The Annual Survey of Press Freedom 2002

Edited by Leonard R. Sussman
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The *Annual Survey of Press Freedom 2002* is dedicated to the memory of Daniel Pearl, a foreign correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* who was kidnapped and murdered in Pakistan early this year.

Daniel Pearl was a devoted journalist who dedicated his working career to expanding our understanding of the world's complexities. As a reporter, he upheld the highest standards of fairness and integrity.

Daniel Pearl was murdered by extremists who would destroy the freedoms that inspired his work. His death reminds us that the enemies of freedom remain active and determined. That they are destined to fail is due to the efforts of those who share Daniel Pearl's courage and values.

Press Freedom in 2001

Karin Deutsch Karlekar

Although the terrorist attacks of September 11 and the ensuing war on terrorism tested conditions for the media in a variety of ways, press freedom emerged intact by the end of 2001. This past year saw slight overall gains for press freedom as measured by the Freedom House ratings, which categorize countries as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free. In 2001, a higher number of countries, 75 (40%) out of 187 surveyed, rated Free than at any time in the past decade, improving upon last year's total of 72. The number of countries rated Not Free, 61 (33%), is the lowest since 1996. Fifty countries (27%) are rated Partly Free in the current survey.

Significant improvements, as registered by a shift in category, outweighed significant declines during 2001. Four countries—Cape Verde, Ghana, Peru, and Vanuatu—moved up in category from Partly Free to Free, while Congo (Brazzaville) and Niger moved up from Not Free to Partly Free. There were only three negative category changes; Mongolia moved down from Free to Partly Free, and Bangladesh and Haiti moved down from Partly Free to Not Free.

Countries where press freedom markedly improved during 2001 represent diverse regions of the world. What most of them had in common, however, were recent changes in regime, in some cases effected at least in part by the work of independent journalists, that ushered in governments with a greater respect for civil liberties and the rule of law. In Ghana, a newly elected legislature supported constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression by unanimously repealing criminal libel and sedition laws, which had been used to imprison many journalists in years past. The news media in Peru gained from democratically-elected President Alejandro Toledo's efforts to restore the credibility and fairness of government. Numerous journalists who had been imprisoned for years were released, while the public ombudsman called for the repeal of "insult laws" under which many journalists had been charged with defamation. In Vanuatu, a new administration permits criticism of the government on state-run broadcasting. In addition, the prime minister allowed a British citizen, publisher of the island's only independent newspaper, to return after being deported by the previous government.

In two African countries, changes affecting the media in 2001 led to an improved rating of Partly Free. A new constitution adopted in September by the provisional parliament of Congo (Brazzaville) significantly improved the status of the news media and journalists by guaranteeing the basic right of press freedom. In addition, the 1996 Press Law was amended to no longer require prison terms for those convicted of defamation. In Niger, an overall decline in the number of press freedom violations during the year, coupled with the establishment of a Press Center in the capital of Niamey, pushed its rating upward in 2001.

Negative trends throughout the year led to three category downgrades. In Mongolia, indirect harassment of the press though libel lawsuits and tax audits was enough to push its rating into the Partly Free category. Bangladesh and Haiti were downgraded from Partly Free to Not Free this year. In both countries, the overt harassment of the press, tacitly supported and sometimes openly encouraged by the government or ruling party, increased in 2001. Independent radio stations and newspapers in Haiti that criticized the government were targets of official intimidation and of orchestrated attacks by supporters of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In addition, the president was accused of stalling investigations into the murders of several journalists. In Bangladesh, efforts by government leaders, political party activists, and others to intimidate journalists who were targeted as a result of their reporting frequently occurred, and the number of violent attacks against journalists increased throughout the year. Such crimes have remained largely unpunished, primarily because of the links between the perpetrators and the two dominant political parties. In November, the new government arrested and began a treason investigation against leading journalist Shahriar Kabir after he filmed a documentary about Hindus who fled to India to escape post-election violence and intimidation. A particularly worrying factor in both of these countries is that there appears to be state-directed support for actions that threaten the safety of journalists and thus the independence of the press.

Events in 2001 focused attention on the Islamic world. An examination of countries that have majority Muslim populations demonstrates that in most, the media are Not Free. Out of 46 such countries, only one—Mali—has a free press. Fourteen (30%) have media that are Partly Free, while in 31 (67%) the media are Not Free. Given the importance of the press in shaping public attitudes towards one's own government, as well as towards the actions of globally significant actors such as the United States or the

Al-Qaida terrorist network, these figures deserve further attention.

Regional Trends

In Asia, five countries (21%) were ranked as Free, five (21%) were ranked as Partly Free, and 13 (54%) were ranked as Not Free. In addition to the category changes noted above, Sri Lanka registered a significant upswing as a result of the withdrawal of emergency regulations concerning media coverage of the civil war in May. This was offset by negative trends in Laos and Indonesia. In Laos, authorities introduced a new law requiring journalists to slant their coverage to favor the government and criminalized the publication of "misleading news" on the Internet. Indonesian journalists increasingly practiced self-censorship in response to a rising number of assaults at the hands of police and security forces, as well as threats from separatist and Islamic groups.

In the Pacific region, eleven countries (85%) have Free media and two (15%) have Partly Free media. In Fiji, a notably freer press reported on allegations of official corruption as well as covering the September elections, which returned parliamentary democracy to the island country. However, a sharp downgrade was noticed in Nauru, where a tightening of government control resulted in the placement of a ban on Agence France-Presse reporter Michael Field, who had been regularly covering Nauru's involvement in moneylaundering.

In Africa, out of a total of 53 countries, eight countries (15%) were rated as Free, 17 (32%) were rated as Partly Free, and 28 (53%) were rated as Not Free. Positive trends in 2001 were apparent in Algeria, Cote d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone, largely due to a reduction in violence against and harassment of journalists by both government authorities and other groups. Nevertheless, these bright spots were counterbalanced by several significant downgrades. In Rwanda, the passage of a repressive press law, coupled with continuing threats directed at journalists, intensified the state's assault on the news media. Two abortive military coups in the Central African Republic further tightened controls over the flow of news and information. In a dramatic violation of press freedom in Eritrea, the government in September shut down all the nation's independent newspapers, banned all non-state print media, and arrested nine reporters. Conditions also worsened in Zimbabwe. In an effort to extend the government's control over the press and stifle all forms of criticism, President Mugabe's regime expelled foreign correspondents and targeted domestic journalists suspected of sympathizing with an opposition party. The independent *Daily News*, one of the staunchest critics of the government, suffered a series of attacks in 2001. At year's end, a draconian law intended to further curtail the operation of the news media had been introduced in the parliament.

In the Middle East, one country, Israel, has Free media, while two, Jordan and Kuwait, have Partly Free media. The media in the remaining eleven countries, or 79% of the total, are Not Free. Although no category changes occurred for the Middle East in 2001, Saudi Arabia did see an improvement within the category of Not Free. Although the ruling family still strictly controls news and information, observers noted that media outlets enjoyed increasing latitude in covering sensitive subjects such as unemployment or domestic violence. In addition, the American war on terrorism led to some domestic discussion of the royal family, its dependence on U.S. military forces, and the role of Islamic fundamentalism in worldwide terrorism. After a 40-year old ban on media unionization was lifted, Saudi journalists were permitted to form a trade union in 2001. Nevertheless, events in several other Middle Eastern countries resulted in worsened conditions for the press. Escalating violence between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers took its toll on journalists in the Occupied Territories and Palestinian Authority, who suffered serious abuses from both sides in the conflict. In Lebanon, a government crackdown on independent broadcasters continued, while individual journalists were subject to harassment as well as lawsuits and the threat of imprisonment. In Syria, the relaxation of controls over the media that began in 2000 came to an abrupt halt in September when President Bashar al-Assad banned news deemed to harm national security, the unity of society, or Syria's international ties.

Western Europe continued to boast the highest number of Free countries. Twenty of its 21 countries are Free, while one, Turkey, is Partly Free. Within the Free category, Austria registered a significant decline in 2001. Journalists were increasingly pressured by the government's plan to criminalize certain investigative press activities, as well as by a number of libel suits filed by political figures. Concerns were also raised by the increasing concentration of media ownership, which limited the pluralism of coverage.

Of the 27 countries of Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States, the media in nine (33%) are Free; in eleven (41%), Partly Free; and in seven (26%), Not Free. While no category changes took place in the

region this year, there were considerable upgrades for a number of countries. In Croatia, the recently elected parliament further expanded the independence of both public and private news media. In Romania, parliament approved a law on free access to information of interest to the public in October. The situation of the media in Yugoslavia also continued to improve in 2001, with the opening of state-owned media outlets in Serbia to representatives of the former opposition bloc and the NGO sector.

In contrast, legal impediments coupled with increasing harassment of journalists led to a decline in press freedom in the Kyrgyz Republic. Russia and Ukraine remained just short of the Not Free category in 2001. The Kremlin continued to pressure media companies and journalists critical of the regime. Gazprom, the state-owned gas conglomerate, took control of Russia's major independent media group, Media-MOST, by acquiring its NTV television station. Gazprom also closed the newspaper *Sevodnya*, fired the staff of the weekly *Itogi*, and took over Ekho Moskvy radio, the last independent outlet of Media-MOST. The Russian military also imposed severe restrictions on journalists' access to the Chechen war zone. In Ukraine, the government of Leonid Kuchma frequently disregards constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and expression, especially during election seasons. In addition, violence directed at journalists is rarely prosecuted. The brutal murder of investigative journalist Heorhiy Gongadze remained unsolved in 2001.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, 19 countries (58%) were rated as Free, 12 (36%) as Partly Free, and 2 (6%) as Not Free. Improvements in press freedom took place in Chile, where a new press law repealed the controversial Article 6(b) of the State Security Law that criminalized those who "insulted" public officials. Another important court ruling upheld the public's right to access information. In Mexico, newly elected President Vicente Fox vowed to end the long-established government practice of buying favorable press stories, and such incidences appeared to be on the wane in 2001. However, conditions for the media declined in Venezuela, where President Hugo Chavez and his government repeatedly attacked the news media through harsh speeches, a court ruling that newspapers must state their political leanings, and threats to pass a "law on content" and revoke the license of a respected television network.

The media in both North American countries, the United States and Canada, remained Free but declined slightly. In the United States, the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks somewhat limited media access and coverage. In Canada, the increasing concentration of media ownership raised concern.

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Rosanna Roizin served as a research intern for this study and participated in all stages of the report's preparation. Additional research, editing, and proofreading was conducted by Peter Doran, a research assistant at Freedom House.

The ratings for this report were determined by the Freedom House research team and were reviewed by a group of regional and country experts, including Martin Edwin Andersen (Latin America), Arch Puddington (North America), Edward McMahon and Cindy Shiner (Africa), Kristen Guida and Michael Goldfarb (Middle East), Karin Deutsch Karlekar and Charles Graybow (Asia), and Adrian Karatnycky, Amanda Schnetzer, Aili Piano, and Kendra Zaharescu (Eastern Europe and the NIS). This report also reflects the findings of the 2001-2002 Freedom House study *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties.*

Summary of Results, *Press Freedom Survey 2002*

	Free	Partly Free	Not Free	# Countries
Africa	8	17	28	53
Asia	5	5	13	23*
Europe, Western	20	1	0	21
Europe, East/NIS	9	11	7	27
Latin America/ Caribbean	19	12	2	33
Middle East	1	2	11	14
North America	2	0	0	2
Pacific	11	2	0	13
TOTAL	**75**	**50**	**61**	**186**

*Afghanistan was not rated this year.

