV channel al-Jazeera, which the emirate partly funds. When Voice of America broadcast an interview with the Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar, its acting chief was quickly replaced. U.S. psy-ops (psychological operations) radio messages to Afghans – broadcast over Afghan airwaves from transmitters on converted EC-130 aircraft – sounded like the Cold War rhetoric of a 1950s-era comic book.

Rather than resorting to censorship and counterpropaganda, Washington should make use of the greatest weapon it has in its arsenal: the values enshrined in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The State Department should make the promotion of independent media a major priority in those countries where oppression breeds terrorism. It is no coincidence that countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq, where the public has little access to outside information or free and independent news media, are the very places where terrorism is bred. Indeed, the unrelenting

and unquestioned anti-Western propaganda in those countries’ media creates fertile ground for suicide bombers and would-be martyrs. The State Department should therefore apply strong diplomatic pressure, including perhaps the threat of making future aid conditioned on compliance, to influence governments in these countries to adopt laws and policies that promote greater media freedom.

Congress has begun to realize the importance of media in reaching the Arab public, and it is considering appropriating \$500 million to launch a 24-hour Arab-language satellite television station to compete with al-Jazeera and the half-dozen other Arab satellite stations that are gaining in popularity. Ironically, Arab states are equally concerned that their own message is not reaching Americans. A week after the Sept. 11 attacks, information ministers from the Persian Gulf states (Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen) gathered in Bahrain to discuss launching a new English-language satellite television channel. One only has to imagine the improbability of such a channel’s succeeding in the U.S. market to predict the reaction to an American satellite channel among Arabs. Moreover, even when effective, overseas broadcasts leave no rudimentary foundations in place on which the democratization of Arab and Muslim societies can begin.

In contrast to the resentment and suspicion that would likely greet a U.S.-sponsored satellite channel, however, a large market does exist in the Middle East and the rest of the Muslim world for homegrown, independent media. People who have been propagandized all their lives welcome the alternative of fact-based

news – as experience in the former Soviet territories and post-Suharto Indonesia attests. Although having open media does not automatically guarantee moderation, it does at least open new space for moderate voices that can combat anti-Western propaganda. A free press can also become the advance guard for democracy by facilitating multiparty elections, freedom of expression, transparency of both government and business, improved human rights, and better treatment for women and disenfranchised minorities. In the World Bank’s World Development Report 2002, an analysis of some 97 countries found that those with privately owned, local, independent media outlets had less corruption, more transparent economies, and higher indices of education and health.

The Damnation of Faust

Since Sept. 11, Americans have faced the grim reality that hatred of the United States has become endemic in many countries around the world. U.S.-backed repressive rulers such as the House of Saud in Saudi Arabia, Suharto in Indonesia, and General Sani Abacha in Nigeria, while discreetly making deals with their American patrons and often enriching themselves from oil revenues, have proven their piety to the masses by encouraging the state-controlled press to demonize America. The media have thus provided the government a safety valve through which to redirect anger from local social and political failures. U.S. policymakers, meanwhile, have willfully ignored this growing time bomb of popular discontent as long as the oil has kept flowing and friendly regimes have remained in place. This Faustian bargain threatens both the United States and its Middle Eastern allies in the long run, as the events of Sept. 11 amply

demonstrated. America has been made captive to the repressive domestic policies of these authoritarian regimes.

Nowhere is this threat greater than in Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden is, in many ways, that country’s true son, a product of the contradiction between the sheikdom’s support for U.S. strategic interests and the virulent anti-Americanism that the Saudis cultivate and export from their mosques and madrassas. After the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were set aflame, al-Qaida’s publicist-in-chief set light to the tinderbox that is the Arab street.

For someone who scorned modernity and globalization, and who took refuge in an Islamic state that banned television, bin Laden proved remarkably adept at public diplomacy. In the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, bin Laden turned to al-Jazeera to reach the two audiences that were essential to his plans – the Western news media and the Arab masses. Uncensored and unconstrained by any of the countries where it is received, al-Jazeera’s satellite signal delivered bin Laden’s exhortations directly to some 34 million potential viewers across the Middle East, northern Africa, and Europe. Americans watched, mesmerized, as al-Jazeera’s exclusive access to bin Laden and the al-Qaida leadership in Afghanistan scooped the suddenly impotent Western news media. The Bush administration, not knowing quite how to react, has alternately courted and vilified the network (and even reportedly bombed its offices in Kabul).

Most Americans have heard of only al-Jazeera – and that only since it became the sole conduit of bin Laden’s taped exhortations. In fact, however, a half-dozen other Arab-owned, transnational satellite channels had begun broadcasting to the

Middle East five years before al-Jazeera went on the air. The dowdy Saudi-financed Middle Eastern Broadcasting Centre (MBC), a direct-broadcast satellite channel run out of London, attracts a slightly larger audience than al-Jazeera's for its news programs and twice the audience overall.

And al-Jazeera's access to the most wanted man in America has led many pundits to exaggerate the impact of satellite broadcasters in the Middle East. Although many television watchers in the Middle East choose satellite TV because it is less censored, the prohibitive cost continues to depress viewership. In addition, the international satellite stations cannot offer the local and national news that viewers want. Finally, the reach of print media is limited by low literacy rates. These drawbacks leave state television and radio channels the more practical and popular alternative.

That al-Jazeera would one day come to be the chosen vehicle for anti-American terrorists would have seemed improbable when the station first went on the air in November 1996. After years of strictly censored, state-controlled television channels in the Arab Middle East, taboo-breaking interviews with Israeli leaders and criticism of Arab regimes made al-Jazeera seem, at first, like the Arab equivalent of CNN. After the second intifada began in September 2000, however, the network's coverage veered sharply toward the incendiary. As Professor Fouad Ajami argued in *The New York Times Magazine*, "the channel has been unabashedly one-sided. Compared with other Arab media outlets, al-Jazeera may be more independent – but it is also more inflammatory. ... Day in and day out, al-Jazeera deliberately fans the flames of Muslim outrage."

But al-Jazeera is far from the worst of the Arab and Muslim news media outlets, which generally see their role as "mobilizational" vehicles for an Islamic society under siege from the forces of Western globalization, U.S. hegemony, and Israeli domination of Palestine. Western journalists such as Thomas Friedman have highlighted some of the most egregious examples of the kind of partisan, inflammatory stories emanating from the Middle East. These include editorials in Egypt's leading newspaper, *al-Ahram*, suggesting that the United States deliberately poisoned relief packages and dropped them in heavily mined areas of Afghanistan. Other oft-repeated stories assert that Jews were warned to stay away from the World Trade Center before Sept. 11 and that leather belts exported by the United States could sap male potency.

The obstacles to winning the propaganda war in such a context are formidable. Ajami enumerates them: "The enmity runs too deep. ... An American leader being interviewed on al-Jazeera will hardly be able to grasp the insinuations, the hidden meanings, suggested by its hostile reporters. No matter how hard we try, we cannot beat al-Jazeera at its own game."

Media Frenzy

The best way for Washington to reverse the tide in the propaganda war is to support those forces in the Muslim community that are struggling to create modern democracies and institutionalize the rule of law. That the majority of the Muslim world disagrees with many aspects of U.S. policy does not preclude those same people from also craving more independent and pluralistic media based on Western-style objective journalism. In many Muslim countries, globalization and the communica-

tions revolution are opening up new opportunities for independent media that local journalists and media entrepreneurs are eager to seize. Even repressive governments will find this pressure hard to resist, because modern media are essential gateways to the globalized economy.

Media are also directly embroiled in the Middle East's love-hate relationship with America. Young people in particular – and the majority of the populations of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran, and Iraq are under 25 – are simultaneously seduced and repelled by American culture. The most popular show on MBC is *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* The same youths who shout "death to America" go home to read contraband copies of Hollywood magazines. What the Iranian philosopher Daryush Shayegan refers to as Islam's "cultural schizophrenia" – the struggle between tradition and Western secular modernity, between fundamentalism and globalization – haunts the souls of many Muslims and sometimes erupts in factional violence, as in Algeria or in the Palestinian territories.

Iran, a country still dominated by fundamentalist clerics, where the conservative judiciary has suspended or closed at least 52 newspapers and magazines and jailed their most outspoken editors since 1997, provides a strong example of the pent-up demand for open media. When fully 80 percent of Iranians voted for the reformist President Muhammad Khatami in August 1997, they indirectly cast their ballots for the freedom of expression he champions.

This demand for more media diversity will only increase throughout the Middle East and South Asia as regional satellite television and radio channels continue to encroach on the sovereign space of Muslim

nations. Pakistan is grappling with several Urdu satellite TV channels that emanate from its rival, India. Satellite broadcasts produced in Los Angeles by the son of the former shah of Iran reportedly sparked riots in his homeland after a loss by Iran's national soccer team. The French-based Canal Horizons satellite network has millions of subscribers across northern Africa. Faced with competition from satellite television, many Muslim states have been forced to reconsider their monopoly control over the media. State television channels, freed from government censorship, would be well positioned to recapture audience share for their national news programs.

In addition, as Western influences inevitably penetrate traditional Muslim culture – through film, satellite television, international radio broadcasts, and the Internet – citizens in these societies are starting to notice the shortfalls of their state media's stodgy, rigidly censored, and propagandistic news. And these viewers are voting with their remote controls. When relatively independent and objective news reports were first broadcast on Russia's *Itogi* news program, for example, the program became an overnight sensation.

Under pressure from both satellite stations and foreign media, many countries with large Muslim populations have reluctantly recognized the need to open their media space to privately owned, independent channels. Lebanon, Jordan, and several of the Persian Gulf states are now introducing new commercial broadcast laws. Thirty independent television channels and 11 independent radio stations operate in the West Bank. Even Syria has allowed its first-ever privately owned and operated

newspapers to start publishing. Indonesia is licensing its first independent local television channels, and the Nigerian parliament has authorized, though not yet implemented, a law to introduce commercial radio.

But will stronger local media simply add to the chorus of anti-Americanism and strengthen fundamentalist Islamic voices? Might empowering the independent press have unintended consequences, such as the fall of friendly regimes? True, the road toward free expression leads to many uncertainties. But there is ample evidence, from the Sandinistas of Nicaragua to the Albanian rebels in Macedonia, that bringing opposition groups into the body politic provides nonviolent alternatives to civil strife. Even some members of the Saudi ruling family are coming to understand the logic of free expression as a more effective safety valve than militant propaganda. In a recent interview with *The New York Times*, Prince Al-Walid bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia said, "If people speak more freely and get involved more in the political process, you can really contain them and make them part of the process."

The question, moreover, is not whether a more pluralistic media will open the airwaves to Islamic fundamentalists; that cat is already out of the bag. In several Middle Eastern countries, Islamists already operate their own stations. Al Manar television in Lebanon and al Mustaqbal in the West Bank town of Hebron are closely affiliated with Hezbollah and Hamas, respectively. Because these stations employ higher standards of journalism than local state-run media, they have enjoyed sizeable audiences who come to them for the quality of the news, if not the Islamist messages and propaganda they scatter

within. Citizens not necessarily sympathetic to Hezbollah tune into al Manar to balance the official lines they hear from Beirut and Damascus.

