

**Communication Between The Newsroom Staff at  
Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation and Management**

**Davey Sakala**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of  
Mass Communication for Development offered by the  
Department of Mass Communication, The University of Zambia**

**January 2001**



**Declaration:**

I declare that this Practical Attachment Report has not been submitted for a Degree in this or any other University.

Full Name:.....DAVEY SAKALA.....

Signature:.....*Sakala*.....

Date:.....27-7-2001.....

Supervisor:.....Prof. Francis P. Kasuma Ph.D. ....

Signature:.....*Kasuma*.....

Date:.....July 27, 2001.....

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Zambia Institute of Mass Communication (ZAMCOM), for use of their library facilities, and all those who had an ear for me as I asked endless questions, some irritating, during my attachment period for the report, more especially during the physical verbal confrontation

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The contents in this report should be attributed to me, as I alone, am accountable and none of the afore mentioned people should be put to blame.

D. S.

University of Zambia.

## **Dedication**

My dedication goes to my wife and family. Mary and the children; Tanje, Tipezemji, Kapyia and Bwalya. My mother reverend Elsie Musonda for the prayers.

## **Abstract**

ZNBC has over the years been experiencing a number of problems, ranging from lack of modern equipment to poor salaries. The institution has been grappling with such problems as non-availability of equipment and poor conditions of service, with no solution in sight. The workers at the institution, although professionals, find themselves in a situation where they have to hold on to their jobs for the sake of survival instead of being effective contributors to development. As an institution, however, ZNBC, as the report projects, can be a very effective contributor to development if problems affecting the institution are addressed and continue being tackled as they arise. As a tool for development, ZNBC is under utilised to an extent that political issues are more important than any other affair. The reader of this report will find that whereas many issues affecting the institution are nowhere near from being solved, they are matters which can very easily be settled and make the institution vibrant.

**Abbreviations**

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| BBC    | British Broadcasting Corporation                           |
| FBCRN  | Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland |
| MMD    | Movement for Multiparty Democracy                          |
| NGO    | Non Governmental Organisation                              |
| NRBC   | Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation                 |
| SADC   | Southern Africa Development Community                      |
| \$     | United States Dollar                                       |
| TVZ    | Television Zambia  |
| UNIP   | United National Independence Party                         |
| UNZA   | University of Zambia                                       |
| ZAMCOM | Zambia Institute of Mass Communication                     |
| ZBC    | Zambia Broadcasting Corporation                            |
| ZBS    | Zambia Broadcasting Service                                |
| ZIMCO  | Zambia Industrial Mining Corporation                       |
| ZNBC   | Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation                   |

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Background**

This chapter will accord the reader of this report the necessary background to the attachment, among others, problems and objectives, terms of reference of the attachment and a literature review of what other scholars' findings are as regards ZNBC, and the media at large.

#### **1. Master in Communications for Development (MCD) Attachment**

The Masters programme in Communication for Development (MCD) requires the student to be attached to an institution, which has a base in developmental activities. The attachment facilitated an on-the spot reflection of what goes on at ZNBC as regards development communication. The ills that dog the institution and what measures could be put in place to improve or better the situation were practically confronted by the attachee during the period from October 2000 to February 2001. This was the period when the attachee was at ZNBC for purposes of compiling the report .

The attachee had a daily experience of being part of the ZNBC work force, mingling with the staff and gathering the information needed for the report. Although it was practically impossible to completely fuse into the system and be seen as one of the members of staff, the attachee attempted, during the stated period, to interact with as many members of staff as possible.

As will be brought out in some chapters of the report, the operations of ZNBC being confined mostly to news gathering and dissemination, above many others such as education, restricted the attachee's contacts with the members of staff. Whereas the attachee could have sought longer periods in which to gather some information from the members of staff, most of them did not have the time as they were at most time required to be in the field for purposes of gathering information to meet their respective deadlines.

#### **General information**

This section facilitates a reader not acquainted with Zambia, and its background, an opportunity to have an insight of the country, its geographical location, resources, education, languages, and above all the policy and structure of ZNBC, the institution's role, influence and history.

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## **1.1 Zambia and its location**

Zambia has an area of 752,614 sq. km (290,586 sq. miles). The country is irregularly shaped, and shares a boundary with no fewer than eight other countries (see figure 1). For many years the old 'line of rail' extending south from the copperbelt, through Lusaka, to the Victoria Falls has been the major focus of national activity. Large areas in the north, east and west are relatively underdeveloped. Zambia's population is estimated at 9.5 million people. About 85 percent of the population lives in rural areas with the urban locations accommodation about 45 percent. The country is located in Southern Africa between (see figure 1) latitudes 8 and 18 degrees South and longitudes 22 and 34 degrees East.

## **1.2 Major resources**

Zambia's main resource is its land, which, in general, is under-utilised. Latitudinal modifications of the climate make possible the cultivation of a wide range of crops. For many years, the mining of copper dominated Zambia's economy, although its contribution declined significantly since the mid-1980s, reflecting price fluctuations on the international commodity markets. The severity of recent economy decline in Zambia contrasts starkly with the economic boom of the early post-independence years. The economy grew rapidly during the 1960s and early 1970s, with high and rising levels of world copper prices providing the basis for government revenues and expenditures. Massive investments were made in physical and social infrastructure. Much of the foreign-dominated private sector, including the mines, were nationalised and new import-substituting enterprises were established in the parastatal sector, and financed primarily by copper revenues. In 1975, however, the long period of high copper prices came to an end.

## **1.3 Education**

The shortage of skilled manpower was severe in the years before Zambia attained independence. Advanced learning and training institutions were few. After independence in 1964 from Britain, Zambia embarked on an unprecedented programme of educational expansion. By 1985 university and teacher training college enrollments had reached more than 8,000 full-time students. Over the years, however, the population of students at the University of Zambia, the Copperbelt University and other institutions of higher learning such as the Evelyn Hone college have continued to grow. The issue now is the number of places, which these institutions are able to offer. A greater number of school leavers are

unable to find places in institutions of higher learning. The drop-out rate at secondary school level has increased remarkably over the years. This has subsequently resulted in entrepreneurs coming up with a string of private colleges to accommodate the students who fail to make it into the state-supported institutions.

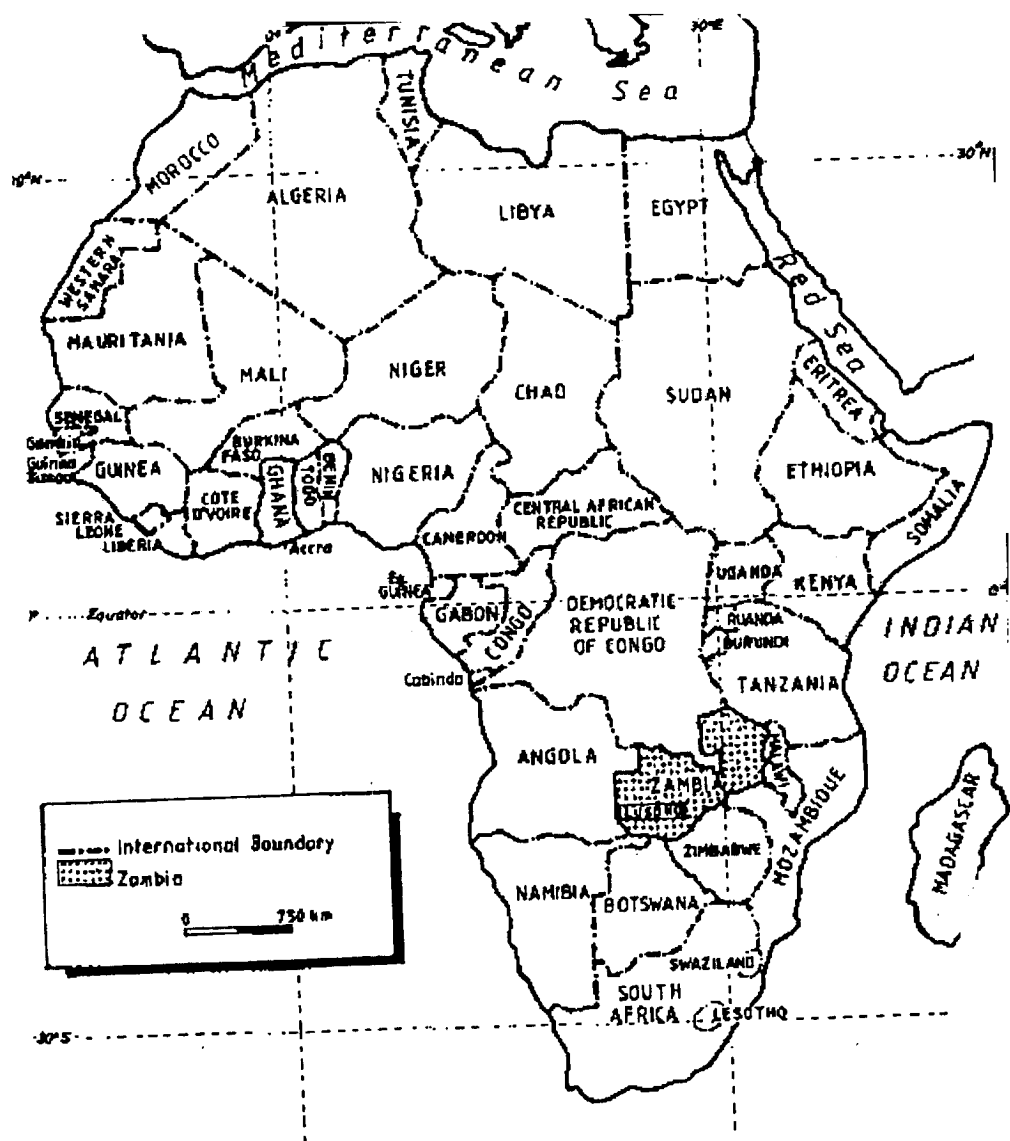
Government has been financing some institutions but this has not been well co-ordinated resulting in numerous closures over pay disputes with among other people such as lecturers, the support staff. The closures have subsequently disrupted the academic calendar in most instances.

#### **1.4 Languages**

There are 73 dialects spoken in Zambia, but the main languages are Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda. English is the official language. Language allocation on radio established during the colonial era has hardly changed. The seven languages recognised for the purposes of broadcasting in addition to English have been in use in primary education, and at political rallies. The 1969 census suggested that only 15% of the population spoke a mother tongue which was not closely related to one of the seven broadcast languages. Thus radio spoke to a large proportion of the population, both urban and rural, either in a language spoken home or at least in one closely related to it. Bemba and Nyanja, made up 34% and 17% of the population respectively (see figure 2). Each of these languages has become a lingua franca in significant parts of the urban areas of Zambia. One or the other is spoken by many more individuals and one learns either language at home as a child (Mytton, 1983). Languages like Tonga have in recent times, however, gained ground in other parts outside the Southern Province. And in the case of the University of Zambia, Tonga is one of the most widely spoken local languages outside Bemba and Nyanja by students, although a study has yet to be undertaken to confirm this assertion

However, the allocation of broadcast time as regards languages has been a delicate and controversial issue. Certain chiefs and other prominent members of small languages groups felt that they were disadvantaged: a recognition of a language and its use on the radio gave that language and tribe a status superior to certain other languages and tribes.

**Figure 1:** Map of Africa showing the position of Zambia (shaded) in the southern of the continent



## 1.5 Policy and structure

The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), became a statutory body on January 1 1988. At its conception in 1964 as Zambia Broadcasting Service (ZBS), its roles were circumscribed as that of educating, informing and entertaining, but was precisely seen as a wing of the State publicity activities.

On becoming a statutory body some constituent of independence was introduced although this related more to government fiscal policy rather than genuine concept of editorial independence. It was considered that ZNBC should be self financing. The government, however, also expected ZNBC to undertake a public service role very much as before and with similar levels of direct government involvement in editorial policy.

ZNBC is headed by a Director-General (See appendix 1 and 2) who is answerable to a nine member Board of Governors. The Director-General and the Board of governors are appointed by Government. Government ensures that the selection encompasses:

1. business and commercial acumen
2. knowledge of broadcasting and awareness of its importance in the overall national debate
3. representation across the range of legal political groupings
4. representation across the range of religious groupings
5. representation of women's issues
6. representation from the regions and main tribal groupings (coopers and Lybrand Report 1993:49)

The Director-General administers the Corporation on a day basis assisted by a corporation Secretary, a Controller of personnel and Training, the Directors of Programmes, Engineering and Commercial (Advertising) and a Finance Manager. There is also a Regional Controller who has responsibility for all programmes at the regional station in Kitwe. Since this is the most senior official at the station, the official also has by administrative arrangement, responsibility for the entire regional station. The officer is therefore the Chief Executive at the Regional level.

**Figure 2:** Map of Zambia: Showing areas which receive the ZNBC signal



Before the dissolution of the Zambia Industrial Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), ZNBC came under this controlling authority which was under government and had a chief executive solely appointed by the Head of State. However, following the dissolution of ZIMCO, ZNBC attained some measure of independence although it was heavily indebted to the state for both financial and material support. ZIMCO used to oversee all ZNBC activities and the conditions of service were dictated by ZIMCO. Therefore, ZIMCO, above all other arrangements, was the controlling authority for ZNBC as funding and other benefits from Government filtered through from ZIMCO to ZNBC.

## **1.6 Role and Influence**

Politics and Politicians have always had a direct and indirect influence on the operations of ZNBC. It is a well known fact that the Government of the day has always dominated the way ZNBC conducts its business as regards the dissemination of information. In the UNIP days and the MMD era, ZNBC cannot be said to have been free to operate professionally despite numerous political pronouncements to the effect. The media in Zambia, and ZNBC inclusive is totally subservient to dictatorship in that 'he who plays the piper calls the tune'. In his book, *The Political Reality of Freedom of the Press in Zambia*, Professor Robert C. Moore stated that the press in Zambia was a mixture of authoritarian and libertarian traits. He pointed out that press freedom in Zambia was severely limited with the result that the population was constrained in knowing about, acting as part of, and holding accountable the Government (Moore 1991:017). In the Preface to Moore's book *The Political Reality of Freedom of the Press in Zambia*, Professor Francis Kasoma pointed out that Moore's verdict on the media in Zambia was not new but the same thing we the local experts had been saying at the risk of being questioned by government intelligence personnel, threatened with detentions, hounded and dabbled as unpatriotic, counter revolutionary and dissident.

Part of the Preface read:

Governments come and go - at least they are supposed to - but the press should be there all the time. It is not right that a leader should control the press to the extent of making it a personal property like has happened in Zambia. If the public are going to be asked to pay massive tax to support a mass media system, then that system should serve, not one individual. That is a lesson Zambians have learnt and

which Professor Moore is reiterating in this book (KASOMA, 1991).

From the days of UNIP, ZNBC was always put in a tight spot despite the numerous pronouncements about its freedom. Demands by opposition parties on the institution with the coming of the MMD in power were particularly demanding resulting in court action when ZNBC failed to comply. The MMD itself set this trend when they sued in 1991 through the High Court following ZNBC's refusal to broadcast material, including paid-for election campaign advertisements. The High Court ruled in the MMD's favour and ordered ZNBC to broadcast information about MMD and advertisements. The resultant change by ZNBC both in its policy and practice by trying to accommodate the opposition parties was immediately noticeable, particularly when the MMD itself came to power (Kasoma, 1999).

But before that a government policy laid down by former president Kenneth Kaunda at the June 30, 1975 United National Independence Party (UNIP) National Council in Lusaka, in a speech known as "The Watershed Speech", defined the role of the press and set conditions of reference for the operation of the media and more specifically radio and television as in ZNBC as;

'Radio must continue disseminating information, providing entertainment and education in all its important aspects. Zambia Television (TVZ) must, apart from disseminating information, express in depth the various cultural aspects of this nation from entertainment. (Kaunda, quoted in Moore, 1992:48).

By and large, ZNBC had continued to operate within this context, although of course, the political factor has come into the picture with the Government in power, as in the case of UNIP, demanding more control and air time as pertains to their programmes aimed at propagating their political view points. The MMD government, despite introducing some measure of freedom in the operations of ZNBC still had a firm grip on what they wanted aired or broadcast as regarded their Party aspirations. Other programmes were tolerated but it was normal to have a situation where the planned programming was disturbed to accommodate MMD's programmes. The Presidential assignments took precedence as they were given top priority in all transmissions and coverage included.

