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The priorities of the media in the era of globalisation and international trade Kimani Gecau

Introduction

The Western media, by its own admission, has been guilty of popularising an image of Africa as one that is perpetually suffering endless natural and self-inflicted catastrophes. According to this narrative, this is a continent of hopeless and hapless victims who need the “international community” to save them from those afflictions visited upon them by the malevolence of nature and of their leaders (who are represented as kleptomaniac dictators and warlords). Thus, this international community is a benign

presence, with a role to more or less save Africa from herself and help to guide her on the path towards “international” normality and acceptability. Behind the patronisation, therefore, is an ideological framing of Africa’s relationship with the developed world and the international institutions. In other words, Africa’s well known crises are caused wholly by her own internal weaknesses and she can only get out of these by depending on external help. Such a position is used more or less explicitly to justify why it is necessary for African countries to unquestioningly go along with the neo-liberal economic and political prescriptions that have come to characterise this phase of globalisation. The tendency is to respond to this reductionist position with the other

argument that Africa's problems emanate from external factors, mainly our weak position in the global economic relations and the accompanying cultural and ideological onslaught that has, over time, negatively affected the elite and turned them into a compradorial group. In any case, this argument goes, African countries have little control over their economies, and are thus not able to chart out autonomous paths of their own development.

This debate is still on-going. That it exists at all serves to underline that the factors that have led to the present crises in Africa are far from simple and transparent. They require going beyond the simple explanations popularised through the media to a more analytical understanding. It is necessary at the outset then to identify this as the major challenge facing the media, researchers, academics and those others in Africa whose mandate is to seek after knowledge and to disseminate it for the collective good. Yet, it is these, and more so the local media, who come under the strongest influences of received interpretations of, and ideologies about, Africa's crises. The institutions that should support the work of producing and disseminating information and knowledge are weak in material and human resources. On the other hand, information that is produced in the richer countries is readily available through books, workshops and seminars, the Internet and other information technology.

What is to be done?

Given this rather uninspiring introduction, what can the media do about globalisation and international trade? However posing this question begs another: is there any need for the media to do something at all other than to explicitly or implicitly support the existing international order. Can the African media, in any case, perform differently from the way that the dominant media does towards Africa? The first of these questions (that is whether there is any need for the media to do something about the present international order) shall, I am sure be the major focus of this workshop. The media's role and

priorities, on the other hand, can be defined and discussed in the context of the broad consensus that ultimately the responsibility for overcoming the challenges facing Africa rests on us in Africa. Simply put, we in Africa should make it a top priority to work for our collective self-interest in the new order. It is here that the media in Africa should seek to locate itself and to define its role and priorities. At the same time, it is also important to know what factors have undermined our efforts to work for our best interests and to discuss how these can be overcome.

Background to the crises

Decolonisation and demise of authoritarian colonial rule did not lead to "developmental states" in Africa as it did in some Asian countries. Apart from this, African states (following external advice) followed what came to be recognised as a flawed development model. This is because the model they were following - the modernisation development paradigm - contained within it assumptions which were not consistent with existing realities. This was also a paradigm that was highly dependent on ideas, planning and technical assistance from the developed countries.

Accordingly, it was not long before both the donor community and African governments themselves came to question the validity and effectiveness of the well-meaning, albeit naive, assumptions underlying development co-operation. Others have noted that one reason why aid seemed to perform better in Europe after the Second World War and in East Asia than it did in Africa is because there was far greater human capacity in Europe than there was in Africa. Another reason is that many African countries were not able to properly manage their macroeconomics policies in the period during which aid was flowing in.

African states were able to achieve commendable growth in the 1960s and early 1970s and to fulfil, to an extent, the "social bargain" of the anti-colonial nationalist coalition. This varied from populist to radical measures such as the

boosting of domestic consumption, Africanising certain aspects of the economy, promotion of self-reliance, nationalisation of foreign capital, public ownership of assets and promotion of an import substitution industrialisation project. This enhanced the interventionist role of the state and fitted in well with its nation-building objectives.

The steady growth was to be weakened by the oil crises of the 1970s. The decline in growth led to decline in the state's social and welfare programmes and made it difficult for the state to maintain the "social bargain". By the time of the second oil crisis in 1979 which was to be followed by the debt crisis of the 1980s it was clear that the old approaches and models were not working.

This situation opened the way to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and the locking of African countries into the "Washington Consensus" prescriptions. Presently, among the factors contributing to the low rates of economic growth in the poorer countries are adverse terms of trade, low foreign direct investment, poor internal resource base, high dependence on aid and high external debts. It is also worth pointing out that aid inflows to the region have been decreasing drastically since 1990. Indeed the daunting challenge facing the region is how to attain sustainable development (understood as human-centred and including economic, social, political and cultural factors).

Impact of trade and globalisation

We cannot here fully discuss the involved and far reaching question of Africa's place in trade and globalisation. Nonetheless it is pertinent to raise some points to do with the significance of this in order to highlight the role of the media. What is clear, and is more or less a part of everyday discussion, is that African economies are closely linked to the international donor countries and institutions, and to global economic and trade policies and practices. However while many continue to look up to aid as a short, or even long, term measure for

helping African countries to get out of the current crises, the reality is that aid to Africa has been declining after the Cold War. James Wolfensohn, the World Bank's president, has, for example, pointed out that foreign aid to Africa has fallen drastically from \$32 per head in 1990 to \$19 in 1998 (Hakata, M. 'Home truths by European journalists', *New African*, August 2001). This has happened as inflows of foreign direct investments have also been turning to a trickle.

The alternative, which is regional and international trade (especially given Africa's rich natural resources), however poses problems. On the one hand, an equitably organised world trade has the potential to effectively address our economic and social crises by supporting economic growth and reducing poverty. As Oxfam has stated, "If Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Latin America were each to increase their share of world exports by one per cent, the resulting gains in income could lift 128 million people out of poverty. In Africa alone, this would generate US\$70bn - approximately five times what the continent receives in aid".

However the rules that govern the global trade order do not allow for this. Those rich countries which promote "free" trade are guilty of protecting their own economies through subsidies and other measures. In the words of James Wolfensohn, "It is hypocritical to give debt relief with one hand, then deny poor countries the ability to export their way out of poverty with the other. Rich countries must open their markets and reduce their agricultural subsidies. The OECD today spends more than \$300 billion a year on agricultural subsidies, a total roughly equivalent to the entire GDP of sub-Saharan Africa" (Hakata, 2001).

