Defying the Odds

MEDIA MONITORING REPORT IN THE GAMBIA - 2011

This report is published by The Gambia Press Union (GPU) under the "Strengthening Freedom of Expression Protection in The Gambia" Project implemented by ARTICLE 19 in partnership with the GPU.

The GPU is particularly grateful to Liseli Bull, Kay Sey, Emily Sarr, Musu Ndure John, Amadou Danso, Bruno Menzan, Gueye Coumba, Fatou Jagne-Senghore, Madi Jobarteh, Demba Ali Jawo, Alieu F. Sagnia, Demba Kandeh, and Sanna Camara.

This publication was made possible due to financial support of the 9th European Development Fund.



State Actors Strengthening Programme

ABOUT THE GAMBIA



Area: 11,295 sq km - The smallest country on mainland Africa

Population: 1.8 million (est 2011)

Capital City: Banjul Currency: Dalasi (GMD)

Major political parties: Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC); National Reconciliation Party (NRP); People's Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS); United Democratic Party (UDP); the People's Progressive Party (PPP); the National Convention party (NCP); the National Democratic Action Movement (NDAM); Gambia Party for Democracy and Progress (GPDP); National Alliance for Democracy and Development (NADD); Gambian Moral Council

Government: The Gambia is a republic under multi-party democratic rule. The APRC

currently holds a huge majority (42 of the 48 elected seats) **Head of State:** Sheikh Professor Alhaji Dr Yahya AJJ Jammeh

The President is both the Head of State and Head of Government

History

(GMC)

The Gambia became a British protectorate in 1894 and a British Colony in 1902. It gained independence from Britain on 18 February 1965, with Dawda Jawara as Prime Minister. On 24 April 1970, The Gambia became a Republic following a referendum and Jawara was elected as President. Jawara and the People's Progressive Party dominated Gambian politics, until 1994 (See Below), although the country retained a multi-party system, and opposition parties were represented in the small parliament. A coup attempt in 1981 was only put down at the expense of hundreds of people being killed. In July 1994 29-year old Captain Yahya Jammeh overturned the 30-year rule of Sir Dawda Jawara in a bloodless coup. Jammeh's Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) ran the country by decree and all political activity was banned until the Second Republic was established in 1997. What appeared to be a counter coup in January 1995 was put down and its ringleaders, who were former close allies of Jammeh, were imprisoned. There was another alleged coup in March 2006 which was unsuccessful.

Geography

The Gambia is a small country in Western Africa and the smallest on mainland Africa. Apart from a small Atlantic seaboard, it is entirely surrounded by Senegal. The geography of the country is dominated by the Gambia river basin and floodplain, beyond which lies savannah and low hills. The climate is tropical with a hot rainy season (June to November) and a cooler dry season (November to May).

The media has come under sustained pressure through prosecutions for sedition and criminal libel and frequently successful attempts by government to close down organs of the private press. Physical attacks on journalists have been frequent and are not properly investigated. In December 2004 a prominent journalist and critic of the government, Deyda Hydara, was assassinated. His murder has not been adequately investigated.

Since 2008, the Government has increased pressure on Gambia journalists. Fatou Jaw Manneh, based in the USA was charged with writing a seditious article (on-line). She was found guilty and sentenced to a jail term and a hefty fine (which was paid by colleagues). She has since returned to the USA. In June 2009 six journalists were arrested and charged with sedition and writing a defamatory article. They were found guilty and sentenced to two years in prison with hefty fines. The Journalists were pardoned by the state after spending 27 days in jail. The case however generated huge interest both internally and locally.

Introduction

Many years ago, development was conceived as a product that could be handed over from one set of people to another set of people. In this context, so-called developed or Western nations in particular created the idea of technical assistance, and in partnership with the newly independent countries began the process of transferring a lot of food items, school materials and health resources, among others, with the view that they are supporting 'poor countries'. On the part of developing countries, the governments assumed that they could take loans and grants to 'buy and send' development goods and services to their people. But many decades after independence, it became evident that not only had poverty and general backwardness increased in these countries, but they also became highly indebted so much so that paying back those loans accounts for more than combined budgetary allocations for education, health and agriculture thus plunging their economies into perpetual deficit! This approach to development became known as the 'Charity-based Approach'. It is synonymous with a period in human history when monarchs were the custodians of all resources and people of a society and were considered to be divine, hence can therefore demonstrate 'generosity' in dishing out goods to subjects.

Then came the 'Needs-based Approach' which sought to highlight the fact that citizens had needs such as water supply, health, good roads and electricity supply among others and therefore the government should make these available. Once again, a whole new process of development paradigm developed in which governments, NGOs, donors and philanthropists expended huge amounts of resources on the notion that they were addressing the needs of the people.

In both paradigms, the concentration had been about 'transplanting' development from Point A to Point B on the notion that people or countries were so poor and therefore they needed help. Both solutions disregarded the fact that these resources belong to the people as citizens and tax payers and that 'government' is merely entrusted with the property of people. Chapter 1(2) of the Gambia Constitution states that,

"The Sovereignty of The Gambia resides in the people of The Gambia from whom all organs of government derive their authority and in whose name and for whose welfare and prosperity the powers of government are to be exercised in accordance with this Constitution."

In the light of the above, the Gambia Government like any other government in the world cannot therefore claim that it is giving 'charity' to its citizens as development. Whatever a government does, it is merely fulfilling its obligation or violating its obligation. Government cannot provide charity to the people!

Fifty years after Africa gained independence, development indicators show that the continent especially south of the Sahara remains the least developed part of the world, even though Africa is potentially the most endowed region of the universe. As a result of the failures of the previous development paradigms, development thinkers began to realize that indeed development is a human right. It became clear that the missing link in our development process has been the recognition of the right of citizens to the wealth and resources of their country which is being managed on their behalf by their government. It also became clear that no one can develop another individual, rather only people can develop themselves based on their own ideas, actions and circumstances. Certainly others can create an environment that supports the empowerment of people, but the ultimate responsibility of development of people lies on the people themselves.