In a paper presented at the National Seminar on Democracy and the Media in Zambia - The Way Forward, at Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka, held from 2-4 October, 1992, entitled; 'Historical Perspective: Some Lessons from the Development of the Media in Zambia', Professor Francis Kasoma stated that government controlled the media regardless of the management system adopted at any particular time.

Ever since broadcasting was introduced in 1941, it has been owned and controlled by the Government which has used it as an indoctrination organ. Radio broadcasting in Zambia has been under various types of administrations which have all been directly controlled by the Government of the day.

## **1.7 History**

Radio broadcasting was introduced in 1941 with the establishment of a makeshift station near where the Old Lusaka airport now stands, owned and controlled by the Government which used it as a propaganda organ.

Different regimes have had a hand in running radio with the Government being firmly in control. In June 1945, the newly formed Central African Council agreed in principle that the Salisbury station (in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe) undertake European broadcasting and the Lusaka station should cater for African broadcasting in all the three territories (the third territory being Nyasaland, now Malawi).

The agreement became effective in 1953 when the Lusaka station started to be called the Central African Broadcasting Service and the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (FBCRN). After the dissolution of the Federation in 1963, Northern Rhodesia again had its own broadcasting service known as the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (NRBC). And after independence in 1964, the NRBC was reconstituted Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). ZBC became Zambia Broadcasting Service (ZBS) in 1966. Ten years later, in 1988, the government decided to turn it once again into a corporation (Kasoma 1990:46).

Television broadcasting in this country was started in 1961 in Kitwe by Lonrho. When the Government bought the facility in 1964, it opened another television station in Lusaka thus consolidating all broadcasting in the hands of the Government. The management of television broadcasting underwent parallel management changes to those of radio.

An offspring of the then Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS), ZNBC fell under the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, after Independence of Zambia from Great Britain in 1964. The government through the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, funded the then ZBS.

Receiver license fees and advertising generated some revenue, but this money went directly to the central treasury and had little bearing on the amount appropriated to run ZBS. Its operating budget in 1972 amounted to \$1.7 million, about twice the system's gross revenue, which amounted to \$266,000 from license fees and \$609,000 from advertising. The minimum radio license fee was \$1.40 a year for the very poor, twice that for others. A combined radio-television license cost \$14.00. In 1971, Zambia's short-wave facilities were still concentrated at Lusaka. There were also three regional medium-wave stations. These, however, were confined to towns on the old "line of rail", which runs approximately North and South through the middle of the country, leaving the Eastern and Western extremities without local service. This centralisation of facilities was maintained when China gave Zambia a 200-kW medium-wave and two 50-kW which were installed in Lusaka.

Whereas radio was initiated first, television service began as part of the federal system in 1961. The original station was a commercial, advertising-supported undertaking run by a concessionaire, Rhodesia Television Limited, which chose to locate the station in Kitwe, the chief town of the prosperous Copperbelt, where many Europeans worked, rather than the capital Lusaka.

After Independence, similar commercial arrangements continued until 1966 when both radio and television were amalgamated under ZBS, and under full government control. ZBS continued to sell both television and radio advertising. A second station was opened in Lusaka in 1965. In 1987 there were an estimated 550,000 radio receivers and 110,000 television receivers in use, and all dependent on ZNBC.

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## **Chapter 2**

### **Practical Attachment to ZNBC**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The attachment was planned and discussed with the head of the department of Mass Communication. Although the initial attachment was supposed to be with Radio Phoenix, ZNBC was settled on after the radio station rejected the attachee. Management and staff at ZNBC were very cooperative and hoped the report could bring out some issues which can make the institution better.

#### **2.1 Terms of Reference**

Information on the work environment of journalists at ZNBC is very scanty. Apart from what viewers and listeners are presented with on both television and radio, very little is known as to journalists' work surroundings and pressure they are subject to. This is despite all the fascination the facilities as in television and radio accord Zambian society.

On record, however, not much has been written, especially on the situation as pertains to ZNBC journalists and how they are affected by their work and relate to management of the institution let alone the public.

To understand journalists and how they go about with their tasks, it is important, therefore, to look at the following:-

1. definition
2. how they go about gathering information
3. their professional values and ethics
4. conditions of service
5. equipment to undertake assignments
6. infrastructure

Professor Kasoma, in his professional inaugural lecture on 'the Neo-Multiparty theory of the Press: Donor Aid and other Influences on the Media in African wrote:

There is a conspicuous presence in both print and broadcast government media of outdated equipment. Both private and government media offer very poor conditions of service to their journalists and other support staff. There is also a general lack of media house transport facilities for journalists and other support staff (Kasoma, 1999).

This report, therefore, is an attempt to study the work environment of journalists at ZNBC, not overlooking the facilities and equipment available.

## **2.2 Definition of a journalist**

In the report, I focus mainly on all journalists in the ZNBC newsroom

But before tackling the issues as stated by Kasoma, it was important to attempt defining who a journalist is. For the purpose of the report, a journalist is defined as:-

A person whose occupation is journalism. Journalism is 'the profession or practice of reporting about, photographing, or editing news stories for one of the mass media' (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus, 1997:620).

Journalists have variously been defined as those people who have editorial responsibility for the preparations or transmission of news stories or other information - reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, newsmen, and editors (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1986:14-15).

The Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ) on the credentials for membership to the union, attempted to define their members as:

Any person who is employed or has been employed as editorial staff (that is reporters, editors, sub-editors, feature editors, sports writers, photographers, artists, information officers etc. (ZUJ Constitution 1994:2).

In this study, only editorial staff in news, current affairs were included for the purpose of the report.

ZNBC, as regards the employment of journalists, does not have as many journalists as the Zambia Information Services (ZIS) which is the largest employer.

### **2.3 Information gathering**

This is a daily errand which requires journalists to originate ideas which they peruse to formulate a story. The task is accomplished by going into the field to interview potential news sources. Sometimes, however, journalists depend heavily on the usage of the telephone. But with the non-availability of telephone lines, journalists depend on physical interviews with news sources. Most of the time, the task of news gathering is inhibited by transport constraints. Having to share a single vehicle, journalists find themselves unable to reach their sources in time. And when they do, they are not able to dictate how long and how much time they can spend with the source

### **2.4 Professional values**

Professionalism is hard to observe in the institution. Although journalists endeavour to be as objective as they can be, ZNBC being under the arm of government, is controlled in its output of news by the state machinery. Journalists have a difficult task in trying to observe professional ethics and on the other hand keep in line with government policies.

Professionalism at this stage is compromised to such levels that not all information which comes out or is broadcast on ZNBC channels is comprehensive.

The fear for reprisal cowers journalists into doing what is expected of them by management. Management is in turn conscious of what government expects of it.

Censorship is not the right word, but self-censorship is what is prevalent. The invisible hand of the authority controls the institution.

### **2.5 Condition of service**

ZNBC conditions of service are among the worst in the media (appendix 3, 4, 5). The salaries, compared to other media organisations are the lowest. Other conditions of service are equally poor. Compared to Times of Zambia, Zambia Daily Mail, ZNBC conditions and salary structure lag behind.

## **2.6 Staff development**

Although ZNBC management avails journalist training opportunities both at home and abroad, the institution recently put a lid on journalists organising their own training programmes to further their careers. At the time of writing the report, management had put up a notice to all those who intended to arrange their own training that they would not be sponsored by the institution. As a result of this decision, journalists felt aggrieved that they were being blocked from furthering their academic status.

## **2.7 Journalism training**

Among the institutions which offer journalism training is the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia.

This is a department under the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. It trains journalists and other communicators at degree level. The department offers three degrees, namely Bachelor of Mass Communication, Master of Communication and Mass of Communication for Development.

The Department, like all other departments at the University of Zambia accepts students from outside Zambia, particularly in the SADC region. The Bachelor's degree has two options of specialisation: the print media i.e. newspaper journalism and broadcast media, which includes both radio and television.

Evelyn Hone College, Department of Journalism offers yet another training programme which falls under the Ministry of Science Technology and Vocational Training. It offers a three-years diploma in journalism.

*Zambia Institute of Mass Communication Educational Trust* offers in-service training of journalists from both the public and private sector. It is equipped with modern teaching materials in information technology. SADC member states have sent their nationals to ZAMCOM for training.

The Trust was established under an Act of Parliament and is governed by a Board of Directors on which the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services is represented.

Africa Literature Centre (ALC) also offers a diploma programme.

Although Zambian journalists who benefit from the above mentioned institutions, among many others, are well trained, their freedom to determine news emphasis has not been bestowed on them.

It is true, and certainly desirable, that education levels of journalists now put them among the elite in society. Journalism is and should be an intellectual occupation that requires research and analytical skills. It is also true that journalism increasingly is becoming a young person's profession at a time when the society has large proportions of the elderly. Professional values of journalists at ZNBC are still typified by a sense of altruism and desire for autonomy.

## **2.8 Methodology**

The methodology used was mainly observation. I spent time with the journalists in the newsroom. Asking them about their daily chores and how they went about their work. I was part of the working team of the newsroom from day one of the attachment until the final day when I started working on the report. I was actively involved with the daily operations in the newsroom for one month after which I observed at random what was happening elsewhere within ZNBC.

The period of visitations as I would call the period I spent at ZNBC continued even after the attachment period as I would cancel call on the institution and pick up some information as and when I required it.

The interviews were at random although journalists preferred not to be quoted by name when they expressed their views about the institution when I wished.

The attachment period, apart from the length of time spent ranged from morning to mid-day. The most crucial moments were before the journalists embarked on their errands.

The attachee was concerned mainly with journalists who work in the newsroom and target their reporting for radio or television. The focus was on the journalists who aim at general audiences rather than special interest groups.

Cameraman who are not reporters, librarians, audio technicians and disc jockeys were however not part of the report. This was because full-time cameraman, librarians, technicians are directed by reporters who assist them to carry out their work.

In most interviews, the journalists were asked whether they appreciated the role they were playing, the management response to their situation and responsibilities of their coverage areas, and finally what was right and wrong in the journalism profession, and ZNBC in particular.

## **2.9 Justification**

The writer's aim was to establish how journalists undertake their work and in what sort of environment they operate. The purpose of the attachment was to be part of ZNBC journalists and experience what they go through in the news gathering errands above many other issues such as provision of facilities and equipment.

The writer wanted to find out more not only about journalists in isolation but also how the newsroom was run. The other outlook was at the institution, its approach to news coverage and how the authorities respond. The main thrust of the attachment was the prevailing situation and how journalists respond.

ZNBC was found suitable for the attachment following its track record as the biggest broadcasting house in the country.

## **2.10 Literature review**

Most of the literature which the report is based on is from the works of Professor Kasoma.

Kasoma's literature is directed at the development of the media and the profession of journalism in Zambia. He has done extensive research into the field of journalism.

Kasoma has also discussed press freedom and that of ZNBC in particular and as a case study, he highlights the institution's problems in his Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press, although the matter stretched deeper to cover the African continent and how the press is perceived following the advent of multiparty politics.

Kasoma says: According to an earlier study by me, all the mass media aid in Africa has received from industrialised nations, almost half has gone to developing radio and television. The rest has been shared among other media, with newspapers accounting for a sixth (Kasoma, 1991).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Conceptual Framework**

#### **3.0 The Neo-Multiparty Theory**

This chapter deals with the conceptual framework of the main issues this report is based on. The theory which will be discussed in this section is Kasoma's Neo-Multiparty Theory. This theory is applicable and relevant to this report as it dwells on how the media in Africa has been transformed in recent times. Although already discussed in other chapters especially chapter 7, but without much emphasis, the theory will be dealt with in detail with examples of the prevailing situation as pertains to ZNBC.

It has been established that following the fall of one-party military regimes in Africa and the birth of multiparty democratic governments at the beginning of the 1990s, the nature of press systems and their operations on the continent is no longer solely authoritarian nor is it totally libertarian or only modeled on the former Soviet Communist system. The power brokers that influence the role of the press in Africa are no longer only the governments, most of which have yet to shed off some of the authoritarianism of their predecessors, nor are they only the proponents of libertarianism or the dictatorship of Soviet communism(Kasoma, 1999).

Donors have a lot of influence on the media in that they have a bigger say on how the media operates. Despite pronouncements of a free press, the influence from other quarters is clearly visible on the media. NGOs and opposition parties, also exert their influence on the media.

In his Neo-Multiparty Theory, Kasoma says that the influence of the donor media playmakers in Africa is at two levels. It is either exerted directly on the media people in various ways including press briefings, funding, technical aid, awards, study tours and attachments: or it is applied through government by withholding aid to it until government starts treating the press, both government and private, in particular, desired way. Donor nations have, for example, been known to withhold Balance of Payments allocated to particular African countries until they stop persecuting journalists from the private press, or until they stop 'violations of human rights'. The generic term which donors prefer to use as they press their demands for media reforms in Africa.

The Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press posits that the philosophy, policy and performance of the press in Africa, and the rest of the donor aided countries which have embraced multipartyism, is in direct response to the pressures persistently exerted on it by the donor community, the government, the opposition parties, NGOs and any other concerned parties. Ideally, the press in a democratic, multiparty state is supposed to be guided by liberal principles of a free press in which those in charge of the media decide, without any external pressures, what news and other information, including editorial comment, to publish or broadcast (Kasoma, 1999).

### 3.1 The ZNBC context

With donors pulling on one side and Government on the other, ZNBC finds itself in a tight spot most of the time. The assistance which is supposed to come from international agencies is rarely forthcoming because of what is perceived as the institution's one-sidedness in its presentation of news and other information. Resultingly, ZNBC has to contend with Government which also exerts its own demands on the institution through unprofessional judgment of issues which if left to professionals, could easily be solved but end up diluting the institution's resolve to perform professionally and ethically.

ZNBC has always been placed under a microscope by the Government which literally controls the Corporation through manipulation of management. ZNBC management has to abide by the Government stand on all issues. Although efforts have been made to try and balance the news by accommodating all sections of the community, ZNBC still finds itself in a situation where it is impossible to satisfy everyone.

The other Government-owned media such as the Times of Zambia and the Zambia Daily

*Mail also share the same predicament with ZNBC as they are financially under the dictate*

*of Government. The much-talked about independence of the media in the Zambian context is far from being achieved, and the ZNBC experience, and other media under the control of Government still remain dominated by Government.*

### 3.2 Autonomy

There have been many pronouncements about the autonomy of ZNBC let alone the freedom of journalists to practice their trade freely but this has remained a fallacy. ZNBC from its infancy as an institution; in the days of the then ZBS to the time it became a corporation, still remains under the arm of Government. The MMD Government, despite

making a promise to privatise ZNBC and other media has not done so. The question of privatisation has been left to hang in the air and currently no one in Government is talking about it.

### 3.2.1 Appointments

With Government dragging its feet on the issue of privatisation, the by-product of not letting the institution being released to private investment has been the appointment of top management. The appointments, although as discussed earlier seemingly the prerogative of the board, have a lot of bearing on political affiliation. Although most members of staff are competent and qualified for the jobs they hold, they have to 'toe the line' of the ruling party otherwise they are regarded as anti-Government. Journalists, meantime, do not feel this sort of pressure although time and again, they question why certain decisions are made.

It is in this context, therefore, that all major appointments at ZNBC are seen as political despite the job holders not having any political affiliations. The topmost post of Director General is heavily politicised with a lot of pressure from both the Government leaders and politicians.

### 3.3 **Multi-party politics**

With the reversion to multi-party politics in Zambia, and the coming to power of the MMD Government, hope was raised that the firm hold on ZNBC of the UNIP one-party era would come to an end. The MMD Government, however, fell back on its promise of letting go of the institution. The MMD manifesto of 1996 was silent on the privatisation of the media and the status quo of ZNBC still remains unchanged as relates to the institution's relationship with Government. Opposition parties have always championed the cause for a free press but their eyes have been on ZNBC. The love for the camera has resulted in many of them claiming that they are not covered when what they meant was that there was no television crew at their rallies or meetings. Every election period has brought about untold friction between the opposition and the ruling party. All of them have been crying foul over poor or no coverage. This has been evidenced during by-elections to fill up vacant parliamentary positions. ZNBC crews have tended to cover more of the party in Government than the opposition. Under the one-party state, ZNBC was able to portray itself as an effective media institution simply because it was covering one political party. This, however, has changed with multipartyism setting in and all parties demanding an equal share of air time.