Changes 2000-2001

	Category Changes		Within Category		Unchanged
	improved	declined	improved	declined	
Africa	4	0	17	22	10
Asia	0	2	5	9	7*
Europe, Western	0	0	8	5	8
Europe, East/NIS	0	0	13	9	5
Latin America/ Caribbean	1	1	11	10	10
Middle East	0	0	4	5	5*
North America	0	0	0	2	0
Pacific	1	0	4	4	4
TOTAL	**6**	**3**	**62**	**66**	**49**
% of total (186) countries	3%	2%	33%	36%	26%

* Burma, North Korea and Iraq's rating changed only due to new methodology.

Press Freedom by Population

	By Country	By Population (millions)
Free	75 (40%)	1,328 (22%)
Partly Free	50 (27%)	2,436 (40%)
Not Free	61 (33%)	2,332 (38%)
TOTAL	**186* (100%)**	**6,096* (100%)**

*Afghanistan not included in tally.

Changes in Average Score: 1996-2002

1996	45.78 (partly free)
1997	46.04 (partly free)
1998	46.29 (partly free)
1999	49.04 (partly free)
2000	47.01 (partly free)
2001	46.05 (partly free)
2002	45.31 (partly free)

Press Freedom by Category

Free 1-15

Australia
Bahamas
Belgium
Denmark
Finland
Germany
Iceland
Luxembourg
Malta
Marshall Islands
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
St. Lucia
Sweden
Switzerland

Free 16-30

Austria
Barbados
Belize
Benin
Bolivia
Botswana
Bulgaria
Canada
Cape Verde
Chile
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Czech Republic
Dominica
Dominican Republic
East Timor
Estonia
France
Ghana
Greece
Grenada
Guyana
Hungary
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jamaica
Kiribati
Korea, S
Latvia
Lithuania
Mali
Mauritius
Micronesia
Nauru
Panama
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Philippines
Poland
St. Kitts and Nevis
St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Samoa
Sao Tome and Principe
Slovakia
Slovenia
Solomon Islands
South Africa
Spain
Suriname
Taiwan
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Vanautu

Partly Free 31-45

Antigua and Barbuda
Argentina
Brazil
Burkina Faso
Comoros
Ecuador
El Salvador
Fiji
Honduras
India
Madagascar
Mexico
Mongolia
Namibia
Nicaragua
Romania
Senegal
Tonga
Uganda
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

Partly Free 46-60

Albania
Armenia
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Gabon
Georgia
Guatemala
Guinea-Bissau
Indonesia
Jordan
Kuwait
Lesotho
Macedonia
Malawi
Moldova
Morocco
Mozambique
Nepal
Niger
Nigeria
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Russia
Seychelles
Tanzania
Turkey
Ukraine

Not Free 61-75

Algeria
Bahrain
Bangladesh
Bhutan
Cambodia
Cameroon
Central African Republic
Chad
Cote d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Ethiopia
The Gambia
Guinea
Haiti
Iran
Kazakhstan
Kenya
Kyrgyz Republic
Lebanon
Malaysia
Maldives
Mauritania
Oman
Qatar
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Sri Lanka
Togo
Tunisia
Yemen
United Arab Emirates
Zambia

Not Free 76-100

Angola
Azerbaijan
Belarus
Brunei
Burma
Burundi
China
Congo (Kinshasa)
Cuba
Egypt
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Iraq
Israeli-Occupied Territories/
Palestinian Authority
Korea, North
Libya
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Somalia
Sudan
Swaziland
Syria
Tajikistan
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan
Vietnam
Zimbabwe

The Press: Marksman and Target in the War on Terrorism

Leonard R. Sussman

Has terrorism—and the war on terrorism—contributed to a decline in press freedom? Some observers would say the answer is clearly yes, the press in the United States and many other countries is less free in the wake of the events of September 11 and after. As evidence, they point to controls placed by the American government over access to the war zone in Afghanistan, to censoring of information about hundreds of detainees in the United States, and, especially, to new laws giving the state the ability to monitor electronic communications which may affect sources and content of the news media.

The evidence, in fact, has been mixed. Press reporting of the war in Afghanistan has been robust, from battlefield accounts to analyses of future strategy. Some laws adopted by democratic states have restricted access to information, but not press freedom per se. Some authoritarian governments have exploited the terrorism threat to reinforce their illegitimate rule.

Any discussion of the vexing questions posed by the war on terrorism must begin with a recognition that the United States, along with other countries, is in a state of war. The war on terrorism differs in important respects from previous wars. But there is no question that the United States is engaged in an armed conflict against an enemy that has demonstrated a ruthless willingness to kill civilians, has tried to gain access to weapons of mass destruction, and has fighters and agents in practically every part of the world.

Before September 11, it was not clear whether the war declared by Islamic extremists encompassed the entire globe. After 9/11 there could be no doubt. By striking at various targets in the United States, the terrorists were announcing that they could strike at any country or any people they deemed an enemy of Islam. It was soon revealed that loosely linked Islamic terror cells existed in many countries, with the goal of launching violent attacks on political enemies, government buildings, monuments, or civilians.

In wartime, some restrictions on the press are inevitable. Journalists operating in the new, post-September 11 environment faced new challenges in both free and not-free nations. Louis D. Boccardi, president of the Associated Press, the world's largest news agency, said that the challenge for journalists was to "seek a new balance between our vigorous advocacy of open government and our understanding as responsible citizens that the nation is now in a fight in which information and openness can be weapons used against us."

Striking a balance in wartime

Seven months after 9/11 it is clear that a measure of news control has been applied in stages coinciding roughly with changing military initiatives. At the outset, Washington officials did not provide reporters advance information on military operations or allow even a select pool to accompany troops in initial forays, as was done at the cross-channel invasion in World War II.

During that war, *New York Times* reporter William L. Laurence covered the first atomic explosion at Los Alamos in July 1945; his "top secret" report was withheld without leaks until the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Laurence then flew in the B-29 that dropped the second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. In December 1943, Edward R. Murrow, dean of U.S. broadcast reporters, described the harrowing bombing run over Berlin, and the death in that raid of two journalists. All were covering the action first-hand for Americans at home.

By contrast, in Afghanistan, journalistic access was influenced by the "lessons" of Vietnam and Watergate. These models of aggressive investigative journalism caused one Secretary of State to challenge a journalist: "Whose side are you on?" After Vietnam, the American military was more cautious in its policies with the press. There were controls on reporters at the U.S. incursions in Grenada and Panama and the war in the Persian Gulf.

Those lessons were recalled by one journalist last September, in the immediate aftermath of the terror attacks. "I think if you know that there's to be an invasion tomorrow, you're obliged not to report that," remarked the AP's Boccardi. Other journalists, however, may not have agreed with this common sense approach.

Security was stepped up. It became more difficult to enter the Pentagon and the Congress. Nevertheless,

many journalists were pleased by official government briefings, particularly those of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. He was believed to be candid and revealed tips that could be triangulated—that is, followed up elsewhere for details that filled in a broader picture. Of such top-level Pentagon spokesmen, said ABC's Washington bureau chief Robin Sproul, "This has been the most accessible Pentagon I've ever experienced…for almost 20 years." But Pentagon briefings, by definition, were second-hand coverage of a combat action.

The ground combat in Afghanistan was largely conducted by small units of commandos. Journalists could not be professionally trained to accompany them; nor could the forces that swiftly entered and left combat be expected to protect reporters accompanying them. Reporters visited aircraft carriers from which the Navy flew bombing raids, but no journalists flew on bombing missions, as they did in other wars. The press complained it was not allowed to visit the 10th Mountain Division awaiting action in Uzbekistan, nor the Marine expeditionary units before they entered Afghanistan from ships in the Arabian Sea. The Pentagon maintained that the unusual combat operations had to be kept secret. The press were also kept from other U.S. forces in Pakistan, Tajikistan and on the island of Diego Garcia before the military operations began.

The control exercised by U.S. officials did not prevent journalists from reporting on numerous occasions bombing mistakes that killed civilians and friendly troops and injured some Americans. Indeed, some newspapers carried item after item on American combat operations that may have gone awry. Journalists protested when a U.S. officer prevented the press from photographing a wounded American. The White House press briefer later apologized to Washington bureau chiefs.

The domestic U.S. tightening

An immediate official response to the 9/11 attacks was domestic restrictions affecting journalists as well as the general public. "Ground zero," the scene of the World Trade Center bombing, was initially cordoned off and declared a crime scene. Reporters could not roam at will, partly to protect them from falling debris, partly to avoid interference with rescue operations, and partly to restore some control to an otherwise chaotic scene of giant devastation.

Some foreign journalists and press freedom organizations saw this policy as an example of censorship. These critics accused U.S. journalism of being caught up in a wave of patriotism or of practicing self-censorship. In one extreme case, Don Emmert, a correspondent for Agence France-Presse, said New York was "like a police state" because the mayor's office asked the press not to display images of firefighters recovering the bodies of their colleagues.

These criticisms were unwarranted. There was no justification in demands for access to the corpses of victims at ground zero. Terrible pictures were, indeed, made available to television producers, but in the interest of good taste, the networks decided not to show them. Some TV stations showed people jumping from buildings, but the stations later regretted doing so.

Some changes were adopted that had modest effects on domestic journalism. Hundreds of non-citizens and some citizens were detained and interrogated, but the press was not given the names of the detainees nor the charges on which they were held. Immediately after the September 11 attacks, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation went to the major U.S. Internet providers (ISPs) such as AOL to install the Carnivore program on their servers. This enabled the FBI to monitor e-mail messages, trace the trail of previous communications, and obtain stored voice mail as well as email. The FBI's action was contested, but the new U.S.A. Patriot Act gave federal law enforcement officials broad authority to wiretap and monitor terrorist suspects and allow ISPs to assist without a court order. This enabled authorities to track cybercrime as well as cyber terrorism. To preserve some privacy, Congress passed a new education bill in December allowing parents to bar companies from using the Internet to collect information about their children in school.

Paralleling restrictions on journalists in the field came specific new policies by Attorney-General John Ashcroft, who cast tighter secrecy-protection rules over the decades-old Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The FOIA process enables academics and the general public to secure government papers. Journalists use the process extensively to research investigative stories or provide greater context for current news.

Under new rules, an FOIA request can be denied merely to protect the privacy of a named individual. Previously, records could be withheld if disclosure would result in foreseeable harm. On the basis of national security, the Attorney-General guided FOIA handlers to withhold information that might be detrimental to "institutional, commercial, and personal privacy interests." Under this rubric many

government agencies could keep secret much information that was previously available to journalists. "We can't tell what the government is going to do," said Anders Gyllenhaal, FOIA chairman of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. "There is a new climate in the country since September 11," he added.

On September 25, the Voice of America decided to broadcast part of an interview with a Taliban leader after the State Department had initially prevented the VOA from airing it. Strong press criticism helped reverse the State Department's decision. The government also drew modest criticism when the Secretary of State urged U.S. television not to cover the lengthy full delivery of Osama bin Laden's anti-American diatribes. Instead, TV excerpted newsworthy portions of a later speech by bin Laden, and the U.S. Secretary of State was interviewed on Al-Jazeera, the originating Arab station.