It is in this context that the rights-based Approach to development was conceived. This approach is founded on human rights standards and principles as the guide and foundation for development in all aspects. The principles of human rights entail equality, non-discrimination, universality and interdependence among others. The standards of human rights are minimum requirements that must be met in ensuring human beings enjoy their rights and freedoms. Human rights are about human dignity, therefore human rights standards are thresholds or baseline without which a human being cannot attain his or her full human potential.

For example, Section 30 of the Gambia constitution sets standards for the attainment of the Right to Education. It states that basic education is 'free and compulsory for all'. This means that each and every child in the Gambia has a right to obtain free education up to Grade 9 and it is the responsibility of the Gambia to not only build schools, train teachers and provide adequate teaching and learning materials, but also the government will take steps against any individual or institution that seeks to bar a child from going to school and obtaining education. Thus human rights-based approaches to development also set an obligation for each and every individual, organization and institution in society in the fulfillment of human rights and development. In this case, Section 17 identified the Gambia Government as the Primary Duty Bearer for the respect, protection and fulfillment of human rights in this country.

Relating all of these to the role of the media, one will find that similarly standards have been set for the media which places obligations in Section 207 and 208. On freedom and responsibility of the media, Section 207 states that,

- 1. The freedom and independence of the press and other information media are hereby guaranteed.
- 2. The press and other information media shall at all times, be free to uphold the principles, provisions and objectives of this Constitution, and the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of The Gambia.

Section 208 goes further to specifically set a specific standard and obligation for the public media;

1. All state owned newspapers, journals, radio and television shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinion.

The beauty of human rights principles, standards and obligations is that it breeds a culture of transparency, accountability and performance; hence engender development. It must be noted

that in 1986 the UN General Assembly issued the Declaration on the Right to Development in which Article 1 states that,

"The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized."

From these perspectives one will therefore begin to see the indispensable role of freedom of expression and of the media in protecting human rights and fulfillment of development. Free speech merely entails citizens having the freedom, space and opportunity to openly air their views and opinions about all and any issue concerning their lives and their society. The role of the media is to merely amplify these voices and circulate it within and beyond the borders of that society. Free speech and media therefore promotes the generation of ideas, information and knowledge and prevent the imposition of any idea or information on society unchallenged. Because the media has also professionalized the art of amplifying voices, not merely from a mechanical point of view, rather it employs other means and avenues to assist citizens to speak out and exchange opinions, thereby bringing about:

- 1. Contestation of ideas and information to ensure the best ideas, most accurate information and must useful knowledge prevail
- 2. Self-regulation to generate individual and institutional responsibility and discipline,
- 3. Ensuring public and private institutions and enterprises provide quality, affordable and decent products and services,
- 4. Ensuring individuals as private citizens, public officials or business people among others conduct themselves in a manner that respects rights and promotes excellence in their lives and work;
- 5. Enabling citizens to hold their leaders and institutions accountable and consequently promote good governance, popular participation and the respect for the rule of law,
- 6. Creating space and opportunity for all citizens to take part in national affairs equally,
- 7. Combats corruption and abuse of office and brings government under the control of citizens.
- 8. Ensuring peace and stability and effective resolution of conflicts.

It is clear therefore that the right to development is inconceivable in the absence of a free media, and free media is inconceivable in the absence of freedom of speech. The point highlights the indispensable role and significance of free speech and media in the attainment of national and human development and the promotion and protection if human rights.

Madi Jobareh

December 2011

Programme Manager, TANGO Gambia

Foreword

The Gambia is the smallest country on the African mainland and gained its independence from Great Britain in 1965. Even though it was one of very few African countries that maintained a multi-party democracy when virtually all its neighbours were ruled by one-party dictatorships, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) of former President Sir Dawda Jawara dominated the political terrain for the first 30 years of independence until when it was toppled by a military coup d'etat in 1994.

The 1994 putsche which brought into power young military officers led by then Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, led to a two-year transition which ushered in a new constitution and a completely new style of governance different from what had obtained under the former regime.

While under the Jawara regime the media was not quite as robust as it is today, at least journalists were left alone to carry on with their job without being subjected to intimidation and harassment from the authorities. However, since the advent of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) junta and its successor, the Alliance for Patriotic, Reorientation and Construction (APRC) regime, freedom of expression has come under a serious strain. "Gambian journalists have seen more red in 17 years of AFPRC/APRC rule than under the 30 years of PPP rule," a veteran Gambian journalist was quoted saying.

In addition to the iron-grip control and manipulation of the public media by the authorities, Gambian journalists have also endured harassment and intimidation, frequent arrests and even torture, as well as arson attacks and arbitrary closure of their media houses.

The Media Situation

Like the other parts of Anglophone West Africa, the Gambian media started from a modest beginning in the mid-1800s with the first news sheets being produced by merchants in Banjul, the capital. While the scope and frequency of their publications changed with time, until the founding of the government-owned Gambia News Bulletin in 1943, the publication of newspapers remained in the hands of individuals, most of whom were not professional journalists, but people who had other interests.

It was not until in the 1990s when the Gambian media underwent some transformation from cyclostyled news sheets to tabloid publications which appeared with more regularity.

Until the opening of Radio Syd the first private radio station in Banjul in 1970, which was also the first in the sub-region, the government-owned Radio Gambia which began operations in 1962, was the only radio station in the country. The dawn of the 1990s however saw a proliferation of FM radio stations, based mostly in Banjul and its environs.

However, unlike most of its neighbours, The Gambia as yet has only one television channel, the Gambia Radio and Television Services (GRTS), which is owned and controlled by the government. Therefore, satellite television and television stations from neighbouring Senegal remain the only alternative sources available to Gambian viewers.

While the private media continues to operate under a hostile environment and with limited resources, the government on the other hand continues to monopolise the use of the public media, to the almost total exclusion of the opposition and other divergent views, which is contrary to Section 208 of the Constitution, which states: "All state owned newspapers, journals, radio and television shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinion."