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### **3.4 Editorial freedom**

ZNBC has had a load of problems as pertains to editorial freedom. Government officials have been known to have directly dictated what should be included or excluded. Editorial freedom merely exists on paper. In March 2001, Chief Government spokesman, Newstead Zimba, also minister of information, drove to ZNBC from his office to push through a correction to a news item which said that some people who had been tortured for their involvement in an attempted coup d'état would be compensated. Subsequently disciplinary action was taken on some editorial staff who facilitated the use of the news item which riled Zimba. A correction was inserted outside the normal news time.

The Zimba incident was not a one off affair as Journalists have over the years been persecuted with some losing their jobs. Others have been redeployed in order to stifle their contributions seen as anti-Government.

### **3.5 Control**

Government continues to maintain its control on ZNBC despite insisting that the institution was operating freely and had editorial freedom. The ministry of information is tasked with monitoring media houses owned and funded by Government. The monitoring goes beyond a mere supervisory role. Officials from the ministry have direct influence, on behalf of Government, on how media institutions they control should operate. Ministry officials have access to media heads, and ZNBC in particular is the main target as it is deemed the most influential of the three Government-owned media.

While most African governments maintain that, like anybody else in a liberated economy, they are free to own media, they are, however, unwilling to admit that they also control operations of the media they own. They insist that their media have as much editorial independence as the privately owned media. But we have often experienced the outbursts that come from African presidents and their ministers when government media publicise 'the wrong information'. Some of the newspaper editors, broadcast station directors and other senior journalists have been detained, suspended or fired from their posts for not toeing the line of publicising the 'wrong' information (Kasoma, 1999).

### **3.6 Options**

The lesson to be learnt from the Zambian experience is that the media such as ZNBC should not be entrusted in the hands of Government. This should not be allowed regardless of the political party in power at any given time.

Kasoma observed:

There will always be the danger that the Government of the day would abuse the trust of the people and start using the public broadcast media to feather its own political nest (Kasoma, 1992).

ZNBC, for effective operation, should be divorced from Government control and ownership by making it a public broadcaster. Under the BBC model, funds for running the corporation are partly obtained straight from parliament (without going through any Government ministry) and partly through radio and television licenses. There is no advertising. This ensures that the corporation is financially independent from the Government of the day and from advertisers both of which may influence its content.

Administratively, the BBC model of a corporation is controlled by a Board of Governors drawn from a cross-section of public life who are appointed for five years by the Head of State after consulting various political and other interests groups. ZNBC could be such a corporation.

### **3.7 Prohibitive laws**

Laws as pertains to the media, have equally made it difficult for journalists to practice their profession freely. Coupled with Government control, the laws have been prohibitive to such an extent that growth in the profession is slow.

Although the vision of Government was to create an environment which would enhance growth of the media, particularly broadcasting, and broaden the scope of operation of journalists', this has not been the case. Laws are currently in place which deter journalists from performing most functions.

Kasoma proposed that "Parliament shall pass no law abridging freedom of the press and media and shall repeal or amend any other existing laws that abridge this freedom which is a basic and inalienable human right necessary for the maintenance of democracy".

Kasoma's proposal is still a pipe dream and tangible response has yet come to reality. It has, however, been the wish of every practicing journalist to enshrine the press freedom clause in the constitution of Zambia as suggested by Kasoma. But the opposing view, firmly entrenched in denying the inclusion of this clause, feels the press can go overboard if given too much freedom.

The British, on whom the Zambian press laws are modeled on, have made momentous changes to their legislation to suit the prevailing environment. In Zambia, nothing of the sort has happened.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Personal experience**

#### **4.0 ZNBC as an Institution**

ZNBC as an institution is so massive in structural construction and employment margins and it is difficult for a visitor to find their way around.

And getting into ZNBC for purposes of working on a report for the Degree of Master of Communication for Development is equally arduous. In my case, ZNBC Director General Mr. Duncan Mbazima had the final say and to him it was not a big issue having a student of being attached to the institution.

The introductory letter provided by the University of Zambia (UNZA) Department of Mass Communication was, however, good enough but not adequate for a media practitioner from another media house, as in my case, to be attached to a similar institute. The managing Editor of the Times of Zambia, the institution I came from, personally contacted the ZNBC executive to facilitate my attachment at the broadcasting house. And thereafter, it was all plain sailing.

#### **4.1 Reception**

Prior to my attachment at ZNBC I was programmed to be with the newly established radio station, Radio Phoenix. All the arrangements, including initial contact as advised by Professor Kasoma, my attachment supervisor, were made with the radio station.

The head of human resources agreed and confirmed that I would be most welcome for the attachment. This, however, was after I had explained that I would not require any form of remuneration for whatever contribution I would make while at the radio station.

Cleared and confirmed for Radio Phoenix, I sat back to wait for the commencement of the attachment.

A weekend before my attachment, I called Radio Phoenix to remind the administrators that I would be reporting the coming Monday. The story suddenly changed. I was told by the Chief Executive of the station, whom I was referred to, that my services were not needed. I

tried to explain that I was not in any way seeking employment or aspiring for any job and that my presence at the station would be first and foremost to learn about the operations of the station, see how I can contribute, and of course impart some of my newly acquired skills of a development communicator, the answer remained negative.

My pleas fell on deaf ears as I was without any apologies told that I was not needed and that I should try elsewhere. I tried to explain that I would in no way interfere with the operations of the radio station but instead contribute something at no fee. The answer, I was given in no uncertain terms was that I was not required anywhere at the radio station. I was also told that the radio station had space problems to accommodate reporters and were thinking of housing them on the roof top of their studios. I don't know whether this remark was directed at me as a way of emphasising the rejection or not but I took it with a pinch of salt. I was also told that the knowledge which I was interested in sharing with the radio station was not required as they had a consultant for the purpose. The message sunk home and I moved on to ZNBC.

After the initial hiccups, and the fear that the attachment would fall off, ZNBC was the only other alternative where I thought I would do what I intended to practice.

As I set into motion, organising myself for ZNBC, I mentioned to the Times of Zambia Editor-in-Chief who promised to ask his counterpart, the Director General, at ZNBC to clear the way for my attachment.

Without realising it, my main handicap for an attachment, firstly with Radio Phoenix and what looked familiar now, a rejection at ZNBC, I had to rethink my stance. What was the problem at Radio Phoenix? Why did they at the last minute turn down my presence at their institution?

I came to realise that being a media practitioner, and at editor level, for a major daily newspaper, Times of Zambia, I was being looked at with some element of suspicion as to my mission. It was this realisation which made me to immediately seek the intervention of the Times of Zambia executive as I was most certainly going to be rejected at ZNBC as well.

The ZNBC attachment sealed, I proceeded to start the application. My first stop at ZNBC was at the office of the Public Relations Manager Mr. Ben Kangwa who warmly ushered

me into the institution, and after a discussion with the Mr. Ben Kangwa, it was agreed that the newsroom would be the best stop for the purpose of my attachment. It was also suggested that I should acquaint myself with operations of other departments by being with them briefly although the main thrust of the programme would be in the newsroom where I would be required to participate in the daily chores.

## **4.2 Role and function**

On my first day at ZNBC my presence was visibly noticeable and it was rather an uncomfortable feeling which engulfed me when Mr. Kangwa received me in his office.

Mr. Kangwa briefly explained to me that for a worthwhile orientation and stay at the institution and for an academic exercise it would be important for me to be close to the operations of the journalists. Mr. Kangwa appreciated that coming from the main-stream media, and in my instance, the print media, it was advisable that I start my stay at the institution with the newsroom. He recommended that from the newsroom, I would be able to filter through to other departments for compilation of my report. Mr. Kangwa, however, emphasised that other departments were highly technical and could therefore not form any important component of my report. From this premise, he then proceeded to introduce me to the editorial term.

I had to remind the journalists who were otherwise very friendly (because of my previous acquaintance with them) that I was not at ZNBC to write a report on their complaints but to work with them and come out with information as to what happens at the institution.

I was part and parcel of the journalist's work groups. Manager for News Bob Sifuniso gave me a briefing on the daily operations, explaining that the main task of the newsroom and the journalists in particular was to prepare news bulletins for radio and television.

News bulletins are prepared daily from the newsroom for both radio and television. These are mostly handled afterwards by script writers and film editors in the case of television.

The main news bulletins are the radio bulletins (07:00 hrs, 13:15 hrs) Television (19:00 hrs and 22:00 hrs).

In the newsroom, apart from journalists, are found newscasters who report to the person anchoring, that is someone who ensures that there is a smooth flow of programmes, from

one to another. Interesting in the ZNBC newsroom is that it is located where one has no access to a window to even view what is on the outside.

The room, although big enough, used to be a storage facility before being converted into a newsroom. Although conditioning system, the cooler is not operational at times and the congested air is a pure recipe for disease. Apart from two clearly demarcated offices, the rest of the groups of journalists are accommodated in cubicles. Room is not enough to accommodate all the journalists properly and comfortably.

### **4.3 Tools and interaction**

Three computers at the time of my attachment were operational. The same computers had to be used by the sub editors as well as the reporters from the field. With the strict deadlines prevalent in electronic media, the lack of equipment plays havoc on the journalists.

Transport at the time of my attachment was not there for the newsroom journalists. They had to solicit for transport from other departments to move to assignments.

What was a common feature was for journalists to ask for transport for assignments. One vehicle, not in very good condition, was the one editorial was using. It was a rickety vehicle to say the least but nonetheless, work was done.

As for telephones, the newsroom only had one line which was also the nerve centre for communication. During my attachment period, I only used the telephone on one occasion. Not that there were any hostilities over the use of the phone, but the inconvenience of having to line up and follow the queue is so cumbersome with the deadlines always knocking on you.

Interesting, however, is the aspect that the telephone provides leeway for journalist to talk to each other and exchange ideas as they await their turn to use it.

The same telephone, ironically, is the one which is transferred every morning from around 09:00 hrs to mid day to be used for programming a radio clip called Radio Newsreel. Radio Newsreel is a phone-in programme where a source is contacted by phone. The interview is recorded on the phone which is connected to the recorder. But sometimes the source comes into the studio to give an interview.

Sources are usually willing to respond and are generally very co-operative but need time to prepare for the interview which means either calling back or waiting to get ready, in the case of them being in the studio. At times, however, a questionnaire is sent ahead of the interview to allow respondents prepare and respond effectively.

In all instances, however, journalists have to be polite, not to agitate or irritate the respondents as some answer very slowly and take long to drive the point home.

What this means is that from the time the telephone line is channeled to Radio Newsreel, and until it is reverted back to the newsroom, the newsroom has completely no communication. Some journalists, who can afford their own private mobile telephone are somehow able to communicate with the outside world while within ZNBC premises.

A day at ZNBC starts as early as 07:00 hrs for journalists, but for continuity announcers, their chores kick off much earlier. Being the one who opens the station at 05:00 hrs with the station signature tune followed by the national anthem, the continuity announcer is at the station on every morning as early as 04:00 hrs. ZNBC provides transport which ferries the continuity announcer to the station. The engineers are part of the early shift team.

Every morning, the journalists converge in two groups, one in the news team and the other is the Current Affairs team. They discuss their work plans for the day which include scheduled assignments. Other ideas come from the floor. But the main concern is the deadline which is 12:00 hrs up to 12:30 hrs for radio and 17:00 hrs for television. The only exception, however, is presidential assignments which are treated in a special way. The assignments editor controls the dispatch of reporters to their various schedules and subsequently transport. There are four units in Current Affairs and these are Reporter, Sub Editors, Current Affairs, and Casters, Newscasters, from what I observed are incorporated in different units to give them some role to play other than reading the news.

I had an opportunity to be part of the Manager's meeting where transmission and how coverage is to be effected is planned from. This meeting also looks at the flow of stories, or how the news will be coming in. It is also a meeting which reviews the previous day's performance and plans ahead to have a near flawless presentation of news both on radio and television. There is also a briefing on equipment.

#### **4.4 Journalists as professionals**

In conclusion, the interaction with journalist in the ZNBC newsroom gave one that personal touch with the realisation that the men and women, mostly seen on the small screen, television, are not just ordinary people but that they are professionals in their own right. They put in so much to produce a story especially for television where they have to combine both the picture and the voice. They equally work long hours but at the end of the day, the listeners and viewers are given something back from these people's sweat.

From the living rooms, journalists seem to go about their work hurriedly, but in essence, although with tight deadlines to beat, they have to contend with professionalism and subsequent balancing of news.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Problems in the ZNBC newsroom and attempts to solve them**

#### **5.0 Problems at ZNBC**

Although some aspects of the problems in the ZNBC newsroom have been discussed in chapter 4, briefly, it is important to revisit the issue in this chapter for the reader of the report to clearly understand the prevailing situation.

ZNBC, as an organisation has problems that seem beyond any resolution yet if something was done to address them, the institution would run in a more practical manner and be able to execute its roles more effectively than is the case now. Problems at the institution are so big that in most instances they look beyond settlement, yet they are common occurrences, found in institution of this nature and enormity. The problems do not affect only one section or department, but the whole institution.

#### **5.1 Newsroom**

This is the room where all journalists converge for purposes of preparing their work schedule and do their assignments. In this room, journalists plan and finalise their assignments. The newsroom influences the journalist approach to news gathering, and also shapes their ideas on the day's schedule.

Regardless of size and location, the newsroom is considered as the nerve centre of news gathering operations for journalists. The ZNBC newsroom is therefore the 'heart' of the institution's day to day news coverage, both news and current affairs for television and radio.

#### **5.2 Newsroom facilities**

The ZNBC newsroom, which is the main component of news gathering vocation for journalists is one work station that requires the fusion of new and modern facilities to facilitate for the smooth production of programs. However, the newsroom at ZNBC, is in a state of neglect.

### 5.2.1 Newsroom location

The ZNBC newsroom is located in a central place within the complex and to get there, one has to undertake a journey of winding stair cases. The possibility of missing the location is very high. Where the newsroom is, there is no window to allow for viewing of the outside so much that if anything happened on the outside, the journalists in the newsroom would not be aware of it. Even noise from the nearby traffic off Alick Nkhata road, cannot be heard from the newsroom. The room is sound proof.

The ventilation system is so faulty that the number of times it functions are more pronounced than when it breaks down. Journalists have seemingly accepted the status quo of the unbearable heat summer, and the unhealthy congestion in winter. The room is an ideal breeding ground for airborne diseases and explains how flu easily afflicts many journalists.

In most instances, journalists prefer to be in the field, covering assignments than being in the newsroom, probably to stay away from the hostile environment. However, they have little choice in the matter as they have at one time or another required to be in the newsroom to get their work done.

The room which is now the newsroom was initially used for storage of equipment and located on the first floor.

The newsroom can be relocated to the ground floor and accorded more space to allow for not only quick in-and-out movements of journalists but also proper ventilation unlike the case at the moment. The original newsroom was located in the same wing with the administration but the relocated has literally hidden the journalists from the going on at ZNBC.

### 5.2.2 Toilet

The toilet facilities although available, are not in very good conditions considering the number of journalists who use them and are in office for long durations. Journalists spend more time in the newsroom than anywhere else when working on their stories hence the need for toilet facilities to be well maintained and attended to.

The aspect is being mentioned in the report for purposes of bringing awareness to the fact that sometimes journalists have to scale the building to another area to find a toilet which is in acceptable and useable condition, thereby spending more time on this errand.

### **5.3 Newsroom tools**

For journalists to undertake their various assignments they require among other items equipage such as telephones, computers, fax machines and cameras. These, although available are either not adequate or outdated. Some equipment is however outdated. But the position as pertains to the 'tools of the trade' for journalists at ZNBC paints a gloomy picture as not much effort is being put into either provision or improving on the already available equipment. In some instance, usage of the accouterment is not appreciated, not by the journalists, but the providers. Subsequently, the process of news gathering is not as effective as would otherwise be.

#### **5.3.1 Telephones**

The newsroom only has one telephone which can dial out, meaning that journalists have to line-up to use the phone when calling up their sources. The situation, which I found and left during my attachment period, has remained so for a long time with management doing nothing about restoring or introducing more telephone lines. The other direct lines are found in the administrative wing of the building where officers with no editorial duties are availed the facility.