In February, the Department of Defense was revealed to be planning an Office of Strategic Influence that would employ disinformation—"black" or false news—for release abroad. After a week of opposition in the press, the office was shut down. Far better would be a major effort by the Agency for International Development (USAID) to encourage diverse, independent news media where state-run outlets provide the main source of information. The development of indigenous, diverse—ultimately critical—public voices can change the present rampant anti-Americanism abroad.

As with the broadcast of the VOA interview, the killing of the Office of Strategic Influence indicated that First Amendment protections could be effective even in an emergency. "This is not the time to let terrorists erode our nation's history of open inquiry," said Chris Peck, president of the AP's Managing Editors Association.

The volume of information increases

By mid-December, the Pentagon relaxed some controls on information and apologized for "severe shortcomings in our preparedness to support news organizations in their efforts to cover U.S. military operations in Afghanistan." By January, the first reporters were permitted to accompany U.S. Special Forces in Afghanistan. The *New York Times* sent more than a dozen reporters and photographers to combat zones. Suddenly, there was a flood of reporting but, says Sandy Johnson, the AP Washington bureau chief, mostly on the "small subjects" of the war, not the "big picture." As a result, opinion and speculation were rife, particularly on radio and television.

Perhaps neither the White House nor the U.S. military had yet framed the longer-term objectives. There was, however, critical reporting of civilian deaths and erroneous bombing in Afghanistan, presumably based on faulty intelligence. There was also speculation of less than explicit future objectives.

In terms of press controls, the American public was strongly supportive of military censorship. By 53 to 39 percent, respondents told the Pew Research Center in November that it is more important for the government to be able to censor stories it believes could threaten national security than for the media to be able to report news as it sees fit. Americans said the military should exert more control over news about the war rather than leave most decisions to the media.

Yet the public supported neither substituting propaganda for news, nor the press becoming merely a lapdog rather than a watchdog of government. Three quarters of those interviewed praised the news media for their coverage of the attacks and the war against terrorism. This was a sharp increase in support of the media, though it still reflected the public's preference for military censorship that had been expressed during several U.S. military forays in the past two decades.

Other responses in democratic countries

Following the attacks of September 11, many countries undertook various actions against terrorism. Some democratic nations copied U.S. procedures by expanding or creating laws to legitimize domestic surveillance, although few resulted in any measurable decrease in press freedom.

- Canada's "Law C-36", passed in December, increased surveillance of the Internet, electronic mail, and telephone conversations. A new amendment to a defense law enabled the telecommunications security center to intercept private communications between Canada and other countries to monitor aspects of international affairs, defense, or security.
- In November, France passed a series of laws affecting private life in the anti-terrorism era, and effectively made encryption of electronic messages an offense.
- Germany's Bundestag enacted a number of anti-terrorist laws that included the intelligence services' right to gain access to stored telecommunications data and

discover the origin of e-mail and its contents.

- The Indian cabinet approved the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, which specifies that journalists must give authorities full information concerning terrorist activities or face imprisonment. Courts could sentence journalists to three years in prison for not revealing sources of terrorist activities, particularly the names of terrorists and supporters they have met or interviewed. (After protests from domestic journalists as well as press freedom advocates, these provisions were withdrawn from the version of the anti-terrorism bill currently being considered)
- In the United Kingdom, where Prime Minister Tony Blair was the first to stand beside the United States in the war on terrorism, the police were given added power to monitor the Internet, electronic mail, and telephone conversations. The prime minister's spokesman declared that news media "must not put on an even level the Taliban's web of lies and the [anti-terrorist] coalition's declarations."

Press-freedom advocates may express some concern over the global electronic summit planned for December 2003 because of the new interest in monitoring Internet content. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the world's oldest intergovernmental organization, will run the conference. In the past, the ITU has been the regulatory agency that negotiated consensual agreements to assign telephonic, broadcast, and satellite sites on the spectrum. Never before has it delved into the content of messages. Press freedom advocates fear that next year's summit could break that hands-off tradition.

Other measures

In the aftermath of the September attacks, some non-democratic countries quickly exploited the anti-terrorism climate to further harass their own journalists. In the past, these countries never needed such a rationale to deal harshly with domestic or foreign news media. Some now cited the threat of terrorism as justification for policies of repression.

- Local journalists in Indonesia attacked an anti-terrorist bill, writing "the amalgams and inaccuracies contained in this text could easily justify all kinds of crackdowns attributed to terrorism, reminiscent of the 30 dark years of the Suharto regime."
- Immediately after the September attacks, Jordan amended its penal code to increase censorship. Journalists faced prison for messages that "could breach national unity, divide the population, or damage the image and reputation of the state." Egypt cracked down similarly, focusing on the Muslim extremists who had long attacked the ruling party.
- One ominous attempt to exploit the fear of terrorism is entailed in the draft program submitted by the Russian government to the United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO). The draft, prepared by a Russian journalist union, purports to define "the role of journalists in international efforts to prevent and eradicate terrorism." The draft would be presented this May to a UNESCO-sponsored seminar in Manila on media and terrorism. It would mobilize journalists worldwide to inspire publics to reject terrorism, introduce anti-terrorism subjects into journalism schools, and solicit international recommendations for the media to fight terrorism. What makes this resolution of particular concern is the implication that it would legitimize state influence or control over independent journalism.
- Saudi Arabia required ISPs to keep records of all Internet users, including their addresses and phone numbers, so that officials could use the information to discover whether a user accesses a forbidden Internet site.
- Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, casting a chill over communicators in the new climate, said, "the Internet has become a killer." He accused critics of writing "whatever they like without signing their names, and then it appears in the mass media."

Clearly, there is an international consensus that terrorism must be rooted out wherever possible. But how? And with what protections for the human rights of innocent citizens and the freedom of independent journalism?

The dilemma

There is a real dilemma presented by the need to employ communication technologies to track terrorists *before* they strike, and yet preserve the privacy of individuals and the freedom of the independent press to monitor and criticize government activities. The dilemma faces governments as well as journalists. In the past, American support

for war diminished when the integrity of reporting declined, either by censorship or by inadequate or inflammatory journalism. The public's rejection of the Vietnam War was driven more by deceitful official claims than by a few horrendous television pictures.

By last December, polls of print and broadcast viewers revealed that the public's approval of press coverage of the war on terrorism had dropped to 63 percent, down from 75 percent in September. The difference could be explained by the clear emphasis on opinion rather than on straight reporting. Greater use of opinion, particularly on radio and television, may be attributed to less "hard" news made accessible to reporters by officials and to the impatience of journalists to discover or predict the "next phase" of the conflict. Whichever the primary cause, the public noticed the difference.

The public's right to know is not absolute. Officials need time and space to formulate strategies and tactics. Journalists need to protect their sources from public and official scrutiny. Within that slightly narrowed playing field, however, a new contract is needed for the press/government relationship in wartime.

What, then, should be the new guideline in democratic states? In the United States, for example, government should forthrightly provide information about its activities, except in the interest of legitimate national security. That phrase should not be over-used. The government should define through public debate what kinds of information must be kept secret and under what circumstances and conditions. As part of the system of checks and balances a diligent and skeptical Congress and press must do everything possible to make the government fulfill this obligation.

Government also has the obligation to protect the privacy of its own negotiating and decision-making process. Just as the judicial conferences of the U.S. Supreme Court are held in private, so decision-makers in the executive branch are entitled to privacy in seeking staff advice and weighing alternative policies. Such privacy, however, should be of limited duration unless severe negative domestic or foreign repercussions would result from revealing details of the process.

For journalists, investigative reporting is often essential to secure the basic facts of a complex event. Officials should acknowledge and not seek to frustrate this essential role. Reporters, for their part, should maintain an adversarial stance without becoming purely antagonistic or an enemy of government. This distinction is particularly vital in wartime, especially in as amorphous a conflict as a war on international terrorism that has domestic as well as foreign roots.

The war on terrorism is likely to be a long, tedious hunt involving diplomatic and economic as well as military actions. In all these fields and in all regions of the world the flow of communications will be central to both the activity of the terrorists and to those opposing them. The news and information flow, however, is also central to the protection of civil rights.

As polls already indicate, the public recognizes when the press is not performing well, for whatever reason. Officials should understand that a democratic public will not accept reports of an obviously manipulated press, or one labeled unpatriotic. Nor should individual privacy be invaded, particularly over the Internet and the telephone, without formal judicial approval. While this intrusion would be abhorrent in peacetime, even broad Internet surveillance in an emergency is defensible provided the process is publicly acknowledged and sustained by a court. This and related actions, otherwise unacceptable in a democratic state, are defensible once there is national agreement that the nation faces "a clear and present danger." Even then, *journalistic* surveillance of official actions is vital.

Officials and journalists alike should recall this precedent in American constitutional law. During the U.S. Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln suspended *habeas corpus* (the right to hear formal charges used to detain a citizen). He also employed military courts to try opponents of his war policies. After the war, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that these acts were unconstitutional. The court said that "the Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and gives protection to all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances…In no other way can we transmit to posterity unimpaired the blessings of liberty, consecrated by the sacrifices of the Revolution."

This is an important lesson not only for democratic societies, but also for those who rule through military power or the absence of legitimizing electoral processes. Especially in these countries, journalists are viewed as an irritation or, at best, an adjunct of governance. The international war on terrorism has been a boon to such states. They seek to join the war on terrorism while defining their domestic critics as terrorists who must be rooted out. This shoddy exploitation should be revealed even while democratic states accept from the same countries some intelligence and geopolitical cooperation. In this as in other as-

pects of the rush to legislate surveillance and other measures of information control in many countries—free and less than free—journalists must publicize the implications of such laws without fear of official attack or condemnation.

Leonard R. Sussman, senior scholar in international communications at Freedom House, has coordinated this press freedom survey since its inception 24 years ago. Among his books: *Power, the Press, and the Technology of Freedom: The Coming Age of ISDN* (1989), *Press Freedom in Our Genes: A Human Need* (2001), and *Democracy's Advocate: The Story of Freedom House* (2002).

METHODOLOGY

This survey of 187 countries expands a process conducted since 1979 by Freedom House. The findings are widely used by governments, academics, and the news media in many countries. The degree to which each country permits the free flow of information determines the classification of its media as "Free," "Partly Free," or "Not Free." The criteria for such judgments and the arithmetic scheme for displaying the judgments are described below. Assigning numerical points facilitates judgment. Countries scoring 0 to 30 are regarded as having "Free" media, 31 to 60, "Partly Free" media, and 61 to 100, "Not Free" media. The *Annual Survey of Press Freedom 2002* reflects events of January to December 2001.

The criteria: As with *Freedom in the World* (the annual Freedom House survey of political rights and civil liberties), this study is based on universal criteria. The starting point is the smallest, most universal unit of concern: the individual. We recognize cultural differences, diverse national interests, and varying levels of economic development. Yet the Universal Declaration of Human Rights instructs: *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 regardless of frontiers* (Article 19).

The operative word for this survey is *everyone*. All states, from the most democratic to the most authoritarian, are committed to this doctrine through the United Nations system. To deny that doctrine is to deny the universality of information freedom—a basic human right. We recognize that cultural distinctions or economic underdevelopment may limit the volume of news flows within a country, but these and other arguments are not acceptable explanations for outright centralized control of the content of news and information. Some poor countries allow for the exchange of diverse views, while some developed countries restrict content diversity. We seek to recognize press freedom wherever it exists, in poor and rich countries, as well as in countries of various ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds.

