

TANZANIA: THE PROBLEMS OF MASS MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

BY

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The modern mass media to-day in East Africa play a growing role in the development of the three nations. From the beginning however, their patterns of growth have reflected closely their different political histories, the nature and distribution of their populations, their languages, and their communications networks. And this has resulted in striking contrasts between the mass media of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. While this article is primarily concerned with a consideration of the development of the media in Tanzania, the three countries have been linked closely in many ways, and some comparison is instructive.

Kenya with its substantial and permanent European settler community was the first to have a daily paper, when the *East African Standard* changed from a weekly in 1910. Kenya was also the first country, indeed the first British colony in Africa, to have its own radio station, in 1927. Both were started to cater for the settler community. The African population were largely illiterate and there was very little produced in vernacular languages either by the missions or by Africans before the Second World War. This makes an interesting comparison with the British colonies of West Africa where the press, largely African-owned and controlled can be traced back to the beginning of the last century, and which by the Second World war was flourishing.¹

The growth of nationalism after the war combined with growing literacy, gave rise to some forty or fifty vernacular papers. Most of these were however suppressed with the Emergency in 1952.² Most were published with political motivation, but none were economically viable. The Government stepped in to counter nationalist ideas and established the Kenya Vernacular Press in the same year. It was not successful, and with the end of the Emergency in 1959 the indigenous press re-established itself. But it proved impossible for African-owned and-edited papers to establish themselves on anything like a sound financial footing. East African Newspapers Ltd. were started in the same year with financial backing of the Aga Khan and the expertise of the Thomson Organisation, who also had some success in West Africa. The *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* in English, and *Taifa Leo*, a Swahili daily were founded and they have all been successful not only in Kenya, but also

1. Ainslie, Rosalynde: *The Press in Africa*, London, Gollancz, 1966, p. 21.

2. *Ibid*, p. 110.

in Uganda and Tanzania. Plans to extend operations to these countries were dropped after their venture in Uganda, the *Uganda Nation*, proved too costly.

At the same time as the establishment of these papers, the *East African Standard* with its weekly sister paper in Swahili *Baraza*, broadened its appeal, and such African papers as existed could not compete with either group.

In Uganda and Tanganyika, there was no substantial European settlement, and in both territories the development of both radio and press reflect this. Neither country had a broadcasting service until the early fifties, and in Uganda the first daily paper was not issued until 1955 when the Standard group made the *Uganda Argus* into one. It was however in Uganda, that the first African papers in East Africa appeared. Unlike in either Kenya or Tanganyika, missionary education had succeeded early this century in producing a sufficiently large, and more important, concentrated literate population, especially in the area around Kampala. In Katwe, a suburb of the capital, a large number of poorly produced but lively vernacular papers appeared and disappeared from the beginning of the century. In 1954 the magazine *New Commonwealth* estimated that these papers enjoyed a sale of around 70,000, with a readership approaching 350,000. Uganda's population was then around 5 million.³ The effectiveness of this press was shown by the successful call that many of the papers made for a boycott of Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1954, after the enforced exile of the Kabaka of Buganda. Later competition from the better produced papers of the Standard and Nation groups, forced most of the Katwe presses to close.

Tanganyika was always the least developed in terms of its press, which has a very short history. The very small size of the European community, the very low literacy of the African population, the absence of an urban African middle class, the scattered nature of the population and the late development of African nationalism all combined to slow the development of any press. By Independence in 1961, Tanganyika had, in spite of its larger population, fewer newspapers with generally lower circulations than either of the other countries. The *Tanganyika Standard* had been started in 1930, but like its Kenyan counterpart it catered almost exclusively for the settlers. It had a tiny circulation largely confined to Dar es Salaam, and the highlands in the north. There was no indigenous African press, and with the exception of a few mission papers, nothing in vernacular languages until the early fifties. The African press that did develop at this time contrasts strongly with that of Kenya and Uganda, by its moderation. There was no nationalist publication except for the

3. An African Press Survey. 3. East and Central Africa. *New Commonwealth*, Vol. 28, No. 4, August 19, 1954, pp. 169-172.

duplicated paper of the nationalist party Tanu, which first appeared in 1957. African-owned papers were outnumbered by vernacular papers sponsored by the government, which varied from the daily *Mwangaza*, and the monthly *Mambo Leo* which boasted a circulation of 54,000, to some 30 of 40 provincial papers of varying size and quality, produced by district authorities.