As a result of the one phone line, the telephone is constantly in use and literally impossible for someone to call a journalist in the newsroom on the same line. The same single line is used for 'Radio Newsreel' programme. 'Radio Newsreel' programme comes on the air from Monday to Friday and relies heavily on telephone interviews with sources whose voices are an integral part of the presentation. And to allow for the recording of this programme, the telephone line is disconnected around mid-morning for over two hours to facilitate the phone line's use for the programme. During the period when the telephone line is in use for the 'Radio Newsreel' recording, the newsroom is completely cut-off from communication. The reporters in the meantime, congregate in the studio where the telephone line is, and between recordings, are able to make some calls. It is a haphazard way of running a newsroom and senior managers admitted that it was wrong to cut-off the newsroom let alone have one telephone line. This was one attempt at ensuring that there was accountability as concerned usage and subsequent enormous bills emanating from

the phone company. However, the solution to the phone problem could be the procurement of more telephone lines for senior journalists who would be in control of what ever calls *are made from the telephones. the other remedy would be for journalists to have mobile phones* so that they can be contacted at any time by the news sources.

#### 5.3.2 Computers

The newsroom has three computers which are used by both Sub Editor and Reporters.

The

Sub Editors are given preference when the Reporters have written their stories. There is only one computer which is linked to Internet which the editorial staff, in this instance *journalists, use to keep abreast with the latest international news. The Internet facility is not* as widely used although the same computer is also employed, in most case, for other editorial duties. To get round this problem, a computer for the purpose of accessing *Internet should be provided, although the long term solution to the problem of computers* is to acquire more and ensure that journalist are able to occupy at least one computer per person instead of the current scenario where one has to stand in a line to wait for their turn. The provision of more computers would also improve on the quality of work.

#### 5.3.3 Fax machine

The newsroom has no fax machine for receiving and sending messages. Ironically, the fax machine which the newsroom uses is stationed on the other wing, in the administration building where all messages are sent from and received. The office where the fax machine is located closes for business at 17:00 hours, and any information coming on the fax machine after 17:00 hours can only be retrieved the following day. This has resulted in some vital information on the latest news being delayed and explains why ZNBC carries stale news. Installing a fax machine in the newsroom would provide a solution to the late collection of copy which results in news being delayed and when transmitted, the news is over taken by events.

#### 5.3.4 Telex machine

Telex machine, antiquated, as they are in this day, are still very much in use at ZNBC. The telex machine is a reliable mode of receiving information from far-flung areas, especially the provinces where similar machines are still being utilised. However, despite its archaic appearance the machine has remained a vital tool although instead of is being positioned far away from the newsroom, it should be brought nearer.

#### 5.3.5 Video cameras

The newsroom has solely one camera when what is required for exultant and competent news coverage are a minimum of five cameras. It is common knowledge that Government ministers demand a television camera at all their functions, a predicament which journalists covering them find themselves in when they do so without one. Assignments are affected, as a result, due to the lack of television cameras. Interesting, however, is that the entire ZNBC had five television cameras yet only one is availed to the newsroom. Provision of more video cameras, would greatly enhance operations of the newsroom instead of the present ad hoc measures which are in place where journalists have to borrow cameras and rush through their work.

#### 5.3.6 Transport

The newsroom has one rickety vehicle which the journalists use to and from assignments. In most instances, however, the journalist have to ask for favours from other departments to use their vehicles for assignments. Sources in most circumstances, provide transport for the journalist, a development which compromises them. Two vehicles would be ideal for the journalist operation on a daily basis but this is a farfetched aspiration. To solve this problem, journalists can be encouraged to acquire personal cars through ZNBC allowing a motor vehicle loan facility. If this is done, journalist would be able to go to assignments using their own vehicle. As in the event of early morning assignments, the picking up of the journalists covering that assignment ends up derailing all other plans. As the editorial vehicle is also used to pick up senior members of staff, the journalist who are supposed to be covering assignments are inconvenienced, so are others scheduled for pick ups.

### 5.4 **Attitude of journalists**

Journalists were generally keen to do their work despite the hiccups of not have adequate tools and facilities. They were helpful to the attachee and provided information willingly at all times. Most of the time, however, they felt they were being treated unfairly by management who did not avail all the facilities required by them to effectively do their job. They were also of the view that ZNBC could be turned around for the better if management listened to their proposals which in most cases were for basic needs.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Attachee's attempts to identify and solve the problems**

#### **6.0 Attachee's time at ZNBC**

The time spent by the attachee at ZNBC and in particular the newsroom, exposed the glaring problems the institution faces. the attachment enabled the attachee to understand and appreciate the environment journalists at ZNBC operate in and difficulties they encounter on daily basis. Being part of the journalists, and participating in their daily errands, the attachee although an active participant in the day to day deliberations could only make verbal suggestions on how best some changes could be effected. Of interest, however, was the aspect that despite the suggestions and recommendations, journalists at ZNBC have resigned themselves to the status quo, believing that nothing can change unless government which is the major financier of the institution, injected more money and also streamlined the administration to accommodate personnel who have journalists' interest at heart.

Expressing some ray of optimism that may be something could be done with the presence of the attachee at the institution, and probably see a change of attitude after the report was compiled and a copy handed over to the administration, the journalists provided some useful information on how they felt ZNBC could have a fresh start let alone change its dented operational image. However, as earlier stated, they preferred that their names be left out of the report.

Therefore, this chapter is a compilation of suggestions from journalists and the attachee's approach at solving some of the immense but pressing problems of the institution.

#### **6.1 Work environment**

The attachee found the location of the newsroom to be unsuitable for news gathering purposes. The room apart from not being conducive for many journalists to operate from was also not hygienically fit for a large number of journalists. The ventilation was poor, so were other sanitary facilities such as the provision of clean toilets at all times. It must be appreciated that journalists, like most other professionals, spend literally all their day in the newsroom when they come from assignments.

As mentioned earlier, the ventilation system left much to be desired as in most instances, it was out of order. There was a general attitude that because of poor ventilation, airborne diseases such as colds and flu were easily transmitted among the journalists and other operative in the newsroom. Fears were also expressed that the high prevalence of TB cases, which are closely related to HIV/Aids at the institution, was as a result of the same congested environment of the newsroom. The journalists' apprehension was proved right by the attachee who during the period of attachment was also placed in a very trying condition. The attachee also experienced the fears echoed by the journalists.

The concern was that with the number of deaths the institution records, not only among journalists but also the general work force, the image which was being portrayed to the outside world was that there was a lot of in-house sexual relationships which resulted in HIV/Aids transmission being high and that the members of staff were of loose sexual behaviour. This the journalists contended was the not the situation at ZNBC. There was an assertion that the environment allowed for cases of TB to be in high numbers mainly because of the unhealthy surrounding. The absence of fresh air meant that the air was recycled hence the high rate of airborne diseases at the institution.

Despite the congestion in the newsroom, administrative offices were well located and airy, even the levels of cleanliness there were much higher. The opposite was the case with the newsroom.

Journalists suggested as mentioned in Chapter 5, that the newsroom should have been relocated to a different building or better still on the ground floor where the facility could have access to fresh air. In a country like Zambia where breakdown of equipment is normal occurrence, it was observed that the provision of another location for the newsroom would greatly improve the work environment for the journalists. The attachee acknowledged this sentiment and gave examples of similar institutions to ZNBC in other countries which have the newsroom as the frontage of the organisation. Apart from the journalists easily gaining access to sources and transport, the facility's location could be conducive for their operations and more healthier. The attachee observed that the present location of the newsroom could have been a solution to the many problems the institution had with the overflow of visitors disturbed journalists. The previous location, apparently was well situated but the assumption is that the newsroom which was near the administrative offices ended up disturbing operations there.

There was need for the ventilation system to be given top priority whenever it broke down and also relocate some of the personnel found in the newsroom who are not essential.

## **6.2 Communication facilities**

The attachee found it hard to understand how an institution such as ZNBC as a broadcast mass medium could have the barest communication facilities. In an institution which depends on pictures and voices, telephones and other related devices are of paramount importance for successful dissemination of breaking news. At ZNBC, however, the trend is to give the best communication facilities to support staff and not the men and women who are directly involved in news gathering.

A single telephone line, for use by both the journalists and others cannot be said to be adequate for energetic coverage of events. Communication facilities are vital instruments in any journalist's work schedule but at ZNBC this was not thought of in this context. Whereas programmes such as 'Radio Newsreel' can be worked on for longer periods, only two hours are dedicated to recording the programme resulting in mediocre presentation. If anyone wants to call the station, it is literally impossible to do so. From 10:00 hrs to 12:00 hrs when the telephone line is in use by the 'Radio Newsreel' journalists, the only people who have access to telephones is the administration which has its own direct lines. Many lines have been disconnected due to non-payment of bills.

The attachee noticed that the journalists in the newsroom where there was only one telephone line had resigned themselves to having no telephone from 10:00 hrs to 12:00 hrs and went about their errands not bothered by the situation. However, the attachee recommended that to be able to maximise the use of the telephone before 10:00 hrs, it was important to have order and avoid making personal calls. And those who were on the line, should also minimise their conversations to avail everyone a chance.

The absence of a fax machine in the newsroom also confirmed that administrators did not view the facility as being important for the journalists. The offices, as mentioned in Chapter 5, where the fax machines were installed, would be locked after 17:00 hrs when the administrators wind up their business day. A suggestion was made that instead of having the fax machines in wrong locations, management avail one to the newsroom. Alternatively, if this approach failed the attachee suggested that those sending messages should be advised to do so much earlier.

But the problem arose just as it would happen in any other newsroom when a reporter is out on assignment. What transpires is that the time for sending the report is not determined by ZNBC but by the assignment being covered.

It happened in the presence of the attachee that a journalist failed to file his story because the receiving point had no access to a fax machine.

### **6.3 Transport solution**

The observation that there is a transport crisis at the institution was genuine and the need to ensure that vehicles were provided. The institution's roadworthy vehicles are mostly found in the other departments such as marketing. The attachee observed that journalists had to hitch rides mostly from sources. A visitor to ZNBC would in most cases be asked for a lift by a reporter or journalist. The usual question asked to any visitor is which side of town they are heading to and then followed by a request for a ride.

Except for a few journalists, who have personal vehicles, the institution has fared badly in the provision of transport both for editorial operations and ferrying of staff from their home for work, especially for the late and early morning shift. The solution to the problem suggested by the attachee would be to seriously avail more transport for editorial use and, in particular to journalists.

#### **6.3.1 Late shift**

The late shift journalists are usually Sub Editors who compile the news. They are the last people to leave the station together with the continuity announcer and the newscaster. Since they are the last to knock off, transport has to be provided to take them home. But in most cases, they have to wait at the station for much longer periods after close down to board, the usually one vehicle which would have been elsewhere with journalists on assignment. The time they normally arrived at their homes, depending on destinations, is around midnight or much later.

#### **6.3.2 Early shift**

The early shift entails the opening of the station. The person charged with this task reports at the station around 04:00 hrs in the morning. The first duty is to switch on the station identification tune. The station eventually opens at 05:00 hrs. the early morning shift workers are provided with transport to ZNBC.

## 6.4 Conception

Regular meetings, which the attachee attended, are held to plan for the day. Journalists, in their different work groups meet every morning to plan their strategies for the day. Ideas are exchanged in a warm and cordial atmosphere with everyone participating.

### 6.4.1 News

Journalists covering news assignments meet daily to present their ideas. There is an input from other journalists. The deadline for coverage for news assignments is 12:00 hrs for radio and 17:00 hrs for television news. The deadlines are strictly adhered to except in instances when a late item comes up, such as a presidential one. The assignments editor decides on the movement of the vehicle to transport journalists to assignments. The same vehicle is also availed to other editorial duties.

I sat in the meeting for news and offered some ideas to journalists for their assignments. Some of my ideas were valuable while others could not be immediately attended to. The meetings were, however, very fruitful and helped to give guidance to journalists before they ventured out for their assignments. Journalists and newscasters made up the composition of this meeting.

### 6.4.2 Current affairs

The other planning meeting which I was accorded a chance to attend was the current affairs meeting where reporters, sub editors and newscasters were also in attendance. This meeting mainly focused on the production of the "Radio Newsreel" programme. There are three producers in the current affairs team. The newscasters were mostly found in the current affairs team after complaining that they were being sidelined by the institution, and only read the news after which they did nothing. They said that they were being rendered ineffective as they did very little.

### 6.4.2 Sources interference

People or news sources love appearing on television so much that they go to extremes to ensure that a television camera is available at their functions. At ZNBC it is normal to find sources jostling for a camera. With the limited video cameras, sources come early to pick up the reporter and cameraperson to cover their assignment, a situation which is usually a source of discontent government ministers usually want to call the shots and insist on sending transport to collect the journalist and the cameraperson. In this regard, the work

schedule has to be planned early and assignments allocated time during the morning meetings, and probably before the sources come and disturb the day's plans. There were situations when ministers refuse to go ahead with a function until a ZNBC television camera is filming them. Other people, because of lack of understanding of the functions of journalist, keep them long at assignments, and end up with the news item not being transmitted the same day when the event happened.

#### 6.4.4 Victimisation

In the course of duty, journalists are not always perceived as communicators who report on events which the public are generally interested in. There were situations at ZNBC during the attachee's presence where some people complained of not being availed air time on either radio or television. Opposition parties or groupings of people with divergent views felt that journalist deliberately blocked their news from being aired. In one instance, a source accused one journalist of being pro-government. Victimisation, however, occurs regularly in any medial setting ZNBC was no exception. There was a deliberate effort to accommodate every piece of news despite the origins, but the bottom line was that Policy of the institution had to be upheld that of keeping away from slander in terms of defamatory material which sometimes found its way on either radio or television.

### 6.5 **Government controls**

There was no visible manipulation by government or authorities in the presentation of news and reporting of events. The journalists themselves, however, were in the habit of tagging along when a 'big source' such as a minister or chief executive of a company showed up, asking for coverage. The administrators know exactly what the situation should be. In reality, it was evident that the institution's staff knew how far they could go and how much they could do as regarded coverage and presentation of news concerning top government officials, and above all the Republican President. There was always a video camera available at all times to cover the President.

#### 6.5.1 Press freedom

Journalists operated free from interference and were able to cover assignments as they proposed during the morning meetings. Scheduled assignments were given priority especially those involving government ministers, and as stated before, the Republican President.

### 6.5.2 Censorship

The much talked about censorship was literally invisible but what was noticeable that journalists were extra careful with items against the government. However, journalists were not ordered by anyone to use a story or keep it off the air. In other words, journalists were able to use, mostly their own judgment as pertains to the outlook of a story. In other words, they employed self-censorship to practice what may be termed as 'responsible journalism'.

### 6.5.3. Senior journalists' reaction

Senior journalist would normally listen and offer counter views immediately more especially when they were explaining to the attachee the prevailing situation. They also explain why certain events, such as the shortage of transport, kept occurring and agreed with the recommendations. The senior journalists were, however, skeptical of what could be done in an institution to improve it when their pleas for improvement kept falling on deaf ears, according to them. Accordingly, they believed that once the report was compiled and management availed a copy, the situation be improve. But that was a one off feeling in view of the fact that similar reports had already been catalogued and nothing positive came off them.

### 6.5.4. Junior journalists' reaction

The junior journalist were a 'closed shop' with a non-committal attitude to issues pertaining to the institution. They had no confidence and did not believe that they could make the difference through their reaction. Theirs, however, was a kind of reaction that "we found things in this state and this is how they should be".

### 6.5.5. Institutional reaction

On being introduced that I was an attachee doing a report for the Master of Communication for Development, the institutional reaction was that it was one of those documents which was a mere academic exercise. The top management, however, accorded the attachee the feeling that his presence was desirable and the input would be of valuable use to the institution although contact was at its barest minimum. In the case of the middle management, they did not seem bothered by the presence of the attachee. Although willing to help and respond, they were of the silent view that suggestions never got anywhere.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Discussion**

#### **7.0 Experiences and Findings**

With the changing political scenario, and the advent of multiparty politics in Zambia, ZNBC's outlook on issues has remained stagnant. In this respect, therefore, this chapter will argue on issues as pertains to experiences and data collected during the attachment period in reference to Kasoma's 'Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press'. (Kasoma, 1999).