The method and changes: Through the years, we have refined and expanded our methodology. This survey reflects yet another series of changes from our preceding press-freedom surveys. The changes are intended to simplify the presentation of information without altering the comparability of data for a given country over the 23-year span, or of the comparative ratings of all countries over that period. We have indicated (by a marginal * beside the country name) those few cases in which the new system has produced numerical ratings that reflect a purely methodological change rather than a change in the real standing of the information media in the country. In the case of certain countries, improvements or declines in this year's score have been the result of the new scoring system as well as the events of 2001.

Our **first** concern is the structure of the news-delivery system as functioning under the country's laws and administrative decisions; and, as well, their influence on the content of the print and broadcast media. This rating appears as numerical rating **"A"** in the boldface line beside the country name.

Second, under numerical rating **"B"** we evaluate the degree of political influence over the content of news media. Political power, even in the most democratic nations, seeks to manage the news. Democratic systems, however, create checks and balances to minimize state domination of the news media. This category includes issues of access to information and sources, censorship, and the intimidation of journalists by the state or other actors.

Third, under numerical rating **"C"** we examine economic influences on media content, including pressure by government funding, corruption, withholding of government advertising as a selective pressure point, or bias in licensing, or quotas for newsprint or other material needs of the media. We also examine the negative impact of market competition in the private sector.

(In our past surveys, a separate category on the rating line included a category "D" reflecting actual press-freedom violations. In this survey we include such violations within the respective "B" and "C" categories as cases of actual political or economic pressure on the content of information. In recent years the survey also provided two numerical lines, one for broadcast media and one for print media; this survey combines the two into one rating line.)

The numbers: Category "A" based on five criteria is scored from 0 to 30 points, the higher number being the least free. Category "B" employing eight criteria is scored from 0 to 40 points. Category "C" with six criteria is scored from 0 to 30 points. Each country's rating is based on the total of the three categories: a total of 0-30 places the country in the free-press group, 31-60 in partly-free, and 61-100 in the not free-press group.

Sources: Our data come from correspondents overseas, staff travel, international visitors, the findings of human rights (including press freedom) organizations, specialists in geographic and geopolitical areas, the reports of governments (including the U.S. State Department and governments surveyed), and a variety of domestic and international news media.

Press responsibility: This survey does not assess the degree to which the press in any country serves responsibly, reflecting a high ethical standard. The issue of "press responsibility" is often raised to defend governmental control of the press. Indeed, a truly irresponsible press does a disservice to its public and diminishes its own credibility. A governmental effort to rein in the press on the pretext of making the press "responsible" has far worse results, in most cases. This issue is reflected in the degree of freedom in the flow of information as assessed in the survey.

KEY TO THE NUMBERS

	A	B	C	Total	Rating
Country	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	F (Free)

A = Laws and regulations that influence media content; scale 0-30

B = Political pressures, controls, and violence that influence content; scale 0-40

C = Economic pressures and controls that influence content; scale 0-30

RATING: Free (F): 0-30; Partly Free (PF): 31-60; Not Free (NF): 61-100

COUNTRY RATINGS
Press Freedom Worldwide

↑ and ↓ indicate ratings changes within category. ▲ and ▼ indicate category changes.
An asterisk (*) indicates those countries whose ranking has shifted solely as a result of changes to the methodology.

Afghanistan: No rating
Devastated by decades of war and the draconian restrictions of the ruling Taliban, there were no regularly appearing news media other than the propagandist radio stations run by the Taliban and Northern Alliance. Some Afghans secured their news from foreign radio broadcasts. In the presently limited journalistic climate it is not useful to rate the public's access to news and information. Eight foreign journalists were killed in Afghanistan between October and December 2001. By early December, the first four-page, government-subsidized newspaper *Anis* was cranked out on a back street in Kabul.

↑Albania: 24-12-12= 48 PF
Libel, defamation, and "incitement to hatred" are criminal offenses, but are not generally enforced. All broadcast media are private except Albania Radio and Television, which is considered excessively pro-government. There are more than 75 private television and 30 private radio stations, and Albanians have access to foreign broadcasting via satellite. The news media are regarded as excessively sensationalist and irresponsible. That led to a draft press law being promulgated this year. It would require all journalists to be licensed after fulfilling certain requirements set by the government. A code of journalistic ethics would also be established by the government. "False news," ambiguously defined, would be forbidden. The public's "right of reply" would be assured. The definition of a journalist would be decided by the government, while registration of news media would be decided by the courts. Under the rubric of raising journalistic standards, the bill would strengthen the government's control over all news media in Albania.

↑Algeria: 21-26-15= 62 NF
Algeria has a vibrant private press and newspapers offer competing views. Reports critical of the government, including exposures of corruption, appear often in the independent newspapers. However, press freedom remains constrained by government pressure, legal constraints, and the Islamist insurgency, which has targeted journalists in the past. The state of emergency restricts press freedom and punishes undefined threats to the state or to public order. A 1990 law requires speech to respect "individual dignity, the imperatives of foreign policy, and the national defense." Penal code reforms enacted in May 2001 provide for prison terms of two to twelve months and fines of $700 to $3,500 for defamation of the president, parliament, courts, the military, and other public officials, as well as Islam and the Prophet Mohammed. The new law also allows the public prosecutor to begin proceedings against an individual for defamation without the prior filing of a complaint. Despite a 1999 law allowing private television and radio stations, the government has a monopoly on both. Two journalists with *La Voix de l'Oranie* were sentenced to six months' imprisonment in April for libel, and in November authorities suspended the Arabic-language weekly *El Mawiid*. In May, police assaulted a journalist covering the riots in Tizi Ouzou, and two journalists covering violent demonstrations in Algiers were killed in June. Foreign journalists are rarely granted visas to work in Algeria, and few foreign publications have permission to appear on Algerian newsstands, although 60 percent of the population does have access to European satellite TV stations. To overcome the government's monopoly on printing presses, two independent dailies, *El Watan* and *El Khabar*, joined together to purchase their own printing press and also opened a private printing house.

↑Angola: 21-33-25= 79 NF
Year-long harassment and arrests of journalists, and deprivation of passports and limitations on the right to travel within Angola further reduced the level of press freedom. Criminal defamation, loosely defined when referring to officials, is punishable by imprisonment. Private media include five weekly publications and five radio stations, including the Catholic Radio Ecclesia. With minimal interference, these media report critically on government policies and poor socioeconomic conditions. Radio Ecclesia shut down in July, however, to protest a defamation campaign by a state-owned daily labeling the Catholic radio a "new version" of the UNITA rebel broadcast station. Print journalists have been detained in police cells, and

one was held for criminal investigation for traveling to another province without permission. Police manhandled reporters covering a street demonstration. A national radio journalist was shot dead by a provincial administrator.

↑Antigua & Barbuda: 12-16-16= 44 PF
The main television, radio, and cable services are controlled by the ruling Antigua Labour Party and the Bird family, which has ruled for four decades. The opposition has great difficulty in gaining access to the broadcast media, but the print media offers a wider range of opinion. The country's first independent radio station, Observer Radio, began broadcasting in April, after a five year struggle to secure a license to operate.

↓Argentina: 10-21-6=37 PF
Print media are privately owned and publish freely. But they received an added burden when a new print-media tax was adopted this year as part of a plan to revive the economy. The tax raises the cost of newspapers and magazines and discourages the diversity of a small-scale and independent press. Private broadcasting operates without interference. A bill introduced in 2000 to eliminate criminal penalties for defamation was never passed. Although violent attacks against journalists had abated in 2000 under former President De La Rua, the 2001 financial crisis caused a slight revival of attacks against journalists. In at least four incidents this year journalists were physically attacked either by police officers or as police officers stood idly by. One journalist was stabbed. None of the cases have been adequately investigated or prosecuted. In addition, journalists were attacked by police during the December riots. In another negative development, the Supreme Court upheld a 1998 ruling penalizing a newsmagazine for violating the privacy of former President Carlos Menem when it described his extramarital affairs. The government also ordered electrical companies to cut off electricity to radio stations operating without legal authorization. This unfairly targeted community and non-profit stations that were never recognized by the law in the first place.

↓Armenia: 21-26-13= 60 PF
Radio and television, all privately owned, must register with a government commission which issues and withdraws licenses. Commission members are appointed solely by the president. TV and radio stations must produce at least 65 percent of their own programming, a financial burden which most media cannot meet. In 2001, a government daily newspaper's license was not renewed because it did not comply with the registration law. Many radio and TV stations suspended broadcasting to protest the law. As of January 2001, 1083 media enterprises were registered, according to the Ministry of Justice. While most print media are privately owned, they are small and unprofitable, and depend on economic and political interest groups for survival. The distribution of newsprint, formerly run by the government, was privatized. A 1999 civil code punishes libel with imprisonment, and is frequently enforced. Journalists often practice self-censorship when covering the insurgency in Nagorno-Karabakh, national security, or corruption issues. Although direct threats and intimidation by government officials are rare, journalists are routinely assaulted and the government usually fails to bring perpetrators to account.

Australia: 0-3-7= 10 F
Freedom of the press is respected though there is no Bill of Rights. The independent, self-regulatory Australian Press Council (APC) serves as mediator between the public and the news media. It resolves complaints against the media and also publishes examinations of press freedom issues. Substantial economic power is reflected in the concentration of ownership of major newspapers, cross-ownership of the media, and foreign ownership. In November, the APC accused authorities of censoring press coverage of the government's treatment of asylum seekers.

↓Austria: 10-6-8= 24 F
While the news media are free, journalists have been increasingly pressured by the government's plan to criminalize certain investigative press activities. Legal restrictions, although seldom invoked, forbid reporting deemed detrimental to morality or national security. Strict libel laws and the increasing number of lawsuits filed against journalists by political figures cloud coverage. Political figures harassed journalists, according to Reporters sans Frontieres. The increasing concentration of media ownership limits the pluralism of coverage and has raised anti-trust concerns. The Austrian Broadcasting Company (ORF) controls all domestic television programming, and private TV is transmitted by cable or satellite. State radio also dominates its field. As a result of a merger in 2000, the Newsgroup company controls 55 percent of the market in daily newspapers and 70 percent of the magazine market.

↓Azerbaijan: 26-28-23= 77 NF
The government campaign against the country's independent media intensified during 2001, particularly during the last few months of the year. Numerous journalists were attacked by police or unknown assailants, including Zamin Haji of the opposition *Azadliq* daily paper. In July, the independent ABA TV station announced its immediate closure because of continued pressure by the state authorities. In August and September, a number of independent newspapers were ordered to cease publication by court order or forced to close because of heavy court-imposed fines for alleged defamation of senior state officials. Shahbaz Huduoglu, the editor of *Milletin Sesi*, and Elmar Huseinov, the founder of *Bakinski Bulvard*, were sentenced to six months in prison in mid-September in separate cases for insulting the honor and dignity of the president's chief of staff and the mayor of Baku, respectively. Pressure by domestic and international groups led to their release from prison a month later, although both of their papers remain banned. At a November meeting of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, participants accused the independent publications *Yeni Musavat*, *Azadliq*, and *Hurriet* of anti-state activities; the state publishing house subsequently refused to print them. Police broke up demonstrations held in November and December by representatives from several independent newspapers who were protesting the government's restrictions on press freedom. Several journalists were beaten or arrested. In a year-end positive development, parliament adopted amendments to the laws on the mass media limiting the government's power to shut down newspapers or strip journalists of their accreditation. The legislation also abolished a requirement for media outlets to register with the ministry of justice before beginning publication. Most of Azerbaijan's print media praised the passage of the amendments, which some attributed to pressure from the Council of Europe.