Intimidation and Harassment

Since the advent of the AFPRC/APRC regime of President Yahya Jammeh, there has been an uneasy relationship between the government and the media. The war of attrition began barely two months after the military takeover in 1994 when two editors of *Foroyaa* newspaper, which was perceived to be the mouth-piece of the opposition People's Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS) Sida Jatta and Halifa Sallah were prosecuted in the courts for operating a newspaper in violation of Decree 4 which banned all political activities.

Shortly after that, Kenneth Best, a Liberian journalist who had sought refuge in The Gambia from his war-torn country, and set up the *Daily Observer* newspaper in the country, was arrested and subsequently deported for violating immigration laws.

However, rather than abating after the transition from military rule to a civilian administration in 1996, the intimidation and harassment of journalists continued, culminating in the closure of Citizen FM radio station and the detention of its proprietor Baboucarr Gaye, apparently because the government resented the station's broadcast of its own news bulletins and the review of the newspapers in the local languages. This was followed by a series of arson attacks on media houses and homes of individual journalists. These included the arson attack on Radio One FM, the burning down of *The Independent* newspaper's printing press, the arson attack on the homes of Alieu Bah, a journalist with Radio One FM and Ebrima Sillah, the Banjul correspondent of the BBC.

In addition to the arbitrary closure of Citizen FM, the authorities also closed down *The Independent* and Sud FM without a court order.

The arrest and intimidation of journalists also continued unabated, culminating in the unprecedented assassination of Deyda Hydara, co-proprietor and managing editor of *The Point* newspaper by yet-unknown assailants in 2004 and the disappearance of Chief Ebrima Manneh, a journalist with the *Daily Observer* in 2006. However, persistent calls by the Gambia Press Union and others for the authorities to mount a thorough investigation into Hydara's killing and the disappearance of Chief Manneh, as well as all the other atrocities committed against the media since 1994, have so far fallen on deaf ears.

We also saw the arrest and subsequent imprisonment of six senior journalists in 2009 for sedition and defamation arising from their criticism of a comment attributed to President Jammeh over Hydara's killing. The journalists were only released after an intense local and international pressure.

Draconian Media Laws

While the 1997 Constitution has guaranteed freedom of the press and freedom of expression, there have been several attempts by the authorities to introduce some draconian pieces of legislation aimed at imposing some media restrictions. A good case in point was the promulgation of the National Media Commission Act which not only tried to impose an annual registration of media practitioners and their media houses, but also had the powers of a court that could impose fines and custodial sentences on journalists. It was only after much pressure from both at home and abroad and a legal challenge to its constitutionality by the Gambia Press Union that the government decided to repeal the law. However, in its place, the government promulgated two other even more draconian pieces of legislation; the Newspaper Registration (Amendment) Act 2004 and the Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 2004 both of which continue to impose a heavy burden on the media.

The Newspaper Registration Act not only raises the registration bond of newspapers from D100, 000 (US\$3,500) to D500, 000 (US\$17,500), it also included the licensing of the electronic media, with heavy penalties for non-compliance.

The Criminal Code Act, on the other hand, expands the offences of criminal libel and defamation, while imposing a term of imprisonment for offenders.

All this is in addition to the frequent arrests and intimidation of media practitioners, as well as attempts to impose some form of control on the news contents of their media houses. A recent case in point had been the brief dosures of *The Standard* newspaper for some undisclosed reasons and Teranga FM for merely reviewing the local newspapers in the local vernacular.

The Way Forward

In order to remedy the existing situation, there needs to be more dialogue between the government and the media. There is also an urgent need for legal and institutional reforms in order to create a more conducive atmosphere for media practitioners.

The Gambia Government needs to review its media laws with a view to bringing them in line with international standards as proposed by the Commissioner Pansy Tlakalu at the Ordinary Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights held in Banjul in November 2009. The Gambia Government needs to consider the parameters on free expression set by the United Nations Human Rights Committee.

Given that The Gambia is part of a community of nations and the fact that it has signed and ratified several human rights instruments it is important for the regime to draw and popularize policies and laws that promote media freedom and free expression. The Gambia is the only Anglophone West African country that has no law or bill on access to information. Therefore it is important for The Gambia to move forward by promulgating this progressive law that will undoubtedly make it easy for researchers and journalists to have access to undassified information. The draft model law drawn by the office of the African Union Special Rapporteur on Free Expression Pansy Tlakalu in collaboration with Rhodes

University in South Africa could serve as a useful tool for the enactment of a freedom of information Act in The Gambia.

D. A. Jawo
Head of the English Desk
Africa Press Agency, Dakar, Senegal
& Former President of The Gambia Press Union

PART ONE

Institutional Developments

On Wednesday, 16th March 2011, media chiefs from the private print media met with President Yahya Jammeh at State House for dialogue on the state of government-media relations. The newly appointed director of press and public relations at the Office of the President Ms Fatou Camara facilitated the dialogue.

- Those in attendance were Mr Sweabou Conateh (*News & Report Magazine*); Mr Sam Sarr (*Foroyaa*); Mr Pap Saine (*The Point*); Mr Hamid Adiamoh (*Today*); Mr Sheriff Bojang (*The Standard*); Mr Musa Sheriff (*The Voice*); and Mr Saikou Jammeh who stood in for Mr Madi Ceesay (*The Daily News*). On the other side, President Jammeh together with his Cabinet ministers received the media chiefs.
- Conateh, Saine, Sarr and Adiamoh spoke on behalf of the journalists. All of them raised issues that impede effective journalism in The Gambia. Mr Conateh specifically referred to the draconian media laws, the unsolved murder of Deyda Hydara and lack of access to information and to State functions by the private media.
- But President Jammeh responded that he would not sacrifice the security of the nation for press freedom. He insisted that there should be restrictions on press freedom. He also insisted that no public official had been forbidden from speaking to the press.
- Since then, access to the State House has been granted to assigned reporters from *Today* and *The Point* newspapers.

Ms Fatou Camara, who facilitated the above meeting of media chiefs and the executive, was removed as director of press and public relations on Monday, 13th June 2011. No reason was given for her removal from a position she barely occupied for three months.