There had been growing concern in the three territories by the governments to have some control over the media in the vernacular languages. Also it was desired to improve the quality and quantity of information reaching the mass of the population. This concern showed itself in the development of broadcasting to Africans. African language broadcasting began in Kenya during the war partly to explain the reasons for the war. Plans were made after the war to start broadcasting as a public service in the other two territories, and Tanganyika had its first transmitter in 1951, and Uganda in 1954. The policy was to develop national radio networks in all three countries whose purpose would be the education and information of the African population. The main funds for this came from British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund grants. By 1960 it was estimated that in Kenya there were between 100,000 and 150,000 radio sets in use. In Uganda the figure was from 70,000 to 90,000 and in Tanganyika 72,000.⁴

A look at a population map of East Africa illustrates the peculiar problems that Tanzania faces in the development of mass media. In Kenya and Uganda, the capital cities are both situated near the centre of population areas. The populations of both countries are largely concentrated in areas which are, by comparison with Tanzania, easy to reach. The census of last August puts Tanzania's population at 11.9 million, excluding Zanzibar. Only 600,000, or about 5% live in the towns, half of these in the capital, Dar es Salaam. Most of the population live on the periphery of this vast country, particularly in the highland areas of the north-east, the south-west, in an area around the shores of Lake Victoria, and along the east coast. The centre of the country is largely unpopulated with the exception of the three towns Tabora, Dodoma and Morogoro and their environs. This has not only hindered the establishment of the press and, in particular, of a mass-circulation press, but has put a big obstacle in the way of the development of nation-wide broadcasting. The transmitters are all situated in Dar es Salaam on the east coast, and as a result waste half their available power.

A very important compensating factor that Tanzania enjoys over both Kenya and Uganda, is the widespread use and understanding of

4. Huth, Arno: Communications Media in Tropical Africa. Washington D.C. International Cooperation Administration, 1960, pp. 155 & 166, for Kenyan and Ugandan estimates.

Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation: Audience Survey Report, May 1960, p. 2.

the national language, Kiswahili. This factor has laid the basis for cultural and political integration in a country with poor physical communications and scattered population. Kiswahili is widely spoken and understood in Kenya but by no means universally, and in Uganda by only a minority. Radio Uganda has to broadcast in nine languages and has reluctantly had to choose English as the national language⁵, which is spoken by a minority and read by even fewer.

In Tanzania, Kiswahili has become a lingua franca for the whole nation. All local and national politics are now conducted in it, bringing considerable advantages to the development of a universally understood single-language broadcasting system.

Communications at present more than offset this advantage, for the newspapers at least. Tanzania has four daily newspapers, two in English and two in Swahili. All are published in Dar es Salaam. Their combined circulations total no more than 53,000, although their total readership is estimated at around 200,000. The poor nature of Tanzania's communications makes distribution a major problem. Railways are old and very slow. It takes no less than 41 hours for the train to travel the 800 miles from the capital to Kigoma on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, and very often it takes much longer. One important line has been closed for the last few months due to landslide caused by heavy rain. The roads are inadequate nearly everywhere. The recent urgency of Zambia's petrol shortage due to the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia, and the necessity of transporting fuel across Tanzania by road on the notorious 'Hell Run' has both illustrated and exacerbated this problem. It is impossible to ensure the regular delivery of papers by either rail or road, at least for any distance. Tanzania does have the best internal air-service of the three countries with flights to most of the major towns, and to some of the minor ones. Special rates are offered for the despatch of daily papers. But out of the 18 towns served from Dar es Salaam, only 3 are reached every day, and only two on every day but Sunday. This results in irregular deliveries, and the fact that Moshi and Arusha in the north-eastern highlands receive Kenyan dailies from Nairobi earlier and always with greater regularity than any of the Tanzanian dailies.

In Kenya both the Nation and Standard groups have had some success in selling their papers away from the capital, particularly in the most populous Rift Valley, Central, and Nyanza Provinces. All papers in Tanzania however sell more than half their copies in Dar es Salaam, and the increase in sales is still proportionately greater in the capital than up-country. Sales inland are growing very slowly, and all daily

5. President Milton Obote: Language and National Identification. *East Africa Journal*, Vol. IV No. 1, April 1967. This is a reprint of his address to a Seminar on Mass Media and Linguistic Communications in East Africa.

paper sales are largely confined to the major towns, especially those with airports.