The real issue, then, is whether moderate voices can be equipped to compete with these radical and government forces in the Muslim world. Those in the Middle East who espouse alternatives to militant Islamism must begin to compete at the same level, or they will be left without audiences.

Gateway to Democracy

Experience in eastern Europe suggests that providing assistance to local, independent media is a vital way to promote freedom and democracy. As Soviet power waned in the late 1980s, maverick local broadcasters took to the airwaves with unlicensed broadcasts, often pirating programs from Western satellites or playing bootleg videotapes. In 1989 the first pirate station, Kanal X, in Leipzig, East Germany, went on the air from a transmitter on the roof of Freedom House, after state television had stopped broadcasting for the evening. As the Soviet Union began to disintegrate, dozens and then hundreds of pirate stations in eastern Europe and the Soviet republics sprouted up in basements, factories, and apartment complexes. The media revolution was on.

Joining the fight, Internews, a nongovernmental media organization, created a news exchange linking six independent television stations in Russia. With training, equipment, and technical advice, these barely viable stations began to grow and attract audiences. For the first time, people in Russia and the other former Soviet republics were able to see local news, not

just the broadcasts from Moscow.

U.S. government assistance for independent broadcast media began in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and grew rapidly during the 1990s. In that decade, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) provided \$175 million in media assistance in eastern Europe and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. All told, more than 1,600 broadcasters and 30,000 journalists and media professionals have benefited from U.S.-sponsored training and technical assistance programs. More than a dozen national television networks emerged from these efforts, reaching more than 200 million viewers. As a result, citizens in every city of the former Soviet Union now have a variety of channels from which to choose.

Of course, there have also been serious setbacks on the road to media freedom. As independent broadcasters in the region become stronger and reach larger audiences, they face increasing pressure from local authoritarian governments. In April 2001, Russian President Vladimir Putin's government engineered the hostile takeover of NTV, that country's main national independent television channel, and this January, a Russian court ordered the closure of TV6, the last remaining independent national broadcaster. In Ukraine, President Leonid Kuchma has been implicated in the gruesome murder of an online journalist, Heorhiy Gongadze, who had been critical of the regime. And free media outlets continue to be repressed in the Central Asian republics and the Caucasus.

Despite these setbacks, independent media remain a force for democratization in each of the former Soviet republics. The power

of local, independent television is perhaps best illustrated by events in Georgia on Oct. 30, 2001. When Rustavi-2, an enterprising station in Tbilisi whose reporters had been trained in investigative journalism by Internews, uncovered allegations of corruption and drug trading in the Ministry of the Interior, the government tried to shut it down. But as officers from the Ministry of State Security arrived at the station, the news director broadcast the action live. Hundreds and then thousands of people poured into the streets in protest. Two days later, then President Eduard Shevardnadze was forced to dismiss the entire government. And Rustavi-2 is still on the air today.

In the Balkans, where Slobodan Milosevic's seizure of the TV transmitters surrounding Sarajevo precipitated the civil war in Bosnia, independent radio and television stations, supported by the Soros Foundation, USAID, European governments, and others, played critical roles in maintaining democratic opposition. Radio stations braved constant harassment to bring alternative views and news from outside the region, making it impossible for Milosevic to maintain his control on information – or, ultimately, of his own country.

In addition to the independent broadcasters that are on the front lines of conflict and are often shut down for their troubles, thousands of other stations contribute to the building of a culture of democracy and civil society in more banal, quotidian ways. Josh Machleder, an American advising TV-Orbita in Angren, Uzbekistan, explains, "Residents of the town call in when they have problems. The TV station does a news piece about it, it gets shown to the town, and to the authorities, and usually the problems are resolved. Thus,

the station makes government work. When the authorities tried to close the station for broadcasting critical material, there was such a protest from sponsors and residents, that the station began working again within three days.”

This kind of independent local broadcaster could help open the closed societies of the Muslim world to democratic culture. Exposing journalists to international news standards can develop habits that will moderate the tone of news reporting. If experience in non-Muslim countries is any indication, well-produced, objective, indigenous journalism will get higher ratings than either exhortative reports from state news organs or more distant news from satellite broadcasters. Ultimately, audience will always drive the media.

Letting Muslims Speak

In the aftermath of the military victory over the Taliban, the United States should move swiftly to help establish diverse and democratic media in Afghanistan. Given the weak infrastructure and the fragmentation of Afghan society, there is a clear danger that rival warlords will promote their own separate radio and television channels, exacerbating ethnic and other social divisions. An international broadcasting commission, under the auspices of the United Nations, will need to be established to work with the transitional government to license broadcasters, assign frequencies, and regulate content to preclude incendiary messages. Regulating hate broadcasting is a contentious issue, but this kind of authority proved especially useful in postwar Bosnia and Kosovo in preventing ultranationalist political factions from using the media to foment violence.

Only indigenous news outlets can provide Afghanistan with what it most needs – independent sources of news and information that Afghan citizens from any ethnic group will recognize as fair and impartial. A congressional proposal for a Radio Free Afghanistan made sense when the Taliban still controlled the country, but the United States must now turn its attention and resources to helping local Afghans develop their own media outlets. Having a Radio Free Afghanistan up and running would make it much more difficult to create successful local media enterprises, because the U.S.-run station would drain limited resources, inflate local salaries, lower advertising rates, and compete for talent and programming. For the same reason, the United Nations should also avoid the temptation to set up its own channels, as it did rather unsuccessfully in Cambodia, East Timor and Bosnia.

The international community should therefore support an indigenous state radio and television channel such as Radio Kabul, which is already operating, to unify the country and reestablish national identity. The interim government will initially not enjoy widespread legitimacy as an objective news source, so the national broadcaster should be established as a public channel, editorially separate and insulated from the government.

Local stations will also have an important role to play, providing the community news on which civil societies are built and making a dynamic contribution to local economies. The United States and the international community should help train and finance other nongovernmental, independent channels that could set the standard for good journalism and lead through competition. Finally, the interna-

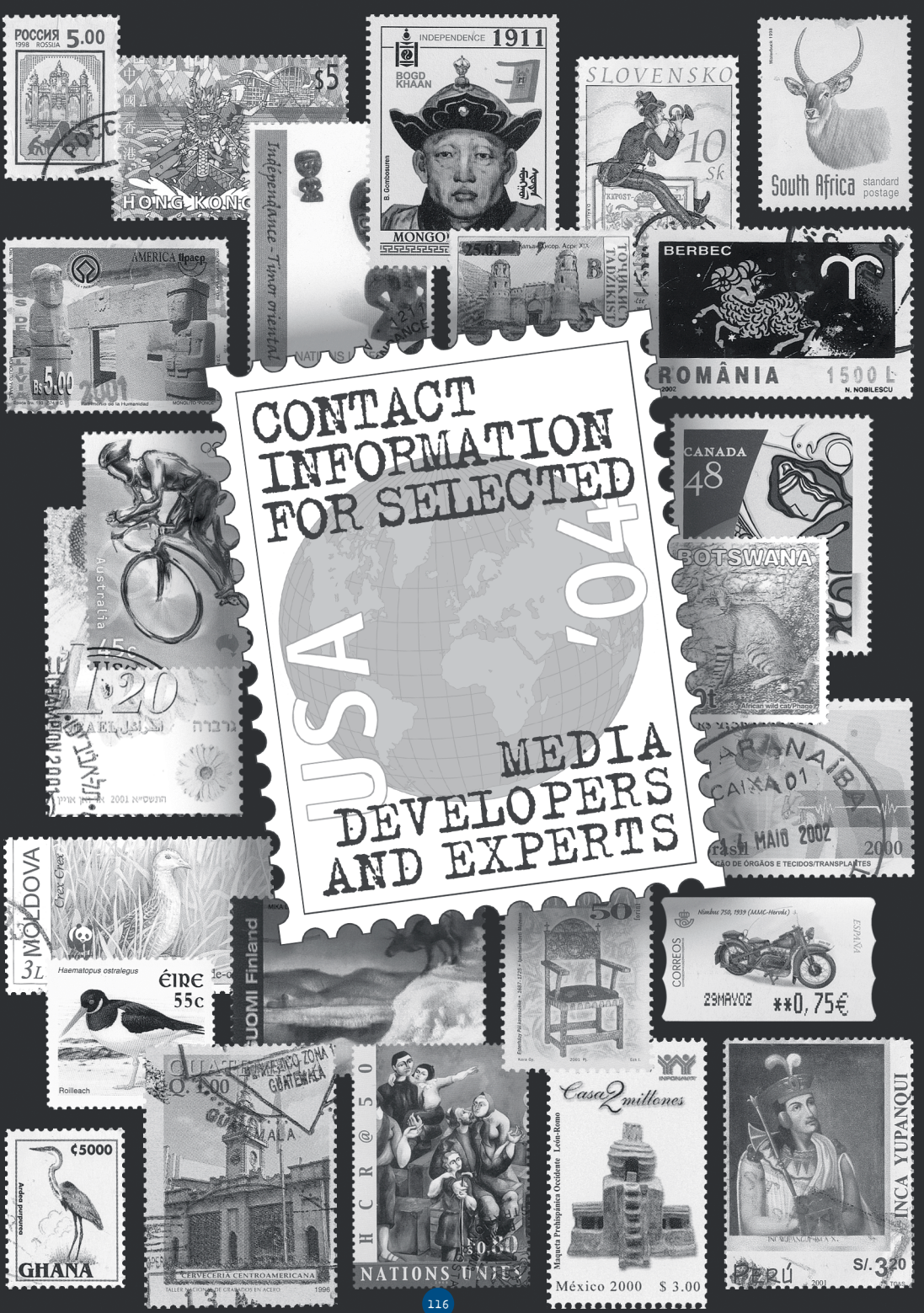
tional community must be prepared to underwrite Afghan media, both public and private, since the economy cannot be expected to generate sufficient advertising revenue for many years to come. Otherwise, the media will become a tool for control by local warlords.

As the war on terrorism moves beyond Afghanistan, the Bush administration should likewise extend the media assistance program that the United States first pioneered in eastern Europe to the Middle East. In completely closed societies such as Iraq, Iran, and Libya, foreign broadcasting will continue to be essential to providing outside information – as it did in the Taliban’s Afghanistan, where two-thirds of Afghan men reportedly listened to the BBC and Voice of America. But in other countries where the opportunities for alternative local media exist, the United States should assist the development of independent newspapers, Internet service providers, online content providers, and local radio and television channels.

To promote more balanced and moderate media, the United States can provide expert assistance in media law and regulatory reform and provide journalistic training and technical assistance. Americans should lend their help with no strings attached, however – even when those media criticize America. The United States will appear duplicitous if it tries to support independent news outlets while simultaneously manipulating information or engaging in counterpropaganda. America falters when it does not keep faith with its democratic ideals. U.S. government support for independent media in eastern Europe has been scrupulous in this regard. American support for media in Muslim countries should be held to the same high

standard, especially given the suspicion with which the United States is viewed there.