The US Embassy in collaboration with the British High Commission in Banjul on Friday, 10th June 2011 handed over a new printing press and a 20-KVA generator to The Gambia Press Union at a ceremony held at The Standard newspaper office in Bakau. The new printing press, funded by the US embassy and the British High Commission, is meant for use by all the private print media houses in The Gambia. The idea of the printing press, according to the British and American officials, was conceived by former US Ambassador to The Gambia, Barry L. Wells, and former British High Commissioner Philip Sinkinson to strengthen press freedom in The Gambia. The double head printing press (Heidelberg MOZ E) is valued at 65,000 US Dollars, while the generator (PERKINS PT20 with serial number 2009073261) is valued at 9, 464.29 US Dollars.

......

On 1stAugust 2011, two Gambian ministers openly committed their government to media reform. Both the Minister of Foreign Affairs Momodou Tangara and the Minister of Information and Communication Infrastructure Alhajie Cham said the Gambia government recognized the media as an important agent of development and was prepared to do all it takes for the media to fulfill that role.

- They both spoke at the opening of a five-day Gambia Commonwealth Media Forum and Workshop held at the Sheraton Hotel. It is the first opportunity for debate on media freedom in the country. The Commonwealth Secretariat organized the forum in collaboration with the Gambia government and the University of the Gambia. Local and international media, Gambian civil society, diplomat and communication scholars attended the forum. But the ministers at the same time urged the media to show "greater responsibility, maturity, objectivity and professionalism in order to be the genuine voice of the voiceless and a true guarantor of good governance".
- The Gambia Press Union capitalized on this opportunity and requested for further dialogue on the matter. As yet, there has been no response from both ministries.

The Minister of Justice and Attorney-General Mr Edward Gomez was quoted in the 11-12 October 2011 edition of *The Daily News* newspaper that Ebrima Chief Manneh is alive. Mr Manneh, a journalist, had been missing since 6 July 2006. He was said to have been picked up by plain-clothes security operatives from the premises of the *Daily Observer* newspaper where he had been working as a senior reporter and a columnist. "Now, let me tell you with a high degree of certainty that Ebrima Chief Manneh is somewhere," he said. He did not elaborate. But he added, "We shall talk about this case at a later stage when it is more convenient; when I can prove to you beyond any reasonable doubt…"

• The Gambia Press Union contacted Mr Manneh's family who said they still had not seen their son. Then the Union wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice requesting for an audience with him to clear the issue of the disappearance of Mr Manneh. The GPU is yet to receive any response from the Minister of Justice.

The family of the late Deyda Hydara has filed a writ at the ECOWAS Community Court in Abuja, Nigeria, seeking full investigations into Mr Hydara's killing.

Deyda Hydara, 58, a press freedom advocate, was killed in a drive-by shooting by unknown gunmen the same day his paper (*The Point*) celebrated its 13th anniversary on 24th December 2004.

The writ was filed on behalf of the family by the late journalist's two sons Deyda Hydara Jr., and Ismaila Hydara and supported by the Dakar-based Africa Regional Office of the international Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the Open Society Justice Initiative.

The French embassy in Dakar through its charge d'affaires in Banjul on 20th December 2011 presented a brand new Dell computer to the management of The Point newspaper to facilitate the publication of its French language column and news page in the paper.

PART TWO

Legal and court actions

......

The Kanifing Magistrates' Court on 24th May 2011 exonerated Mr Bakary B. Baldeh, a sports producer and presenter of *West Coast Radio*, a privately-owned FM station, on a criminal charge brought against him and four others by state security agents.

The other accused persons, all golf workers, had been charged with "conspiracy to commit felony". Earlier, the court had dismissed another charge of "conspiracy to incite violence". The court decision followed an application to that effect by their lawyers on the ground that the charge of "conspiracy to commit felony" preferred against them, was not known in law.

They had been arraigned before the court on 25th March 2011 after being detained for three days at the Kairaba Police Station. They were arrested and then detained after Baldeh had hosted on his radio programme two of the golf workers who accused Mr Ebrima Jawara of unfair treatment during the Baby Mariama Yayha Jammeh Golf Competition in February. The tournament was sponsored by President Yahya Jammeh in honour of his daughter.

According to the state prosecutor, the accused persons had "jointly and unlawfully made statements through the *West Coast Radio"* to incite people to boycott the tournament.

Mr Dodou Sanneh, a former reporter with *The Gambia Radio and Television Services (GRTS)* was on Monday, 13th 2011 arraigned before Magistrate Ma-Nyima Bojang of the Banjul Magistrates' Court on a charge of giving false information to a public officer.

Mr Sanneh is alleged to have on 7th March 2011petitioned the Office of the President at State House in Banjul about the wrongful termination of his employment when he knew the same to be false.

He was sacked on 8th September 2006, while covering the presidential campaign for the opposition United Democratic Party (UDP) and reinstated within a week, given a 20-day working leave, only to be sacked again on 20th November 2006. He is said to have been dismissed due to "exaggerated reporting".

The GPU provided him with a counsel who represented him in court.

Then on Wednesday, 14th September 2001, he was sentenced to a fine of five hundred dalasis (approximately sixteen US Dollars) in default to serve six months in prison. Magistrate Ma Nyima Bojang of the Banjul Magistrates' Court handed down the sentence.

- He refused to take a plea of mitigation.
- The Gambia Press Union paid up the fine on the spot.

Mr Nanama Keita, a former sports editor of the *Daily Observer* newspaper, was on Tuesday, 5th July 2011 arraigned before the acting-Principal Magistrate Alagba Taiwo Ade of the Banjul Magistrates' Court on a charge of giving false information to a public officer.

Keita, who had been detained on Monday, 4thJuly 2011, was alleged to have in May 2011 petitioned the Office of the President, claiming wrongful dismissal as deputy editor-in-chief and head of the sports desk, and alleging financial malpractice by the managing director of The Observer Company, knowing same information to be false.

Defence counsel Lamin L.S. Camara applied to the court to grant the accused person bail, since the alleged offence was a bailable one. Keita was subsequently granted bail in the sum of D100, 000 with one Gambian surety, who had to deposit his national identity card with the assistant registrar of the court.

Mr Saikou Ceesay, an executive member of The Gambia Press Union (GPU), stood as surety for Mr Keita. He deposited his passport in lieu of a national ID.