It is only in the towns that there are sufficient numbers of people literate in either English or Swahili to make sales large enough to be economical. There are more of course who are literate in Swahili, but the sales of Swahili papers are not significantly greater than that of the *Standard*. Literacy is very low in Tanzania. At independence, illiteracy was estimated at between 90 and 95%. To-day it is probably considerably lower, but Tanzania continues to have higher illiteracy than either Kenya or Uganda, and the proportion of literates is much higher in the towns than in the rural areas.

These factors combine to make Dar es Salaam a city with a high readership of daily newspapers. In a recent survey I conducted, more than two-thirds of the respondents claimed to read one or more daily newspapers. One third read a paper daily, and a third at least once a week. Just under a half said they read monthly or weekly periodicals. Yet not far from the city in the rural areas of Mzizima and Kisarawe Districts, the picture is very different. Readership falls sharply away the further one goes from the capital. There are villages in Kisarawe District that are served by good roads along which buses regularly pass, but where regular readership of the daily press is almost totally absent. In four villages between 20 and 40 miles from Dar es Salaam which I have surveyed, only one in five of all respondents ever read a daily paper, and only one in a hundred did so every day.

This pattern seems to be repeated throughout the country and is confirmed by what the circulation managers of the papers have told me. The daily press is a phenomenon of urban life almost exclusively. There is a demand for newspapers in the rural areas as evidenced by conversations with people in these areas, but the demand is small. Literates are a very small although growing proportion, and their scattered distribution, together with the very small profit margin for news-agents discourages this demand from being met, for daily papers at least.

Two of the daily papers are privately owned, and two belong to the ruling party, Tanu. The *Standard* is the larger selling of the English language papers. It has changed its policy and appeal considerably since the fifties when it was still a paper catering predominantly for the settler community. Now, like the other papers of the same group, the *East African Standard* in Kenya, and the *Uganda Argus*, it has adopted the policy of 'supporting lawful government' and can lay some claim to being a truly national newspaper. A high proportion of its readers are among the Asian community (about 48%), but Africans take a third of the sales and probably comprise well over half the readership.⁶

6. *Standard* (Tanzania): Advertising News, 31st July, 1967.

The other privately owned paper is *Ngurumo* (Swahili for a loud roar). It is the cheapest daily, and in Dar es Salaam the most popular. It specialises in, and owes its popularity to local gossip and sensation. A recent popular addition to the paper has been a political cartoon extolling the virtues of hard work, and ridiculing exploitation and laziness. It is a very small paper, tabloid size with usually only four pages. At present, demand for the paper stretches the rather ancient flat-bed press to its limit of around 15,000 copies. They are shortly however to move to a modern off-set litho machine, and they make optimistic forecasts of doubling their sales. The readership is almost entirely African. Like all the papers it sells more than half its circulation in the capital, and about one quarter to Tanzania's second largest town, Tanga. Distribution to the rest of the country is low and uneven.

The Tanu-owned Swahili paper *Uhuru* seems to have the best distribution in the country as a whole. It claims a circulation at present of 17,000, and advertises a readership of 100,000. Tanu founded the Mwananchi Publishing Company in 1962 in an attempt to create a daily press which would present its own policies to the nation and the world. *Uhuru* was started as a weekly, but became a daily in 1965. The English language *Nationalist* was founded in 1964 and there were high hopes that it would outstrip the *Standard's* circulation figures. To-day it claims to sell only 6,000 copies and most people who read it also read the *Standard*. Both papers provide a good coverage of local political news and news from the rest of Africa. *Uhuru* tends to have less foreign news and currently lays much more stress on political events within Tanzania and in particular, speeches made by political leaders. Neither paper is economical and the Mwananchi Publishing Company has to rely on a subvention from the Government.