Freedom of speech and exchange of information are not just luxuries; they are the currency on which global commerce, politics, and culture increasingly depend. If the peoples of the Muslim world are to participate in the global marketplace of goods and ideas, they will need access to information, freedom of expression, and a voice for women and disenfranchised minorities. That, more than any number of advertisements about American values, is what will bring light to the darkness from which terrorism has come.



(For updated, comprehensive information see www.ijnet.org)

Academia Istropolitana Nova

The Independent Journalism Foundation's journalism school in Bratislava, Slovakia.

www.ainova.sk
 Palffyho kastiel
 Prostredna 13
 900 21 Svaty Jur, Slovakia
 Phone: 421-2-4497-0449-53
 Fax: 421-2-4497-0455
 E-mail: ainova@ainova.sk

Africa Institute of Journalism and Communications

Offers intensive training courses and a two-year diploma program.

P.O. Box LG 510
 Legon, Accra, Ghana
 Phone: 233-21-7011-524/525
 Fax: 233-21-7011-526
 E-mail: kyankah@africaonline.com.gh

African Eye News Service

Founded in 1995 by journalists fired from a local newspaper for advocating equal pay for black and white reporters. Located in one of the country's most rural provinces, AENS is financially independent and owned by its employees. Its investigative journalism focuses mainly on human rights issues in rural areas. Recipient of the International Center for Journalists' Knight award in 2000.

Nelspruit, South Africa.
 Contact: Justin Arenstein.
eyenews@iafrica.com

AINA

A French group headed by National Geographic photographer Reza. Supports democracy in Afghanistan through the development of media and cultural expression.

www.ainaworld.com
 122, Rue Haxo
 75019 Paris, France
 Phone: 33-1-42-03-64-24 or 33-1-42-03-64-34
 Fax: 33-01-53-19-83-02
 E-mail: info@ainaworld.com

Albanian Media Institute

Trains Albanian journalists, conducts research in media development, publishes books and journalism manuals.

www.institutemedia.org
 Rr. Gjin Bue Shpata, No. 8
 Tirana, Albania
 Phone/Fax: 355-4-229800
 355-4-267083
 355-4-267084
 E-mail: info@institutemedia.org

Alfred Friendly Foundation

Alfred Friendly Fellowships brought 214 journalists to the United States from 72 countries between 1984 and 2002. Former Friendly fellows include Alejandra Matus, a Chilean author who won a court case that may restrict the definition of official secrecy in Chile, as well as top editors in Colombia and elsewhere.

www.pressfellowships.org
 1616 H St. NW
 Washington, D.C. 20007
 Phone: (202) 737-4414
 E-mail: info@pressfellowships.org

Al-Quds Institute of Modern Media

Works to develop the Palestinian audio-visual media through training and production. Founded by Palestinian journalist Daoud Kuttab. The independent Al-Quds Educational Television began broadcasting in the Ramallah area in February 1997.

www.alquds-tv.org
 Al-Quds Educational Television
 Al-Quds University
 P.O.Box 2335
 Ramallah, West Bank
 Phone: 972-2-2959274
 Fax: 972-2-2959275

AMARC (The World Association of Community Broadcasters)

A Canada-based international agency that is part of IFEX (International Freedom of Expression Exchange). The organization is active in Latin America, where it serves the community radio movement. AMARC-Africa, based in South Africa, has done community radio training around the continent.

www.amarc.org
705 Bourget St., Suite 100
Montreal, Quebec, Canada H4C 2M6
Phone: (514) 982-0351
Fax: (514) 849-7129
E-mail: amarc@amarc.org
E-mail (Africa): amarc@global.co.za

American Bar Association, Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative

www.abanet.org/ceeli/home
740 15th St. NW, Eighth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005
Phone: (202) 662-1000
Fax: (202) 662-1597
E-mail: askaba@abanet.org

American Society of Newspaper Editors

Sponsors international visitor programs that bring foreign journalists to the United States. Aids Latin American print journalists through the Inter American Press Association.

www.asne.org
11690B Sunrise Valley Dr.
Reston, Va. 20191-1409
Phone: (703) 453-1122
Fax: (703) 453-1133

American University in Bulgaria

Operates a successful journalism school started by the University of Missouri.

www.aubg.bg
75V Cherkovna St., Fourth Floor, Suite 14
Sofia 1505, Bulgaria
Phone/Fax: 359-2-9439280 or 9439281
Or: 1725 K St. NW, Suite 411
Washington, D.C. 20006-1419
Phone: (202) 955-1400
Fax: (202) 955-1402

American University in Cairo

Offers some journalism courses.

www.aucegypt.edu
P.O. Box 2511
113 Sharia Kasr El Aini
Cairo, Egypt
Phone: 20-2-794-2964
Fax: 20-2-795-7565

American University Law School

Holds seminars for former Communist bloc jurists and journalists.

www.wcl.american.edu
4801 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Phone: (202) 274-4000
Contact: Prof. Herman Schwartz

Arabic Media Internet Network

The Internet's largest source of Arabic-language news.

www.amin.org
E-mail: amin@amin.org
Contact: Daoud Kuttub, director, dkuttub@amin.org

Arab Women Media Center

Despite government opposition, has sponsored training conferences for more than 350 journalists and nonjournalists since 1999.

www.odag.org/awmc
Post Code 11947 P.O. Box 399
Jabel Al Waibdeh - St-Mohd ali Al Sa`di-
Amman, Jordan
Phone/Fax: 962-6-4648889 or 5059820
E-mail: shaheer@mec.com.jo
Mahasen al-Emam, founder.

Article 19

Works to combat censorship and promote access to official information. Named after Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

www.article19.org
Lancaster House
33 Islington High St.
London N1 9LH, UK
Phone: 44-20-7278-9292
Fax: 44-20-7713-1356
E-mail: info@article19.org

As-Safir

Lebanese newspaper
Contact: Hisham (Richard) Melhem, Washington bureau chief, Mhisham@aol.com

Association of Independent Electronic Media

The association of radio and TV stations in Serbia and Montenegro. In late 2003, it comprised 28 radio and 16 TV stations.

www.anem.org.yu/anemnews/indexEn.jsp
Marsala Birjuzova 3/IV
1000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia
Phone: 381-11-182 534 or 182-496 or 183-652

Association of Liberian Journalists in the Americas

Works to promote a free press in Liberia, and to combat media censorship and the arbitrary and detention without trial of journalists.

www.liberianjournalists.org
Isaac Bantu, a former BBC reporter, based in Boston
Phone: (781) 581-8018
E-mail: koukoul@juno.com

Atlantic Council of the United States

Promotes U.S. leadership and engagement in international affairs based on a central role for the Atlantic community. Brings foreign journalists to the United States as part of its educational exchange program.

www.acus.org
910 17th St. NW, Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20006
Fax: (202) 463-7241
E-mail: info@www.acus.org

Baltic Media Center

Is developing independent radio in Afghanistan; an independent foundation funded primarily by the Danish government.

www.bmc.dk
Skippergade 8
DK-3740 Svaneke, Denmark
Phone: 45-7020-2002
Fax: 45-7020-2001
E-mail: bmc@bmc.dk

Ed Baumeister

London-based media development expert; former U.S. print and television editor and producer, formerly with IJF in Budapest and IREX in Central Europe.

ebaumeister@btinternet.com.

BBC Training & Development

Helped connect local television stations in Croatia through program sharing and a fiber optic system.

www.bbctraining.co.uk
35 Marylebone High St.
London W1U 4PX
Phone: 44-0-870-122-0216
Fax: 44 0-870-122-0145
E-mail: training@bbc.co.uk

Bridges

Helps independent media learn management and business practices. Founded by Prescott Low, former owner of the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger.

www.bridges.org/media
PO Box 4163
Durbanville 7551, South Africa
Phone: 27-21-970 1314
Fax: 27-21-970 1315
Contact: Jolyon Nuttal, sabridge@web.co.za.

Bulgarian Media Coalition

A collection of media associations and free speech organizations brought together by IREX; acts as a united front on media law issues.

www.bmc.bulmedia.com/EN/English.htm
Slavianska str. N° 29
Sofia 1000, Bulgaria
Phone: 359-2-980-5856

Bush Radio

A small station serving the townships on the outskirts of Cape Town – a pioneer of noncommercial local radio in southern Africa.

Cape Town, South Africa
Contact: Zane Ibrahim, bush@gem.co.za.

Cambodian Communications Institute

A media training center, a project of UNESCO and the government.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Phone: 855-23-362379

Canadian International Development Agency

A major funder of independent media development projects.

www.canada.gc.ca/main_e.html
Communication Canada
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1M4, Canada
Attn. Canada Site
Phone: (800) 622-6232 or (800) 635-7943

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A private, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations and promoting active international engagement by the United States.

www.ceip.org
1779 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036-2103
Phone: (202) 483-7600
Fax: (202) 483-1840
E-mail: info@ceip.org

Caucasus School of Journalism and Media Management

www.gipa.ge
c/o Georgian Institute of Public Affairs
2 Brosse St.
Tbilisi 380008, Georgia
Phone: 995-32-931466 934346
Fax: 995-32-931466
E-mail: admin@gipa.ge
Contact: Margie Freaney, director,
freaney@mindspring.com

Center for Defending the Freedom of Journalists

www.al-bab.com/media/docs/cdfj.htm
Amman – University Street
PO Box 961167, Code 11196
Amman, Jordan
Phone: 962-6-5160820
Fax: 962-6-5160810
Contact: Fadi al-Wadi, executive director,
fqadi@index.com.jo

Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations

Russian media watchdog organization

www.cjes.ru
Zubovskiy Bulvar 4, office 320
Moscow, Russia 119021
Phone: 7-095-201-7626
Fax: 7-095-201-7626

Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility

Monitors and protects Philippine journalists.

www.cmfr.com.ph
2/F Ateneo Professional Schools-Salcedo
130 H.V. de la Costa, 1227 Makati
Metro Manila, Philippines
Phone: 632-840-0903, 632-894-1314
Fax: 632-840-0889
E-mail: cmfr@surfshop.net.ph

Center for War, Peace and the News Media

Conducts projects on media and conflict. A nonprofit organization based at New York University, which supports journalists and news organizations worldwide.

www.nyu.edu/cwpmnm
418 Lafayette St., Suite 554
New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: (212) 998-7960
Fax: (212) 995-4143
E-mail: war.peace.news@nyu.edu

Central Asian and Southern Caucasian Freedom of Expression Network

A network of press freedom groups based in Baku, Azerbaijan, and headed by Azer H. Hasret, director of the Azerbaijan press group IPIANC.

www.cascfen.org
Contact: Azer H. Hasret, hasret@cascfen.org

Centre for Media Freedom-Middle East and North Africa

Executive director Said Essoulami headed the Middle East and North Africa Programme for Article 19, worked with the International Centre Against Censorship and initiated the Euro-Med Human Rights Network.