Oxfam has calculated that rich countries spend \$1bn every day on agricultural subsidies with the resulting surpluses being dumped on world markets. This undermines the livelihoods of millions of smallholder farmers in poor countries. At the same time, 'When developing countries export to rich-country markets,

they face tariff barriers that are four times higher than those encountered by rich countries. Those barriers cost them US\$100bn a year - twice as much as they receive in aid.

It is such practices which have led global NGOs and global social movements to question the rules governing international trade and to charge that these rules are “rigged”; they exhibit “double standards” and “lock poor people out of the benefits of trade, closing the door to an escape route from poverty”. They do this because they protect the interests of rich countries and powerful transnational corporations, while imposing huge costs on developing countries. This bias raises fundamental questions about the legitimacy of the WTO.

Globalisation and the media

Globalisation is a multifaceted phenomenon that has come to mean different things to different people. It is important to consider this as an approach to development that has informed 1) the way that the wider social-political situation and processes of trade and development have been understood and practised, and 2) the definition of the media's role in this process and how the media has come to represent itself.

For those in the media, it is important to understand globalisation from the point of view of two notable tendencies 1) the growth of mammoth media oligopolies alongside the technological convergence made possible by new technologies particularly digitalisation, 2) the claim that media products should also be a part of global free trade. The big media organisations therefore argue for deregulation and the liberalisation of the free flow of cultural products and information. It is also important to note the predominance of the USA in this process leading some to point at the Americanisation of the industry. Deregulation has made it possible for cross-media ownership. This has made it possible for media mergers and alliances in order to build synergies around technological and media convergences

resulting in mega-media corporations worth billions of dollars. Thus, for the mega-media organisations, the globalisation of the cultural and service industries has become a major source for corporate profits. These industries have also extended their monopolies by including intellectual property rights (IPR), in particular ‘copyrights’ and ‘patents’ among their interests. These developments have far reaching repercussions on public communication especially in Africa. More to the point has been the effect on global flows of media products on local social and cultural forms, norms and behaviour and, hence, values and identities.

Media workers and society in general do need to understand these developments in global communications and their consequences for society. For those of us in Africa, it is especially useful to remember that historically there has been awareness that the global media situation and the flow of information has been unequal and unfair. It was such an understanding that led to calls in the 1970s and 1980s for the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) leading to the setting up of the McBride Commission. However this, and the accompanying push for a New World Economic Order were superseded by the emergent supremacy of the neo-liberal global order.

During discussions over a fair and equitable communication order in the 1980s, governments in developing countries were seeking to work through UNESCO. Today discussions over the media, the flow of information and cultural products have moved to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor, the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Here communication has come to be defined as a service and ‘is said to include everything from the products of cultural industries to telecommunications services, tourism and management techniques’ (Mattelart, 1999: 4). This means that the media and what is called ‘information highways’ come under the same rules that govern global trade in

goods and services. In other words, they are regarded as commodities.

On the other hand, the concerns that led to calls for a new world information and communication order have not diminished. To the contrary, during the last few years, in fact, what we have witnessed is not a decrease in inequalities but rather in the widening of the gap between the media rich and the media poor. New technologies and media organisations, as we have seen, have become concentrated within a few corporate groups in a few countries, they are accessible to a few in the developing world (especially in Africa), while the majority of people remain marginalised and excluded. Alongside this growing inequality inside individual countries has been the ever growing gap in wealth between the rich and the poor countries. These two dimensions of inequality have a bearing on:

- ? the ways that the social groups and whole countries experience inclusion or exclusion in the new global order;
- ? how the media in a specific country relates to the media in other countries and how far it is able to generate its own indigenous content;
- ? how the different social groups have access to the new information technology (such as cell-phones and the internet);
- ? how access or not to this new technology shapes the cultural and entertainment tastes of the different social groups and how this influences what each group expects of the media;
- ? how the local and regional media attempt to meet the demands placed on it by the global media situation, the owners and advertisers and the social groups whom it purports to serve.

Role of the media

In Western Liberal democracies, there are normative values associated with the media by a society. Briefly the media are expected to provide what is regarded as a "public" good – and to do so responsibly.

In ordinary life, people want to reach understanding. The media are expected to

help and provide a “public” service in this through (among others)

- ? facilitating and mediating communication between knowledgeable others and their audience,
- ? providing a forum for exchange of views and comments and criticism - and being carriers of “public” expression,
- ? projecting a representative picture of the constituent groups in society and their respective interests and needs,
- ? clarifying and representing the goals of society,
- ? discouraging the slanting of news to fit editorial policies,
- ? avoiding of reporting that would promote hatred, suspicion and hostility within and between nations.

This provides a reference point in our discussion of the media's expected role. However we should hasten to emphasise that this is only a reference point in that the normative role of western media's role itself could be arguably modified to serve our own purposes as developing countries. Further, it is always appropriate to remind ourselves that normative values are ideals which should be aimed for. The reality is often quite different.

Media role in Africa

In reality the media's role in Africa has been defined by social-historical circumstances in general and, more particularly, by dominant groups. During the 1960s, mainly American theorists of media and communication identified the media as a major tool in development. The new post-colonial states concurred with this definition and thus began a sub-discipline known as “development communication”. The two decades of “development”(the 1960s and 1970s) were to be characterised by a strong (and enduring) belief in the efficacy of the use of the media (especially the radio) for development. Hence most governments, were to take control of the electronic media in order, ostensibly, to promote development. However this effort was to

falter when it was realised that the understanding of the “development” that the media was to promote was faulty as it rested on the modernisation theory of development. In any case there was not enough conceptual understanding of how communication works in development efforts and the theoretical understanding of how the media works in a society was flawed.

To the leadership, however, “development” was only one of the challenges they thought they had to overcome after independence. There were fears of cleavages along “tribal” lines and hence concerns with national integration and “nation-building” with emphasis on national integrity/identity/integration. These two aspects - “development” and “nation-building” were to define the two ideological underpinnings of the role defined for the media up to the end of the cold war.