Some monthly periodicals in Tanzania enjoy a wider distribution than any of the dailies. Distribution poses fewer problems. It is interesting to note that of the three periodicals with circulations over 30,000, two are published by Government departments and the other by the Cooperative Union of Tanganyika. Similarly, before Independence, the best distributed papers were Government publications. The reason is that the department concerned with the production of the paper can use its own channels to sell or distribute it. Thus *Ushirika*, the Cooperative paper is distributed through the 1,700 member societies. *Ukulima wa Kisasa*, the journal of the Ministry of Agriculture, is sold by the Ministry's extension officers in the rural areas. Both have circulations of about 34,000 and both reach rural rather than urban readers. The readership, or perhaps more accurately, the audience for these papers may be as high as twelve per copy, putting them a long way ahead of all other papers daily, weekly or monthly, in the country. Other papers whose circulations are assisted by the organisations that publish

them are, the Trade Union weekly *Mfanya Kazi*, and the handful of mission papers. The most successful of these is the fortnightly *Kiongozi*, which is owned by the College of Catholic Bishops of Tanzania, and which sells around 30,000 copies, mostly in the west.

It is doubtful whether any periodical will be able to achieve mass circulation in Tanzania in the next few years without a massive increase in literacy. The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development has an impressive programme of adult literacy classes, with 150,000 adults enrolled throughout the country at the end of July last year. There is some evidence that in areas where there have been successful literacy programmes completed, as in Kisarawe District mentioned earlier, sales of *Ukulima wa Kisasa* have risen, but daily papers continue to be virtually unknown. The literacy programme of the Government is firmly oriented towards information and education in other fields. Thus the primers published for the literacy classes contain material on farming cooperatives, health and the use of books, so that as well as learning to read, the pupil is also learning, and it is hoped, accepting new ideas. The provision of follow-up material is seen as of great importance. It is therefore very likely that *Ukulima wa Kisasa* and *Ushirika* will both do even better in the rural areas as the literacy programmes progress.

The development of radio in Tanzania has been far more rapid than that of the press. It has the potential of reaching the whole country, and suffers few of the obstacles that have hampered the growth of the press. But a similar pattern emerges as for the press when one looks at media exposure in the country. In Dar es Salaam over half the respondents in my survey claimed to have a radio set. More than four out of five listen to the radio regularly. Moving out of town, listenership drops and in the four villages mentioned before, less than one of five had a set in the house, and only half listened to the radio regularly. These figures show however a much greater exposure to the radio than to the press either daily or monthly, and it is clear that it is radio which is reaching the rural areas in which 95% of the population lives. The growth of radio in terms of listenership has been and continues to be very rapid.

In 1960 when an estimated 72,000 households had radio sets the audience was put at nearly half a million.⁷ It has always been difficult to estimate accurately either the number of sets or the size of the audience. Every set is supposed to have a radio licence, but from the beginning there has not been much doubt that only a minority of radio owners buy licences regularly. In the year of the Audience Survey, there were only 18,000 licenced sets and yet import figures for that year alone exceeded 19,000. In the seven years since then imports of sets soared

7. Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation, op. cit. p. 2.

to make a total for the period of 400,000 sets. Provisional figures for last year however show only 113,000 licences. This is 11,000 less than 1966, and 26,000 less than 1965. Both Kenya and Uganda have faced the same problem. In 1965 the Kenyan Minister of Information admitted that only one third of the estimated 300,000 sets in use were licenced.⁸ In Tanzania the proportion is certainly lower still.

There are probably around half a million sets in use to-day with a audience of perhaps two and a half million people. They are heavily concentrated in the towns but are found in the most remote parts of the country as well. One of the barriers to greater ownership of radios is of course their cost. Radio sets are taxed, and the lowest price for a battery portable transistor set suitable in the climate is 250/- (about \$ 35). In a country where the average per capita cash income is only about 450/- per annum the price of a set can be a formidable sacrifice. Unlike in other former British territories including Kenya, there has been little use of community listening points or rediffusion systems. In the current Five-Year Plan the problem was recognised. It was the intention of the government to set up 250 listening points in each year of the Plan in an attempt to reach a wider audience. The total capital expenditure for this programme was put at £ 75,000.⁹ No listening points have yet been provided, due, the Ministry claims to lack of sufficient funds.

Radio Tanzania is a department of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, which took over broadcasting from the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation. The latter was an independent, though publicly-owned authority created on the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation. It always had financial problems due very largely to its reliance on revenue from licences. The Government has always had to give a subvention and this led to increasing demands by politicians for Government control.

Radio Tanzania broadcasts six programmes. The National Programme in Kiswahili broadcasts thirteen hours daily, and seventeen hours on Sunday. The Commercial Service also in Kiswahili broadcasts ten hours every day, and the English Service five hours daily, with ten hours on Saturday and fourteen hours on Sunday. The Adult Education Programme is on the air two hours daily and during school terms there are two and a half hours of Schools Broadcasting per day. In addition there is an External Service, broadcasting in vernaculars, Portuguese and English, to Southern Africa, for two hours every day.