www.cmfmena.org
17 Harold Road
London, N8 7DE, U.K.
Phone/fax : 44-20-8341-4025
E-mail: info@cmfmena.org

Centro de Periodistas de Investigacion

Is creating a network of journalists and academics to cooperate in investigative stories. Investigative Reporters and Editors set up the office in 1995 at the request of Mexican journalists. It has expanded to Colombia, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and Brazil. IRE-Mexico provides newsroom and Internet training, organizes discussions with policymakers and sponsors an annual conference on U.S.-Mexico border issues.

www.investigacion.org.mx
c/ Gamma, 1, despacho 1
Colonia Romero de Terreros
Coyoacán
Mexico, D.F., CP 04310, Mexico
Phone: 52-5-559-5958
Phone/Fax: 52-5-554-0250

Pedro Armendares, executive director
E-mail: red@dsi.com.mx

Centro Latinoamericano de Periodismo (CELAP)

Journalism training center in Panama.

www.celap.net (in Spanish)
Centro PH Aventura, Calle 79 Oeste,
Mezanine, Local M-2, El Dorado
Apdo. Postal 810-543
Panama City, Panama
Phone: 507-236-6181 / 236-5712 / 236-8319
Fax: 507-236-0587
E-mail: celapinfo@celap.net
Contact: Mirabel Cuervo de Paredes,
mcdparedes@celap.net

Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

www.mott.org
Mott Foundation Building
503 S. Saginaw St., Suite 1200
Flint, Mich. 48502-1851
Phone: (810) 238-5651
Fax: (810) 766-1753
E-mail: info@mott.org

Committee to Protect Journalists

Advocacy for press freedom and the safety of journalists worldwide. CPJ also incubates local press-freedom monitors, creating such groups as Instituto Prensa y Sociedad in Peru and Periodistas in Argentina.

www.cpj.org
330 Seventh Ave., 12th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001
Phone: (212) 465-1004
Fax: (212) 465-9568
E-mail: info@cpj.org

Covington & Burling

International law firm with offices in the Washington, New York, San Francisco, London and Brussels. Working pro bono, it analyzed proposed laws, engaged in program design and policy debates, and trained media lawyers in Eastern Europe.

www.cov.com
Contact: Kurt Wimmer, KWimmer@cov.com

James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication, Training and Research

Supports independent media around the world, including Latin America. It works with local partners, expecting a financial or in-kind contribution from them for the project. It hosts Latin American and other journalists and offers Internet-based courses.

www.grady.uga.edu/coxcenter
Henry W. Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Georgia
Athens, Ga. 30602
Phone: (706) 542-5798
Fax: (706) 542-5036
E-mail: coxctr@arches.uga.edu
Lee Becker, lbbecker@arches.uga.edu

Crimes of War Project

A collaboration of journalists, lawyers and scholars dedicated to raising public awareness of the laws of war and their application.

www.crimesofwar.org
American University (MGC300)
4400 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Phone: (202) 885-2051
E-mail: office@crimesofwar.org

CubaNet

Nonpartisan organization dedicated to promoting a free press in Cuba.

www.cubanet.org
145 Madeira Ave., Suite 207
Coral Gables, Fla. 33134
(305) 774-1887

Danish Agency for Development Assistance

Major funder of programs supporting independent media.

www.um.dk
Udenrigsministeriet
Asiatisk Plads 2
DK-1448 København K, Denmark
Phone: 45-33-92-0000
Fax: 45-32-54-0533
E-mail: um@um.dk

Department for International Development (U.K.)

The British government department responsible for promoting sustainable development and reducing poverty.

www.dfid.gov.uk
1 Palace St.
London SW1E 5HE, U.K.
Phone: 0845-300-100 (from within the U.K.)
Phone: 44-1355-84-3132 (from outside the U.K.)

Developing Radio Partners

A new project created by Bill Siemering, formerly of the Open Society Institute, which works with other nonprofit organizations as a resource for local radio development.

www.developingradiopartners.org
Contact: Bill Siemering; siemering@attglobal.net

Duke University

Brings journalists from Ethiopia, Russia and other countries for fellowships at Duke.

www.duke.edu
Durham, NC 27708 USA
Phone: (919) 684-8111
Fax: (919) 681-8941
Contact: Ellen Mickiewicz, Dewitt Center, Duke University, dee@pps.duke.edu.

Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC)

Works in media policy issues.

www.epic.org
1718 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20009
Phone: (202) 483-1140
Fax: (202) 483-1248
E-mail: info@epic.org

Ethiopian Free Press Journalists' Association.

A professional group that fights for press freedom, closed by the Ethiopian government in 2003.

Contact: Kifle Mulat, efjakifle@hotmail.com;
efja@telecom.net.et

Eurasia Foundation

Funds media projects, including a training program in Belarus. A funder of the Media Development Loan Fund.

www.eurasia.org
1350 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 234-7370
Fax: (202) 234-7377
E-mail: eurasia@eurasia.org
Contact: William Horton Beebe-Center, executive vice president, Horton@eurasia.org

European Union

Major donor to the cause of independent media in money, training, equipment and legal advice.

www.europa.eu.int
E-mail: europawebmaster@cec.eu.int

Ford Foundation

Funds media projects in Africa, including especially Nigeria. With UNESCO, it gave start-up funding for African Public Radio in Burundi.

www.fordfound.org
320 E. 43rd St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
Phone: (212) 573-5000
Fax: (212) 351-3677
E-mail: office-communications@fordfound.org
Joseph Gitari is East Africa director.

Foundation for African Media Excellence

Training and education programs, dialogue and advocacy. Established in 2001 by Jerri Eddings, formerly of the Freedom Forum. Her partners include Edward Boateng of CNN and Doyinsola Abiola of Nigeria.

www.fame-media.org
PO Box 2893
Saxonwold 2132
South Africa
Phone: 27-11-327-0269
Fax: 27-11-327-0242
E-mail: info@fame-media.org
Contact: Jerri Eddings, executive director, joeddings5@aol.com.

Foundation Hironnelle

A Swiss NGO that has worked in Liberia and other African countries.

www.hironnelle.org
3 Rue Traversière
CH 1018-Lausanne, Switzerland
Phone: 41-21-647-2805

Fax: 41-21-647-4469
E-mail: info@hironnelle.org

Freedom House

Major U.S. media development organization, dealing with advocacy and training. Publishes an annual press freedom survey.

www.freedomhouse.org
1319 18th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 296-5101
Fax: (202) 296-5078

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

A German foundation with offices in Senegal, Botswana, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and other countries. Although not a media organization, FES often runs election coverage programs for reporters, including one in Zambia.

www.fes.de
Godesberger Allee 149
D-53175 Bonn, Germany
Phone: 49-0228-883-0
Fax: 49-0228-883-396

Friedrich Naumann Stiftung

A German foundation and a major funder.

www3.fnst.de
Karl-Marx-Str. 2
14482 Potsdam, Germany
Phone: 49-0331-7019-0
Fax: 49-0331-7019-188
E-mail: fnst@fnst.org

Fundacion Manuel Buendia, Mexico

Nonpartisan NGO dedicated to research and training in mass media in Mexico.

www.cem.itesm.mx/dacs/buendia
Contact: Omar Raul Martinez Sanchez.

Fundacion Violeta Barrios de Chamorro

A prodemocracy foundation that works for freedom of expression and fights poverty in Nicaragua.

www.violetachamorro.org.ni
Edificio Malaga
Plaza España
Modulo B-9
Managua, Nicaragua
Phone: 505-268-5000

Fax: 505-268-5001
E-mail: fundvbch@ibw.com.ni

Ghana Institute of Journalism

The country's primary postgraduate school for journalists.

29th, Second Ave.
P.O. Box 667
Accra, Ghana
Phone: 233-21-228336

Glasnost Defense Fund

Works to defend endangered journalists in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe.

www.gdf.ru
(mostly Russian; some articles in English)
Zubovsky bul. 4, kom. 432
119021 Moscow, Russia
Phone: 7-095-201-4420
Fax: 7-095-201-4947
E-mail: simonov@fond91.msk.ru

Global Internet Policy Initiative

Employs lawyers in 16 countries to advocate for open Internet policies and to build local coalitions to do the same. An Internews project.

www.internetpolicy.net
Slavikova 11
120 00 Prague 2, Czech Republic
Phone/fax: 420-222-725-688
Robert Horvitz, program manager
bob@internews.org

James X. Dempsey, director of policy
c/o CDT
1634 I St. NW, # 1100
Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: (202) 637-9800
E-mail: jdempsey@cdt.org

Hewlett Foundation

A major funder.

www.hewlett.org
2121 Sand Hill Road
Menlo Park, Calif. 94025
Phone: (650) 234-4500
Fax: (650) 234-4501
E-mail: info@hewlett.org

Hong Kong University

Brings together academic and working journalists for training. It has taken over the Freedom Forum's Asia library.

www.hku.hk
Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong, China
Phone: 852-2859-2111
Fax: 852-2858-2549
E-mail: afss@reg.hku.hk
Contact: *Ying Chan, yychan@hku.hk*

Independent Journalism Centre

Well-known media-training group in Nigeria; publishes the Nigeria Media Monitor.

www.derechos.net/ijc
Tejumola House, First Floor
24 Omole Layout
New Isheri Road
P.O.Box 7808
Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone/Fax: 234-1-4924998
E-mail: ijc@linkserve.com.ng
Contact: Babafemi Ojodu, editor of The News and Tempo, babajudu@alpha.linkserve.com.

Independent Journalism Foundation

Established highly regarded Centers for Independent Journalism in Bratislava, Bucharest and Budapest that often use Knight fellows. Offers help in basic journalism, research, database building, circulation and business practices. Run by James Greenfield with support from The New York Times, Knight and other foundations.

www.ijf-cij.org
40 E. 75th St., Suite 3A
New York, N.Y. 10021
Phone: (212) 535-7874
Fax: (212) 535-0002
Contacts: James Greenfield:
7263.346@compuserve.com.

Indiana University

A partner with American University in Central Asia.

www.indiana.edu
107 S. Indiana Ave.
Bloomington, Ind. 47405-7000
Phone: (812) 855-4848
E-mail: iuweb@indiana.edu

Institute for Media and Society

A Nigeria-based nonprofit organization run by cartoonist Akin Akinbulu.

1A Akin Osiyemi St.,
P.O. Box 16181
Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: 234-1-773-0308
E-mail: imeso@hyperia.com

Institute for the Advancement of Journalism

A major South African training organization. It created five annual fellowships to teach leadership skills for newsroom management to African journalists at the Poynter Institute in Florida.

www.iaj.org.za
9 Jubilee Road
Parktown
Johannesburg 2193, South Africa
P.O.Box 2544
Houghton 2041, South Africa
Phone: 27-11-484-1765
Fax: 27-11-484-2282
E-mail: info@iaj.org.za
Contact: Hugh Lewin

Institute for War and Peace Reporting

www.iwpr.net/home_index_new.html
Lancaster House, 33 Islington High St.
London N1 9LH, U.K.
Phone: 44-20-7713-7130
Fax: 44-0-20-7713-7140
Contact: Lloyd Donaldson, experience in Russia and elsewhere, info@iwpr.net.