↓Bahamas: 3-2-3= 8 F
The present government, unlike its predecessors, has not made use of the strict libel laws to restrict the news media. There are three daily and several weekly privately owned newspapers. They provide diverse views on public issues, as do the state-run radio station and five privately owned radio stations. The state-run television station has been accused by critics of favoring the ruling party.

Bahrain: 26-24-25= 75 NF
Despite wide public debate of proposed political reforms, freedom of the press remained sharply limited. Private newspapers do not criticize the royal family. Radio and television are state-owned and carry only official views. However, the media report relatively freely on economic, commercial, and international issues. Journalists were concerned over the government's decision to retain information ministry officials regarded as hostile to reform. The information minister is head of the Bahraini Journalists' Society and the managing director of a major daily newspaper. He has also been accused of banning television programs and pressuring editors not to publish controversial articles.

▼Bangladesh: 16-38-9= 63 NF
The print media are diverse and often critical of the government. However, journalists frequently face pressure from organized crime groups, political parties, the government, and Islamic fundamentalists, and practice some self-censorship. Two journalists were killed in 2001, and numerous others were attacked and left for dead. Violence against journalists by assailants with ties to political parties and local leaders mounted before and after the national elections in October. Journalists could not visit some parts of the country after they received repeated assaults and death threats; seven journalists who had been tortured were forced to flee one city, and the home of one journalist was bombed. From October to December, at least 40 journalists had been attacked or threatened by supporters of the new government, according to Reporters sans Frontieres. Police occasionally beat journalists covering demonstrations. In November, the government arrested and began a treason investigation against leading journalist Shahriar Kabir after he made a documentary about Hindus who fled to India in the wake of the elections. Political considerations influence the distribution of government advertising and subsidized newsprint. In July, parliament voted to grant autonomy to the state-run Bangladesh Television and Bangladesh Radio.

Barbados: 1-4-11= 16 F
Freedom of the press is unrestricted. The news media, free of censorship and government control, are an important factor in discussions of national polices. Two major daily newspapers are privately owned. Private and government radio stations operate. The only television station is state-run but offers a wide range of viewpoints.

↓Belarus: 26-31-25= 82 NF
The year-round, systematic suppression of the news media by the Lukashenka regime was heightened during the presiden-

tial election campaign in 2001. The government confiscated equipment of an independent printing house, and from the newspapers *Volny Horad*, *Belaruska Ushod*, and *Narodnaya Volya*. The government also seized 400,000 copies of a special election issue of *Nasha Svboda*. Internet users were denied access to socio-political websites, including those covering the presidential election in real time, according to Charter-97, an NGO. State news media are subordinated to the president, whose regime controls press content and appointment of senior editors. Independent print media are routinely harassed and censored. Most Belarussians, however, receive Russian television broadcasts, which carry news of Belarus. The Law on Press and Other Media prohibits coverage of any association not registered with the state and severely limits journalists' ability to criticize a public official. The State Press Committee can arbitrarily shut down publications without court orders. To further strengthen these controls, parliament is considering a bill on information security.

Belgium: 2-2-5= 9 F
Restrictions on libel, pornography, and the promotion of racial or religious discrimination have only a minor effect on press freedom, as does the restriction on civil servants from criticizing the government. Autonomous public boards govern state television and radio networks, and ensure that public broadcasting is linguistically pluralistic.

↑Belize: 11-8-5= 24 F
There is no regular government interference in the operation of the news media, and the constitution provides for press freedom. It also provides exceptions in the interest of national security, public order, and morality. This includes prison terms of up to three years for those who question the validity of financial disclosure statements submitted by public officials. There is no daily newspaper, though there are seven privately owned papers, three of which are subsidized by major political parties. The mostly English-language press freely publishes a variety of political viewpoints, including those critical of the regime. Radio and television carry massive political advertising during elections. Fourteen private television stations operate, including four cable systems. An independent board oversees operation of the state-run outlets.

Benin: 8-12-10= 30 F
During this year of tumultuous elections, the news media demonstrated their freedom to report and criticize both the government and its opposition. There are numerous independent newspapers and radio stations, and a private television station. Harsh libel laws have been used to rein in the independent press, but constitutional guarantees of press freedom are generally recognized in practice. Journalists from one independent newspaper were detained for questioning after publishing an article that linked Osama bin Laden's terrorist network to a Benin connection. The paper later retracted the story. The government criticized the newspaper and withdrew government aid to the paper.

↑Bhutan: 26-21-25= 72 NF
Except for reporting some criticism of the government during meetings of the national assembly, the independent weekly *Kuensel*, Bhutan's only regularly published periodical, and the government-run Bhutan Broadcasting Service carry only news and information favorable to the regime. Radio and television services do not carry opposition viewpoints. Authorities routinely ignore an official ban on receiving satellite television broadcasts. Cable television thrives in some areas but is hampered by a 30 percent sales tax and the absence of a media and broadcasting law.

↓Bolivia: 7-14-4= 25 F
The penal code punishes slander and defamation of public officials with up to three years imprisonment. Journalists consequently exercise considerable self-censorship. Journalists are licensed by the government and must have a college degree in journalism. Substantial state advertising goes to friendly newspapers. The press, however, plays a major role in offsetting judicial corruption. The press, radio, and television are mostly private. A law passed in December threatens to suspend media outlets that do not respect the rules on circulation of political propaganda prior to elections. The law authorizes the National Electoral Court to select which media will be allowed to circulate political propaganda and impose serious sanctions on unauthorized media. Investigative journalists covering corruption stories are occasionally subjected to intimidation by government officials, arbitrary detention by police, and violent attacks. A television journalist was mortally wounded while covering a conflict between two rival organizations battling for control of a mining cooperative. A community radio station was forced to go off the air temporarily following a failed break-in by military personnel.

↑Bosnia-Herzegovina: 8-19-26= 53 PF
A media law drafted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as a press council and a media

ombudsman, provide structural support for numerous independent broadcast and print media. But corruption of the press persists as does dependence on foreign aid for its survival, an appeal to narrow ethnic constituencies, and occasional harassment by official institutions. There has been considerable privatization of the media but they remain strongly influenced by political parties. Government control over public television, the most influential media, has been reduced. There are public and private radio and TV stations. Some local radio stations carry independent news programming, but most limit their broadcasts to entertainment. Bosnia has an excess of media outlets for a country its size, but they are mainly established on the basis of party or ethnic interests. International funding has helped reduce the dominance of biased state or party-controlled media outlets. Defamation charges, long used to impede journalistic freedom, have ended with passage of a new legal framework and a change in government.

↓Botswana: 4-18-8= 30 F

The free and vigorous urban press stimulates open and lively debate over political issues. In the state-controlled broadcast media, however, opposition and government critics have meager access. Broadcasts from South Africa are easily heard. The single television station has a limited audience, though there are a number of private radio stations. However, the long-time freedom of the news media was marred by several government actions this year. The government barred the private television channel from carrying a documentary about a white woman executed as a murderer. The station's editor resigned. The government also banned official advertising in the *Botswana Guardian* and *Midweek Sun* newspapers, and barred the purchase of these papers by government offices. The papers had reported allegations that the vice president had made unauthorized use of military aircraft.

↓Brazil: 10-13-9= 32 PF

The press is privately owned and newspapers have played a central role in exposing official corruption. There are dozens of daily newspapers and numerous other publications throughout the country. The monopoly on broadcast media by TV Globo has been challenged by its rival, Sistema Brasiliero de Televisao (STB). A 1967 press law prescribes prison terms for libel, but is rarely enforced. In numerous incidents this year, state courts prohibited newspapers from publishing stories seen as damaging to government or public officials. Some papers refrained from publishing the controversial articles. One newspaper that published a critical article of a local judge was forced to pay a large penalty, causing the newspaper to close down. Another weekly newspaper's issue was seized. A television network charged with libel was also prohibited from releasing an interview. In a positive development, a bill before Congress would transfer cases of crimes against journalists to federal jurisdiction, to guarantee fairer trials. One journalist was murdered the day before he was supposed to testify in a criminal defamation suit. Police are cooperating in the investigation. It has been reported that military and secret service personnel have been using fake press cards to spy on opposition and civil groups, thus putting honest journalists in danger and tainting their legitimacy.

↓Brunei: 26-29-23= 78 NF

The "Local Newspapers Order 2001" provided still more strict control over news and information. Private newspapers are either owned or controlled by the sultan's family, and practice self-censorship on political and religious issues. The state-controlled Radio Television Brunei operates the only local broadcast media. Foreign journals containing articles critical of the royal family or the government are not permitted into the kingdom. The new law provides for a series of further restrictive measures, including requiring newspapers to apply for annual publishing permits, threatening journalists with jail terms for publishing "false news," and requiring non-citizens to obtain government approval before working for the news media.

↓Bulgaria: 9-11-9= 29 F

Political interference in the management of the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) strained the high level of press freedom guaranteed by the constitution and generally observed. Journalists protested against the nomination of the radio's general director, claiming his appointment by the National Council for Radio and Television was politically motivated. The Supreme Court canceled the appointment, but the BNR dismissed many of the protesting journalists and replaced them with members of the ruling political coalition. Police later barred journalists from the studios and seven leaders of the protest were dismissed. Still later, parliament replaced the national radio and television council with the Electronic Media Council selected by parliament and the president. Still in the penal code are harsh defamation laws which can be used to inhibit the press from reporting freely. The press, however, remains lively and diverse.

Burkina Faso: 9-16-14= 39 PF

The constitution and the Information Code protect press freedom. Some 50 private radio stations, a private television station,

and many independent newspapers and magazines appear with little government interference. In September, a monthly political satire magazine was launched in Ouagadougou. The Supreme Council of Information regulates broadcast media. There is some self-censorship by journalists though the media are often highly critical of the government. In 2001, two journalists of *L'Independant* newspaper were briefly detained by police. Reporters sans Frontieres (RSF) filed a complaint in France against President Blaise Compaore during his visit to that country, but authorities dismissed it, citing presidential immunity. RSF had charged that the president was complicit in the murder of journalist Norbert Zongo in 1998.

***Burma: 30-40-26= 96 NF**

The military junta, which controls all aspects of Burmese society, owns and controls all daily newspapers and domestic radio and television stations. It subjects private periodicals to prepublication censorship, and does not allow coverage of a wide range of subjects. Some weekly publications are exempt. Most of these are published by the government. Laws and decrees criminalize possession and use of unregistered telephones, fax machines, computers and modems, and software. Foreign journalists are frequently denied admission to Burma, and several cover it from Thailand. In July, veteran political activist and journalist San San Nweh was released from jail. However, at least 18 other journalists and media workers remain in prison in life-threatening conditions, according to the International Press Institute.

↑Burundi: 25-28-24= 77 NF

Pre-publication censorship of a newspaper is authorized in a press law. Journalists practice self-censorship and face harassment through legal restriction and detention. This year, some privately owned radio stations have emerged, such as Radio Publique Africaine. This station, highly-rated in terms of audience approval, is seen as a national symbol with both Hutu and Tutsi staff members. Yet twice this year journalists from private radio stations, including Radio Publique Africaine, have been detained and beaten by police for carrying stories that the government wanted kept from the public. A director of one of the few independent news agencies was arrested in December for an article he claims never to have written. The state-run radio station allows some diversity. The European Union also runs a radio station, as does a Hutu extremist radio outlet that has a limited listening range.