This is the theory which was presented in the conceptual framework in Chapter 3. This chapter's role, therefore, is to integrate the theory with practice, from attachment experiences at ZNBC. An attempt will also be made to demonstrate that despite its otherwise autonomous out look ZNBC requires more freedom through parliamentary legislation to turn the institution into a public broadcaster. So long as ZNBC remains in its current form, the institution will never be an effective broadcaster. The fusion of the findings into Kasoma's Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press will focus on:-

- 1) ZNBC's response to the changing political environment
- 2) political links of journalists within the institution
- 3) roles, values and ethics of journalists

#### **7.1 Political scenario**

The unfolding political scenario in Zambia has seen not only opposition parties but donors as well exerting pressure on ZNBC to broadcast views which fairly cover all of them. Perceived as a government station, ZNBC has had to contend with pressure from a cross section of organisations, on one hand, and Non-government Organisations (NGO)s and civic organisations on the other. Donors also insist on fair play prevailing. In the UNIP days, ZNBC did not have any problem as to who their master was, but the appearance of MMD in the plural political system saw the institution face a wave of litigation. The demand for fair coverage saw ZNBC being dragged into court in 1991. That action was taken by the MMD in the run-up to multiparty elections. the legal action was over ZNBC's refusal to broadcast material, including paid-for election campaign advertisements. The High Court ruled in the MMD's favour and ordered ZNBC to broadcast information about MMD and the advertisements (Kasoma, 1999).

The resultant change by ZNBC both its policy and practice by trying to accommodate the opposition parties was immediately noticeable, particularly when the MMD itself came to power. ZNBC even instituted a code of conduct which it was supposed to follow during election time, among which was the drive to give all political parties equal time in transmission of their views. In spite of this, to-date, Zambia's opposition parties still complain, albeit with some justification, that they are being given a raw deal by a broadcasting station that is supposed to be a public broadcaster and not a government mouthpiece (see appendix 6).

ZNBC, however, is still entangled in trying to acquire its identity in the prevailing political situation where the institution finds itself towing the government line while on the other side NGOs, civic organisations and donors insist on a fair share of the organisation's output. As financiers of the institution, government continues to have an iron-fisted hold on ZNBC where it is evidenced in the news distribution and time allocated to others outside the State's machinery (Kasoma, 1999).

As Kasoma observed: If we define democratic governance as 'government by argument' and multipartism as 'the art of shouting at the top of one's voice amidst competing political viewpoints', then we have to concede that a press capable of serving these two democratic ideals would have to be flexible and accommodating while maintaining a certain level of firmness (Kasoma, 1999). Proponents of the Authoritarian Theory admit that the press, ZNBC inclusive, does not favour the ordinary person but those in power and who control it.

#### 7.1.1 Third term presidential debate

In covering all parties in the debate for the third term of office for the president, ZNBC found itself in a situation where Government control on the institution was exposed. The third term debate is a discussion which was centred on whether the Republican President, Frederick Chiluba, should be accorded a chance to run for office for the third time after finishing two terms in office. The Republican Constitution allowed for only two terms of office.

ZNBC, from the onset of the debate attempted to transmit views for and against the third term, but eventually, the institution swayed glaringly to give time to proponents of the third term. The sponsors of the third term clearly had an upper hand in coverage as was evidenced on one occasion when a national debate organised by NGOs, a gathering which

came out with deviant observations was nearly blacked out from the screen except for a brief mention yet more could have been beamed. From this example, it is evident that ZNBC, despite the Government insisting that it has no hand in its operations, ZNBC has a silent policy of 'keeping in line with the government of the day policy'.

Interesting, however, is how swift the managers move to mend fences when those in power turn the heat on them. Journalists covering such events are usually caught in cross-fire with the editor who passes the story getting the biggest share of the blame. In the context of the Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press, ZNBC is subsequently caught at crossroads in most instances, unable to win the battle on either side yet always putting out fires. The management keeps making peace with everyone concerning but always keeping the government happy. In view of this debate, the public at large notices who eventually controls ZNBC and that is the government. That ZNBC is a backer of government policies and programmes with news bulletins becoming no more than litanies of what the president and government ministers are saying. The third term debate confirmed this assertion.

## **7.2 Political affiliation**

A basic commodity of journalistic professionalism is the determination of news worthiness. Nothing is more controversial and sensitive in the field than the decisions about what is and what is not worthy of publication or broadcast. Notions about what makes something newsworthy are many: conflict, drama, official sources; the list is long (Weaver and Wihoit, 1986:124). This is the context in which journalists at ZNBC perceive themselves when selecting news, but with the coming of multiparty politics, the status quo changes, as being part of society, they cannot be distanced from the political activity which surrounds them. The newsroom environment is one of the most powerful forces which shapes the journalist's views, this, however, does not allow them to air their views.

Journalists remain silent observers to unfolding news, yet they have their own views. In the case of ZNBC, there has not been instances when journalists come out in support of a political party. The exception arises mainly in presentation of news when journalists are deemed to be siding with the government stance. But this is not their own making as it is an offspring of the administrative decision, ordinarily directed by those in power. In most cases, however, the judgment is made in the context of self-censorship when journalists themselves decide what should be aired and what should be left out.

### **7.3 Professional role**

No intellectual occupation defies sociological categories of professionalism as robustly as journalism. Yet, there is an irresistible attraction to couching the value and roles of journalists in the context of professionalisation (Singletary, 1982:75-87).

And Arthur Lawrence described the journalist's role as diverse. In his view, journalism accommodated the desire to "ameliorate the lot of the people," and the possibility to "reform the public service" in "most interesting and engrossing occupation" (Wilensky, 1996: 138).

In the context of the Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press, journalists, as a result of the manner in which their material is presented on ZNBC channels, find themselves caught in situations which they do not understand. Although the views of journalists at ZNBC have changed greatly over the years since the advent of multiparty politics, they are more resigned to the status quo and do not dare to do more than they are required to.

### **7.4 Government intervention**

In the Neo Multiparty theory and going by ZNBC's experience, the institution does not hesitate to defend government side of any story in what is generally shielded as 'story balancing'. The head at ZNBC, is usually charged with the responsibility of ensuring that government and, in this instance, the ruling party is MMD is fairly protected in all the presentations. government does not show any rigidity in the control of ZNBC but does it quietly.

Another factor that cannot be ignored in emerging democracies is the ability of the ruling party to exert influence over the operations of the media apparatus. Of course, both state and private media editors report that their operations are independent of the political orientation of their owners, but a number of studies indicate that such is not always the case (Darnolf, 1997:202).

Darnolf has listed three pressures from ruling parties in the press. They are:-

1. The economic dependence of the state media on the state;
2. The appointment of members of boards of directors of the state media;
3. The direct influence of ministers over news editors and programmes.

#### 7.4.1 Financing

Government funding means an institutions such ZNBC s to have respect of state power. The appointment of members of boards of directors by the ruling party makes it possible for the ruling party to choose board members based on their political orientation rather than their performance (Darnolf, 1197:202-203). In this context, the ZNBC set-up is very practical as the institution is perennially short of money for its operations. The chief executive, has to join the line at the Ministry of Finance every month-end with a beggar's bowl to get money for his workers' salaries.

Soon after the attachee finished the attachment, there was a go-slow action by journalists, among other workers who were demanding to be paid their salaries which had not been paid for two months. Management had to take over the running of the station, and in one instance, the news reader for the day was a Human Resource Officer. The senior officials were kept on the air for two days as the journalists declined to work, insisting that they should be paid their dues. In the meantime, and as expected government moved in and released some money to ZNBC although this could not be acknowledged by the administration.

Regularly, however, ZNBC has had to rely on government funding to realise most of their projects such as transportation for reporters to assignments. This is particularly noticeable when journalists have to travel abroad with the President or government officials. Full allowances are paid by the government, including upkeep. And surely, this being the case, the coverage automatically sways in favour of the President or the government officials the reporter accompanied. Most of the time such trips are not local but involve international travel with allowances being paid in the valuable foreign exchange such as United State Dollar.

Journalists would do anything 'humanly' possible to be on the assignment. and if this is not enough, they would also do what is required of them in their presentation of the stories to ensure that they are invited or offered a similar trip abroad at a later stage. "Biting the hand that feeds you' is the mainstay of journalists who sample such assignments, and surely, they keep track of the schedule of assignment with the hope of clinching many others.

This does not only apply to government officials, ministers alone, but is applicable to donors who also fund journalists' assignments. It so happens that those donors, NGOs

included, also fall prey to this type of approach and end getting some favourable coverage when the remuneration is significant. This does not end at journalists but stretches all the way to the top when media heads are handed lucrative 'study tours' abroad and paid handsome per diems. what is expected of them is some sort of kick-back in terms of coverage.

## **7.5 Pressure**

The Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press strongly suggests that it is very difficult, if not impossible, for the press in African and other parts of the world which have embraced multipartism, to abide by a press philosophy and practice with some consistency . The press tends to exist and operate on a laissez faire basis as it responds to pressures from media playmakers (Kasoma, 1999). This is a reality at ZNBC.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusions and recommendations**

#### **8.0 Communication problems at ZNBC**

This chapter is based on the findings and discussions contained in the report, from which conclusions and recommendations have been drawn. However, this chapter had to be updated later after the MMD Government acknowledged that ZNBC had immense problems, which had incapacitated the institution to such levels that it was not able to effectively perform its role.

As a broadcast institution, ZNBC could perform much better and become an effective contributor to the process of development if all the resources at the institution's disposal were harnessed. President Chiluba's MMD Government acknowledged this on 9 May, 2001. Speaking when he appointed Vernon Mwaanga as minister of Information and Broadcasting, Chiluba emphasised that Mwaanga had the experience to rejuvenate the operations of ZNBC and bring the institution back on its feet.

Among the major problems the institution faces is the non-existent communication network at the institution among many other problems such as the inclusion of journalists in the decision making process through effective participation which should involve direct interaction with the management. At present, journalists can only relate to their editors who in turn, pass on the message to management, which they argue that in most instances is distorted.

As brought out in the report, participation in decision making by journalists is literally non-existent, as they have no forum for this purpose. Participation from journalists ends up in editorial meetings where they discuss the day's news gathering. They have no forum for airing their views on what the institution should work on to improve their welfare let alone the work environment such as the provision of equipment and enhancement of a work-friendly atmosphere.

A close look at the institution reveals that there is literally no link between the operations of the editorial side of the institution and management. Editorial is treated as a 'by the way' sector and its contribution ends up when the news is broadcast, hence the deprivation

of such facilities as telephones, computers and transport, the vital tools which could make the work of journalists much easier.

However, this report does not seek to place journalists at a higher platform than the management of the institution but merely highlight their predicament to perform better in their chores despite working in an environment which could be best described as hostile.

The journalists seem to have more information on their finger tips mainly because of exposure to other media organisations but have no avenue of communicating this information to their managers other than editors whose only responsibilities end up with the news gathering aspect and how to go about it.

Even when it comes to matters which directly involve the journalists, management, from my observation, ends up dealing with the departmental head, who in the hierarchy of ZNBC is divorced from what happens in the newsroom.

The top leadership at ZNBC is engrossed in keeping in line with the media playmakers who among others include government and the donors. The pressure is so intense on management that they are at the end of the day, not so involved with that happens on the ground. The newsroom and journalists are a remote fragment of their operations and require, from my observation, no special treatment, the eyes of management.

## **8.1 Participation**

It was observed that there was need to encourage more participation from journalists in as far as their work environment was concerned so that they could be satisfied with their work stations. This could be done by having meetings especially convened to discuss issues such as maintenance of equipment, provision of equipment, transport to and from assignments, among others. The Director-General, as chief executive of the institution should have an audience with the journalists so that he is able to hear their views and what they think should be done, directly from them.

Although the report has highlighted specific setbacks, and recommendations to improve the status quo as in the above and other chapters, it is unlikely that they can be adopted, as the situation at ZNBC is not static. Management easily shifts around with each passing day, making it so difficult to effect any positive changes which could otherwise benefit journalists and improve their operations. However, the author of the report proceeded to

make recommendations, which in the eyes of ZNBC management could be deemed as non-starters.

The status quo at the moment does not accord journalists an audience with the chief executive except where they make such demands. In most instances, journalists come into contact with the institution's chief executive when they are summoned or when they make a request. And in a situation when they are summoned, it is usually over some clarification to some news item. In the case then they seek audience with the Director-General; it is probably to solve personal problems.

#### 8.1.1. Information flow

It was observed during the attachment that information flow in the institution was literally non-existent. There was a general use of circulars, which were pinned on notice boards within the premises. Journalists among other members of staff read these circulars and made their own interpretations as to what the administration was communicating to them.

As a result of the use of circulars, there was no feedback on whatever information had been communicated and how the circulars had been received and what effect it had on the journalists as regard their work. This approach tended to exaggerate otherwise moderate situations hence the continuous tension between staff and management due mainly to misinformation. This approach, as observed above, has generally been misunderstood such that journalists feel they should be communicated to directly especially when it comes to sensitive issues which affect them directly. The other members of staff are represented by a union whose leaders have regular briefings with them to discuss management decisions and hear their contributions. Of late, however, journalists had been making moves to join ZUJ, a journalist' union.

#### 8.1.2. Communication channels

The red tape, which is in place and hinders journalists from directly linking up with management, has been a source of numerous problems at the institution. There is currently very little contact between journalists and management, a situation, which creates suspicion.

To create confidence that all parties are important, from management, journalists and the general work force, the channels of communication should be eased instead of following the top-heavy structure, which is currently in existence.

## **8.2 Director-General and Journalists**

The pressure is so much on the Director-General at the institution that it is very rare to find the chief executive of the institution mingling freely with the journalists. Throughout my attachment period, I only had a single contact with the Director-General, and that was when I was coming into the institution on attachment. As for the journalists with ZNBC, the Director-General is rare specie. Although they are able to see, and maybe greet him, it is otherwise an impossible task to have a one-on-one chat with him.

### **8.2.1. Demands**

The demand on journalists to perform and in context with the prevailing political environment is so intense that most of the time they find themselves operating under extreme pressure from both the Government of the day, the opposition on one hand, and NGO's on the other. As observed by Kasoma in his Neo-Multiparty Theory of the Press:

Moreover, the editors and broadcast directors of the Neo-Multiparty Press are also prone to get confused by at times conflicting demands and pressures they get from the media playmakers. This is for example, the case when a director of a government broadcast station is ordered by the government not to give the opposition parties any positive publicity and the opposition parties also demand from him or her equal and fair publicity with government and the ruling party. Faced with such a situation, some directors have opted to support one side with often disastrous consequences, which may include dismissal. The strong-willed editors and their policies will only last for as long as they have very powerful media playmakers supporting them. The turnover of media managers without any political "fullbacks" both in the government and private press is high (Kasoma, 1999).

Kasoma's assertion is correct in the instance of the ZNBC Director-General in that whereas the job seems lucrative, the pressure from other forces is so much that it is a question of living for the day. At the time of writing the report, Duncan Mbazima who was holding the position resigned for what was said to have been a lucrative job with an international company. In this regard it goes without saying that the job carries with it a

high risk tag in that the government of the day has to be given a better setting on both radio and television, otherwise the Director-General gets into trouble which could go as far as dismissal.

#### 8.2.2. The debate

And soon after Mbazima announced his resignation, the 'leaderless' ZNBC was on top with what viewers and listeners said was a balanced approach to coverage of events. This was in effect testimony of what journalists could do in the absence of a Director-General. The Third Term debate which subsequently came to an end on the weekend of 5 May, 2001, after intensive, sometimes heated discussion, demonstrated what the media could do, and in particular ZNBC. It also brought to the fore what extremes the media could get into; pro and anti-third term. As a government owned media, the coverage ZNBC rendered was more balanced than seen in a long time during not only the debate but other diverse political views, which centered on whether the Republican constitution should be amended or not to allow President Chiluba who had served two terms of office to contest a third term. Chiluba subsequently said that he would not push for a third term of office. As Kasoma stated: The government media are becoming more critical of the administration and accommodating to the opposition while the private media are becoming more responsible and mature in the relations with government and other political players (Kasoma, 1999). The ZNBC story during the Year 2001, will be an interesting one going by what the institution put up during the third term debate.