Institute of Mass Information

www.imi.org.ua
Vul. Artema 1/5, k.814
P.O. Box 67
02206 Kiev, Ukraine
Phone: 380-44-212-1956 or 212-1966 or 212-1226
Fax: 380-44-461-9023
E-mail: imi@imi.org.ua

Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS)

Monitors attacks on press freedom in the Andean region and provides effective advocacy and legal support for journalists.

www.geocities.com/ipyspe
Sucre 317

Barranco
Lima 04, Peru
Phone: 51-1-247-3308 or 247-4461 or 247-4465
Fax: 51-1-247-3194
E-mail: postmaster@ipyspe.org.pe
Contact: Ricardo Uceda, kero@wayna.rcp.net.pe.

Institut Studi Arus Informasi

Offers prizes for investigative journalism, roundtables on media issues and support for progressive media laws in Indonesia.

www.oneworld.org/isai/index.htm
Jl. Utan Kayu No. 68-H
13120 Jakarta, Indonesia
Phone: 62-857-3388
Fax: 62-857-3387
E-mail: isai@rad.net.id

Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication (ISSIC)

Part of Sud Communications empire in Senegal. Teaches courses in new media, including computer-assisted reporting and Internet skills.

www.sudonline.sn (web site for newspaper and radio, in French)
Headed by Babacar Toure and Dr. Abdou Latif Coulibaly.
E-mail: info@sudonline.sn

Inter-American Dialogue

Sponsors annual conferences for policymakers, journalists and civil-sector leaders to promote press freedom throughout the Americas.

www.thedialogue.org
1211 Connecticut Ave., Suite 510
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 822-9002
Fax: (202) 822-9553
E-mail: iad@thedialogue.org

Inter-American Institute of Human Rights

Was supported by the McCormick Tribune Foundation to promote press freedom among legislators, judges, journalists and civil-sector leaders in Paraguay and Venezuela, countries that need an infusion of free-speech awareness. Participants met several times over 18 months, working between meetings on practical projects, such as the revamping of Paraguay's press-freedom law.

www.iidh.ed.cr/index.aspx
P.O. Box: 10081-1000
San Jose, Costa Rica
Phone: 506-234-04-04
Fax: 506-234-09-55

Inter American Press Association (SIP/IAPA)

The organization to which most Americans turn first when working to assist Latin American print journalists. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, Freedom Forum, Knight Foundation, McCormick Tribune Foundation and others have helped Latin Americans through IAPA. It does training and combats anti-defamation laws in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Jamaica, Guatemala, Mexico, Honduras, Paraguay and Uruguay.

The IAPA has a respected training program on subjects as diverse as reporting and advertising sales. One IAPA project, funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, accredits Latin American journalism schools.

With support from Knight and others, IAPA's Impunity Project is attempting to unravel government complicities in the death of a number of journalists, and has brought 15 cases to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. The project got the Guatemalan government to accept responsibility for the 1980 disappearance and murder of journalist Irma Flaquer, and now her family is being compensated.

IAPA's Chapultepec Declaration posits that freedom of expression is "society's lifeblood" and that it is "fundamental to the survival of democracy and civilization in our hemisphere." With major support from the McCormick Tribune Foundation, the Chapultepec Project organizes national forums to promote the declaration in each country of the Americas and awards an annual prize. The Freedom Forum, formerly a major funder, has pulled back from international grants but still funds its library at this site.

IAPA's publication of media laws around the hemisphere has been a valuable resource for press-freedom groups, and its lobbying for legal reform has increased pressure in several countries, although lasting results are elusive. Priorities in 2001-02 were a hemispheric summit for judicial leaders in Washington and the training of judges at IAPA headquarters.

www.sipiapa.com
 Jules Dubois Building
 1801 SW Third Ave.
 Miami, Fla. 33129
 Phone: (305) 634-2465
 Fax: (305) 635-2272
 E-mail: info@siapiapa.org
 Contacts: Ricardo Trotti, Julio Muñoz,
minfo@siapiapa.org

International Broadcasting Bureau

International Broadcasting Board of Governors
 Administers U.S. government-funded nonmilitary
 international broadcast services.

www.ibb.gov
 Office of Public Affairs
 330 Independence Ave. SW
 Washington, D.C. 20237
 Phone: (202) 401-7000
 Fax: (202) 619-1241
 E-mail: pubaff@voa.gov
 Contact: Joan Mower, jmower@ibb.gov

International Center for Journalists

A major media developer around the world.
 Conducts development and training programs;
 publishes IJNet (International Journalists'
 Network) at www.ijnet.org. Administers Knight
 International Press Fellowships,
www.knight-international.org.

McCormick Tribune sponsors ICFJ's Americas
 Program, headed by Panamanian journalist Luis
 Botello, luis@icjf.org, in Washington. The first
 three-year project was a regional effort to promote
 codes of ethics and professional standards. It
 produced (in three languages) a training video,
 "Journalism Ethics: The New Debate." The second
 three-year project involves single-country
 conferences with the goal of reaching working
 journalists from remote cities and towns.

Projects in Africa have included efforts to
 strengthen the journalists' association in Addis
 Ababa, Ethiopia, and develop curriculum at the
 country's only journalism school; reform South
 Africa's technical universities (Technikons) where
 most future journalists study; and create a
 journalism curriculum at the University of
 Botswana which serves five southern African
 countries and is base for the McGee Journalism
 Fellowship in Southern Africa. It also offers anti-
 corruption training in Nigeria; fellowships for

media centers in Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, Senegal
 and Uganda; and four fellowships for community
 radio in South Africa.¹ It has sent 27 Knight
 Fellows to nine African countries.

www.icjf.org
www.ijnet.org
 16161 H St. NW, Third Floor
 Washington, D.C. 20006
 Phone: (202) 737-3700
 Fax: (202) 737-0530
 E-mail: editor@icjf.org
 Contacts: David Anable, anable@icjf.org
 Patrick Butler, vice president, patrick@icjf.org
 Donatella Lorch, Knight fellowships, lorch@icjf.org

International Federation of Journalists

Runs the Media for Democracy in Africa program.
 Supported by the European Commission, the group
 is setting up independent press houses in Gambia,
 Togo, Tanzania and Burkina Faso.

www.ifj.org
 IPC-Residence Palace, Bloc C
 Rue de la Loi 155
 B-1040 Brussels, Belgium
 Phone: 32-2-235-22-00
 Fax: 32-2-235-22-19|
 E-mail: ifj@ifj.org

International Foundation for Election Systems

A leading center of election information and
 resources. Provides technical assistance in all areas
 of election administration and election
 management, supplies world governments with
 election observation and analysis.

www.ifes.org
 1101 15th St., NW, Third Floor
 Washington, D.C. 20005
 Phone: (202) 828-8507
 Fax: (202) 452-0804

International Freedom of Expression Exchange

Created 10 years ago to consolidate the large
 number of Western organizations promoting media
 rights and policy into a global network to offer
 training and other support.

In the Americas, for example, it produces
 electronic alerts when journalists are attacked and
 offers technical and institutional assistance. It has
 helped to create local monitoring entities in
 Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, Mexico and elsewhere.

www.ifex.org
 489 College St., Suite 403
 Toronto, Ontario M6G 1A5, Canada
 Phone: (416) 515 9622
 Fax: (416) 515 7879
 E-mail: ifex@ifex.org

International League for Human Rights

Has run monitoring and training programs in Sierra
 Leone.

www.ilhr.org
 228 E 45th St., Fifth Floor
 New York, N.Y. 10017
 Phone: (212) 661-0480
 Fax: (212) 661-0416
 E-mail: info@ilhr.org

International PEN

Worldwide association of writers. Promotes
 freedom of expression and works to defend writers
 suffering from oppressive regimes. Worked in
 Vietnam to aid 20 writers who were jailed or put
 under house arrest in 2001.

www.internatpen.org
 9 / 10 Charterhouse Buildings, Goswell Rd
 London EC1M 7AT, U.K.
 Phone: 44-20-7253-4308
 Fax : 44-20 7253-5711
 E-mail: info@internatpen.org

International Press Institute

Global organization promoting freedom of
 expression. Publishes an annual report on media
 violations around the world: The World Press
 Freedom Review.

www.freemedia.at
 Spiegelgasse 2
 A-1010 Vienna, Austria
 Phone: 43-1-512-90-11
 Fax: 43-1-512-90-14
 E-mail: ipi@freemedia.at

International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX)

IREX established itself in Washington, D.C., during
 the Cold War by using government grants to
 sponsor scientific and cultural exchanges with the
 U.S.S.R. Today it has become a major media
 development organization, funded by USAID
 contracts, particularly throughout the former
 Yugoslavia and newly independent states. Several

of IREX's media projects offer small grants to
 media outlets, journalists, and media associations
 and NGOs. Contact: media@irex.org or the local
 IREX office.

The Media Sustainability Index, developed by IREX
 with funding from USAID, examines countries'
 entire media systems by specifically analyzing
 freedom of speech, plurality of media available to
 citizens, professional journalism standards,
 business sustainability of media and the efficacy of
 institutions that support independent media.

Russia and Central and Eastern Europe: IREX
 maintains offices and is active in Russia and 18
 other European countries. IREX focuses on
 developing local capacity, offering the technical
 and legal support necessary for building successful
 independent media systems.

Middle East: Efforts are under way in Afghanistan,
 Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

Asia: IREX is also active in 14 Asian and Eurasian
 countries.

www.irex.org
 2121 K St. NW, Suite 700
 Washington, D.C. 20037
 Phone: (202) 628-8188
 Fax: (202) 628-8189
 E-mail: irex@irex.org
 Contacts: Mark Pomar, IREX president, Washington,
irex@irex.org.

International Women's Media Foundation

Media training and advocacy. It held workshops in
 Nicaragua, Argentina and Ecuador in 2001 to
 define its objectives. Created women's media
 associations across Africa, including the African
 Women's Media Center, www.awmc.com, in Dakar,
 Senegal. An anonymous donor funded the
 formation of the center; IWMF is seeking ongoing
 funding. It has done training in health reporting,
 women's management roles, etc.

www.iwmf.org
 1726 M St. NW, Suite 1002
 Washington, D.C. 20036
 Phone: (202) 496-1992
 Fax: (202) 496-1977
 E-mail: info@iwmf.org
 Sherry Rockey, Latin America initiative:
srockey@iwmf.org

Internews

Major nonprofit organization working in media development, training and advocacy, supported by U.S. government grants and other funding. Currently active in 30 countries. Since 1992, Internews has trained over 23,600 media professionals in the former Soviet Union, the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, and Afghanistan in broadcast journalism and station management.

For analysis, see: Internews and IREX: Competing for Independent Media Development, Page XX.

Middle East: Internews is involved with AMIN and Al-Quds Institute for Modern Media. WorldLink, a division of Internews, provides programming by satellite to U.S. audiences, with funding from the Knight and Hewlett foundations. This includes news reports from broadcasters throughout the Middle East. Internews is also training Egyptian journalists at Western Kentucky University in partnership with the Egyptian Journalists Association.