Following Mr Keita's absence in court, Principal Magistrate Sheriff Tabally on Monday, September 12, 2011 issued an arrest warrant for him. It was later learned that Mr Keita had travelled to New York, U.S.A., to attend the 2011 Reham al-Farra Memorial Fellowship.

The Banjul Magistrates' Court then issued a warrant for the arrest of Saikou Ceesay who had stood as a surety for Nanama Keita. When the authorities could not get him as he was attending a two-week residential training at the Jeliba Hotel organized by the ActionAid International Gambia, the Brusubi Police arrested and detained his wife for two hours.

On Monday, 31st October 2011, Mr Ceesay reported at the Brusubi Police Station where he was detained and then transferred to the Banjul Police Station. He was detained overnight. He was granted bail the next day. On Wednesday, 2nd November 2011, he was fined the sum of one hundred thousand dalasis (approximately 3,300 US Dollars). The Gambia Press Union visited Mr Ceesay at the police station and bought him food to stay the night. The GPU paid the fine on the spot.

Following the arrest of Dr. Amadou Scattered Janneh on 7th June 2011 by plain-clothes security agents at his office in Serrekunda, Mr Lamin Camara representing Dr. Janneh and three others charged with treason, sedition and conspiracy on Tuesday, 15th July 2011urged the Special Criminal Court to discharge Janneh and his co-accused until such a time when the prosecution presents substantial charges against the accused persons.

This call followed another announcement by the Director of Public Prosecutions, Mikailu Abdullah that investigations into the case are still ongoing, and thus he requested for a two-week adjournment. The DPP had earlier told the court that the charges against the accused persons are holding charges, adding that by next adjournment date, substantial charges would be filed.

Janneh was first arraigned alongside Michel C. Ucheh Thomas, Modou Keita and Ebrima Jallow on Monday 13th June at the Banjul Magistrates' Court. The case was subsequently transferred to the high court, which has jurisdiction in cases of treason.

During Tuesday's proceedings, Mr Camara told the court that the accused persons had been languishing at the central prison at Mile 2 for one month one day, without knowing their fate, while the prosecutor keeps telling the court that investigations into the matter are still ongoing.

He added that the prosecution, during the last proceedings, promised to file new charges against the accused persons, but to his surprise, the prosecution said the case was still under investigation. He added that his clients should not be allowed to languish at Mile 2 for so long, without any progress in the case.

Janneh and his co-accused persons were escorted in and out of the court premises amidst security, with both hands cuffed and legs shackled. He is accused of conspiring with others to effect or carry out an enterprise with force, with the intent to usurp the executive powers of the state, in the month of May 2011 at Kairaba Avenue and diverse places in The Gambia.

He is also accused of distributing T-shirts bearing 'Coalition for Change The Gambia, End to Dictatorship Now' with intent to usurp the executive powers of the state in May 2011 at Kairaba Avenue and diverse places in The Gambia.

On count three, prosecutors said the accused person in the month of May 2011 along Kairaba Avenue and diverse places in The Gambia distributed T-shirts bearing 'Coalition for Change The Gambia, End to Dictatorship Now' with intent to incite the inhabitants of The Gambia to attempt to procure alteration otherwise than by lawful means any matter in The Gambia as established by law.

PART THREE

Attacks on journalists or free expression advocates

Baba Sillah, a judicial correspondent of privately-owned Banjul-based *The Daily News* newspaper was on 9th May 2011 arrested and detained for about half an hour at the Police Headquarters in Banjul. Mr Sillah was arrested at the Police Headquarters whilst investigating the detention of four officers of the country's National Drug Enforcement Agency (NDEA) who had allegedly tortured a drug suspect, Cherno Alieu Suwareh, leading to his death. He was released after the police officers tore the cover of his notebook on which he had written the names of the detained officers.

Dr. Amadou Scattered Janneh was on 7th June 2011 arrested by plain-clothes security agents at his office in Serrekunda. More than 72 hours after his arrest, the whereabouts of Janneh, a former Minister of Information, Communication and Information Technology, were still not known.

No reason was immediately given for his arrest and detention.

He was picked up at about 10 hours GMT by plain-clothes security agents who, without explanation, sealed off his offices, dismissed his staff members and drove him away in the direction of Banjul, the capital.

Janneh, an ICT professional, was dismissed from the regime of President Yahya Jammeh as minister on 6th July 2005 after serving as minister since 4th April 2004. He then set up a communication and information technology enterprise, Commit Company Limited, of which he is the chief executive officer.

Shortly before his arrest, Dr Janneh gave lectures on a wide range of issues in The Gambia. He was a guest at the World Press Freedom Day event in Banjul on 3rd May. On 25th May, he addressed a public forum at the University of The Gambia to mark the celebration of African Liberation Day. On that occasion, he condemned the frequent disappearance of people and the hacking or blocking of websites of online Gambian newspapers.

At about 6pm on Monday, 27th June 2011, Mr Aloa Ahmed Alota, executive director of the GPU, was invited for questioning by state security agents.

Accompanied by the newly elected president of the GPU Mr Emil Touray, Mr Alota left the GPU Secretariat together with three state security operatives for the Police Intervention Unit in Kanifing, where he was questioned on a wide range of issues including the GPU Congress (held on 24-26 June 2011),

sources of funding for the GPU, GPU's partners, Coalition for Change Gambia, links between the GPU and the Coalition for Change.

He was also asked about his relationship with Ms Ndey Tapha Sosseh, and why he facilitated Ms Sosseh's addressing the GPU Congress through Skype. He was asked why he "nominated" Ms Sosseh for the GPU presidency and why he "voted" for her. His interrogators also wanted to know whether he was a member of the Coalition for Change and to explain his relationship with Dr Amadou Scattred Janneh.

He was asked to return the next day and then on Friday, 1st July 2011.

Following reports in some online papers and in the Media Foundation for West Africa that Mr Alota was detained overnight and that he had fled the country, the security agents were enraged. On Friday, July 1, 2011 when Mr Alota reported at the PIU headquarters he was questioned about the media reports. He told them that he had not spoken to the press about the matter.