### 8.3 Recommendations

Therefore from the findings of the report, the only solution to ZNBC's woes which the author had tried to lay out in a clear manner is to release the institution so that it is completely delinked from Government. The institution should be turned over to private hands but if this is not possible, it should allowed to run as a public broadcaster along the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Under the BBC model of management, parliament will have a bigger say on how ZNBC should be run. The Chief Executive's appointment will have to be ratified by parliament. Funding for the institution will be approved also by parliament with Government having no say on the allocation. The other source of funding will come through licenses which television and radio owners will be required to pay to the institution. A board of directors, picked from members of society will run the day to day affairs of the institution. Of course the Head of State will have a say in all the appointments but his nominees will have to be endorsed by other

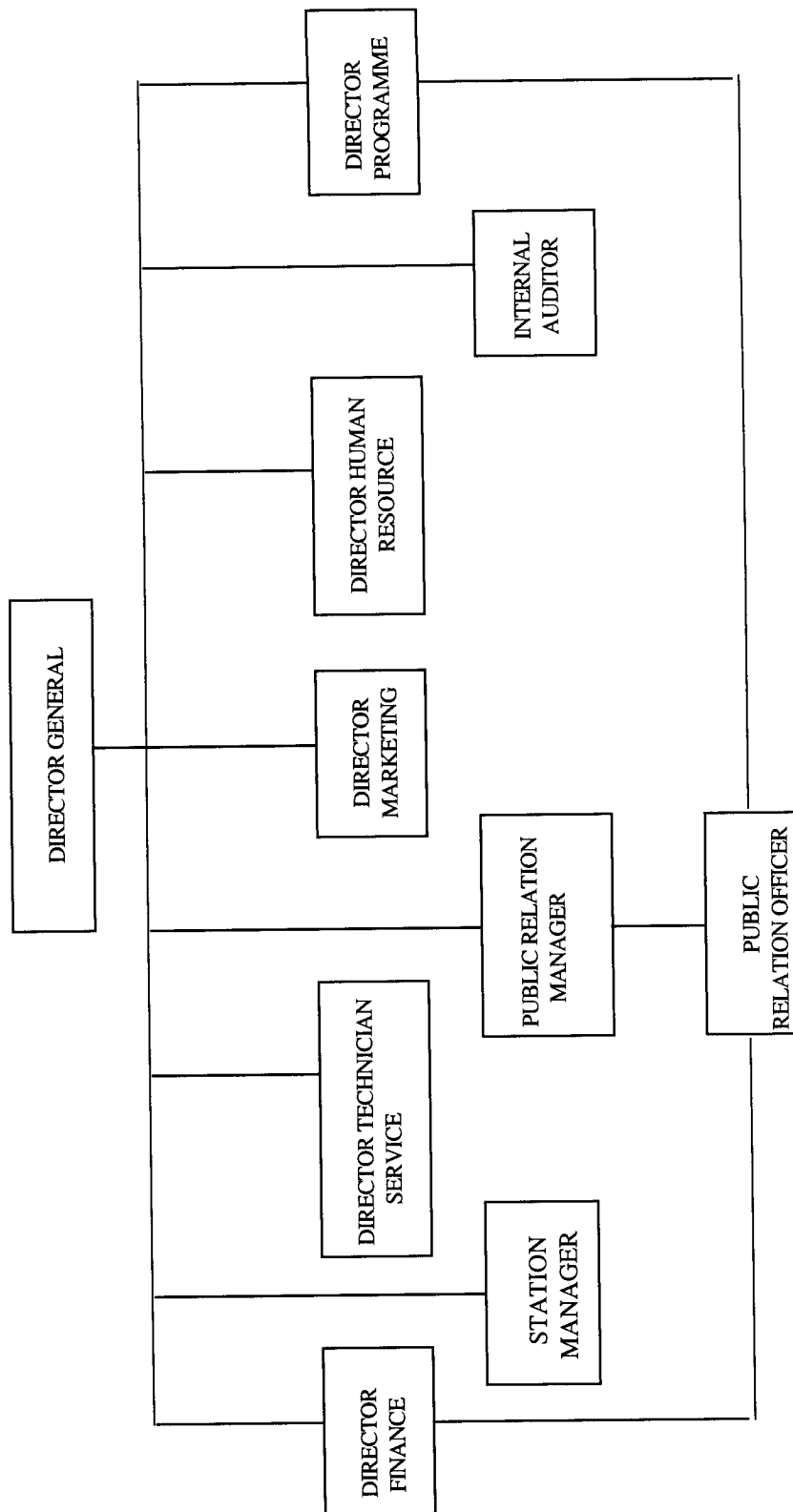
stakeholders such as opposition political parties, NGO's among many others. If this is done, the face of the media in Zambia will completely change with more objective coverage of events, apart from journalists and the other workers at the institution being wonderfully rewarded for their labour as professionals.

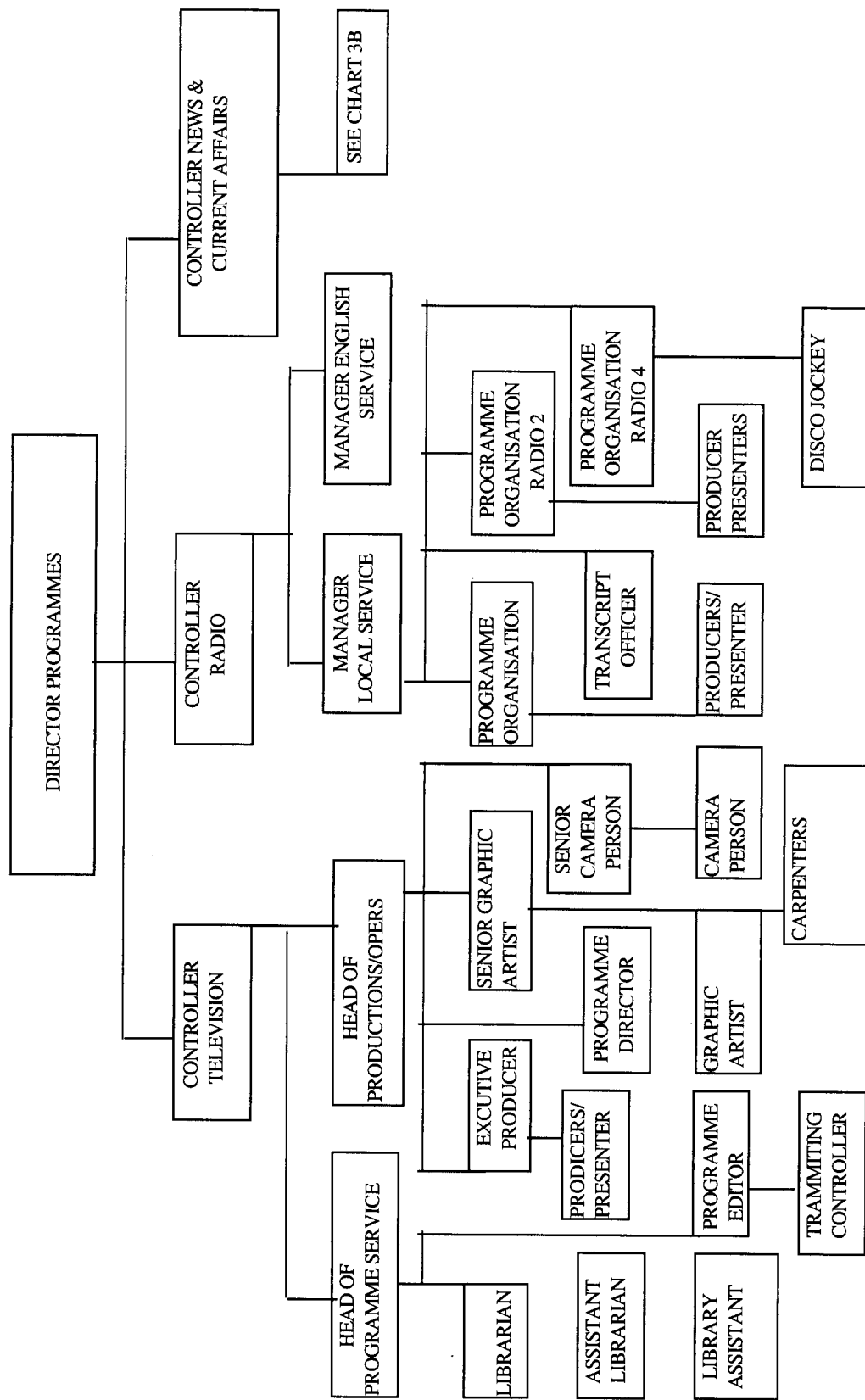
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## **Appendices**

**Appendix: 1**  
**Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation**  
**Organization Structure**





**Appendix 3**  
**Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation**  
**Unionised Staff Conditions of Service**

|       |                            |   |  |
|-------|----------------------------|---|--|
| I.    | Funeral Expenses           |   |  |
|       | Standard Coffin Transport  |   |  |
|       | Employee                   |   | K450,000.00                                      |
|       | Spouse/Children/Parents    |   | K250,000.00                                      |
|       | Dependents                 |   | K100,000.00 (no coffin)                          |
| II.   | Holidays                   |   |  |
|       | 30 days = K6,500 X 30 days |   |  |
|       | K5,500 X 30 days           |   |  |
|       | Leave Travel               | - | K500,000.00 across the board                     |
| III.  | Housing                    | - | K160,000.00 per month                            |
|       |                            |   | K120,000.00 per month                            |
| IV.   | Subsistence                | - | K40,000.00 per month                             |
|       |                            |   | K50,000.00 per month                             |
| V.    | Lunch                      | - | K10,000.00 per day                               |
| VI.   | Mealie Meal                | - | K17,000.00 per month                             |
| VII.  | Hardship                   | - | 20% of basic salary                              |
| VIII. | Night Shift                | - | K3,500 per shift                                 |
| IX.   | Bicycle                    | - | Cleaner K10,000.00 per month                     |
| X.    | Upset/Disturbance          | - | 25% basic pay                                    |
| XI.   | Car Allowance              | - | K50,000.00 per month                             |
| XII.  | Energy/Utility             | - | 15% of basic salary                              |
|       |                            |   | 10% of basic salary                              |
| XIII. | Education Allowance        | - | K35,000.00 per term per child up to 4 children   |
| XIV.  | Medical                    | - | 25% of basic salary (refunds)                    |
| XV.   | Rent                       | - | We try to maintain rental within one's basic pay |
|       |                            |   | Low cost - 6%                                    |
|       |                            |   | Medium cost - 8% basic pay                       |
|       |                            |   | High cost - 10%                                  |

**Continue  
Salary Structure**

|        | <b>Minimum</b> | <b>Maximum</b> | <b>Notch</b> |
|--------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| UG I   | 1,562,274      | 4,046,274      | 138,000      |
| UG 2   | 1,671,341      | 4,587,341      | 162,000      |
| UG 3/2 | 1,750,854      | 5,098,854      | 186,000      |
| UG 3   | 1,830,355      | 5,610,355      | 210,000      |
| UG 4/3 | 1,932,602      | 6,144,602      | 234,000      |
| UG 4   | 2,034,858      | 6,678,858      | 258,000      |
| UG 5/4 | 2,145,950      | 7,221,950      | 282,000      |
| 5      | 2,180,394      | 7,688,394      | 306,000      |
| 6/5    | 2,212,364      | 8,156,364      | 330,000      |
| 6      | 2,292,349      | 8,664,349      | 354,000      |
| 7/6    | 2,339,148      | 9,143,148      | 378,000      |
| 7      | 2,390,628      | 9,626,628      | 402,000      |

**Appendix 4**  
**Times Printpak Zambia Limited**  
**Salary Structure Conversion**  
**Effective April 2000**

|      |    | <b>Current<br/>Salary</b> | <b>Notch</b> |
|------|----|---------------------------|--------------|
| JT 1 |    | 810,352                   | 23, 647      |
|      | 1  | 833,999                   |              |
|      | 2  | 857,647                   |              |
|      | 3  | 881,294                   |              |
|      | 4  | 904,940                   |              |
|      | 5  | 928,588                   |              |
|      | 6  | 952,235                   |              |
|      | 7  | 975,882                   |              |
|      | 8  | 999,529                   |              |
|      | 9  | 1,023,176                 |              |
|      | 10 | 1,046,823                 |              |
| JT 2 |    | 654,333                   | 22,071       |
|      | 1  | 676,404                   |              |
|      | 2  | 698,475                   |              |
|      | 3  | 720,546                   |              |
|      | 4  | 742,617                   |              |
|      | 5  | 764,688                   |              |
|      | 6  | 786,760                   |              |
|      | 7  | 808,831                   |              |
|      | 8  | 830,902                   |              |
|      | 9  | 852,973                   |              |
|      | 10 | 875,044                   |              |
| JT 3 |    | 475,089                   | 19,299       |
|      | 1  | 494,388                   |              |
|      | 2  | 513,687                   |              |
|      | 3  | 532,986                   |              |

Continued

|    |         |
|----|---------|
| 4  | 552,286 |
| 5  | 571,585 |
| 6  | 590,884 |
| 7  | 610,184 |
| 8  | 629,483 |
| 9  | 648,782 |
| 10 | 668,081 |

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|      |         |        |
|------|---------|--------|
| JT 4 | 456,855 | 16,552 |
|------|---------|--------|

|    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1  | 473,407 |
| 2  | 489,959 |
| 3  | 506,511 |
| 4  | 523,064 |
| 5  | 539,616 |
| 6  | 556,168 |
| 7  | 572,720 |
| 8  | 589,272 |
| 9  | 605,824 |
| 10 | 622,376 |

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|      |         |        |
|------|---------|--------|
| JT 5 | 323,217 | 12,415 |
|------|---------|--------|

|    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1  | 335,632 |
| 2  | 348,048 |
| 3  | 360,465 |
| 4  | 372,881 |
| 5  | 385,297 |
| 6  | 397,713 |
| 7  | 410,129 |
| 8  | 422,545 |
| 9  | 434,962 |
| 10 | 447,378 |

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|      |         |        |
|------|---------|--------|
| JT 6 | 243,175 | 11,035 |
|------|---------|--------|

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| 1 | 254,210 |
| 2 | 265,244 |

Continued

|       |    |         |       |
|-------|----|---------|-------|
| JT 9  |    | 162,586 | 6,899 |
|       | 1  | 169,485 |       |
|       | 2  | 176,383 |       |
|       | 3  | 183,282 |       |
|       | 4  | 190,180 |       |
|       | 5  | 197,079 |       |
|       | 6  | 203,977 |       |
|       | 7  | 210,875 |       |
|       | 8  | 217,774 |       |
|       | 9  | 224,672 |       |
|       | 10 | 231,571 |       |
| JT 10 |    | 154,115 | 5,517 |
|       | 1  | 159,631 |       |
|       | 2  | 165,148 |       |
|       | 3  | 170,665 |       |
|       | 4  | 176,181 |       |
|       | 5  | 181,698 |       |
|       | 6  | 167,214 |       |
|       | 7  | 192,731 |       |
|       | 8  | 198,248 |       |
|       | 9  | 203,764 |       |
|       | 10 | 209,281 |       |

**Appendix 5**  
**Zambia Daily Mail**  
**Clause 8 Salary**

- i) The minimum basic salary for Unionised grades shall be K120,000.00 per month.
- ii) Salaries of all eligible employees shall be increased by 12% as from 1<sup>st</sup> April 2000. Numerical details are contained in appendix 1 of this Collective Agreement. Salaries shall be paid on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of each month or earlier if that day falls on a non-working day.

**Taxation**

In line with government policy on taxation, salaries and all allowances including housing shall be taxable and such tax shall be borne by the employee.

**Clause 9 Allowances**

- (a) All allowances shall be paid on 10<sup>th</sup> of each month.
- (b) The following monthly and other allowances shall apply in the Zambia Daily Mail Limited to the eligible employees covered by this agreement and in the categories as stated:-

- (i) Transport Allowance

|           |   |                       |
|-----------|---|-----------------------|
| JS 1 - 2  | = | K88,000.00 per month. |
| JS 3 - 4  | = | K69,000.00 per month. |
| JS 5 - 11 | = | K35,000.00 per month/ |

- (ii) Housing Allowance (for unaccommodated eligible employees only)

|              |   |                        |
|--------------|---|------------------------|
| JS 1         | = | K222,000.00 per month. |
| JS 2         | = | K212,000.00 per month. |
| JS 3 - 4     | = | K186,000.00 per month. |
| JS 5 - JS 8  | = | K 80,000.00 per month. |
| JS 9 - JS 11 | = | K 65,000.00 per month. |

(iii) Entertainment Allowance JS 1 - 3 = K21,000.00 per month.

To be grossed up and consolidated with the basic with the basic salary.

(iv) **Furniture Maintenance Allowance**

JS 1 - 2 = K3,750.00 per month.

JS 3 - 4 = K2,500.00 per month.

To be grossed up and consolidated with the basic salary

(v) **Water and Electricity**

JS 1 - 2 = K5,000.00 per month.

JS 3 - 5 = K2,500.00 per month.