Africa: As of 2002, Internews had organizations in Nigeria, Rwanda and Tanzania. In Nigeria, its Media Rights Agenda organization supported independent media and has a lawyer working for open Internet policy. In Rwanda and Tanzania, it focused on providing news about the Rwanda war-crimes tribunal for African newspapers and international media via Africa News Online.

Asia: Internews launched the first all-woman radio show in Indonesia, helped draft the broadcast media law for East Timor, established a media resource center in Thailand, and helped form the National Association of Independent Mass Media in Tajikistan. In Afghanistan, Internews is setting up a radio network and is funding local journalists through its Open Media Fund for Afghanistan..

www.internews.org

Internews, New York
164 W. 25th St., Suite 7F
New York, NY 10001
Phone: (212) 675-8295
Fax: (212) 675-8261
Internews, Washington
1215 17th St. NW, Fourth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 833-5740, 5741, 5742
Fax: (202) 833-5745
E-mail: info@internews.org

Contacts: David Hoffman, Internews president, dhoffman@internews.org.
Eric Johnson, Paris, Internews International, Johnson@internews.org.
Manana Aslamazyan, Moscow, Internews Russia, recept@internews.ru.

Investigative Reporters and Editors

IRE set up a Mexico City office in 1995 that has expanded to Colombia, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and Brazil. Elsewhere, IRE helped develop course materials for a pair of Mongolian trainers who spent two years at the University of Missouri. It worked with the Mongolian Foundation for Open Society, on a rural radio project that also involved Knight Fellow Corey Flintoff and the University of Missouri.

www.ire.org

University of Missouri School of Journalism
138 Neff Annex
Columbia, Mo. 65211
Phone: (573) 882-2042
Fax: (573) 882-5431
E-mail: info@ire.org

Jemstone Network

Media training and consulting network in Amman; offers workshops for journalists in the Middle East, Europe and North Africa. It ran a senior editors' symposium with the World Bank in Marrakech, Morocco. A European Union project.

www.jemstone.net

P.O. Box 850191
Amman 11185, Jordan
Phone: 926-6-585-3024 or 585-9980
Fax: 926-6 585 3025
E-mail: info@jemstone.net

Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy

Awards research fellowships at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government to domestic or international journalists, scholars and policymakers who are interested in the influence of the press on public policy and politics.

www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol/index.htm

79 JFK St., 2nd Floor Taubman
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Phone: (617) 495-8269
Fax: (617) 495-8696

John S. and James L. Knight Foundation

Major funder of training, development and advocacy. Among other projects: Sponsor of the Knight International Press Fellowships, a program designed to share professional expertise and offer assistance to the media overseas. U.S. journalists are dispatched to foreign media organizations to lead training sessions.

www.knightfdn.org

Wachovia Financial Center, Suite 3300
200 S. Biscayne Blvd.
Miami, Fla. 33131-2349
Phone: (305) 908-2600
E-mail: web@knightfdn.org
Contacts: Hodding Carter III, president and CEO.
Eric Newton, director of Journalism Initiatives, newton@knightfdn.org

Le Journal Hebdomadaire and Assahifa

Casablanca, Morocco.
Aboubakr Jamaï, publisher and editor

Journaliste en Danger

Works to promote and defend freedom of the press in central Africa.

www.jed-congo.org (in French)

374, Avenue Colonel Mondjiba
Complexe Utexafrica-Galerie Saint Pierre
Republic of Congo
Phone: 243-99-29323 or 99-96353
Fax: 243-880-1625
E-mail: contact@jed-congo.org

Rami Khouri

Former editor of the Jordan Times, Amman. An American citizen whose family lives in Amman and Nazareth, he is a syndicated columnist and broadcast commentator, rgskhouri@hotmail.com.

Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas

A professional training and outreach program for journalists in the Americas, founded with a \$2 million grant from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.

knightcenter.utexas.edu

University of Texas
School of Journalism
Communication Building A
Austin, Texas 78712
Phone: (512) 471-1426
Fax: (512) 232-7685

Contacts: Rosental Alves, director, rosentalves@mail.utexas.edu.
Inquiries: Dean Graber, deangraber@mail.utexas.edu

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

German foundation, a major donor to media development projects.

www.kas.de

Rathausallee 12
53757 Sankt Augustin, Germany
Phone: 22-41-24-60
Fax: 22-41-24-65-91
E-mail: zentrale@kas.de

Liberian Institute of Journalism

An independent group that has done workshops, including computer training funded by the Freedom Forum. It is run by a Libero-American, Vinicius Hodges.

www.lij.kabissa.org

Corner of Broad and Johnson Streets
Kashour Building, Second Floor,
Post Box 2314
Monrovia, Liberia
Phone: 231-227-327
E-mail: lij@kabissa.org

Link Media

A division of Internews. Produces Mosaic: World News from the Middle East, TV news reports in English from a variety of Middle Eastern broadcasters. The daily series is supported by Knight Foundation.

www.worldlinktv.org

705 Mission Ave.
San Rafael, Calif. 94901
(415) 457-5222

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Awards grants aimed at improving the diversity of viewpoints and high-quality documentary content available in radio and television.

www.macfound.org

140 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago, Ill. 60603-5285
Phone: (312) 726-8000
Fax: (312) 920-6258
E-mail: 4answers@macfound.org

Rich and Suzi McClear

Highly regarded media developers. They are IREX veterans in Russia and central and Eastern Europe, previously worked for the German Marshall Fund and other clients.

mcclear@attglobal.net

Macedonian Press Center

A watchdog group. Its lawyers defend journalists against defamation.

www.press.org.mk
str. Kuzman Josifovski Pitu 17
Skopje 91000, Macedonia
Phone: 389-91-165-922
Fax: 389-91-165-944
E-mail: mim@mim.org.mk

Maison de la Presse

Home to the Freedom Forum library. Has computers with Internet access.

www.mediamali.org
B.P. E2456 Rue 617 Porte 19
Bamako, Mali
Phone: 223-22-19-15
Fax: 223-23-54-78
Sadou Yattara, director
E-mail: syattara@yahoo.fr

McCormick Tribune Foundation

Funder of training, development and advocacy, with particular focus on Latin America.

www.rmtf.org
435 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 770
Chicago, Ill. 60611
Phone: (312) 222-3512
E-mail: rmtf@tribune.com

Media Action International, Pakistan and Afghanistan

Specializes in reporting on humanitarian crises and assistance.

www.mediaaction.org
42 rue de Lausanne 1201
Geneva, Switzerland
Phone: 41-22-908-05-70
Fax: 41-22-908-05-71
E-mail: info@mediaaction.org
Ed Girardet, Media Action International, Pakistan.

Media Development Center – Sofia

Provides training for journalists and media management in Bulgaria, publishes media manuals, develops databases.

www.mediacenterbg.org
6 Triaditsa Str., Second Floor
Sofia 1000, Bulgaria
Phone/fax: 359-2-9889265
E-mail: mediacenter@mediacenterbg.org

Media Development Loan Fund

A nonprofit venture-capital fund for independent news organizations in developing democracies. Since 1996, MDLF has extended about \$15 million in low-interest loans and program-related investments. Of that amount, borrowers have repaid about \$3 million in principal and interest. It made about \$540,000 in grants in 2000 and \$665,000 in 2001, most for technology-related projects. It also provides management training and other assistance for some news organizations that may not qualify for a loan. MDLF is funded by the Canadian, Dutch, Swedish and Swiss governments, OSI-New York, and the Mott, MacArthur and Eurasia foundations. MDLF does not make loans in Slovenia, Poland, Hungary (with one exception), the Czech Republic or the Baltic states because it has determined that media organizations in those countries can borrow from commercial banks.

The Center for Advanced Media in Prague is a new-media lab run by MDLF since 1998 that funds new-media projects and offers technology training. It also operates in Warsaw and Moscow. In Prague, the center supports Transitions-Online, a pro-democracy magazine, and, in Bosnia, the Banja Luka Reporter.

www.mdlf.org
45 W. 21st St.
New York, N.Y. 10010
Phone: (212) 807-1304
Fax: (212) 807-0540
E-mail: mdl@mdl.org
Contacts: Harlan Mandel,
Harlan.Mandel@mdl.org,
Sasa Vucinic, Sasa.Vucinic@mdl.org.

Media Foundation for West Africa

Media analysis in the region.

www.mediafoundationwa.org

P.O. Box LG 730
Legon, Ghana
Phone: 233-21-242470
Fax: 233-21-221084
E-mail: mfw@afrikaonline.com.gh
admin@mediafoundationwa.org
Contact: Kwami Kari-Kari,
Mfwa@afrikaonline.com.gh.

Media Institute of Southern Africa

The top monitoring organization in Africa, with support from the U.S. government and others. Based in Namibia, it has multiple chapters and offices in other southern African countries.

www.misa.org
Private Bag 13386
Windhoek, Namibia
Phone: 264-61-232975
Fax: 264-61-248016
E-mail: webmaster@misa.org.na
Contact: Luckson Chipare, director@misa.org

Media Rights Agenda

Supports independent media and has a lawyer working for open Internet policy.

www.internews.org/mra
10, Agboola Aina St.
Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: 234-1-493-0831
Fax: 234-1-493-0831
E-mail: pubs@mediarightsagenda.org

Media Viability Fund

Makes low-cost capital loans and offers intensive business training in subjects ranging from financial management to advertising.

www.mvf.org.ru
16 Strastnoy Bulvar
stroenie 2
Moscow 103031, Russia
Phone: 7-095-246-1020
Fax: 7-095-246-8972
E-mail: mvf@mvf.ru

Mohamed Amin Foundation

Trains broadcasters and photographers.

www.moforce.com
Third Floor, ABC Place, Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 45048
Nairobi, Kenya

Phone: 254-2-444-8923/4/5
Fax: 254-2-444-8926
E-mail: camerapix@iconnect.co.ke
Contact: Salim Amin.

Money Matters Institute

Its Wealth of Nations Index measures a country's economic prospects based partly on media performance and public access to information.

www.moneymattersinstitute.org
176 Federal St., Second Floor
Boston, Mass. 02110
Phone: (617) 899-0373
Fax: (425) 795-8836
E-mail: info@moneymattersinstitute.org

Montenegro Media Institute

www.mmminstitute.org
Brace Zlatcanin 12
Podgorica, Montenegro 81000, Serbia and Montenegro
Phone: 381-81-601270
Fax: 381-81-624672
E-mail: imcg@mmminstitute.org

Moscow Media Law and Policy Center

Has trained jurists in media law; funded partly by USAID.

www.medialaw.ru/e-index.html
ul. Mokhovaya 9, k.338
103009 Moscow, Russia
Phone: 7-095-203-6571
E-mail: mmlpc@glasnet.ru
Contact: root@medialaw.ru

National Association of Broadcasters

Trade association that represents the interests of free, over-the-air radio and television broadcasters.

www.nab.org
1771 N St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202-429-5300
Fax: 202-429-4199
Contact: nab@nab.org

National Association of Independent Mass Media

An independent association of Tajikistan's non-governmental broadcasters and journalists.