There is a high proportion of music and light entertainment on each of the three main services. The Commercial Service is almost entirely

8. Kenya Parliamentary Debates. 31st March 1965, cols. 1070-73.

9. Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. 1964-1969. Vol. 2, p. 62.

music and light entertainment. The channel is intended purely as a money making enterprise, the advertising clients determining the nature of the output. Commercial advertising was first accepted in 1955 and a separate Commercial Service was inaugurated in 1965. A new 100 KW transmitter gives the programme a good coverage of the country, especially in the evening, and generally it is the service with the best reception quality. The money accruing to Radio Tanzania from advertising is now a substantial part of its budget, but the fact of having commercial advertising at all has always raised questions about the role of the broadcasting service. In 1960 the question was raised; 'It was clear that careful consideration would soon have to be given as a matter of overall policy to increasing the space devoted to commercial programmes of one sort and another, and to the effect this may have on the amount of educational and informational broadcasting. The conflict between God and Mammon in radio is as real as in other spheres of activity.'¹⁰

The conflict was resolved by separating commercial advertising with popular entertainment programmes into a separate service. The National Service continues to have a predominance of music and light entertainment, and for much of the time the choice is between music on one channel and music on the other plus advertisements. There is some difference though, due to the requirement that at least 70% of the music on the National Programme has to be of East African origin, while the Commercial Service, like commercial services everywhere, plays whatever music it thinks its audience enjoys. And this includes a high proportion of the very popular Congolese 'jazz' as well as popular music from the West.

Against the background of recent political developments in Tanzania the continued existence of the Commercial Service seems a little strange, and perhaps reflects some of the ambiguities in Tanzania's policies. President Nyerere lays great emphasis in his speeches on the necessity of personal involvement in nation-building. Above all he emphasizes self-reliance and a return to what he claims was the basis of pre-colonial life, *Ujamaa*. This word, which may be translated as 'familyhood' or 'brotherhood' is used to define the kind of socialism Nyerere calls for. He says it is an attitude of mind, of cooperation and community life in which all contribute their fair share towards the production of wealth, and in which personal acquisitiveness has no part.¹¹

It therefore comes as a somewhat striking irony to be told on a Government-owned and -controlled radio network, which also broad-

10. Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation Annual Report 1960.

11. President Julius Nyerere: *Ujamaa* – The basis of African Socialism. Paper written in 1962, and reprinted in his book, *Freedom and Unity*, O.U.P. London and Dar es Salaam, 1967.

casts news of the activities of the political leaders and what they say, that the way to build the nation is to drink a particular brand of beer, or that the 'passport to international success' is to be found in a packet of cigarettes, albeit locally made and partially nationalized!

The high proportion of music on the National Programme also raises questions about the role of a national broadcasting system. About 60% of the total output is music and light entertainment. One of Radio Tanzania's biggest difficulties is the shortage of good Swahili script-writers. There is a shortage generally of all kinds of mass media personell, but especially of journalists and writers in both the national language and English. Producers of talks, adult education programmes, and farming programmes all complain of this. It is therefore very difficult at present to reduce this seemingly high proportion of pure entertainment.

Newspapers have a similar problem. There were a number of African journalists at Independence, who had received their training from the Public Relations Department on the many sponsored papers referred to earlier. And others had worked on the few privately-owned local papers. After Independence, promotion was rapid for a time, and many journalists were taken into the civil service, some continuing their profession in the Ministry of Information. All editors complain of a shortage of journalists who can write lively and interesting stories in Swahili.

A further problem for Radio Tanzania has been the continual loss of trained broadcasters to other fields, especially to the commercial enterprises that can offer better salaries than the civil service salaries paid in broadcasting.

No newspaper has full-time reporters in the country where over 95% of the population live. All rely on 'stringers' who send in stories, and on the press releases of the Government Information Services. The latter are sent in by the Regional Information Officers who are posted in every one of Tanzania's seventeen regions. This provides virtually the only source of news outside Dar es Salaam for the radio.