(vi) **Education Allowance**

JS 1 - 4 = K600,000.00 per child per term four (4) biological or adopted children from three (3) to twenty (20) years for those currently enjoying the facility.

JS 5 - 11 = K10,000.00 per term per employee.

(vii) **Subsistence Allowance**

JS 1 - 2 = K100,000.00 per day.

JS 3 - 4 = K 90,000.00 per day .

JS 5 - 11 = K 50,000.00 per day.

(viii) **Out of Town Night Allowance K20,000.00**

(ix) **An out of pocket allowance** shall be payable to an employee who is working on official company business out of station and is accommodated.

|           |   |                     |
|-----------|---|---------------------|
| JS 1 - 2  | = | K 20,000.00 per day |
| JS 3 - 4  | = | K 15,000.00 per day |
| JS 5 - 11 | = | K 10,000.00 per day |

(x) **Leave Allowance**

- (a) This allowance shall be paid to an employee once every two (2) years of service when due for a maximum of thirty (30) days vocational leave as follows:-

|           |   |           |
|-----------|---|-----------|
| JS 1 - 2  | = | K9,000.00 |
| JS 3 - 4  | = | K7,000.00 |
| JS 5 - 11 | = | K2,500.00 |

- (b) For purposes of this allowance the company shall bear all travel expenses for employee and for spouse and up to four (4) children of the employee up to the age of 18 years; quote to be based on UTTA or other recognised transporters within Zambia.
- (c) The employee due for vocational leave shall apply in writing to Management to take up such leave and shall give two (2) weeks notice of his/her intention to go on leave for purposes of this cause an employee shall only be entitled to take up vocational leave once every twenty four (24) months of continuous service and such leave shall be for a period not less than 30 (thirty) days to be deducted from the employee's actual leave accruals.
- (d) Leave accruals shall be as follows:-

|          |   |                           |
|----------|---|---------------------------|
| JS 1 - 2 | = | 36 working days per year. |
| JS 3 - 5 | = | 30 working days per year. |

(xi) **Repatriation Allowance**

This allowance shall be paid to retired employees, employees who have been declared redundant or to the surviving spouse of family of a deceased employee who would otherwise have qualified for retirement.

JS 1 - 11        =        K95,000.00

(xii) **Tools Allowance**

- (a)     Shall be payable to any employee who has been permitted by Management to use his or her own tool or tools.

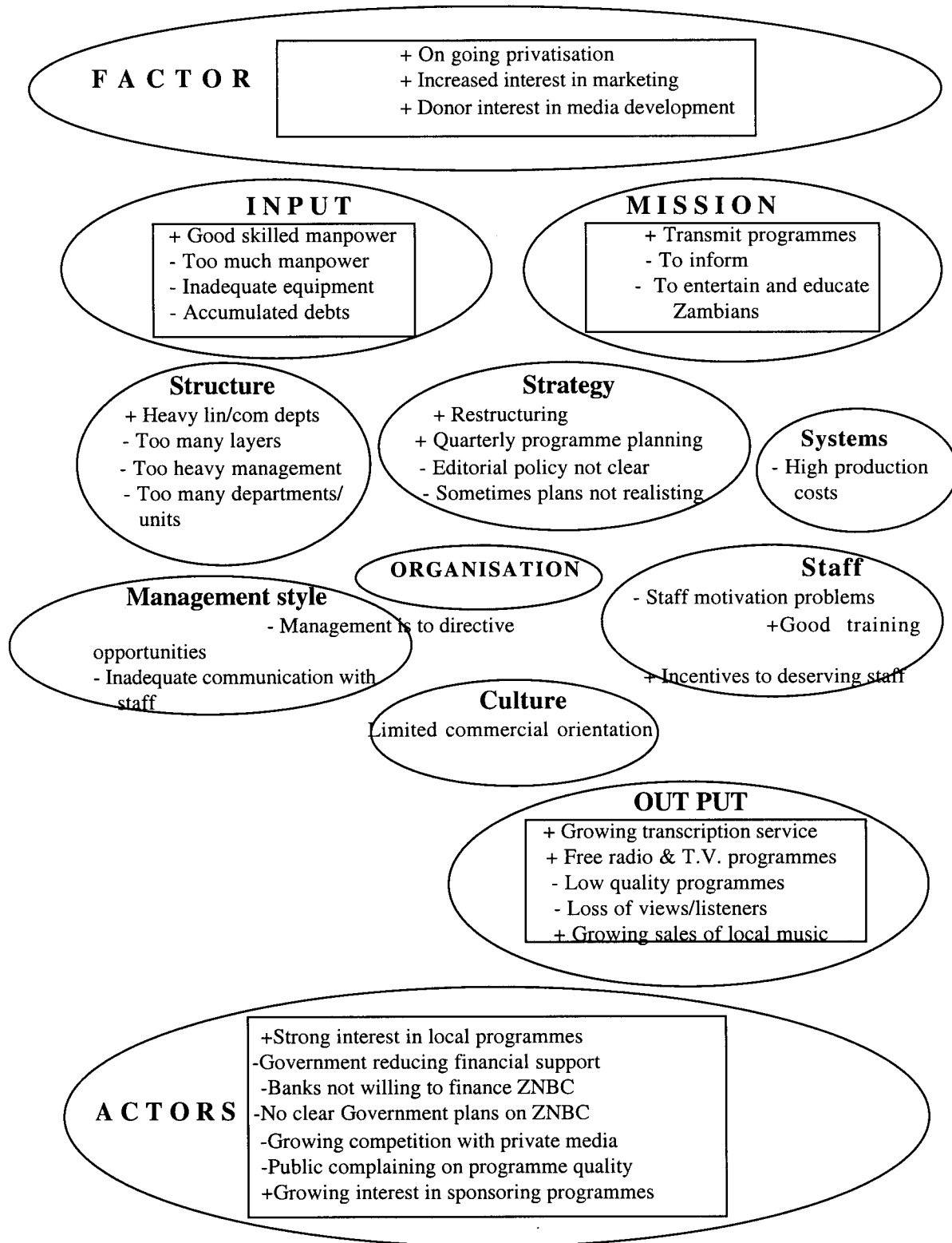
JS 1 - 11        =        K18,000.00

- (b)     It shall be the responsibility of the employee at all reasonable times and at reasonable frequencies to maintain or cause to be maintained such personal tools being used for company work and to purchase or caused to be purchased such essential requisites for the efficient performance of such tools.

## Appendix 6

### Orientation profile

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation.



## **Appendix 7**

### **President Chiluba's address to call off the third term debate Friday, May 05, 2001.**

#### **Countrymen and women good evening**

I wish to address you to night on the issue of the third term debate and to give you my formal position on the matter, in fulfilment of my pledge to respond publicly.

The third term debate, as you are aware, arose from public petitions, requesting me to consider standing for another term. These petitions came from a cross section on our society including and especially members of the movement for multiparty democracy (MMD).

What started off initially as a debate within the MMD quickly developed into a national debate involving a number of interest groups.

It has been canvassed by some of our learned countrymen and women that since the constitution is the supreme law of the land and invariably the grand norm therefore it is sacred sacrosanct.

Whereas I agree that the constitution should not be amended wily nilly I do not agree that the constitution can not be amended.

As a matter of fact the constitution can be amended constitutionally. Being cognisant of the fact that laws must be dynamic and not static we have consistently made provision for a clause in our constitution governing the modus operating for the amendment or alteration of the constitution.

In the independence constitution, the constitution of Zambia, appendix 3 of the laws of Zambia 1965 edition section 72 (as the articles were referred to then) was the provision dealing with the alteration of the constitution.

Under the 1973 constitution of Zambia, article 80 was the relevant clause. Today, the constitution can be competently amended pursuant to the stipulations of article 79 of the constitution of Zambia, 1991 as amended in 1996.

With the exception of article 79 itself and part 3 of the constitution dealing with the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, popularly referred to as the bill of rights which can only be amended by first putting the bill to national referendum and obtaining the requisite percentage of the vote, alterations to any other part of the constitution, including article 35 which provides for the tenure of office of President, may be carried out by the national assembly by the procedure laid out in article 79 (2).

That procedure simply requires that the text of the amendment bill, which seeks to alter the constitution, shall.

1. First both published in the gazette at least 30 days before the first reading of the bill in the National Assembly.
2. That both on second and third readings the bill be supported by the voters of at least two thirds of all the members of the Assembly.

By invoking article 79 of the constitution to alter the constitution we will be operating within the circumscribed spheres of the law and thereby upholding the constitution, and I reiterate; amending the constitution constitutionally.

However, although the national assembly is duly vested with the jurisdiction to alter the constitution, the issue of tenure of the presidency has generated so much passionate interest and robust debate in the land on both sides of the debate, that avenue i.e. The national assembly, would deny the Zambian people an opportunity to pronounce themselves decisively on this matter.

In a democracy the people are the ultimate depository of political power, it is important that the minority are not marginalised but heard fully, but it is of outmost importance that the majority have their way.

In the past few weeks we have seen elected representatives of the people openly declare their positions either for or against. Honestly I do not know what mechanism they have invoked to determine the majority view. I hasten to counsel that members of parliament are not delegates to the national assembly in their own right but are representatives of the people from the various parliamentary constituencies and are not delegates to the

national assembly in their own right but are representatives of the people from the various parliamentary constituencies.

A national referendum would seem to be the only means by which all Zambians can be afforded the opportunity to decide once and for all. In a referendum both sides of the political divide would be able to articulate that point of view and endeavour to convince the electorate to their side. This is not a legal question this is a political question, which must be resolved by the shareholders in the enterprise called Zambian people.

What most people do not know is that, the public petitions for a third term follow most specific internal requests. From within the party, for the establishment of a mechanism to ensure a smooth and managed procedure of transition. Members were rightfully concerned by the divisive nature and manoeuvres of presidential campaigns that were developing in preparation for my stepping down. These campaigns were either based on tribal groupings, tribal alliances and indeed some prospective candidates were intending to usurp authority if the party did not adopt them.

Earlier in 1999 an internal MMD post-mortem report of the 1996 presidential and general elections also alluded emphatically to the need for a managed transition to forestall conflict. The report names some of the expelled leaders as possible sources of conflict, as they were jostling for the position of President, but that they might insist on the position by virtue of their status.

There were thus well founded fears that unless a stabilising mechanism was established within the party to moderate and mitigate the transition both the party and country could be plunged into serious strife, unrest and confusion.

Countrymen and women you will recall that I was forced to ban premature presidential campaigns to forestall confusion until such time as we had worked out a formal mechanism to ensure a smooth transition that would leave both the party and nation intact.

In this regard the party began to consider measures one of them being the separation of party presidency from national presidency. This was intended to strengthen the foundations of the party and relieve party pressures from the national president. To

achieve this required an amendment to the party constitution. Many democracies in the world operate a dichotomy between the party and Government leadership.

Regrettably and I suspect deliberately, the matter became convoluted in debate subsequently a malicious propaganda campaign was instigated to derail the effort. This has resulted in an unnecessary acrimonious debate involving a wide range of interest groups, led regrettably by some of our senior MMD members power interests were interfered with.

The conduct of some of our former party leaders, their involvement with opposition groups and indeed mobilisation of students to demonstrate and protest against a non existent constitutional amendment shows the extent to which these colleagues were prepared to plunge this country into strife in order to achieve their goals.

More recently and very sadly some of my colleagues who have refused to accept the decision of the convention have launched a campaign to damage my image by innuendo and serious allegations. I lead a transparent Government, I have been vindicated before, and I will be vindicated this time round.

I must confess that statements that border on treason have not amused the nation. This must stop. Government must be seen to be in full charge and control.

Countrymen and women, you may have wondered why it has taken so long to respond to the debate. I feared that any quick action or response on my part would have given the impression that I supported or muzzled any of the positions, therefore, I remained silent to create a level playing field.

Now that the convention is over, the party leadership is in place; we must act with firmness. The party has made its position very, very clear. The constitution has been amended and a new leadership has been elected.

It is imperative therefore, that order and discipline are restored to government. I have therefore, decided to dissolve cabinet including all positions of deputy minister and provincial deputy ministers, with immediate effect. This will facilitate the constitution of a new government and cabinet that will function in harmony.

Countrymen and countrywomen the MMD was founded on the democratic principles of debate, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and freedom of assembly. We have remained faithful to this principle. It is remarkable that, in the last few months a number of organisations have taken this freedom away from the people. Special interest groups have taken it upon.

Themselves to speak on behalf of the people on matters of conscience and moral persuasion. In a democracy this is not acceptable. The people must pronounce themselves.

Some people have gone as far as suggesting the curtailment of debate. This is unacceptable. In a democracy debate must be encouraged democracy thrives on the candid and honest exchange of ideas.

10 years ago when you the people of Zambia opted for popular government, I promised that I would serve faithfully, and that when I had served my two terms, I would leave office. That has always been my position and that is the only statement that I have made. I have said nothing to repudiate that or contradict my earlier pronouncements. I still stand by my word. I will leave office at the end of my term. In any case work on the institute for democratic and industrial relations is proceeding and should be completed before the end of the year for me to occupy.

I wish to thank members of the party for the support they have shown in my leadership. In this matter we are guided by not what is today but tomorrow, the future. In considering the over wheeling support of the party I want to contrast it with what it will cost us to implement the decision.

I am fully aware that the party is determined to proceed and deal with this matter, I agree but we have posterity to consider.

In the best interest of our nation, I certainly believe this debate has ended with the convention.

If any good has come out of this debate, it should be the realisation that no issue is sacrosanct in a democracy, no position is immutable and that no preconditions should be set to dialogue.

If those of my friends, attacking us were in my position, the robust language ordering citizens to “shut up” would most certainly be inconsistent with the tenets of democracy which demands for the tolerance of all views however, disagreeable from the debate.

The MMD needed to amend its constitution in order to allow its present and future leaders to serve the party as long as they were productive.

By this party constitutional amendment, we have achieved this and I am proud to remain the president of the movement for multi-party democracy.

Like other democracies, the party will continue to sponsor presidential candidates, but the party will attain a level of autonomy and existence independent of the government machinery and system.

It is important to note that whereas the movement for multiparty democracy MMD constitution in article 37 states that no person shall be allowed to be elected as president of the party who is not a member of the party and that a candidate to the office of president of the party shall be not less than 30 years old, article 34 (3) c and d of the republican constitution stipulate that a person shall be qualified to be a candidate for election as president if he has attained the age of 35 years and is member of, or is sponsored by a political party. Accordingly the national executive committee of the MMD which is the highest organ of authority between two conventions will have to identify a candidate that we will sponsor to contest and win the presidency on our behalf.

Our intention is to strengthen democracy by a clear identification of roles and assignment of functions to the offices of the party in relation to government operations and control. Although MMD, will by popular vote continue to constitute government, the party will have an autonomous functional existence that will ensure that organisational structures are fully operational and that the national president will not be encumbered with and by competing loyalties.

Let me take this opportunity to counsel the incoming cabinet that the people of Zambia do not expect leaders to pay lip service to the challenging task of national development.

It is not the passion of political debate that will transform Zambia. Hard work, dedication and sacrifice will transform Zambia.

I thank you. God bless and good night.

## **Appendix: 8**

### **President Chiluba's talking notes to explain his third term address, Sunday May 06, 2001.**

#### **Violence**

I wish to condemn in the strongest terms the violence that took place at the Kafue round about yesterday.

That violence was premeditated and deliberately fanned.

As I was addressing the nation last Friday, two buses loads of students were being ferried from the Copperbelt, while members of one Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) accompanied by one of our former MMD leaders were at the University and other colleges organising students for the rally.

By the time I finished the address, they were all very well aware that the debate on the third term and referendum were closed and yet, they proceeded to create an impression that a referendum was still to be held.

This mischief subsequently resulted in the tragic loss of a life and serious disruption of normal life in Lusaka.

Those organising the rally, were fully aware that they did not have the standing and authority to organise an MMD rally, they were aware that the issue of the rally had lapsed with my address and more importantly they were well aware that they did not have a valid police permit for the gathering and yet they went ahead with the illegal gathering.

This conduct is criminal. The needless loss of life is both regrettable and a reminder that careless political action can plunge the country into a spiral of violence from which it will be difficult to recover.

Therefore those who contemplate or indeed fan such activities should expect to bear the full brunt of the law.

In this respect I expect the police to investigate this matter and bring the people responsible to book.

### **Warning the University and Colleges**

We have information and evidence that some leaders of student organisations both here in Lusaka and Copperbelt were funded to secure buses, coffins and alcohol to further the campaign against the amendment of the republican constitution.