A few hours later, Mr Madi Njie, assistant secretary general of the GPU was brought in. He was asked about the media reports, CCG, and Ndey Tapha Sosseh. Mr Njie said he was not the author of the media reports.

Both Messrs Alota and Njie were then asked to go.

The police at about 2.30 pm on Friday, 7th October 2011 invited Mr Aloa Ahmed Alota, executive director of the Gambia Press Union (GPU), over the phone for questioning at the Police Headquarters over the absconding of Nanama Keita.

Mr Sherif Bojang managing editor of *The Standard* newspaper had earlier in the day been questioned over the same matter. Mr Alota was specifically questioned about what role the GPU played in getting Mr Keita the 2011 Reham al-Farra Memorial Fellowship in New York. Both Alota and Bojang were again grilled together on Monday, 10th October 2011.

ANNEX 1

3.1 The Point Newspaper

Date of Establishment:	1991
Address:	2 Garba Jahumpa Rd, Bakau NewTown
Tel:	4497441
Fax:	4497442
Email:	Thepoint13@yahoo.com
Website:	www.thepoint.gm
Managing Director	Pap Saine
General Manager	Philip Kotey
Editor in Chief	Baboucar Senghore
Board of Directors:	Pap saine, Maria Hydara, Philip Kotey
No. of Staff	38 permanent Staff and 11 Freelancers
Circulation:	2500 copies/edition (A daily paper)

3.2 The Standard Newspaper

Registered:	11 th May, 2010 first edition appeared on 4 th August
	2010
Address:	Sait Matty Junction, P.O.Box 4566, Bakau
Tell:	708 – 1234, 4496466
Email:	sheriffbojang@hotmail.com
Website:	www.standard.gm
Managing Editor	Sheriff Bojang
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	12 Permanent and Freelancers
Circulation	2000 copies per edition. (Three edition per week)

3.3 The Voice Newspaper

Registered:	1999 as "The Inquirer" and in 2008 changed the
	name of "the Voice"
Address:	32 Sayerr Jobe Ave, Serekunda
Tell:	707 - 9257
Email:	Voice3gambia@gmail.com
Website:	-
Editor in Chife	Musa Sheriff
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	13 Permanent staff and 4 Freelancers
Circulation	1200- 1500 copies per edition, (Twice Weekly)

3.4 Foroyaa Newspaper

Registered:	First registered in 1987 as a Newspaper and in
	2010 registered as a company with shareholders
Address:	P.O.Box 2306, Serekunda

Tell:	4393177
Email:	sillasi@hotmail.com
Website:	-
Head:	Managing Editor – Sam Sarr
Board of Directors:	In place since 2010
No. of Staff	16 Permanent staff plus some Freelancers
Circulation:	2000 copies per edition (Three edition Weekly

3.5 The Gambia News & Report (NewsMagazine)

Registered:	1992
Address:	73 Mosque Road, Seredunda
Tell:	4371071, 4292480, 778-6920
Fax:	4377020
Email:	gamcombaroneli@yahoo.com
Website:	-
Managing Editor	Swaebou Conateh
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	9
Circulation	500 – 1000 copies peredition (Weekly
	newsmagazine)

3.6. The Daily News (Newspaper)

Registered:	2009
Address:	65 Kombo Sillah Drave, Serekunda
Tell:	890-5629
Email:	Dailynews34@yahoo.com
Website:	www.dailynews.gm
Head/CEO	Madi Ceesay
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	12 Permanent staff and 15 Freelancers
Circulation:	1000 copies per edition (Three edition weekly)

3.7 TODAY Newspaper

• •	
Registered:	July 2007
Address:	13 Kairaba Avenue, Serekunda
Tell:	8802401, 7721504, 9305153
Fax:	4399386
Email:	info@today.gm
Website:	www.today.gm
Managing Editor	Abdul Hamid Adiamoh
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	30 (15 Permanent and 15 Freelance)
Circulation	1800 copies per edition (Daily paper)

3.8 West Coast Radio

Registered:	Registered in 1997 and sold to Peter Gomez in 2005
Address:	Herman Gmeiner Highway, Manjai Kunda
Tell:	9910959, 7711599
Email:	md@westcoast.gm
Website:	www.wcr.gm/ www.westcoast.gm
Head:	Managing Director – Peter Gomez
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	40 Staff members out of which 28 are permanent staff
Audience:	No precise figures
Capacity of transmitters	1 Kilowatts

3.9 Sinchu Alagie Community Radio (TARANGA FM)

Registered:	2008
Address:	Sinchu Alagie, Kombo North
Tell:	3900242
Email:	drismailasisay@yahoo.com
Website:	www.tarangafm.gm
Head:	Director – Mr. Ismaila Sisay
Board of Directors:	10 members
No. of Staff	32 Volunteers
Audience:	900,000 people
Capacity of transmitters	300 Watts

3.10 Paradise FM (Radio Station)

Registered:	January 2009
Address:	1 Cessane House, Kololi
Tell:	395 – 2002, 696 - 2002
Email:	harona@me.com
Website:	www.oaradusefm.gm
Head:	Managing Director – Mr. Heron Drammeh
Board of Directors:	None
No. of Staff	10 Staff members
Audience:	Nationwide
Capacity of transmitters	1 Kilowatts in Kololi, 600 watts each in Farafeni &
	Basse.