↓Cambodia: 26-22-20= 68 NF

Despite the entire population's memory of the Pol Pot genocide, criticism of the state is generally regarded as lack of loyalty to the nation and its leaders, even treason. Journalists generally seek information only from officials, who are seen as the source of authority. Officials enforce this tradition by avoiding opposition journalists and withholding advertising support from their publications. Private newspapers criticize government policies, though authorities sometimes use a strict 1995 press law to suspend newspapers for a 30-day period. This prohibits publishing articles that affect national security and political stability. The press is subjected to criminal statutes. Government officials or close associates own almost all of the six Khmer-language television stations and 14 Khmer-language radio stations. Repeated requests by an opposition leader for a license to operate a radio station have been denied. Radio and television reach the widest audiences.

↑Cameroon: 26-23-19= 68 NF

Despite constitutional guarantees of press freedom, libel, defamation, contempt, and dissemination of false news are punishable by imprisonment under the penal code. Numerous newspapers reach only a small percentage of the population. Their journalists are often under attack by government agents. Police frequently raided the offices of the independent thrice-weekly newspaper *Mutations* and seized copies of the paper. The government daily *Cameroon Tribune* was not troubled by authorities. A radio journalist was assaulted and a reporter from a weekly paper was detained. The editor in chief of the independent *La Nouvelle Expression* was repeatedly harassed. In December, a radio journalist was assaulted by a security detail when he tried to interview the president. A bill liberalizing the broadcast media, which could significantly affect the elections, is scheduled for 2002.

↓Canada: 1-6-9= 16 F

Critics regarded the increasing concentration of media ownership and, after September 11, the proposed bill to prevent terrorism, as threats to press freedom. CanWest Global, the media conglomerate that enhanced its already considerable broadcast holdings with the purchase of more than a dozen of Conrad Black's papers in 2001, insisted in December that 14 of its major newspapers publish the same editorial. Critics accused the group of trying to sideline regional voices. Journalists' groups maintained that Bill C-36, rather than prevent terrorism, would increase surveillance over innocent citizens and restrict access to information. Under the bill, journalists could be compelled to testify and be prosecuted for revealing information

the government wants safeguarded. In June, police seized a television reporter's video footage. An exiled Pakistani journalist received a series of death threats after writing critically of the Taliban regime.

▲Cape Verde: 8-10-12= 30 F
Constitutional restrictions and criminal libel laws against insults and defamation have not been used to restrict the news media. No authorization is needed to publish newspapers and other publications. There are three independent papers, one state-owned newspaper, a state-owned television station, two foreign-owned TV stations, six independent radio stations and one state-owned radio station. Journalists are generally free to criticize the government but practice self-censorship. The new government suspended the country's only daily newspaper in March, and made personnel changes at the country's state television broadcaster in October. Except for technical limitations, Internet access is unrestricted.

↓Central African Republic: 24-23-22= 69 NF
Two periods of violence further tightened controls over the flow of news and information. Before the abortive military coups, the country had been moving slowly toward less restrictive policies. The several independent newspapers continued to be subject to severe libel laws. Broadcast media were dominated by the state and provided little coverage for critics of the regime. The licensed private radio stations are foreign-owned and broadcast music or religious programs.

↓Chad: 26-22-26= 74 NF
Criminal libel is punishable by prison sentences and fines. Private newspapers that criticize the government circulate freely in the capital, but have little impact among the rural poor and largely illiterate population. State control of broadcasting allows little exposure for dissenting views. The only television station is government-owned and licensing fees for commercial radio are prohibitively high. During the presidential election period, radio stations were prohibited from broadcasting political debates or programs of a political nature.

↑Chile: 7-9-6= 22 F
National television is state-owned but self-financed and editorially independent. Radio stations are both public and private and scores of publications present all viewpoints. In a positive development, a new press law repealed the controversial 1958 Article 6(b) of the State Security Law that criminalized those who "insulted" public officials. The new legislation also protects journalists from the obligation to reveal their sources, and ends the power of the courts to issue gag orders on the press for reporting on controversial criminal cases. But the law also limits the recognition of a journalist to one who graduated from a recognized journalism school. A number of restrictive press statutes remain on the books, including one that allows judges to confiscate publications. Nevertheless, following the new press law, the court lifted a two-year ban on a book that exposed corruption in the judiciary. Another important court ruling upheld the right to access information and ordered a forestry company to release information to the public. While covering a story about Pinochet, journalists were attacked physically and verbally by Pinochet supporters.

China: 26-31-23= 80 NF
Journalists were harassed, at least 12 arrested, and some publications shut down for violating any of the "seven-nos": denying the guiding role of Marxism and its leading proponents, opposing the policies of the Communist party, revealing ambiguously-defined state secrets, opposing official policies on religion or nationalities, advocating violence, spreading rumors or falsified news, or violating party propaganda discipline or advertising rules. To further tighten controls, China in December established a giant state-owned media corporation, bringing its state television system, two major radio stations, and a film group under one management umbrella. While the print press is both public and private, the government owns and operates all broadcasting systems. Some publications were banned for covering subjects that generally are permissible, such as corruption. However, the tabloid press and call-in radio shows are lively, and investigative reporting is on the rise. While the government boasts China has 26.5 million citizens online, the government jailed its nineteenth cyber-dissident, and controls content flows by regulating Internet providers.

Colombia: 11-30-19= 60 PF
Paramilitary groups and political rebels continued to regard the press as a military target. Journalists are frequently the victims of revenge violence by drug traffickers as well as by rebel groups that assassinate investigative reporters. Eight journalists were murdered in 2001, according to figures provided by the Committee to Protect Journalists. The weekly *Otoro* was hit with explosives. Two radio journalists resigned, complaining of official censorship. Four journalists received death

threats from a paramilitary group and were told to leave the country. A television journalist was verbally and physically mistreated by the military. The news media are generally free of legal restrictions, though the penal code and anticorruption law prohibit publication of certain information related to criminal investigations. Despite the atmosphere of intimidation, the media provide a wide range of political views.

↓Comoros: 12-15-14= 41 PF
The absence of a formal guarantee of press freedom enables the government to readily arrest an occasional journalist who does not adequately self-censor his material, as do most independent journalists. The weekly *Al-Watwan* is a semi-official organ. Because of limited resources, several private newspapers are published only sporadically in the capital. Private television and radio stations operate without overt government interference, but self-censorship is prevalent. Some have access to satellite and other international broadcasts, including those from Mayotte. In November, one director of a radio station was arrested and another released after 14 months in prison.

▲Congo (Brazzaville): 18-18-17= 53 PF
The constitution adopted in September by the provisional parliament significantly improved the status of the news media and journalists by guaranteeing the basic right of press freedom. As the result of an amendment passed in August, the 1996 Press Law no longer requires prison terms for those convicted of defamation. The government generally respects press freedom, but continued to monopolize the broadcast media. Some 10 private newspapers that appear weekly in the capital occasionally carry articles or letters that criticize the government. One weekly, *Le Flambeau*, was suspended and the editor detained for allegedly causing confusion about state institutions.

↓Congo, Democratic Republic (Kinshasa): 26-34-26= 86 NF
Throughout the year, scores of journalists were arrested, radio programs were shut down, and repeated court proceedings and official actions were taken against journalists and their institutions. Despite statutes providing for freedom of the press, the government sharply restricted journalists. Some independent newspapers are published in Kinshasa, but they do not circulate widely beyond the capital. The state-run broadcasting network reaches most people, though the church radio networks are expanding. Journalists may be arrested for "relaying intelligence to the enemy," "discouraging the population of soldiers," or divulging state secrets or defense secrets. In December, authorities banned 112 newspapers and news agencies. Only 51 press organizations were registered. Most of those banned had already faced high costs of production and sales that hampered their operation. During the year, 25 journalists were imprisoned in life-threatening conditions, according to local watchdog group Journalists in Danger.

↓Costa Rica: 7-4-6= 17 F
Six major privately owned daily newspapers, 20 private television stations, and over 90 private radio stations provide a diverse forum for a public that is 90 percent literate. The penal code provides up to three years in prison for libel and defamation, and cases are sometimes filed against journalists. One broadcast journalist was murdered this year and his assailant not arrested. The court, which ordered a television station to include all presidential candidates on its pre-election program, was criticized by the Inter American Press Association for interfering with the broadcaster's editorial and journalistic independence.

↑Cote d'Ivoire: 22-25-19= 66 NF
Worsening economic conditions hindered the private news media, though harassment, beatings, and detentions were significantly reduced in number from the year before. Two journalists received death threats in 2001 and an editor's family members were killed while he was on assignment. Criminal libel is punishable up to two years in prison and "insult" laws protect members of the government and foreign officials from defamation by the press. However, no legal action was taken against journalists throughout the year. The only national broadcasting is government-owned, though there are 43 community radio stations with limited influence. The government owns the two television stations. Seventeen private newspapers criticize government policy but occasionally exercise self-censorship.

↑Croatia: 8-12-13= 33 PF
The country's recently elected leaders increasingly expanded the independence of both public and private news media in 2001. Parliament passed legislation to free Croatian Radio and Television (HRT) of political controls. The law turned the broadcaster into a public service corporation, with its director and editor in chief to be chosen in open competition. Nongov-

ernmental associations would appoint 22 of 25 members on the governing council. Parliament also approved turning the HINA, the state news agency, into an independent public institution. A network of independent local television stations competes with state television. In 2000, the constitutional court struck down articles on defamation and libel from the Law on Public Information and the penal code. Reports of defamation cases and other harassment were considerably reduced all year. Croatia has 10 national and regional daily newspapers and 5 main weekly papers. The two largest dailies, *Jutarnji List* and *Vecernji List*, boast circulations of about 200,000 copies per day. Nevertheless, even these papers have struggled under the impact of the country's economic crisis.

↓Cuba: 26-40-30= 96 NF

Journalists are either servants of the regime or, if outside the government propaganda apparatus, were increasingly subjected to beatings, harassment, and imprisonment in 2001. As "counterrevolutionaries" they become targets for assaults in prison by state security agents. Five small news agencies established outside state control have been subjected to continued repression. Some 100 independent journalists have been branded counterrevolutionaries, particularly for their participation on the Internet. As their audience enlarges they are increasingly subjected to harassment. Foreign news agencies can hire stringers only from government offices. That limits employment opportunities for independent journalists and assures the government that overseas agencies will hire only Cuban "trusties."

Cyprus: 2-8-8= 18 F

Freedom of the press is respected in law and practice in the Greek area. Independent and party papers are published in both Greek and Turkish parts of the island. Turkish Cypriot authorities harassed the press increasingly, raiding and shutting down the opposition paper *Avrupa*. Private television and radio compete with government-owned broadcasting in the south, while Turkish Cypriot authorities monopolize broadcasting in the north. Each side can receive the other side's programs. The (Greek) Cyprus government publishes an Internet home page which features information regarding efforts to resolve the island's protracted dispute. [The numerical rating for Cyprus is based on the situation in the Greek side of the island.]