Such an amendment has never been proposed by the MMD and has never come before our parliament.

Within the party band for reasons to do with our wish was to establish a managed transition from my leadership, we contemplate and indeed effected an amendment to our party constitution.

The demonstrations were therefore against a non-existent amendment. Their value lay in the perception of instability that these activities caused.

The organisers and financiers of these demonstrations hoped to gain politically.

### **Referendum**

In a democracy sovereignty is vested in the people. It confers on the people the right to choose. Sovereignty believes that the people are the best judges on all political matters, social or economic.

That is why it would be peculiar if officials of a golf club pronounced themselves on such a matter as the third term debate.

Peculiar because a golf club is established for the purposes of playing golf. Members of a golf club may have different views on a wide range of issues, but share one common interest in the club to play golf, or partake on hole No. 19, which I understand is the bar. Consensus, on any other matters would have to reach before the position of the golf club can be determined.

That is why in my address on Friday I indicated my disappointment with the manner in which interest groups took it upon themselves to pronounce themselves on the political issue we were debating.

I wondered how they were able to determine the views of their membership.

That is why I explained that a referendum would have been the most popular instrument to gauge the electorate on the matter.

I did not suggest that a referendum should be held on the third term issue, because there is no third term issue.

### **Party constitution**

We have amended our party constitution to provide and ensure leadership stability and continuity.

The national executive committee on behalf of the party will sponsor a candidate in the presidential race.

## **Appendix: 9**

### **Press statement by Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda, MP vice President MMD and Former Minister of Education on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2001 at Pamodzi Hotel, Lusaka.**

On 14<sup>th</sup> March, 2001 medias reports revealed the Hon. Micheal Sata, MP National Secretary for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, MMD, and Minister Without Portfolio had demanded that I resign from the party and from my Cabinet post. Following a press query, I indicated that I was actively considering the call to resign and that I would respond after receiving the full text of the National Secretary's statement.

I did not get and have not got the text. However, both the Zambia Daily Mail and the Times of Zambia carried the story on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2001 with the same headline, "QUIT, SATA TELLS MIYANDA". In the absence of the written statement, I am relying for my response on press reports, which have not been disputed by the National Secretary.

Before I proceed with the main purpose of my press conference, let me explain the delay in my response in view of concerns in some circles about the timing of statements.

Because of the seriousness of the attack by the National Secretary, and the fact that I did not think he had the neither mandate nor justification to do what he did, I felt duty bound to inquire of the President whether he authorised or approved the statement. The National Secretary fondly refers to himself as the Chief Executive of the MMD and Minister Without Portfolio. Presumably this is the excuse for him to speak on any and every issue. I wrote to the President on 14<sup>th</sup> March, 2001, I received his reply on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2001. On the same day I decided to arrange for this meeting today.

The reasons given for me to resign both from the MMD and my Cabinet position can be summarised or are mainly two namely:

- 1) Breach of the Oath of Allegiance.
- 2) Breach of the principle of Collective Responsibility.

There were other excuses given, such as that it was not proper for senior policy makers to join in the debate yet, as debate must start from the grassroots; accusations of thuggery and hooliganism; and claims of insulting the President. I shall discuss the first two since they appear to have substance. If there is time I shall comment on the other flimsy grounds given for me to resign.

Let me deal first with the party aspect of this issue. I confirm that I am a member of the MMD and my card Number is 0011 issued at Kalundu, Lusaka. I was elected National Secretary at the first MMD National Convention in February/March 1991 at Mulungushi Conference Centre in Lusaka. I am currently the Vice President, having been elected in December 1995. In short, the National Secretary is my subordinate.

The National Secretary bases his attack and demands, according to press reports, on Article 44 of the MMD constitution. He is very fond of citing this article, though I doubt that he understands it. I will ignore it for now; but let me discuss the question membership of the MMD.

Chapter two of the MMD Constitution covers membership, rights and obligations and provides for three types of membership, that is individual membership, affiliate membership and associate membership. I fall under individual membership, which is really for full membership of the MMD.

Article 4 (1) on individual membership provides as follows:

“Membership of the party shall be open to every Zambia who accepts the aims and objectives as set out in Article 2 and who is not less than 18 years of age.”

Article 5 (1) deals with termination suspension of membership and provides as follows:

“Membership of the party shall terminate upon (a) resignation, (b) expulsion and (c) death”.

The operating words in Article 4 (1) are ACCEPTED the aims and objectives. I joined the MMD because I accepted these aims and objectives; even now I still accept and subscribe to them. The aims and objectives are covered in Chapter 1 of the MMD constitution and are 12 in all. I feel I should read them out.

“Article 2: Aims and objectives.

The aims and objective of the party shall be:

- a) to organise the promotion of democracy, rule of law, development and ensure the observance and protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms;
- b) to establish a democratic government founded upon the will of the Zambian people;
- c) to work towards a meaningful programme of liberalisation of commerce and industry in order to boost the national economy, encourage individual initiative and to raise the standard and quality of life of the people of Zambia;
- d) to foster a spirit of national consciousness, a sense of common destiny and collective purpose among the people of Zambia;
- e) to eliminate all divisive tendencies towards tribalism, racism, sexism and dictatorship;
- f) to ensure that the government facilitates the most effective means of developing production on the basis of democratic and pragmatic resource management;
- g) to work towards the creation of a broadly inclusive and genuinely participatory free society;
- h) to co-operate to the fullest extent with all progressive governments, organisations and individuals throughout the world towards complete democratisation of regional, national and international social and economic structures;

- i) to ensure that the government co-operates with the organisation of African Unity, other states and peoples of Africa in bringing about African economic and political integration;
- j) to see that the government works in close co-operation with all peace-loving states and peoples towards peace and security;
- k) to uphold the principles of the United Nations Organisation, the principles enunciated in the Regional Human Rights Charter, in the International Human Rights Instruments and to promote and foster the furtherance of the welfare of mankind and human family;
- l) to foster a spirit of environmental protection.

These are far sighted and efficacious aims and objectives; they were valid in 1991 and are still valid today but require steadfast application and observance by all members without exception. I still subscribe to them.

On the specific issue of the third term debate for Dr Chiluba to continue after the end of his second term this year, I wish to say that until the constitution is amended, our President is bound by both the party and republican constitutions to uphold them. Chapter 4 of our constitution covers party offices, powers and functions. Specifically on the Presidency, Article 35 provides that “there shall be a President of the party who be the leader of the party”. Article 38 (1) provides as follows “the President of the party shall hold office for a maximum period of not more than two consecutive terms of five years each”.

Our President, Dr. Frederick Chiluba, is on record on many occasions both in public and at indoor meetings to have declared that he would not continue after his second term comes to an end. He told me so personally in 1996 as well as in 1997. By the way, Article 42 (1) of the party constitution says this about the party Vice President: “The Vice President shall have the following powers, duties and functions:

- 1) to be the Principal Assistant to the President of the party;
- 2) to exercise all such functions as may be delegated to him by the President;
- 3) to act for the President in his absence;
- 4) To exercise the functions of the President in case of death or removal from office in terms of Article 38”.

I believe that as the Principal Assistant to the President, I am obliged and duty bound not only to advise but also to support the President truthfully and loyally. It is within my mandate so to do. Until the President renounces what he has already solemnly stated, I will continue to support that which I know of and not that which people are speculating about. Just to clear the air and crown this part of my response, let me quote from the Press Statement of the Chairman for information and Publicity and Chief Spokesman of the MMD, Hon. Venon Mwaanga that he issued on 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2001. At least he gave me a copy of his statement after he had already issued it.

I quote from Hon, Mwaanga’s statement:

“It has become necessary for me as party Spokesman to clarify certain issues which have arisen as a result of statements which have been made by party leaders at various levels during the last few days. In 1990 and 1991, when the MMD was formed, the founding fathers had a vision that we should build a strong party which would be resilient and united and which would embrace every corner of Zambia and act as a custodian of the party’s internal and National democracy. We still hold on to that vision and still believe that it is capable of propelling the MMD forward. This is what our people want to see. This is what our members all over the country want to see.

The events and statements of the last few days do not add honour or pride to the MMD. They are a major departure from the accepted norms of a disciplined, strong and united party. An impression has been created that there is in fighting in the party and that the discipline, which has brought us to where we are from Garden House in 1990, has suddenly escaped.

We as MMD decided that the issue of whether or not the President, Dr. Frederick J. T. Chibula should run for a third term should be freely debated by party organs at all levels and that since this issue is extremely important and serious, the debate should involve all Zambians as individuals or through their churches, associations and organisations. We made it clear then as O do now, that this debate should be conducted within the principles of democracy to which the party remains firmly and irrevocably committed. This was necessary in order not to stifle or muzzle debate for those who are for or against the third term issue.

It is my duty to re-affirm the fact that this National debate on the issue of the third term should continue and that both those who are for or against the third term must be heard and both must be protected from harassment or intimidation from any quarter”

I agree with most of the points made by Hon Mwaanga, But I vehemently disagree and dispute that “we as MMD decided that the issue of whether or not the President, Dr. Frederick J. T. Chiluba should run for a third term should be freely debated, etc....”. No such meeting has taken place that I know of and I would like to be availed of the minutes of such a meeting if indeed it took place.

For the fore going reasons, I do not see any reason for me to resign my position as Vice President or as a member of the MMD, a party whose aims and objectives I accept and support.

Regarding my Cabinet or Ministerial position, this is a different kettle of fish. I continue to thank the President for appointing me and keeping me in his Cabinet. I said so to him both in writing and verbally. My remarks now should not be construed otherwise. In full agree that it is honourable to resign if or when you breach the ground rules for a particular office. The National Secretary has alleged or claimed that I have breached my Oath of Allegiance and Oath of Office. For the benefit of the public, these oaths are made and are to be kept not only by ministers, judges and other specified officers, but even by

the President himself. Upon appointment as a Cabinet Minister on 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1997 I made two oaths, the oath of allegiance and the oath of office.

1. Section 3 (Oath of President). A person assuming the Office of President shall take and subscribe the Oath of President as set out in the first schedule, and the oath shall be administered by and subscribed before the Chief Justice.
2. Section 4 (Oath of Vice President, Speaker, Minister and Deputy Minister). A person assuming the Office of Vice President, Speaker of the National Assembly, Minister or Deputy Minister shall not perform the duties of his office unless he has taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance as set out in the Sixth Schedule and the Oath of his office as set out in the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth and seventh Schedules, respectively.
3. Section 6 (Oath of Office). The Oath of Office shall be in the form set out in the Seventh Schedule.

As regards the President's oath it reads as follows: "I..... having been constitutionally elected to the office of President of the Republic of Zambia, do swear/affirm that I will faithfully and diligently discharge my duties and perform my functions in this high office; that I will uphold and maintain the Constitution and Laws of Zambia and that I will dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people Zambia without fear, favour or ill will".

The Oath of Office for the Minister reads as follows: "I....., having been appointed.....Do swear/affirm that I will in this office well and truly serve the Republic and the President of Zambia; and I will not directly or indirectly reveal or transmit any such information or matter as shall be brought under my consideration, or shall be made known to me, by

reason of my office except as may be required in the discharge of my duties as such or with the authority of the President. SO HELP ME GOD”.

The Oath of Allegiance of the Minister reads as follows: “I..., do swear/affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the President of the Republic of Zambia, and that I will preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of Zambia, as by law established. SO HELP ME GOD”.

These latter two are the solemn oaths that I took and have kept. I am not aware of any breach of these oaths on my part.

As regards the famous collective responsibility, I say that the national Secretary’s accusations are grave. Generally the issues of accountability and collective responsibility are covered in Articles 50 and 51 of the Republican Constitution. The Cabinet is responsible for formulating the policy of the government and advises the president with respect to the government policy and to such other matters as the President may refer to it. The Cabinet and Deputy Ministers are accountable collectively to the National Assembly.

Specifically, Chapter 16 of the Laws of Zambia provides as follows:

Section 9. Collective Responsibility of Ministers “A person holding MINISTERIAL office shall not do anything that is inconsistent with the principle of the collective responsibility of Minister for the policy of the Government and the conduct of its affairs, and in particular shall not:

- a) Publicly contradict or disassociate himself from any policy adopted by Cabinet;
- b) issue public statement criticising another person holding Ministerial office; or
- c) Make unauthorised disclosures of Cabinet discussions, decisions or documents.

Regarding the third term issue to enable Dr. Chiluba to stand again, which was the subject of my comment, I can say again and again, that this matter has not been discussed or tabled since 1991 in the NEC or Cabinet. I have been a member of both since then. Hence there is no collective responsibility that I have breached.

As regards allegations of insulting the President. I have not insulted the President; I respect the President; in fact I love him as a brother and have never ever lifted a finger against him. In fact the opposite is true. Some people think that loyalty means agreeing with everything. No. For me, unfortunately I always speak my mind, as many members of the NEC and Cabinet will attest. I do it so that my President cannot come back later and say why did you not tell me.

To refer to the words “corruption, bribery and democracy” is not an insult or unfair as the National Secretary declared. These words are important for the good governance of our nation. In fact the President uses them often; indeed they are contained in the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation which was announced by the President on 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1991 at State House, Lusaka. I was present.

As to resignation, I say people who resign have either breached some rules, or have run out of things to do. There is a lot of work, including helping the President to clean up the thuggery and hooliganism now prevalent in the party. The National Secretary has no right to make the demand he made; especially that it was not authorised by the President.

I refuse to resign as demanded by the National Secretary because I believe it is honourable to stay and help sort things out.

Godfrey Miyanda, MP

**Brigadier General, former Minister of Education**

22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2001.

## **Appendix: 10**

### **Immediate press release**

The voters association of Zambia would like to thank the Republican President Mr. F.T.J. Chiluba for diffusing the tension that had rocked the country due to the third term debate and the demand by MMD cadres and some members of society to hold a referendum to allow the incumbent to run for a third term of office.

The decision taken to diffuse the tension is the right one although it has come at a time when a lot of damage has been recorded to the image of the nation and to those who were victims of the third term supporters at places like Soweto market and Kulima Tower Bust stop and other during the MMD convection were Anti-third term supporters were molested because of holding dissenting views on allowing the incumbent President of Zambia Mr. Chiluba to run for another term of office.

The debate is over and our appeal to government as VAZ is that government must investigate human rights abuses that were practiced by the third term supporters in their quest to woo and silence other from engaging into the debate free.

On Friday a reporter was dragged from Quicksave super market along Ben Bella Road. This type of behaviour should not be encouraged and the only to ensure that there will be law and order during the run up to the 2001 elections is for such people to be brought and charged for human rights violations that that they have been perpetuating under the auspices of the third term debate.

We demand that the law must take its course and if anything a committee must be established by government to investigate these human rights violations as we believe if such people are left scot-free, the possibilities of having a free and fair elections will be a non-starter.

The violations are many and once the people are given a platform on which to express their ordeals a lot will be revealed and so are the instigators of these human rights violations.

This is an election year and the people of Zambia must be assured that there will be law and order. Cadres from all political parties must be educated on the meaning of democracy.

The youths of Zambia do not seem to understand what democracy means hence their being hired by some greedy politicians who lost the support of their constituencies to cause confusion to the electoral process.

Organisations that engage in youth development must ensure that their constituencies of youths are taught in details what politics are and how to deal with eventualities should they occur if violations in the electoral process is to be minimized to level of non-existence.

We also want to advise government to respond to the conditions that were agreed upon by its corporate partners if they are to support the 2001 election elections. Today the electoral commission is finding it very difficulty to operate in the absence of finances.

The voter registration exercise is behind schedule and this is going to affect the process that is expected to capture over 5 million voters considering that the previous voters registers have been discarded to enable more people register who had ill-feelings over the previous voters' registers.

The issuance process of National Registration Cards has been riddled with failures and this exercise will not assist the citizenry if the department of National Registration Department for National Registration Cards like the Electoral Commission are not supported financially as soon as possible.

Now that the third term and referendum issues have been curtailed, government should quickly look for money for elections so that the processes of Voter Registration and National Registration Cards are can take off considering that we only have five to six months before we have elections following the report that was issued in which it was agreed that elections be held in the dry season if all registered voters are to participate since they do not during rain seasons most people especially those in the rural areas who form the majority of voters are always preoccupied cultivating and planting their fields.

Sebastian Chulu.

**President, Voters Association of Zambia.**