Thus the whole nation comes to be defined as the media’s audience. However the underlying assumption was that the people had *all* to learn from outsiders about development and “nation-building” from outsiders and nothing to contribute. The new state itself was quite happy to hire “experts” from the outside for the endeavour. Thus began the dominant communication model in Africa of the global world (posing as “experts”) communicating to the people of Africa through the political and other elite (including the bureaucratic and *business* elite). The media’s role was to merely act as a means through which this top-down communication was to take place.

However in more “political” matters, the media was also expected to mobilise the populace to follow the ideological inclination of the government and/or head of state (justified as part of national integration). This role was to increasingly take precedence. It had more to do with state-building - and with the government’s concern with its own legitimacy and hegemonic interests. Once again, this state-building project promoted a top-down communication model with

the state and political leaders speaking through the media and the audience passively listening.

This background explains why we may begin to understand how both “development experts” (and this includes members of this group to the present) and the state have used the media as a means for social and political control in the name of development and nation building. The definition of the media as a tool for “development” and of the dissemination of centralised state (and associated class) policies accomplished some fundamental changes in what had been developing as a model of the African press during colonialism:

- ? it turned its back on expressions of popular and progressive sentiments that had been characteristic of the anti-colonial struggles (that is, the mainstream media did this),
- ? it distanced the mainstream media from providing a defined constituency or audience a forum to express their interests (for example the mainstream colonial media in the Southern African region and in Kenya decidedly served the interests of the white community (not the state) -the post- colonial media was expected to serve the “nation” through the state)
- ? it failed to provide a meeting ground between popular and more traditional needs and forms of self-expression (which were mostly oral based) and the more official means of communication.

In short the experts and official definition of the role of the media could neither lead to the media to meaningfully play the role it was expected to. To the contrary, it may have contributed to the creation and development of the social cleavage between the rich and the poor; between those whose voices would be heard and those who are expected to be mere listeners.

Priorities

Arising from this discussion, the priorities for the media are more or less obvious. The institutional advantages of the media can be used in the area of mobilising public contribution into, and support for, national and regional policy formulation and negotiation and creating a public opinion on what are the nation's and region's priorities. These needs can also be met through education, specialised training for professional and the strengthening of research capacity. The media are critical because they provide a platform for promoting interactive dialogue in trade policy negotiations and establishing or strengthening of trade information networks.

It is also obvious that the media have an indispensable role to play in developing consciousness of the issues involved, acting as a forum for discussions and dissemination of seminar and conference outputs and research findings and generally building "publics" around this important issue that concerns citizens in the region. Above all it is important to remember that trade is about negotiations and the media can play a critical role in public discussions of the issues at stake. (Note the absence of news on trade in the present media).

Economy and 'experts'

There is a saddening attitude among many that matters to do with the economy and global trade relations are best left to the "experts" in government and academia. This is flawed thinking because the consequences of these relations affects everyone: governments, the private sector, farmers, workers, and other groups in civil society. They even affect children and unborn babies.

Where the media owners are concerned, a lot of indigenous owners should be sympathetic to the argument that a weak economy exposes them to constant uncertainty and risks. In some developing countries weak economies have led to the concentration of media ownership and control of media organisations by transnational corporations. Further it is to the interest of all that the media be not

constrained by weaknesses in the economic and political orders.

Fallacies about international trade

Globalisation is shrouded with a lot of myths and fallacies that need to be exposed. However the fact that forces behind globalisation are able to mobilise a powerful technological and ideological offensive makes this undertaking a necessary but difficult one.

There is need to understand what is happening at the global level not least because wrong policies have had such a devastating impact not only on our economic but on the whole fabric of our lives. It has indeed been surprising that such little attention has been paid in the media and other institutions to the change in thinking that has been taking place within the World Bank reflected in its World Development Report of 2000. The then chief economist of the World Bank, Nicholas Stern, told reporters that ". . . too much of the debate has focussed on the false choice between free market reforms, or developing effective government programmes to manage the economy and ensure that the benefits of economic growth reach the poor, on the other. In fact countries have to get both right".

Conclusion

Think of the media as an important meeting point of the political, the economic and the cultural - in other words of the major factors that a whole society in its everyday life and in its relations with others - is involved in. This can be done by revisiting the concept of public broadcasters and the public role of the media. It also means re-introducing the role of the state as a guarantor and protector of ordinary citizens from exclusion by the profit logic of market-based media organisations; and of new (and unaffordable technologies). However, journalists do need specialised training in this area, that is, reporting on economic matters in ways that ordinary people can understand.

The media may have to rediscover some of the more positive insights behind the

participative approach to communication and development in order to re-invent itself. This approach poses to communicators and media practitioners the challenge to address social issues, to make people aware and to fully understand their social, economic and political situation, nature of their problems and the causes and also to empower them to become informed and active participants in the decision making process. This in short means a conscious project of producing citizens out of subjects. It also means a citizenry who understand why they should, as a matter of necessity, understand and question their position in the global order.

This is an abridged version of the paper presented by Dr Kimani Gecau, at a workshop (Kadoma Conference Centre 24-27 February 2003) organised by SEATINI for the media in southern Africa. Gecau is a lecturer in Media and Communication Studies at the University of Zimbabwe in Harare, Zimbabwe.

How the media should influence development and international trade issues

Last Moyo

Introduction

It is quite tempting to just give a bookish list of what the role of the media in development and international trade is or ought to be. Anyone who cares to read may say one or two things about that. However the difficult thing is to give a context to issues, views and perspectives. I am saying this not only because the concern about what role the media should play in development is not new, but also because at the end of the day, it is only contextualised information that can help us in making informed policies, especially on trade and development. Our reality is that we are in Africa. We are Africans and most of us are black. In the era of the so-called global village, any discussion about how the media must handle development and trade issues must not be alienated from our own condition and experiences as Africans. We must think from the

Afrocentric perspective with no apologies because what it means in essence is putting our experiences and history first, without, however, being foolishly radical and fundamentalist about them. Globalisation as a process is not neutral or value free.

The concerns about the media agenda in development, and development initiatives themselves are not new things in Africa. The fact that there have been previous development initiatives where the media also played a role raises two very critical questions:

1. What were those development initiatives; what was their content and form; who were the authors?
2. What role did the media play and how best could those roles have been performed?