UNIQUE FM:

NAME OF RADIO:	UNIQUE FM
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	
ADDRESS:	40 GARBA JAHUMPA ROAD BAKAU
TEL:	4498105
EMAIL	uniquefmlive@gmail.com
WEDSITE:	www.uniquefm.gm
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	MR LAMIN MANGA
No OF STAFF:	23
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	G.B.A
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER :	

CAPITAL RADIO:

NAME OF RADIO:	Capital Radio
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	
ADDRESS:	2 Kairaba Avenue
TEL:	4390040
EMAIL	saul@capitalfm.gm
	www.capitalfm.gm
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Sulayman Sowe
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	Country wide
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER:	Satellite
No OF STAFF:	17

KORA FM:

NAME OF RADIO:	KORA FM		
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	25 TH March 2010		
ADDRESS:	10 Kanifing South		
TEL:	4399753 / 4399758		
EMAIL	korafm@gmail.com		
WEDSITE:	Not Yet		
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Ebrima Sagnia		
No OF STAFF:	10		
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:			
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER :	500 Watts		

VIBES FM:

NAME OF RADIO:	Vibes FM 106.1		
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	6 th May, 2010		
ADDRESS:	Manjai Kunda		
TEL:	9904646		
EMAIL	onegambia@hotmail.com		
WEDSITE:	www.vibesfm.gm		
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Momodou seray Jallow		
No OF STAFF:	20		
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	G.B.A and beyond		
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER :	1000 Watts		

HILTOP FM:

NAME OF RADIO:	Hilltop FM Fadio
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	2004
ADDRESS:	Tabokoto
TEL:	4379115
EMAIL	hilltopfm@yahoo.com
WEDSITE:	
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Basiru Darboe
No OF STAFF:	10
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	G.B.A and beyond
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER:	1000 / 300 Watts

BRIKAMA COMMUNITY RADIO:

NAME OF RADIO:	Brikama Community Radio		
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	1997		
ADDRESS:	Brikama		
TEL:	4483000		
EMAIL	brikamacommunityradio@yahoo.uk		
WEDSITE:	Not Yet		
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	AJA JARRA SANNEH		
No OF STAFF:	14		
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	G.B.A AND beyond		
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER:	500 Watts		

GUNJUR RADIO JANNEH KOTO FM:

NAME OF RADIO:	Gunjur Radio Janneh Koto FM	
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	Gunjur Village Kombo South, WCR	
ADDRESS:		
TEL:	4486264/ 4486388/ 7930971/ 3683665	
EMAIL	gunjurradio@hotmail.com	
WEDSITE:		
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Ebrima Jammeh	
No OF STAFF:	14	
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	WCR/ KMC/ beyond	
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER :	1000 Wts	

Modou Janneh 3683665

CITY LIMITS RADIO

NAME OF RADIO:	City Limits Radio	
DATE OF REGISTRATION:	January 5 th 2001	
ADDRESS:	No 1 Kairba Avenue	
TEL:	4375531	
EMAIL	citylimit2@yahoo.com	
WEDSITE:	www.citylimitsradio.com	
HEAD OF INSTITUTION:	Mr. Baboucarr Cham	
No OF STAFF:	16	
AUDIENCE/ RANGE OF COVERAGE:	G.B.A and beyond	
CAPACITY OF TRANSMITTER:	600 Watts	

Farafenni Community Radio – North Bank Region

Date Registered: 1998

Coverage: Part of North Bank and Lower River Regions

Capacity: 1000MHZ Number of staff: 8 Telephone: 9931964

Head of Station: Sainey Dibba

Email: -Web site: -

North Bank Community Radio NBCR

Date registered: 1996

Email: khansaidy1@yahoo.com

Coverage: North Bank Region, Part of Lower River and West Coast Region and Cassamace

Capacity: 500 MHZ

Staff: 7

Head of Station: Ebrima Saidykhan Telephone: 9912511/6306904

Audience: Local Website: -

Soma Community Radio Station

Date Registered: 2009

Coverage: Part of Lower River Region

Capacity: 300 MHZ

Head of Station: Bakary Dampha

Telephone: 3994704

Email: bakaryDMPH@yahoo.co.uk

Audience: Local Web site: -

ANNEX 2: MEDIA LAWS IN THE GAMBIA

The applicable laws relating to the operations of the News Media in The Gambia at present are the following:

1. The Newspaper (Amendment) Act, 2004. Among other things, the amendment provides for the Act to cover Broadcast Stations, so that it is now an Act for "Newspapers and Broadcast Stations". It provides for conviction for "any blasphemous or seditious or other libel".

It states that 'Broadcasting Stations' "means television and radio stations, but does not include any such station owned or operated by or under the authority of the Government."

The amendment also states that no person shall print or publish a newspaper; operate a broadcasting station unless he/she has "previously given and executed and registered" a bond of half a million dalasis (500,000 dalasis equivalent to around 20,000 U.S. dollars) in the office of the Registrar-General. In addition, the person must provide "such surety or sureties as may be required and approved by the Attorney-General".

- 2. A circular letter sent by the government authorities to the Government Printer reminded the institution that printing newspaper was risky since it too would be liable whenever a newspaper is prosecuted for defamation. The effect was to deprive the private newspapers access to the government press, thus compounding their publication problems.
- 3. The Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 2004. This amendment created the offence of "seditious publication" and the offence of "false publication and broadcasting". It also provides for a new "definition of libel". It provides for the offence to cover that "which is derogatory, contemptuous or insulting to any person", as well as publication through an "effigy, caricature, cartoon or depiction".
- 4. The Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 2005. Whereas the previous 2004 amendment prescribed "imprisonment for a term of not less than six months, without the option of a fine", this 2005 amendment was effected to provide for "a fine of not less than 50,000 dalasis and not more than 250,000 dalasis or imprisonment for a term of not less than one year, or to both such fine and imprisonment".
- 5. Information and Communication Act, 2009. This new law is mainly for the telecommunications, GSM, and broadcasting sub sectors. Among other things, it provides for "intercept" of communications. There is provision in new Information and Communication Act, 2009 which restricts ownership across several news media. There is no restriction to foreign ownership of news or other communication media in the country.
- 6. Official Secrets Act which creates the offence of spying, under which members of the last mission sent by Amnesty International to investigate "disappearances", were briefly detained and then expelled from the country.

These and other laws governing the operation of a business in the country also determine the business environment under which newspapers and broadcast stations operate in the country.

Newspaper publishers in the country also complain that the business environment is not very favourable, since the operating costs of running a newspaper are high; in addition to the fact that they have to pay sales tax, etc.

They have been advocating for a subsidy on newsprint and other printing materials, and have also called for a government subvention for media houses, as happens in countries such as Senegal, our neighbour.