↓Czech Republic: 10-6-9= 25 F

An ongoing conflict between political leaders of this democratic state, who charge they have been libeled in the independent press, has generated harsh pressures that threaten the credibility of the press and could limit its freedom. In 2001, the prime minister threatened to sue and shut down *Respekt*, a weekly newspaper. Other journalists who have offended Czech politicians came under pressure from the courts and regulatory bodies. Libel is a criminal offence in the Czech Republic and journalists can be sentenced to prison terms if convicted. For more than a year, political interference has included firing of news and program chiefs of the public television service and efforts in the politically appointed broadcasting commission to ban programs hostile to the ruling party and its coalition partner. The public service Czech Radio was reported to have persuaded Radio Free Europe to drop a popular political commentator who was also attacked by a parliamentary chairman. A group of cabinet members threatened to sue *Respekt* for carrying the European Union's charge that the Czech Republic was failing to combat corruption. There are three national television stations (one public and two private) and approximately 60 private radio stations, in addition to the public broadcaster Czech Radio.

Denmark: 1-1-7= 9 F

The constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression are reflected in the independent print and broadcast media, which are frequently critical of the government. The media represent a wide variety of views, though one important segment may be missing with the demise of the newspaper of the Social Democratic Party, due to the paper's fallen circulation. The state finances radio and television broadcasting, but state-owned TV companies have independent editorial boards. Independent radio stations are tightly regulated. In November, the license of a neo-Nazi radio station was withdrawn for violating laws regarding incitement to racial hatred.

↓Djibouti: 26-23-18= 67 NF

"False information" and slander are prohibited, though both seldom appear in the news and information media. The government owns the principal newspaper *La Nation* as well as the television and radio stations. Independent weeklies are allowed to circulate freely but journalists exercise self-censorship. The state-run media do not criticize the government. The independent newspaper *Le Renouveau* was suspended from publishing and the editor was arrested and charged with distributing false information. He faced two years in prison. The publishing director of another paper was also arrested and placed in detention for criticizing the government.

Dominica: 0-6-10= 16 F
Press freedom is respected in both law and practice. The press is free, diverse, and critical. Public and private radio and television provide a variety of views. Two private newspapers and political party journals express a range of views without government interference. Television is used as an effective campaign tool by all parties.

Dominican Republic: 5-12-13= 30 F
Throughout the year, street clashes over the economic downturn and drug trafficking generated increased pressure on the mainly private news media to self-censor. They did so to protect themselves and the tourism industry. Newspapers are independent and diverse. The government exerts pressure, however, through granting of advertising and imposing taxes on imported newsprint. There are six commercial television channels and dozens of radio stations.

East Timor: 6-9-6= 21 F
There are eight radio stations (one official and seven private), the UN-operated television station, two independent daily newspapers, and eleven other publications. The transitional UN administration provides for freedom of the press as stipulated in UN covenants. Lack of resources and low literacy hamper the print press, which publishes in four languages, yet the papers are relatively free and their coverage diverse. As an indication of the general commitment to press freedom, one of the main streets, Avenida Libberdade Da Imprensa, is named for a journalist murdered during the struggle for independence, and a nearby monument memorializes another dead reporter.

Ecuador: 15-10-15= 40 PF
Four articles of the Criminal Code penalize defamation of the president, court officials, or corporate heads. These restrictions are seldom enforced, although one TV journalist was found guilty of criminal defamation in July. The print and broadcast media, mostly privately owned, are critical of government. Journalists censor themselves regarding sensitive subjects such as politics or the armed forces. The government licenses radio frequencies.

↓Egypt: 26-28-23= 77 NF
The Press Law, the Publications Law, the penal code, strict libel laws, and the long-standing state of emergency restrict press freedom. Criticism of the president, the government, and foreign heads of state may result in fines or imprisonment. The government proposed new repressive amendments to Egypt's document laws in March, according to a report by the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights. However, debate on a draft law that would ban publications likely to harm Egypt's "national security or its military, political, diplomatic, social, or economic standing" was postponed indefinitely. The government owns stock in the three major newspapers, and the president appoints their editors-in-chief. Opposition parties publish daily newspapers with government subsidies. The Labor Party newspaper *al-Shaab* remained closed despite a court ruling authorizing its distribution. The government's Supreme Press Council decided that as long as labor activities are frozen, the paper may not print. The government monopolizes newspaper printing and distribution. In November, two journalists were sentenced to two years in prison for publishing allegedly indecent photographs. Several writers, activists and journalists were tried on defamation charges and sentenced to fines and prison terms throughout 2001.

↑El Salvador: 5-22-8= 35 PF
Privately owned media include five daily newspapers, 150 radio stations, and 12 television stations. Random killings, kidnappings, and other crimes continue the country's reputation for violence. Journalists and publications are occasionally targets of intimidation. Some TV stations complain that government advertising favors pro-government media. Some self-censorship occurs.

↓Equatorial Guinea: 26-29-25= 80 NF
The government restricts rights to press freedom that are guaranteed in the constitution. Nearly all print and broadcast media are state-run and tightly controlled. A few small independent newspapers publish occasionally but exercise self-censorship. All journalists must be registered, thereby applying indirect control over content. In February, the country's press association was shut down. Later, the president of the Equatorial Guinea Press Association was detained as he returned from an international conference on press freedom.

↓Eritrea: 26-33-20= 79 NF
In a dramatic violation of press freedom in the country, the government in September shut down all the nation's independent newspapers, banned all non-state print media, and arrested nine reporters. Three others went missing, and the whereabouts

of most could not be traced. The six weekly publications that were banned could reopen, an official said, "once they learn to abide by Eritrean press laws." A 1997 press law allows only limited freedom of expression, subject to the official interpretation of "the objective reality of Eritrea." The government uses the libel law to intimidate journalists. The dissemination of dissenting views is not tolerated.

↑Estonia: 2-5-11= 18 F
Except for the criminalizing of libel, the press is generally free of government influence or control. A wide variety of newspapers are privately owned and publish in Estonian and Russian. There are three private national television channels and a state-owned public service channel. Some 30 radio stations are privately run. There are dozens of weekly newspapers and magazines. Though the government owns the newspaper printing plant, it does not interfere with its commercial management. The greatest hazard facing the press is financial loss due to low advertising revenue.

↑Ethiopia: 23-20-18= 61 NF
Scores of journalists were detained or notified of impending restrictive actions. At year's end, however, only one journalist remained in prison. A gradual improvement in the country's climate for press freedom was noted by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). Widespread harassment of journalists nevertheless continued. A penal code that permits judges to jail journalists remains a hazard, as are harsh anti-defamation and official secrecy laws. Pending court cases against some 80 journalists threaten a genuine expansion of press freedom, the CPJ stated. Broadcast media are largely state-run and are closely monitored by the government. Journalists have difficulty securing official information. There are a number of independent private newspapers, but the government has a monopoly on printing.

↑Fiji: 8-11-14= 33 PF
Elections in September returned parliamentary democracy to the island country. Though the press was notably freer, the government continued to pressure editors and otherwise interfere with the press. Private media outlets report on alleged official corruption and ethical violations, but some self-censorship persists. The ousted government criticized political coverage in the press and took several journalists to court over their reporting. Not enforced so far is the Press Corrections Act, which permits officials to arrest anyone who publishes "malicious" material. Under the act, officials can demand a "correcting statement" for an allegedly false or distorted article. Public and private radio stations generally provide objective news coverage. Fiji One, the only non-cable national television channel, is owned in large measure by provincial governments, but the station generally provides balanced news coverage.

↑Finland: 1-3-6= 10 F
A wide variety of news media is available to the public, and a citizen's right of reply is guaranteed. Newspapers are privately owned, some by political parties or their affiliates. Many others are controlled by or support a political party. Per capita use of the Internet is among the highest in the world.

↑France: 2-5-10= 17 F
Though many anti-defamation laws have been on the books since 1881, they have not been enforced against journalists since Charles de Gaulle's regime ended in 1969. The government's financial support of news media and the registration of journalists, however, raise some concern about the independence of French journalism. Critics also opposed authorities' efforts in criminal procedures to secure journalists' sources of information. Officials restricted journalists' access to satellite images of Afghanistan. In a local police action the videotapes of a journalist were seized.

↑Gabon: 26-11-15= 52 PF
The "responsibilities" as well as the rights of journalists are specified in the communications code. At the government's discretion, libel may be considered a criminal or civil offence. The government owns the only daily newspaper, but opposition parties control at least a dozen weeklies, which publish irregularly because of financial limitations. Six private radio and television stations are licensed to operate, but their viability is uncertain. In February, the newspaper *La Griffe* was suspended and editor Michel Ongoundou was temporarily prohibited from practicing journalism. Legal action was also initiated against the paper by the president and his family.

↑The Gambia: 18-29-18= 65 NF
After President Yahya Jammeh won election overwhelmingly in October, he detained some journalists and opposition

supporters. A journalist from the newspaper *The Independent* who was also a correspondent for the London magazine *West Africa* was arrested after denouncing an electoral fraud. Another reporter for *The Independent* was assaulted by the military. After the election, authorities closed down the country's main private radio station, Citizen FM, in what critics termed the "settling of scores" by the president's supporters.

Georgia: 20-18-15= 53 PF
Two national television channels are state-controlled, favor government points of view, and reach audiences larger than those of radio stations or newspapers. Independent newspapers and television stations face harassment by the authorities, while journalists in government-controlled media frequently practice self-censorship. Anti-defamation laws are used by public figures to challenge journalists, but court proceedings are often dropped. Police frequently harass journalists seeking information. In July, a journalist of independent television station Rustavi-2 was shot dead, his slaying attributed to his work as an investigative reporter. Tens of thousands of mourners attended his funeral. While competitive commercial TV has developed in the capital, there is little independent print or broadcast information outside Tbilisi. When attempted, financial limitations make private journalism difficult to sustain. Most independent radio programming provides only music, not news. The president's press center, which has privileged access to official information, overwhelms five other information agencies.

↓Germany: 2-8-5= 15 F
A wide diversity of views and pluralistic ownership of news media provide a free and independent press. There are several restraints, however, which could limit general freedom if projected beyond the present limited issues. Nazi propaganda and statements endorsing Nazism or neo-Nazism are illegal. Similarly, Germany polices the Internet to block access to obscene, violent, or "dangerous" material. The government has brought charges against service providers (ISPs) and individual users. In April, police raided 103 homes in an investigation into the sale of neo-Nazi music on the Internet.

▲Ghana: 4-12-11= 27 F
Journalists' constitutionally-guaranteed freedom of expression was notably supported when the legislature unanimously repealed the criminal libel and sedition laws that had been used to imprison many journalists in years past. This action had been pledged by President John Kufuor during his election campaign. He also called for a Commission on National Reconciliation to settle past political and human rights grievances. A controversial talk-show host who had been banned by the previous Rawlings administration began broadcasting again in 2001. Major government media outlets exercised some restraint in their coverage, while several private newspapers freely criticized the administration. There were occasional reports that officials pressured government media outlets to minimize their coverage of opposition politicians.

Greece: 16-6-8= 30 F
Thirteen articles in the criminal code provide for arrest and other penalties for attacking the honor of the president of Greece or the head of a foreign state that is at peace with Greece, or defamation which may lower the esteem of a corporation in the eyes of the public. Although the constitution guarantees freedom of expression, the government often ignores that right. In March, the government closed 66 radio stations in Athens, claiming they interfered with frequencies used by the new airport at Spata. This set off clamorous bids for licenses and permitted the authorities to select which news channels would be licensed, and which not. A long-running court case involving an activist accused of defamation for circulating a publication of the European Union referring to Greek ethnic questions was repeatedly postponed because the prosecutor's witnesses failed to appear.