Formed with help from Internews.

Kamoli Khujandi 2 A, Apt 74
Khujand, Tajikistan
Phone: 992-342-24-24-24
E-mail: korpunkt@inews.khj.tajik.net

National Endowment for Democracy

Receives congressional funds for specific initiatives, including some media projects.

www.ned.org
1101 15th St. NW, Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20005-5000
Phone: (202) 293-9072
Fax: (202) 223-6042
E-mail: webmaster@ned.org

Nepal Press Institute

Established in 1984 to expand the country's 100-year-old newspaper industry with training and other services.

npiktm.org
Post Box 4128, Anamnagar,
Kathmandu, Nepal
Phone: 977-01-264155,
Fax: 977-01-264154
E-mail: npiktm@wlink.com.np

Network for the Defense of Independent Media in Africa

A pan-African human rights organization that represents local and international media groups, fights for freedom of expression, monitors violations, trains journalists and operates the Recasu program for sheltering stateless journalists. Supporters include UNESCO, Ford Foundation, Norwegian Human Rights Fund, World Free Press Institute, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and IFEX.

www.ndima.org
P.O. Box 70147
Nairobi, Kenya
Phone: 254-2-66-51118
Fax: 254-266-50836
E-mail: ndima@ndima.org
Contact: Sam Mbure, sambure@africaonline.co.ke

Network Media Program

See Open Society Institute, below.

www.osi.hu/nmp
P.O. Box 519

H-1397 Budapest, Hungary
Phone: 36-1-327-3824
Fax: 36-1-327-3826
E-mail: farkas@osi.hu

A. Lin Neumann

Asia consultant, works with Committee to Protect Journalists and others.
lin_neumann@compuserve.com

The New York Times Company Foundation

Created the Independent Journalism Foundation, an early media developer in the post-Communist bloc which continues to sponsor Centers for Independent Media in Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, as well as a project in Cambodia.

www.nytc.com/contact.html
229 W. 43rd St.
New York, N.Y. 10036-3959
Phone: (212) 556-1091

Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University

Conducts the oldest and best-known midcareer program for journalists in the world. Foreign and U.S. Nieman Fellows receive a 10-month appointment at Harvard, choosing their own course of study in any of the university's schools or departments.

www.nieman.harvard.edu
1 Francis Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Phone: (617) 496-5827
Fax: (617) 495-8976
niemanweb@harvard.edu
Contact: Bob Giles, curator, giles@fas.harvard.edu

Nordic/Southern African Development Community Journalism Center

Offers training in business and economics reporting. Freedom Forum funded its Malawi publishers' forum.

www.nsjtraining.org/home.php
780 Francisco O. Magumbwe Ave., Fourth Floor
P.O. Box 4537
Maputo, Mozambique
Phone: 258-1-493400
Fax: 258-1-490880
E-mail: nsj@nsjtraining.org

Northwestern University Media Management Center

Business school operation that has trained many of Latin America's top newspaper publishers. The Creighton Scholars Fellowship Program brings two Latin American news executives to the center's executive program each year. McCormick Tribune is funding it with \$250,000 from 1999 to 2004.

The center has energetic networking and collaboration with the Inter American Press Association (cost and revenue studies, a Miami-based program in Spanish, etc.). It runs an annual management conference for Latin American newspapers. It sets financial benchmarks for newspapers and helps owners transform their papers from political organs to professionally managed community voices.

www.mediamanagementcenter.org
301 Fisk Hall
Northwestern University
1845 Sheridan Road
Evanston, Ill. 60208-2110
Phone: (847) 491-4900
Fax: (847) 491-5619
E-mail: contact@MediaManagementCenter.org

Onasa

Bosnia's main wire service. Mehmed Husic, head of Onasa, is a former journalist on the Sarajevo newspaper *Oslobodjenje*.

www.onasa.com.ba
ONASA Independent News Agency
Zmajica od Bosne 4,
Holiday Inn
Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Phone: 387-71 2765 80
Fax: 387-71 2765 90

Open Society

A major funder of media development, training and advocacy. Open Society Institute and Soros Foundations Network operate around the world under various names.

OSI, funded by financier-philanthropist George Soros, (*See George Soros, Page XX.*) has focused on the former Communist bloc, working to develop the democratic "enabling environment" necessary for independent journalism and public access to information. OSI-Russia has spent about \$36 million on broadcast, print and Internet

development over the past decade, including \$5 million in 2000. The current OSI-Russia budget for media and civil society is \$2 million, but other OSI organizations, which are both funders and operating foundations, provide additional funds. (In contrast, USAID and the European Commission work only through grantees.) OSI foundations support media and related initiatives on legal reform, Internet training and access, libraries, reading and education.

OSI's Network Media Program has spent \$9.5 million on independent media development in Central and southeastern Europe. Administered by Gordana Jankovic out of Central European University in Budapest, this program issues grants and consults on media projects (by Soros and other organizations). The program supports the South Eastern Europe Network for Professionalization of the Media (SEENPM), a consortium of nearly 20 institutions that offer journalism and management training. "Little OSI," as it is called, is supposed to coordinate media projects, but sometimes overlaps with "big OSI" in New York. Contact: Gordana Jankovic, gjankovic@osi.hu.

The Open Society Institute's media emphasis in Africa has been on community radio, funded by three regional OSI foundations serving 27 countries:

*Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) says it is South Africa's largest donor in community radio, providing grants and operational support and assisting stations in the development of programming and information-sharing networks. Program officer Jean Fairbairn was largely responsible for radio development across South Africa. Her training on election coverage earned her stations praise from monitoring groups. The foundation provided stations with grants and an election coverage how-to manual. Ongoing support was given to organizations promoting freedom of expression and access to information. Contact: Jean Fairbairn: jean@ct.osf.org.za.

*Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) serves Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its \$7 million budget underwrites media and other initiatives, including communications projects about HIV/AIDS and assistance for rural radio. Contact: Bill Siemering, OSI-Philadelphia, especially community radio, Siemering@attglobal.net.

*Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) covers Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Cameroon and Chad. Its \$1.6 million budget supports media and nonmedia projects. Since most West Africans have no regular access to newspapers or television, OSIWA concentrates on developing community radio, experimenting with regional democracy radio projects in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. In Nigeria, OSIWA supported a media and diversity conference that included emphasis on the role the press plays in covering ethnic strife. Contact: Kakuna Kerina, executive director, kkerina@osiwa.org.

The Mongolian Foundation for Open Society worked with NPR's Siemering on a rural radio project that involved Knight Fellow Corey Flintoff of NPR, the University of Missouri and IRE. It also is working on upgrading print journalism.

www.soros.org
400 W. 59th St.
New York, N.Y. 10019
Phone: (212) 548 0600
Fax: (212) 548 4679

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

A major player in media in post-conflict societies.

www.osce.org
OSCE Secretariat
Press and Public Information Section
Karntner Ring 5-7, Fourth Floor
1010 Vienna, Austria
Phone: 43-1-514-36-180
Fax: 43-1-514-36-105
E-mail: info@osce.org

Oxford University

Oxford's Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy is an expert resource on media development worldwide, and published a useful report. The Programme also has joined with the School of Journalism and Communication at Peking University to establish a media law and policy program, pcmlp.socleg.ox.ac.uk/Peking2002.

www.ox.ac.uk
University Offices
Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, U.K.
Phone: 44-0-1865-270000

E-mail: information.officer@admin.ox.ac.uk
Contact: Monroe Price, Yeshiva and Oxford universities, price@ymail.yu.edu.

Panos Institute

Has a range of media-related programs. With offices in Africa, South Asia, Europe, the Caribbean, Washington and elsewhere, the institute has produced various types of publications and promoted better radio, communications and media laws. Each office functions somewhat autonomously. Dapo Olorunyomi, a Nigerian, heads the Washington office.

www.panos.org.uk
9 White Lion St.
London N1 9PD, U.K.
Phone: 44-0-207-278-1111
Fax: 44-0-207-278-0345
E-mail: info@panoslondon.org.uk
U.S. contact: Dapo Olorunyomi, felarada@aol.com

Peace Institute in Ljubljana

A Soros-OSI project.

www.mirovni-institut.si/eindex.htm
Metelkova ulica 6
1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
Phone: 386-0-1-234-77-20
Fax: 386-0-1-234-77-22
E-mail: info@mirovni-institut.si

Peking University

Conducts a media law and policy program in cooperation with Oxford University.

www.pku.edu.cn/eindex.html
E-mail: webmaster@pku.edu.cn

Periodistas (Association for the Defense of Independent Journalism)

Defends free press issues and denounces violence against journalists in Latin America.

www.asociacionperiodistas.org
Piedras 1675, Oficina B
(1140) Buenos Aires, Argentina
Phone: 54-11-4300-6149 or 9127
E-mail: periodistas@asociacionperiodistas.org
Contact: Horacio Verbitsky,
horacio.verbitsky@attglobal.net.

Press Development Institute

www.pdi.ru/common/main.xtz?lang=en
Tverskoi Blvd. 20
103009 Moscow, Russia
Tel: 7-095-777-01-74
Fax: 7-095-229-3695
E-mail: pdi@pdi.ru

Press Now

The agency through which the Dutch government plays a key role in international media development.

www.xs4all.nl/~pressnow
Wibautstraat 3-5
1091 GH Amsterdam
Postbank 7676
Netherlands
Phone: 31-20-5962-000
Fax: 31-20-5962-001
E-mail: pressnow@pressnow.nl

Press Union of Liberia

Held workshops in 2001 with funds from the National Endowment for Democracy.

P.O. Box 20-4209
1000
Monrovia 20, Liberia
Phone: 231-227-105
Fax: 231-227-838
Contact: Vinicius Hodges, hvinicius@hotmail.com.

Privacy International

Pro bono efforts in Internet policy, access and distance education.

www.privacyinternational.org
Washington Office
1718 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20009
Phone: (202) 483-1217
Fax: (202) 483-1248
E-mail: privacyint@privacy.org

Reporters San Frontières (Reporters Without Borders)

An international journalists' organization. Reporters Without Borders condemns attacks on press freedom, defends imprisoned or persecuted journalists, fights censorship and laws that restrict press freedom, works to improve the safety of journalists, particularly in war zones, and assists in the rebuilding of media outlets.

www.rsf.fr
5, rue Geoffroy Marie
75009 Paris, France
Phone: 33-1-44-83-84-84
Fax: 33-1-45-23-11-51
E-mail: rsf@rsf.org

Reuters Foundation

Brings African journalists to its London offices for training in writing, broadcast and reporting.

www.foundation.reuters.com
85 Fleet St.
London EC4P 4AJ, U.K.
Phone: 44-20-7542-7015
Fax: 44-20-7542-8599
E-mail: foundation@reuters.com

Rhodes University Department of Journalism

Works to bring Africans into journalism.

journ.ru.ac.za
P.O. Box 94
Grahamstown 6140, South Africa
Phone: 27-(0)46-603-8336
Fax: 27-(0)46-622-8447

Rustavi 2 television

Tbilisi, Georgia
Contact: Erosi Kitsmarishvili, owner and journalist,
erosi@rustavi2.com.