These factors combine to put certain limits on the content of local news in the media. All papers, except *Ngurumo*, and Radio Tanzania use international wire services and their coverage of world news, with perhaps the exception of *Uhuru*, is adequate. There is no formal censorship of the press in Tanzania, although all editors admit to exercising a certain amount of self-restraint. Local news on the radio tends to concentrate on national political events, with news from the regions mostly about nationbuilding activities, self-help projects and the like. The newspapers usually have more local news, and include 'human interest' stories and a certain amount of crime reporting. Most local news tends to have a rather repetetive nature. Leaders make speeches up

and down the country and most of these find their way into the press and radio via the Information Services. The Presidents major speeches which are often very lengthy, are usually broadcast in full. What he says is condensed, abbreviated and may find its way into the news again a few days later from the mouth of a Minister or Regional Commissioner. This repetitiveness of news reporting in both press and radio is hardly likely to create or maintain interest in the news.

Radio is controlled to an important extent by the fact of restricting itself in local news to the Information Service's Press Releases. There may be an event of importance that is reported in the press but because there is no announcement through Government channels it will be ignored by the radio.

Thus when Mr. Oscar Kambona, former Tanzanian Minister and Tanu Secretary General made a strong attack on the President from London, three of the papers (the interesting exception being *Ngurumo*) gave extensive coverage, the Tanu papers predictably making fierce attacks on what he said. It was not until three days after Mr. Kambona's statement that the radio mentioned the event or what he had said, and they announced at the same time that there would be a 'Commentary' on his allegations after the news.

Similarly a recent bus strike in Dar es Salaam that was given full coverage in the press, was not mentioned on the radio until the Second Vice President Mr. Kawawa had made a statement condemning it.

People I have spoken to here interpret this as deliberate government control of the news. The news on the radio has never been entirely free of control. In colonial times the Governor-in-Council could prohibit any matter which was thought to be contrary to the public interest, and news in Swahili was provided for most of the period by the Government's own Public Relations Department. But the effect on the credibility of the news on the radio and peoples trust of it, could be considerable, when major news items are completely omitted.

Many writers on mass communications have stressed the importance of modern mass media in helping social and economic change, and have suggested a close link between the development of mass media and national development. In Tanzania the mass media although very recent, have already played an important role in the development of national consciousness. People in the remotest village are to-day brought into daily contact with political events that earlier would have taken weeks to reach them, if indeed they ever reached them at all.

Tanu has always made a great deal of use of public meetings, and in the early days of the growth of the nationalist movement they were an important media for the communication of news and ideas. After Independence was achieved The Government recognised the need to build an effective means of reaching the people speedily and on a nation-

al scale. It recognized radio as the best technical means of reaching the mass of the people, and to overcome the price barrier to mass ownership of sets, it proposed that listening points should be provided throughout the country.¹² Organized listening groups are an effective way of coordinating efforts at agricultural education, and have been successful in many developing countries. But with the exception of the radio programme produced by the Cooperative Colleges at Moshi, such activities are rare. The Institute of Adult Education at Mbeya recently organized listening groups for a series of programmes, but these were not successful due to the very poor radio reception in the region. This perhaps illustrates two of the problems. The transmitters, with the exception of the Commercial Service transmitter, are at present inadequate for full national coverage. Transmitters involve the outlay of considerable sums of money, and this has not been available. But better use could be made of the wavelengths available. The transmitters have been used to experiment with different frequencies and powers, and the best coverage possible has now been achieved. But the priorities on the use of the wavelengths should be better planned. The Adult Education programme is on the air in the afternoon on the same wavelengths used for the English Service, from low powered transmitters, whilst the other more powerful transmitters are used for light entertainment and music.

No developing country can afford wasteful use of its information media. With the limited resources at its disposal, and the pressing need to use the media to keep the people informed as well as meeting the considerable educational needs of the country, there is a need for a coordinated and coherent information policy. Listening points are going to be provided but there seems to be no plan yet as to how they may best be used.

The major limitations on the Tanzanian press will continue to be mass illiteracy and poor newspaper distribution, and it is unlikely that these will be either easily or quickly overcome. Monthly papers are likely to show better results for the reasons already suggested. Radio overcomes both these limitations, but unless there is a sharp rise in per capita income, or the introduction of a low-price receiver, or an effective distribution of community listening points, the majority of Tanzania's population of 12 million will continue to be out of regular and direct touch with the affairs of their nation and the world.

12. Five-Year Plan, Vol. 1. p. 75.