A quick commentary on the previous development initiatives and the role of the media could be instructive:

Colonialism

Colonialism was hailed by the colonisers as an advance of civilisation, progress and indeed development. But how could Africa be developed through the plunder and loot of her wealth to develop the West? The colonial media failed to promote development because they were racist media. They marginalised the majority of the people i.e. blacks from the development agenda, and when a lot of people do not participate in any development process it is bound to fail. In instances where colonial media sought to interpolate blacks as subjects of Western development through mobile cinema and radio, communication was still non-participatory, it remained essential top-down and authoritarian.

Decade of development (1950-60s)

In 1949, the US government and multilateral institutions like the IMF and the World Bank devised a Point Four programme that was meant to harness Africa into modernisation and develop it in the same manner Europe had been developed in the Marshall Plan after World War Two. The media became part

of this agenda and they were tasked with changing people's cultures and habits.

Why did this model fail?

Both the development model and the media undermined the role of a people's culture as an essential conduit for cultural domination. Modernisation did not only become another form of cultural imperialism, but also led to the ideological disempowerment and the concomitant underdevelopment of African countries through development. Westernisation was confused with civilisation and development. The media was guilty of undermining local development initiatives. The denigration of African cultures, values and the African being by the media of the modernisation era, erroneously projected development as being only possible outside African cultures that were seen as stumbling block.

Dealing with development and trade

Globalisation has given the media and everybody yet another challenge to distinguish between rhetoric and reality as far as the so-called global village and free market trade policies are concerned. Generally, through the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF, WB) and the WTO, we are told that we are now a single family co-existing peacefully in the so-called global village. The global village is a world where communities (business communities included) can interact with speed in space and time through the Information Communication Technologies and the global media, nations can interact without risking their cultural, economic, and even political spaces; food, shelter and clothing are a human right and human life and dignity take precedence in any decisions by the state or market. This is how far as the promises go but one wonders whether that is exactly what happens. The major policy dictates which are generally seen as a panacea for all our development and trade problems are as follows:

Opening up

Countries are urged to open up their economies. This is so that multiple players can enter the market. Many players lead to competition and competition leads to development. Bretton

Woods institutions always forget to tell us about the growth of cartels, monopolies and even oligopolies that squash the local initiatives.

Privatisation of public institutions

Privatisation means that the state's form, autonomy, and legitimacy are compromised because of domination by transnational corporations. This makes the majority of the poor people, mostly peasants and lowly paid workers to suffer. They can no longer afford health services, education and food due to the collapse of the welfare state. Yet the state, must always have social responsibility towards its citizens.

Rich getting richer

The global economy can only develop and benefit all of us if the international political economy, world economic order, and the accompanying trade policies are just. Currently, the development and trade policies weigh far too heavily in favour of the North at the expense of the South. Only the business elite of TNCs in the metropolitan and the petty bourgeoisie in the periphery are enjoying the fruits from IMF, WB, and WTO policies.

Consider these facts:

Of the largest economies in the world, 52 are TNCs, and only 48 are countries. Mitsubishi is 22nd largest economy in the world. General Motors is the 26th, Ford is the 31st. All are larger than most Third World economies (Institute of Policy Studies, *Top 200:the Rise of Corporate Global Power*, 2000).

The sales of the Top 200 companies in the world are growing at a faster rate than the overall global economic activity. In 1999 the sales of the Top five corporations; General Motors, Exxon Mobil, Ford Motors, Wal Mart and Daimler Chrysler, were bigger than the GDPs of 182 countries (*Top 200:the Rise of Corporate Global Power*, 2000).

Surely these are issues that are crying out for media attention. The concentration of wealth in a few hands constitutes a threat to global peace. Above all it is a threat to the dignity and integrity of human life.

Our media, private and public, need to criticise such primitive policies in the same manner they criticise the politicians. The journalistic ethics are clear- Thou shall not jump into bed with the State or the Market.

Development and democracy

The media must ensure the development of democracy and democratic institutions intra-nationally as well as internationally. Democratisation and development are one and the same thing, you cannot think of development outside democracy and democracy outside development. The media must hold multilateral institutions like the WTO, IMF and the World Bank accountable in the same manner we want our parliament, judiciary, and executive to be accountable. The injustice of the unipolar world where the powerful countries are using these institutions to foster their economic and political interests must be condemned by all media. In other words the media are supposed to be watchdogs on behalf of us all.

Human rights

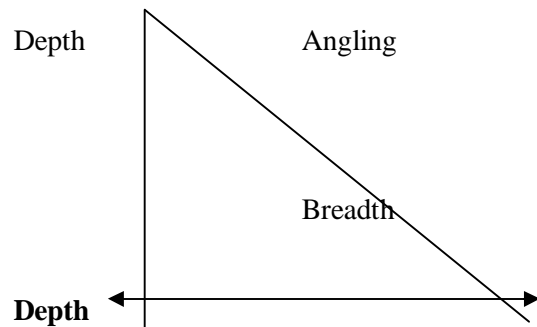
The media must promote and brandish human rights concepts because these are universal and not discriminatory. All races, classes and cultures are deserving of their enjoyment. All well meaning journalists know that when the media force the state to observe the rule of law and respect human rights, they are actually broadening the political public sphere and its concomitant freedoms. It is when people freely express themselves through the media of their choice that those who govern the nation-states and even the world can design better and relevant policies for national and global development. So in essence, the point is that the media must promote and not be antagonistic to human rights discourses.

Development and trade can only thrive in a peaceful environment. Africa and the Middle East continue to be projected by the media in stereotypical ways of suicidal belligerency, volatility, ethnic and religious intolerances. Oftentimes, as journalists we have failed to address the real causes of these wars and merely discuss the symptoms. Some of these wars

are a product of the unjust global policies that leave governments and citizens of weaker nations scrambling for crumbs. The media must know that lasting solutions to the conflicts that plague Africa can only be found if they, together with institutions like the African Union, discuss national and global development issues honestly. While we have a right to freedom of expression as the media that right is not absolute, as it must always be balanced with obligations and the need to respect other people's rights.

Issue oriented reporting

Three challenges face our media in reporting not only trade and development issues, but also just many other issues. Without limiting the impact of ownership, editorial policies, agenda and indeed other macro-societal factors like policy, the challenges can be summarised as depth, breadth and angling. The triangle below shows a graphic illustration of this:



Depth
How analytical are we on development and trade issues? Do we discuss the real issues or we grapple with symptoms?