Salzburg Seminar

A leading forum for promoting global dialogue. Knight Fellowships send midcareer journalists to seminar sessions.

www.salzburgseminar.org
Schloss Leopoldskron
Leopoldskronstrasse 56-58, Box 129,
A-5010 Salzburg, Austria
Phone: 43 (662) 83 9 830
Fax: 43 (662) 83 9 837
E-mail: info@salzburgseminar.org

P.O. Box 886
Middlebury, Vt. 05753
Phone: (802) 388-0007
Contact (Knight Fellowships): Cathy Walsh,
academic program coordinator,
cwalsh@salzburgseminar.org

Search for Common Ground

Creates media programming and trains journalists around the world. Founded by John Marks, it is codirected by his wife, Susan, who is South African. In 1995, they launched Studio Ijambo in Burundi, using Hutu, Tutsi, Sanwa and Muslim journalists to create 15 hours of weekly programming, including a popular soap opera. The group's Talking Drum Studios are valuable contributors in tough media environments. This is a highly regarded organization supported by numerous foundations, including Mott, MacArthur, Kellogg, Eurasia, Hewlett, OSI and Rockefeller.

www.sfcg.org

1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20009-1035

Phone: (202) 265-4300

Fax: (202) 232-6718

E-mail: *Search@sfcg.org*

Contact: Frances Fortune, Talking Drum Studio,
Freetown, Sierra Leone, *tdssl@sierratel.sl*.

Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA)

The most important media organization in the region. When regional governments dismissed international aid organizations as "Western colonialism," and regional press organizations were feuding, SEAPA was set up like a local Committee to Protect Journalists.

www.seapa.org

538/1 Sam-Sen Rd.

Dusit Bangkok, Thailand 10300

Phone/Fax: 66-2-243-5579

E-mail: *seapa@loxinfo.co.th*

Contacts: Chavarong Limpattamaponee.

Kavi Chongkittavorn, editor of the English-language magazine *The Nation*, a founder of SEAPA and the Thai Journalists' Association, *kavi@nationgroup.com*.

Southeastern European Media Organization

Aims to promote freedom of the press, improve journalism standards and ensure the safety of journalists. An offshoot of the International Press Institute.

www.seemo.at

IPI Headquarters

Spiegelgasse 2/29

Vienna 1010, Austria

Phone: 43-1-512-90-11

Fax: 43-1-512-90-14

E-mail: *seemoipi@yahoo.com*

South Eastern Europe Network for Professionalization of the Media

Nearly 20 member institutions offer journalism and management training in Bulgaria.

www.seenpm.org

Network Secretariat:

Media Development Center

6 Triaditsa St., Second Floor

Sofia 1000, Bulgaria

Phone: 359-2-988-92-60

Fax: 359-2-988-92-65

E-mail: *mediacenter@mediacenterbg.org*

Stanford University

John S. Knight Fellowships offer midcareer journalists a year of study at Stanford away from newsroom deadline pressures, in the company of other journalists.

www.knightfellows.stanford.edu

John S. Knight Fellowships

450 Serra Mall

Building 120, Room 424

Stanford University

Stanford, Calif. 94305-2050

Phone: (650) 723-4937

Fax: (650) 725-6154

E-mail: *knight-info@lists.stanford.edu*

Stefan Batory Foundation

Supports investigative reporting and campaigns against corruption in Poland. An arm of the Open Society Institute.

www.batory.org.pl/english/index.htm

Sapiezynska 10a

Warsaw 00-215, Poland

Phone: 48-22-5360200

Fax: 48-22-5360220

E-mail: *batory@batory.org.pl*

Swedish International Development Corporation Agency

A major funder of media development, sponsored by the Swedish government.

www.sida.se/Sida/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=107

105 25 Stockholm, Sweden

Phone: 46-8-698-50-00

Fax: 46-8-20-88-64

E-mail: *sida@sida.se*

Tanzania Journalists Association

Box 75655

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Phone: 255-0741-788167

E-mail: *taja1966_fja_tz@hotmail.com*

Contact: Joe Kadhi, who teaches journalism at the United States International University in Dar es Salaam.

Thai Journalists Association

A solid organization. Founder Kavi Chongkittavorn (*kavi@nationgroup.com*), a 2001-2002 Nieman Fellow, also represents IFEX and Transparency International in Bangkok.

www.tja.or.th

55 Mansion 8 Rajdamnern Ave.

Bangkok 10200, Thailand

Phone: 662-629-0022

Fax: 662-280-0337

E-mail: *info@thaibja.org*

Thomson Foundation

A U.K. media development group; worked in China.

www.thomsonfoundation.co.uk

The Thomson Foundation

37 Park Place

Cardiff CF10 3BB, Wales

Phone: 44-29-20353060

Fax: 44-9-20353061

E-mail: *enquiries@thomfound.co.uk*

Transparency International

www.transparency-usa.org

Otto-Suhr-Allee 97/99

D-10585

Berlin, Germany

Phone: 30-343-8200

Fax: 30-3470-3912

Washington Office:

1112 16th St. NW, Suite 500

Washington, D.C. 20036

Phone: (202) 296-7730

Fax: (202) 296-8125

E-mail: *tiusa@transparency-usa.org*

Bangkok contact: Kavi Chongkittavorn,

kavi@nationgroup.com.

Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

fletcher.tufts.edu

160 Packard Ave.

Medford, Mass. 02155

Phone: (617) 627-3700

Fax: (617) 627-3712

E-mail: *fletcherweb@tufts.edu*

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

One of the two biggest American funders of media development (the other is the nongovernmental Open Society Institute). USAID began to promote media development in Latin America in the 1980s, moving to the former Communist bloc in the 1990s. USAID is the primary funder of American nonprofits Internews and IREX, the largest global media developers after OSI. Now they are looking toward Afghanistan, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. The Population Reference Bureau, *www.prb.org*, is a USAID-funded group supporting women journalists in order to improve health coverage in west and southern Africa.

www.usaid.gov

USAID Information Center

Ronald Reagan Building

Washington, D.C. 20523-1000

Phone: (202) 712-4810

Fax: (202) 216-3524

Contacts: David Black, *dblack@usaid.gov*

Peter Graves, senior media adviser,

pgraves@usaid.gov

Krishna Kumar, *kkumar@usaid.gov*

United States Institute of Peace

An independent, nonpartisan federal institution created to promote the prevention, management, and peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

usip.org

1200 17th St. NW

Washington, D.C. 20036

Phone: (202) 457-1700

E-mail: *outreach@usip.org*

E-mail: *education@usip.org*

U.S. Department of State

Funds media development primarily through USAID, but also through various other agencies.

www.state.gov
2201 C St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20520
Phone: (202) 647-4000

Uganda Journalists Union

P.O. Box 6100
Kampala, Uganda
Phone: 256-41-232-771/ 2
Fax: 256-41-245-597

UNESCO, Program for the Development of Communication

www.unesco.org/webworld/com_media/development.html
Communication and Information Sector
7 Place de Fontenoy
75352 Paris 07 SP, France
Phone: 33-1-45684320
Fax: 33-1-4568583
E-mail: ci@unesco.org

University of Missouri School of Journalism

Training and development. The University of Missouri brought Mongolian journalists to the United States for training. With the University of Denver, it conducted training in China at the Guangzhou Daily. It is interested in starting programs in Indonesia. Involved with the Mongolian Foundation for Open Society in a rural radio project.

www.journalism.missouri.edu
120 Neff Hall
Columbia, Mo. 65211-1200
Phone: (573) 882-4821
Fax: (573) 884-5400
E-mail: journalism@missouri.edu

Voice of America

Conducts journalism training.

www.voa.gov
Office of Public Affairs
330 Independence Ave. SW
Washington, D.C. 20237
Phone: (202) 401-7000

Fax: (202) 619-1241
Contact: Jennifer Parmelee, former Washington Post and Associated Press staffer, runs Voice of America's Horn of Africa service,
jparmele@voa.news.com.

WBUR

This Boston public radio station brings about 25 Balkan print and broadcast journalists to Boston to work for two months each year.

www.wbur.org
890 Commonwealth Ave., Third Floor
Boston, Mass. 02215
Phone: 617-353-0909

West Africa Journalists Association

Regional press-freedom group.

Alpha Sall, secretary general
17, Boulevard de la Republique
BP 21722
Dakar, Senegal
Phone: 221-842-0141/0143
Fax: 221-842-0269
Contact: Kabral Blay-Amihere, Ghana's ambassador to Sierra Leone, former head of the West Africa Journalists Association, waja@africaonline.com.gh.

World Association of Newspapers

Monitors abuses of free press and journalists.

www.wan-press.info/pages/index.php3
25 rue d'Astorg
75008 Paris, France
Phone: 33-1-47-42-85-00
Fax: 33-1-47-42-49-48
E-mail: contact_us@wan.asso.fr

World Bank Institute

Has done training in Ethiopia and in East Africa, and funded diversity training in Nigeria.

www.worldbank.org/wbi/home.html
World Bank Institute
1818 H St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20433
Phone: (202) 473-1000
Fax: (202) 477-6391
Contact: Tim Carrington,
tcarrington@worldbank.org.

World Free Press Institute

Got into Africa four years ago when the Network for the Defense of Independent Media in Africa saw its web site and asked it to do election coverage training. It has conducted training in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania with grants from the Ford Foundation and Frederich Ebert Stiftung. In 2001, WFPI had raised about \$45,000 toward the construction of a \$150,000 Media Resource Center for African Journalists outside Nairobi. The center would house and train stateless journalists expelled from Ethiopia, Rwanda and Burundi. In the last three years, 63 such journalists have received UNESCO support under the Refugee Care and Support (Recasu) program, but they live in dispersed rented rooms and in fear of being arrested by corrupt Nairobi police. WFPI had a Nairobi conference in 2002 with NDIMA.

www.pressfreedom.org/wfpi.asp
2977 Ygnacio Valley Road #415
Walnut Creek, Calif. 94598
Phone: (925) 946-0872
E-mail: clay@pressfreedom.org

World Learning

Conducts education, training and field projects worldwide. Founded in 1932 as The U.S. Experiment in International Living.

www.worldlearning.org
1015 15th St. NW, Suite 750
Washington, D.C. 20005
Phone: (202) 408-5420
Fax: (202) 408-5397
E-mail: wlid@worldlearning.org

World Press Freedom Committee

A watchdog for free news media, the WPFC monitors press freedom issues and of coordinates responses to press freedom threats or restrictions.

www.wpfc.org/index.jsp
11690-C Sunrise Valley Dr.
Reston, Va. 20191
Phone: (703) 715-9811
Fax: (703) 620-6790
E-mail: freepress@wpfc.org

World Press Institute

Journalism trade organization; media developer. Brings international journalists to the United States on fellowships.

www.macalester.edu/~wpi/
1576 Summit Ave.
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