Newspaper businesses in the Gambia are presently registered under the Newspaper (Amendment) Act, 2004. However, as business entities their operations are also covered by other laws on sales tax, income tax, social security contributions for employees etc.

Evidence of Application of the Media Laws

1. Jailing of Six Journalists

As regards journalists who have fallen foul of the existing media laws, in recent times, the most famous was the conviction and imprisonment, in 2009, of six journalists for the publication of a statement issued by the GPU Executive Board, and carried in The Point and Foroyaa newspapers.

The statement was in response to comments made by President YahyaJammeh about the murdered Gambian journalist and co-owner of The Point newspaper, DeydaHydara, who was assassinated in December 2004.

Consequently, the publisher of The Point, Pap Saine, the paper's editor in chief, Ebrima Sawaneh, Sam Sarr managing editor of Foroyaa, and three members of the GPU executive namely, GPU vice president Sarata Jabbi, secretary general Emile Touray, and treasurer Pa Modou Faal, were jailed for one year, at the state central prison Mile 2. They were pardoned by the head of state after spending two months in prison.

2. Conviction for Online Journalism Content

MsFatou Jaw Manneh, a US-based Gambian journalist, arrived in the country on a visit, and was arrested and arraigned in Banjul for articles she reported published on the Internet. The accused person was made by the National Intelligence Agency to download the material, which the prosecution then used as evidence against her.

In August 2008 she was convicted at the Kanifing magistrates court on four counts, specifically: sedition, publication of seditious words, publication of false information and for uttering seditious words. Her sentence was to pay immediately fines totaling 250,000 dalasis (around \$10,000) or face imprisonment with hard labour for up to four years. The fine was reportedly paid from funds raised by her and the GPU.

3. Conviction for Sedition

Not long after, AbdulhamidAdiamoh, a Nigerian and publisher of Today Newspaper in the Gambia was also charged with seditious intention following the publication of a story about likely changes in the cabinet to be made by the President, which did not happen as reported by the newspaper.

Subsequently, he was convicted in court, and fined, which he paid, and so did not spend a day in prison.

4. Conviction for False Information

Another Gambian journalist, Lamin Fatty, a reporter for the erstwhile Independent newspaper (of which YorroJallow was co-publisher and at one time the managing editor, and which was closed down by the government), was in 2007 convicted for false publication. He was fined 50,000 dalasis in default to serve one year with hard labour in prison Again, the fine was paid, reportedly with funds raised by the GPU.



ANNEX 3: About the Non-State Actors Strengthening Programme (NSASP)

The NSA Strengthening Programme (NSASP) finds its basis in the Cotonou Agreement signed in June 2000 between the EU and a group of African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries (APC).

This agreement calls for participation of all sectors of society to create the conditions for greater equity and access by the poor to the benefits of economic growth.

Poverty reduction is the central objective.

The NSASP was designed through a series of consultations with stakeholders in 2005/2006.

An NSA identification study and feasibility was carried out in 2006, while a financing agreement was signed in 2007.

It is being implemented under the 9th European Development Fund.

The Project Management Unit contract was awarded to SOFRECO in late 2010.

There are already a variety of ongoing development interventions in the Gambia directly or indirectly in support of NSAs.

The overall programme approach is based on a complimentary mix of organizational capacity building, project grants, information sharing and establishment of effective mechanisms for policy engagement.

What role does communication play in the success or failure of project implementation?

Under the 9th European Development Fund for Non-State Actors Strengthening Programme in the Gambia, 13 different civil society organizations have received varying grants to implement various projects across the length and breadth of the Gambia.

All these projects are geared towards poverty reduction, sustainable livelihood and good governance in the country.

These organisations include Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Agency for the Development of Women and Children, The Association of Non-Governmental Organisations, Concern Universal, Gamcotrap, West African Network for Peace-Building, Article 19 and The Gambia Press Union.

ANNEX 4: THE GAMBIA PRESS UNION

The Gambia Press Union (GPU) was founded in November 1978 and registered under the Trade Union Act (Cap.188) on 20th April 1979. It exists to defend press freedom and to promote media development in The Gambia. Membership is voluntary. At the moment, it has 230 members drawn from both the print and electronic media.

The past leaders of the GPU are:

- 1. Melville B. Jones (1979 1989)
- 2. Deyda Hydara (1989 1998)
- 3. Demba Ali Jawo (1998 -2005)*
- 4. Madi M.K. Ceesay (2005 -2008)
- 5. Ndey Tapha Sosseh (2008 2011)
- 6. Bai Emil Touray (2011)

^{*}Mr Jawo's two three-year terms expired in 2004. But the Congress to elect a new executive council was deferred because of the legal battle for the abolition of the Media Commission Bill. That was why he stayed on until 2005.

ANNEX 5: ABOUT ARTICLE 19

Established in 1987, ARTICLE 19 fights for all hostages of censorship, defends dissenting voices, and campaigns against laws and practices that silence.

With offices in London, Bangladesh, Brazil, Kenya, Mexico and Senegal, and in collaboration with 90 partners across the world, we strengthen national capacities, and build or reform institutions and policies to protect transparency and the free flow of information.

We take our name from Article 19 of the *UDHR*:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

ARTICLE 19 monitors, researches, publishes, advocates, campaigns, sets standards and litigates on behalf of freedom of expression wherever it is threatened.

We provide expertise on international human rights standards and for legislation that protects the right to speak and right to know in countries emerging from conflict, war and genocide or repression. We campaign to safeguard media pluralism, independence and diversity of views.

We champion freedom of expression, including freedom of information, as a fundamental human right that is also central to the protection of other rights. We promote the right to know of poorer communities and advocate for the implementation of freedom of information legislation to ensure transparency and strengthen citizens' participation.

ANNEX 5: STATISTICS OF JOURNALISTS AND FREE EXPRESSION ADVOCATES ARRESTED, DETAINED, QUESTIONED BEATEN OR KILLED IN 2011

MONTH	ARREST	DETENTION	QUESTIONING	BEATING	KILLING
January					
February					
March					
April					
May	1				
June	1		1		
July			2		
August					
September					
October			2		
November					
December					