Breadth

How many sources are we using for a story on global trade? Have we considered other voices from civil society, government, private sector, labour, gender, race, class? How accommodating are we about critical, oppositional and alternative views on globalisation and international trade policies?

Angling

What do we consider as news in a story on development and trade? Do we inform, educate or sensationalise? Do we focus on personalities or issues?

Conclusion

The role of the media in changing the status quo of unjust trade policies and ushering in people-driven development must not be viewed in isolation from other institutional contributions. African governments particularly, have a responsibility to create conducive media policies that allow the media to excel in these stated obligations. The private sector must not sit and watch either as they also have an obligation to expand other communications media so that national as well as international development is achieved.

This is an abridged version of the paper presented by Last Moyo, at a workshop (Kadoma Conference Centre 24-27 February 2003) organised by SEATINI for the media in southern Africa. Moyo is a lecturer in Journalism and Media Studies at the National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Reporting NEPAD in Africa: Where is the missing story?

Robert Ndlovu

Introduction

It is important before delving much into the media aspect of this paper to briefly look at what NEPAD is? Who the main actors are and how it was conceived?

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a holistic, comprehensive and integrated strategic framework for the socio-economic development of Africa. The primary objective of NEPAD is to eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African Countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, to thus halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process.

According to the NEPAD document, the goals of NEPAD are:

1. To achieve and sustain an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of above 7 per cent per annum for the next 15 years;

2. To ensure that the continent achieves the agreed International Development Goals (IDGs), which are to:

- ? reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015;
- ? enrol all children of school age in primary schools by 2015;
- ? make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2005;
- ? reduce infant and child mortality ratios by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015;
- ? reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015;
- ? provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015;
- ? implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005, so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.

The strategy has the following expected outcomes:

Economic growth and development and increased employment; reduction in poverty and inequality; diversification of productive activities, enhanced international competitiveness and increased exports; increased African integration.

The proponents of this initiative, are the State Leaders of South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal and Algeria who also form the Steering Committee. The initiative is a result of various Afro-initiatives like the "Millenium Africa Recovery Programme" of President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), Obasanjo (Nigeria) and Bouteflika (Algeria) and the "Omega Plan" of President Wade of Senegal who have tried to draw the new processes for African development.

What NEPAD refers to is however not new to Africa as many concepts have come and gone and still left Africa worse off than she was before. What then makes

NEPAD a more attractive and a constructive intervention? Was NEPAD better explained and understood by the generality of the citizens and other stakeholders in Africa? How will NEPAD be implemented? What role will the Citizens of Africa play?

All these questions spell out the missing links between NEPAD and the vast communities of Africa who are unwilling recipients who have largely depended on the Western Press to learn more about the programme.

Role of media

It is important to note that for any development initiative to be considered serious, it has to incorporate at least an element of participation by the intended beneficiaries. This is done to ensure that there is a universal acceptance and compliance to the vision, objectives and the general provisions of the overall programme.

With NEPAD one finds that the finer details of NEPAD are not disclosed. How will the programme benefit the poor of the poorest? How will the success of the programme be measured or assessed? The media reports in Africa have mainly been narrative, highlighting what the Western World and the proponents of NEPAD have to say about the programme. Faced with this scenario, People found it difficult to clearly understand what NEPAD was all about. Without any clear cut consensus being arrived at, it is worrying that NEPAD should be given the green light to proceed to implementation stage without subjecting it to a litmus test.

The media has an important role as 'catalysts' in initiating a broad based popular dialogue on NEPAD, facilitate the integration of academics, civil society and other stakeholders into the processes of NEPAD; support and give prominence to lobby and advocacy process to engage the ordinary people and politicians. NEPAD must be unpacked a conducive environment created for greater understanding and contribution from a wider section of the continent. The media

need to provide checks and balances that ensure that the processes of policy formulation are made transparent and decentralised to the lowest possible sectors of society.

It has been noted that development theory no longer conforms to simplistic modernist paradigms but to more concrete socio-economic and political factors that take into account such unconscious factors of processes of change, of culture, tradition or the human heart. To this end, the biggest challenge facing the media is to understand the development context into which NEPAD is being initiated. This entails the knowledge of the exact position the people of Africa, civil society, politicians and other stakeholders are in, in relation to the processes of NEPAD.

Unpacking NEPAD

NEPAD seeks to overcome the marginalisation of Africa and to reduce poverty. This is said with the firm belief that;

- ? Africa has a great potential and wealth
- ? Poverty in Africa is a result of Colonialism prior to independence and bad governance and corruption after independence.

With the new partnership for African development, the initiative recognises that it is necessary to come up with new reforms which can be itemised as follows;

1. Need to stabilise mechanisms for conflict prevention at Regional and Continental level
2. Promote good governance, human rights, transparency and the participation of civil society at national and local levels.
3. Facilitate the creation of a transparent framework for free markets
4. Stabilising the provision of education, training and health service with a special focus on HIV/AIDS and malaria prevention.
5. Promotion of the role of women by ending gender disparities.

6. Promotion of stable agricultural systems and infrastructure that promote stability within an export oriented processing industry economy.

However all these new initiatives were not built on a solid foundation of a self sustaining revolving fund generated by the African countries themselves but that the whole initiative seems to be bent on trying to attract foreign investment. In other ways, the document can purely be seen as a publicity or marketing document. It has been criticised from different sectors as perpetuating “begging” from outsiders. It has also been criticised for not having a clear strategy to address the current poverty in Africa including the unemployment crisis.

The G7s response that NEPAD provides a “paradigm shift” in development thinking on Africa renders most of those who have not participated in the formulation process unwilling recipients. The fear that have been raised is that NEPAD further perpetuates the ‘divide and rule’ concept which was successfully used by the west for decades. Those African Leaders who do not subscribe to the provisions of NEPAD, will be left out and the whole concept of ‘African Renaissance’ lost.

The North has argued that NEPAD is more acceptable than previous plans. It is not surprising that the North would find NEPAD more acceptable than all the other initiatives that Africa has generated. This is mainly a result of the fact that NEPAD largely follows the kinds of conditions that have been demanded by creditor and donor countries before both in terms of governance and economic strategy.

In this light it is very difficult to perceive an equal partnership arising from this initiative. The North still remains a powerful partner having control over the global economy, trade and technology. Africa remains a recipient. It is only through a miracle that the North can accept the conditionalities from below to embrace the new initiatives from Africa.

From the foregoing, it is very important to note that what NEPAD seeks to address, are issues retarding development in Africa although the corrective processes are not put in the right and more sustainable perspective. If it is agreed that the overall thrust of this initiative is development or eradication of poverty, it is important that this process of developing a development programme has to include all the actors in Africa-the people, civil society, media, politicians and all relevant stakeholders.

This means that NEPAD has to be put under spotlight. The speed at which it is being subjected to by its proponents to try and ‘fast-track’ it for approval has to be halted and the participatory process instituted.

Food for thought for the media

Having discussed to some extent about NEPAD though not comprehensively, it is prudent that we look at the media and how it can fit into the whole process of reporting about NEPAD. A standpoint has to be taken if the media is to come up with a realistic stance that can be understood by all. The first point that we have to agree on is that NEPAD attempts to redress colonial imbalances and reduce poverty in Africa, NEPAD tries to instill a sense of self-reliance and above all eliminate underdevelopment.

If a common understanding is reached, then NEPAD can be subjected to a litmus test. A test that puts the whole document to public scrutiny. The first step will be to understand that development is a process, it can not be caused but can be nurtured just like a biological system. One can not simply work up and become an adult but has to undergo certain biological developments to reach the adult stage. Whilst this biological perspective may be perceived as a simplistic model, it gives more currency to the fact that the stage at which NEPAD is now in relation to the perceived ‘beneficiaries’, has a lot of biological deficiencies.

In a developmental perspective, the Community Development Resource Association, says that development

happens in three distinct phases. The first one is that of dependence. This is a time of great learning and skills acquisition in which the media and other agents of change provide the necessary inputs for great understanding and growth.

The second stage is that of dependence which provides a much more developed picture in the metamorphosis from the first stage. This stage entails self-reliance attained through own experiments and achievements. The final stage is the one of inter-dependence, a stage where the Africa that we have been trying to create realises that full potential can only be achieved through effective collaboration with others.

It is incumbent on the media that they facilitate an environment that will allow the 'Africa' as a whole to learn and acquire new skills of analysis, understanding and above all making informed choices. This entails the provision of correct and precise information which informs decision making and creates opportunities for debate.

The essential aspects to be looked at in this instance will be the origins of NEPAD, who the authors are and what inspired them to develop this programme? How has been the consultative processes? What has been done to minimise the negative effects of NEPAD? Who stands to benefit from this perceived "partnership" between the North and South?. Once the answers to these questions have been answered and a two way communication established, the NEPAD is geared to move on to the second phase. A phase of independence. This is when the media reports should be able to make independent assessments of our period of great learning and establishing the continent as unique and self-reliant bearing in mind that Africa has had interventions for more than four decades which have not take her out of the under-development limbo.

This is an opportunity for the press to engage the politicians and civil society to

draw up self-sustaining initiatives that will seek inter-dependence rather than perpetuate 'begging'. Once these positions have been established, it is easy to come up with smart partnerships that emphasise equal partnerships based on sharing the same or more or less the same vision with resources pulled together equally to make the world a better place to live in.

The food for thought for the media is that NEPAD is here to stay and has provided an opportunity for the case of Africa to be heard whether the hearing is partial or full it does not matter. What is important is whether the media is ready? Ready to engage with NEPAD and put the whole case of Africa in a global debate based on facts. Facts arising from a popular dialogue and consensus resolutions from multi-stakeholder meetings.

Conclusion:

I would like to conclude this paper by taking an excerpt from Professor Tandon's paper *NEPAD and FDI: Symmetries and Contradictions*:

The sentiment behind NEPAD is noble. It is to put Africa on a self-reliant path to development where Africans themselves own the processes. But, as they say, the road to hell is often paved with good intentions. The intentions notwithstanding, the practical effect of NEPAD would be to surrender the human rights of the people of Africa (their rights to food, water, energy etc) to the whims of volatile and untrustworthy global capital.

It is important to note that there can never be any meaningful development if the basics of policy formulation like participation are ignored. Similarly, there will never be any effective participation if the information disseminated does not provide opportunities for popular dialogue amongst the people of Africa.

This is an abridged version of the paper presented by Robert Ndlovu, at a workshop (Kadoma Conference Centre

24-27 February 2003) organised by SEATINI for the media in Southern Africa. Ndlovu is the Regional Manager of the Zimbabwe Decentralised Cooperation Programme.

The World Trade Organisation: Where do journalists come in?

Jane Nalunga

Globalisation and trade

The world today is one global village where developments in one region can dramatically have significant consequences for the well being of communities in quite different regions of the globe. It is a rapidly shrinking world signifying increasing intensity of inter-regional flows and interactions. This interconnectedness is what is referred to as globalisation. Globalisation, which has been fuelled primarily by trade and technology, is not a new phenomenon but over time it has been organised and institutionalised in different ways.

As early as the late 15th century with the beginning of slave trade, Africa has been integrated into the global economy purposely to ease and to serve external needs- the needs of the developed world.

In the 1980`s, globalisation assumed a new face. A number of scholars have referred to this contemporary phase of globalisation as a new mode of Western imperialism in which multinational capital has come to replace military power as the primary instrument of domination. It espouses the principles of free trade, capital mobility, and global competition, and the driving force behind it are the World Bank (WB) , International Monetary Fund (IMF) , and the Trans National Corporations (TNCs). Today there is an intensive and vicious competition among TNCs for investment opportunities, markets, cheap sources of raw materials and labour. The competition is all about making profits. The governments of the industrialised countries have been co-opted in this crusade to further the interests of their TNCs by ensuring an enabling

environment for their operations i.e through formal Agreements like the WTO.

Of all the institutions of economic global governance, the WTO is the most directly involved in the globalisation process. Although it was purposively formed to ensure an equitable global trading system, due to its inherent systemic asymmetries, imbalances and deficiencies, the WTO has just ensured the further opening up of the economies of developing countries through various agreements. It is against this background that the WTO, its structure and operations, should be viewed.

The WTO

The World Trade Organisation formally established on 1st January 1995 is the most important international organisation dealing with international trade. The framework for the conduct of international trade dates as far back as 1945 when after the 2nd World War, three institutions were set up as part of the post war settlement. These were:

- ✍ The International Monetary (IMF) to enable the creation and functioning of a stable monetary and financial system.
- ✍ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – IBRD (World Bank) to facilitate the longer term investment of capital for productive purposes.
- ✍ The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) with the main objective of liberalising trade through the reduction of protectionism provided through tariffs.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The GATT provided a framework for negotiations on the levels of tariff. GATT had no governing body; instead its rules were negotiated by member governments in a series of Rounds or negotiations. The following Rounds of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTNs) have taken place in the GATT leading to a significant reduction in tariffs:

- ✍ (i) Geneva (1947) , (ii) Annecy (1948) , (iii) Torquay (1950) , (iv)

Geneva (1956), (v) Dillon (1960-1961) , (vi) Kennedy (1964-1967) , (vii) Tokyo (1973 -1979) and Uruguay (1986 -1994) .

✍ The members of GATT (called contracting parties) were not obliged to join all the agreements. Thus the GATT Agreements were *a la carte* i.e. selective.

From GATT to the WTO

In 1979 soon after the conclusion of the Tokyo round, some major developed countries started feeling that it would be desirable and necessary to expand the coverage of the Multilateral Trading System so as to include in its fold new issues such as services, Intellectual Property and Investment conditionalities. This was as a result of their rapidly growing interest in the trade of knowledge - intensive goods, in services, in the protection of intellectual property rights and in the expansion of their investment opportunities. These new issues were increasingly becoming more important for their economies than the traditional trade in goods.

There were also some major exporters of agricultural products who wanted the GATT to cover the agriculture sector, an area that was still then under soft discipline.

What should be noted here is the progressive extension of powers and jurisdiction of a provisional agreement dealing with strictly tariffs to increasingly extra -trade issues affecting domestic production and practices. What is of more concern is the fact that it was a select club of the developed countries driving the process.

It was against this background that the Uruguay Round of MTNs was launched in 1986.

Birth of WTO

At the end of the Uruguay Round in 1995, at Marrakech, the World Trade Organisation was born with more comprehensive objectives and functions; a wider scope and membership (144

members), different approach and a new set of rights and obligations of WTO members which came to be known as a “single undertaking”.

The WTO Agreements include:

- 1) The WTO incorporated the GATT as it was on 1st January 1995, that is the Multilateral Agreements on Trade in Goods and other agreements in the area of goods i.e. the twelve agreements covering the following areas:

Agriculture, Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures, Textiles and Clothing, Technical Barriers to Trade, Trade- related investment measures, Anti-dumping, Customs Valuations, Pre-shipment Inspections, Rules of Origin, Import Licensing, and Subsidies Safeguard.

- 2) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)
- 3) Agreement on Trade -related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)
- 4) Trade Policy review Mechanism
- 5) Understanding on the Settlement of Disputes,
- 6) Plurilateral agreements in 2 sectors - Civil Aircraft and Government procurement. (Those on Dairy and Bovine meat have been discontinued) .(Not all members are signatory to these agreements)

The developed countries want to expand the WTO further to include the Singapore issues: Trade facilitation, investment, Transparency in government procurement and competition policy.

Structure

The WTO is an international intergovernmental organisation with its highest policy making organ being the Ministerial Conference, which is composed of representatives of all the member countries. The conference meets every 2 years and the ministers of trade represent member countries.

In the intervals between the Ministerial Conferences, the General Council, which is composed of Ambassadors designated by the member countries, oversees the operations of the agreements and ministerial decisions on a regular basis.

The General Council also acts as a Dispute Settlement Body and a Trade Policy Review Body, though each has its own chairperson. There are other bodies that report to the General Council i.e the Council for Trade in Goods, the Council for trade in services, the council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs).

There are also other forums, known as committees, which cover specific issues and carry out the functions assigned to them by the General Council. What should be noted here is that the WTO system of the Committees of the whole is a burden to developing countries. Some countries cannot even afford a presence in Geneva this has implications on the decision making process in the WTO.

The WTO Secretariat is based in Geneva and is headed by a Director General (DG) who is appointed for a period of 4 years. The Ministerial Conference appoints the DG who, in turn appoints the staff members of the secretariat. Although the secretariat is supposed to facilitate the members, it has become an important player in the decision-making, influencing the direction of the WTO trade agenda.

Main functions

- ✍ Administer the implementation of the multilateral and plurilateral trade agreements.
- ✍ Forum for multilateral trade negotiations: In some cases the negotiations are carried out as part of the regular work of the WTO in the councils, and in others in high profile and formal ministerial meetings. The decision making process in these negotiations is flawed, characterised by manipulations and lack of transparency making it difficult for developing countries to adequately participate or

have their views reflected in the decisions taken.

- ✍ Dispute settlement: The system of retaliation is inappropriate for members with such diverse and unequal capacities.
- ✍ Overseeing national trade policy: This has led to the erosion of national sovereignty and narrowed the ability of governments and people to make policy choices

Where and when do journalists come in?

When I consider the whole phenomenon of globalisation, what is lacking among us is the lack of awareness about its implication on our very survival. There is an I-do-not-care attitude within many members of the media, the NGOs and even the policy makers. Yet globalisation is real and we need to devise strategies to confront it. The media has a responsibility put these issues on the agenda for discussion. Fortunately it has the ability to do it.

Dr Donald Chimankire – Institute of Development Studies, University of Zimbabwe; in his paper Globalisation and Africa says “ There is no generation of outspoken, frank and analytical journalists ...thus “regurgitative” journalism is the norm. This is characterised by a word for word reproduction of government officials’ speeches, with no analysis and no position on the part of the writer. The media is facing two major challenges: The political culture of silencing “subversive voices ” and the lack of understanding of the globalisation issues. To overcome them requires courage, interest and commitment.

This is an abridged version of the paper presented by Jane Nalunga, at a workshop (Kadoma Conference Centre 24-27 February 2003) organised by SEATINI for the media in southern Africa. Nalunga is the SEATINI Programme Coordinator in Uganda.

Editorial: The Fourth Estate should stand up and be counted in trade matters

Percy F Makombe

The term Fourth Estate can be traced to a speech delivered by Edmund Burke in the British parliament in the 18th century. Burke had just observed the other states of the domain: the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons when he is said to have looked up to the press gallery and said: "And yonder sits the Fourth Estate, more important than them all." It is quite tempting and indeed flattering to think of the media as being another constitutionally recognised arm of the government after the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature. The noble and powerful profession of the Fourth Estate has been the subject of heated debates. The media in the world now operate in a context in which the flow of information has become globalised. The globalisation of news has also seen the emergence of voices that are louder than others. Indeed voices that can be said to be more equal than others. These voices are shouting and promoting corporate led globalisation – a globalisation that has on top of its agenda the pursuance of profits at whatever cost. Should the media act as cheerleaders while such a blatantly exploitative corporate agenda is being pursued?

Journalism is more than communication of information, it also involves communication of a vision of what society could and should be. Society needs men and women of conviction to proclaim the truth without fear, to give a voice to those who have no voice and continuously call those in authority (political or economic) to the highest standards of integrity, service and moral responsibility. Journalists are called upon to promote a just society, to decry violence which wounds so many in our societies, to say no to economic exploitation and to question and challenge any programmes that are bent on profiteering at the expense of peoples livelihoods. This means that the media should report in the public interest.

This can sometimes be a complicated affair because what is in the public interest may not be interesting to the public, while what is interesting to the public may not be in the public interest. For example carrying photographs of the president's wife exercising in the gym may be interesting to the public, but it certainly is not in the public interest. On the other hand, writing stories about agriculture negotiations at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) may not be interesting to the public but it definitely is in the public interest because agriculture negotiations are about people's livelihoods. They are about what people can farm and not farm. They are about food and hunger, they are about life itself.

While it has been easy for the media to hold governments accountable they have not demonstrated as much zeal when dealing with the corporate world, especially transnational corporations. The role of the media in holding corporations accountable cannot be overemphasized. Journalists are communicators who play a vital role in interrogating the exploitation and injustices that are thrust upon the people. This means that they have to penetrate the smoke-screen of false priorities dangled to them by politicians and big business.

Talking to the participants at a media workshop in Kadoma, Zimbabwe, Professor Yash Tandon offered three levels of analysis that can be used to interrogate problems affecting Africa, namely the imperial factor, governance factor and the social factor. There is need for African leaders to balance the three factors for the success of our continent. Failure to take note of any one of them will derail development, peace and progress.

The imperial factor creates the global functions and it is responsible for the powerful empire. In 1894 Africa was divided (scramble and partitioning). Today the EU still wants to have a continued presence and an influence in African affairs. On the other hand the US is trying to restructure the global system so that it is much more dominant in international

affairs. The problem however sometimes is that African leaders over emphasize the imperial factor and ignore the other factors. The governance and social factors must not be simply discarded. How we govern ourselves and the extent to which we grant political space and respect to alternative voices is very important. People need to be given room to participate in the decision-making processes. The problem with the developed world is that they only emphasize the governance and social factors and completely ignore the imperial factor in African economics and politics. Yet the imperial factor cannot be wished away.

Trade negotiations at the WTO are invariably marked by the ineffective participation of developing countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the voice of the developing countries is hardly listened to. The current talks on agricultural trade reform serve as a good example. While European countries and the US have been persuading developing countries to open up their markets, they have protected their farmers from competition through giving them subsidies. The developed countries have also campaigned against the right of developing countries to come up with enforceable rules to protect themselves against dumping by the powerful North. The idea seems to be to come up with an Agreement on Agriculture whose intention is to open African markets to transnational corporations without due consideration of the plight of the small farmer.

In the area of TRIPS (Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) and Public Health, the US has been trying to arm-twist Sub-Saharan Africa. Assistant US Trade Representative to Africa, Ms Rosa Whittaker has written to governments in Africa asking them to instruct their trade negotiators in Geneva to oppose a number of proposals from the African Group and other developing countries. The Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health has provisions that provide for countries without manufacturing capacity of drugs to use flexibilities in the TRIPS Agreement of

Compulsory Licensing and Parallel Importing. Compulsory licensing refers to granting a licence to a third party (by a government or court of law) to manufacture a patented drug without the consent of the patent holder. The patent holder is compensated later. This happens under certain conditions, e.g. in cases of national emergencies. Parallel importing means importing the patented drug for use on the domestic market, if the country does not have manufacturing capacity. However, after a year of intensive negotiations on the use of these two flexibilities within the TRIPs Agreement, no consensus was reached by WTO members. Big pharmaceutical companies and the US are campaigning for the limitation of the use of compulsory licensing to certain specific diseases yet the Doha Declaration clearly states that for “Public Health” purposes meaning that drugs for the treatment of any diseases should be placed under compulsory licensing and parallel import, as supported by developing countries. It is evident that the US position is designed to block the developing countries from making some inroads in reaching a permanent solution to the public health problems that these countries are facing.

There is no denying the fact that people have a right to affordable services. It is therefore shocking that basic services such as water, energy supply, education and health are included under the General Agreement on Trade in Services. Developing countries have been asked to open all these service sectors. Governments will be pushed out of this sector and big business will then have a field day by coming up with charges that are beyond the reach of the ordinary person.

The above are just a few glaring examples of stories that have not been pursued by the media. The clouds are gathering and the media do not seem to see that a storm is imminent. The power of the Fourth Estate is not to be taken lightly. This power could be used more responsibly with pro-active reporting rather than a passive news approach. Pro-active

reporting is process-oriented and shows that the journalist understands that the issue at hand goes beyond headlines and political posturing. This means journalists have to:

- ? research (library, online, interviews)
- ? network
- ? follow up (issues will always range beyond specific events)
- ? multiple source (opposed to single-sourcing where you just quote one person: he said, he went on to say, he reiterated, he stressed)

Some people take their voices for granted. They don't know what it means to have a voice. People listen to voices and the Fourth Estate has a duty to see to it that no voice is drowned. The voice of big business continues to dominate our media. But it is not the only voice. The media must act as a forum for debate and this

should be reflected through divergent voices representing different opinion. Ordinary people should also see their images and hear their voices in the media. As one French revolutionary said:

“Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a farm make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle reposed beneath the shadow of trees chew cud and are silent, pray, do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field.”

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