↑Grenada: 4-3-9= 16 F
A free media is guaranteed in law. However, legal suits have been brought against a number of media outlets on slander or libel charges. Four weekly newspapers are independent of the government and freely criticize it. There are public and private television stations. Of six radio stations, the main broadcaster is overseen by a statutory body not directly controlled by the government.

Guatemala: 16-27-6= 49 PF
Journalists are at great risk in this notoriously violent country. Though several independent newspapers are privately owned and dozens of radio stations are commercially operated, the violence and threats directed against them force self-censorship or send many journalists into exile. Crimes against journalists go largely unsolved. This year, 20 journalists were threatened or attacked, particularly after they had condemned government corruption or irregularities. All four of the country's national

television stations are owned by a Mexican citizen, Angel Gonzalez, who plays a significant role in politics and provides free broadcast time to politicians whom he supports. In December, the Inter American Press Association condemned a new law that requires the licensing of journalists.

↓Guinea: 26-26-22= 74 NF
"Insult" laws are widely used to censor print and broadcast news, though all broadcasting and the only daily newspaper are state-controlled. Charges of defaming the president or disturbing the peace are broadly defined to control news and information reaching the public and shut down independent media. Despite regular harassment, several weekly newspapers in the capital of Conakry criticize the government. The director of the weekly *L'Observateur* was beaten by police and arrested twice in 2001 for "defamation." In September, a new 13-member bureau intended to help regulate the media was established.

Guinea-Bissau: 15-23-18= 56 PF
President Kumba Yala's restraint of public freedom based on his claim to eliminate threats to democracy resulted in increased self-censorship by the news media and several crackdowns on the press. Free expression is constitutionally guaranteed and had been generally respected. In 2001, however, a new public prosecutor threatened to arrest journalists of an independent radio station for refusing to hand over tapes of a weekly news commentary. Two journalists of the daily *Diario de Bissau* were arrested. In October, the attorney-general ordered the indefinite closure of the *Diario de Bissau* and the weekly *Gazeta de Noticias* on the grounds that they threatened "national security."

↓Guyana: 5-5-13= 23 F
The constitution provides for press freedom and the government generally respects this right in practice. The daily *Stabroek News* and several other newspapers publish freely, although journalists are apt to exercise self-censorship. Concerns were raised in 2001 that the government was failing to respect the freedom of the electronic media. The government maintains a monopoly on radio broadcasting, and private interests alleged that authorities either denied or failed to respond to more than 20 requests for radio frequency authorizations. In November a private radio station was shut down on the grounds that it was illegal. A number of unregulated TV stations exist, and the privately owned channels can freely criticize the government. However, two television hosts were arrested for sedition during the year.

▼Haiti: 17-36-19= 72 NF
Independent radio stations and newspapers exist in name only. Those critical of the government are targets of official intimidation and of inspired mob attacks. Harassment of some 15 journalists throughout 2001 culminated in the December attack on the popular news director of Radio Echo 2000, who was stoned and hacked to death by a mob of alleged supporters of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The president was accused by Reporters sans Frontieres of obstructing justice in the investigation of murdered journalists. The inquiry into the April 2000 murder of prominent radio commentator Jean Dominique continued throughout the year. In April, three radio stations were attacked and robbed, part of a wave of assaults suffered by the Haitian media during the past two years. One positive development during the year was the re-emergence of the Haitian Journalists' Association and the increased prominence of other media associations.

↑Honduras: 14-17-12= 43 PF
Laws that prohibit defamation and require journalists to reveal sources are not widely abused to stifle press freedom. Powerful media owners, however, inspire self-censoring of investigative journalism. Public confidence in the media has also been undermined by reports that some journalists accept bribes from government officials. Most media are privately owned and provide the full spectrum of views.

↑Hungary: 2-8-13= 23 F
Despite an occasional lapse, as when members of the ruling party applied pressure to the national newspaper *Magyar Hirlap,* the print press is lively and diversified. Pro-government newspapers receive preference in advertising from state-owned companies and better access to government information. About 70 percent of radio and TV stations—220 commercial TV outlets and 30 private radio stations—are privately owned. Three of five national TV channels are state-owned. State media are generally biased in their coverage of political issues. The 1996 media law requires ruling and opposition parties to share appointments to the boards overseeing state television and radio. With changes of government in recent years, TV staffs have been replaced en masse. Critics charge that the present government has manipulated the law by approving boards composed solely of its supporters and has thereby gained undue influence over hiring and reporting. Others suggest that the law itself is flawed. Radio C, Hungary's first all-Roma radio station, received a permanent broadcasting license.

↑Iceland: 0-2-6= 8 F
Freedom of the press is assured in the constitution. Both independent and party-affiliated newspapers offer a wide range of coverage. An autonomous board of directors oversees the Icelandic State Broadcasting Service, which operates a number of transmitting and relay stations. There are both private and public television stations. More than 80 percent of the population accesses the Internet from home.

India: 15-16-11= 42 PF
Despite numerous restraints, the English-language newspapers were vigorous and the vernacular press widely diversified. Using the Official Secrets Act, the government occasionally censored security-related articles. Journalists opposed a cabinet bill on communication introduced in July that would empower an autonomous commission to "intercept and monitor" press messages, data, or information intended for publication. The state-owned All India Radio has a dominant hold on broadcasting, but India's first private FM radio station was launched in July. The government maintains a monopoly on domestic television, though foreign satellite broadcasts are available. Authorities occasionally beat, detain, and harass journalists in the troubled state of Jammu and Kashmir. In May, seventeen journalists were assaulted by members of the Border Security Force, and in August an editor and three employees of the weekly *Chattan* were beaten in their office by members of the security forces. Detentions of local journalists in the northeastern states are also common. Police arrested an editor in Sikkim for "disturbing harmonious relations," and detained two foreign journalists in Assam. Tax officials ransacked the Bombay office of *Outlook,* an independent news magazine. Following the March expose of official corruption by the Internet news portal *tehelka.com*, a successful securities house which had invested in the website was accused by several government departments of a number of tax and regulatory infractions and effectively prevented from doing business despite a lack of evidence of any wrongdoing. The government also threatened to severely punish those found guilty of breaking the law while conducting undercover operations as a function of investigative journalism.

↓Indonesia: 19-25-9= 53 PF
Most private commercial television stations are still owned or have management ties to former President Suharto's family. Private radio stations must broadcast government-prepared news packages each day but can also air their own news programs. The private press, freed from Suharto-era controls, reports aggressively on government policies, corruption, and other formerly taboo subjects. Licensing of the press ended several years ago. A new press law prohibits press bans and censorship. However, self-censorship was widespread, partly as a result of threats from extremist religious groups. Police and security forces frequently assault journalists; at least 95 cases of pressure and violence against journalists were reported by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI). Few suspects were brought to trial. The intimidation of the press was particularly prevalent outside the main island of Java. One reporter was killed in Poso Kota. The AJI office in West Papua was attacked. In Aceh, the region's leading newspaper was shut down after threats from separatists. At mid-year, there was concern over plans to revive the information ministry.

↓Iran: 26-29-20= 75 NF
Hardline political and religious leaders continued to crack down on the news media leading up to and following the election of reformist President Mohammad Khatami in June. During his first administration, newspapers were permitted freer coverage. More diverse publications pleased a wider audience, but not the conservative opponents of reform. By October, Iran had become the country with the most imprisoned journalists (20), according to Reporters sans Frontieres (RSF). The press was called the victim of "serial plaintiffs," the Ministry of Intelligence and Security, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the state broadcasting company, which controls all electronic media. These agencies filed criminal complaints that led to press closures and arrests, with over 40 newspapers banned since April 2000. Although the state shut down 400 Internet cafes, many remained open, serving some 300,000 people online. At least 1,000 satellite dishes, however, were confiscated. Some journalists sentenced to long prison terms also received 30 or 50 lashes and were barred from journalism for years. Such "medieval" treatment, said RSF, was intended to gag the reformist press.

***Iraq: 30-40-26= 96 NF**
The government controls most news and information available to Iraqis. Some criticism of low-level officials and investigation into official corruption are occasionally tolerated provided President Saddam Hussein or major policy issues are not involved. Uday Hussein, son of the president, is the country's media magnate. He owns 11 of 35 newspapers, including the *Babel* daily, and is director of television and radio stations. He also heads the Iraqi Journalists' Union. Limited access to satellite broadcasting is permitted, as is access to the Internet. Kurds in northern Iraq, within the no-fly zone, go online easily, and Kurdish journalists have greater freedom than others in Iraq. According to Iraq Press, about 50 journalists fled the

country this year. The opposition Radio Free Iraq (RFI), whose studios are in Prague, has been "cased" by Iraqis as a possible bomb target. The Czech government is uneasy about permitting RFI to continue broadcasting to Iraq from Prague.

↑Ireland: 5-4-7= 16 F
Free expression is constitutionally guaranteed. Print and broadcast media report aggressively on diverse social and political issues. The Defamation Act criminalizes libel and requires the journalist to prove the truth of the challenged report. The Official Secrets Act prohibits disclosure of sensitive government documents. Journalists are rarely prosecuted under these laws but they do restrict coverage. The Broadcasting Act permits officials to ban material likely to incite crime or undermine the authority of the state.

Israel: 6-16-8= 30 F
Increasingly fierce Palestinian terror attacks and strong reprisals by Israeli forces made journalism a more dangerous task in 2001. By June, 15 journalists had been shot and wounded by Israeli forces since the beginning of the latest *Intifada* (uprising) in September 2000, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported. In some cases, CPJ claimed journalists were deliberately targeted, a charge the Israeli government denied. Press coverage of security matters is subject to military censorship, though decisions may be appealed. The definition of permissible reporting has expanded. Arabic-language publications are censored more frequently than those in the Hebrew-language. Newspapers are privately owned and freely criticize government policy. The penal code provides punishment for seditious libel and states that truth is not a defense. This law and others criminalizing "insults" of a public person remain on the books but have never been used to prosecute a journalist. Publishing the praise of violence, however, is prohibited under the Counter-terrorism Ordinance. In November 2000, the Israeli Supreme Court lowered the standard by which public speech or publications can be deemed harmful to the "values of public order," including "social cohesion." In November, Israeli troops shot at a team of journalists from a Lebanese television channel as they were reporting on the Lebanese side of the Israeli border. Palestinian journalists who accompanied the foreign press into Israel were denied accreditation renewals that would permit them to cross the border. Several villages on the West Bank were closed to all journalists by Israeli forces. A clearly marked press car carrying American journalists was hit by Israeli fire, Reporters sans Frontieres reported in October. That month, Israeli forces harassed journalists and barred them from covering clashes in the Palestinian village of Beit Rima, CPJ reported. Israeli military authorities ordered field commanders to protect journalists who cover street clashes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

↓Israeli Occupied Territories & Palestinian Authority: 26-36-22= 84 NF
Under a 1995 press law, journalists may be fined and jailed and newspapers closed for publishing "secret information" on Palestinian security forces or news that might harm national unity or incite violence. Small media outlets are pressured by authorities to provide favorable coverage of Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority (PA), and official Palestinian radio and television are government mouthpieces. In the heightened fighting all year, Palestinian journalists suffered a disproportionate amount of discrimination and violence, said the International Federation of Journalists. Three Palestinian journalists were killed this year, and scores injured. Journalists have repeatedly been targeted, shot, beaten, arrested and intimidated by Israeli and by Palestinian police and civilians, declared a report of the International Press Institute. Added to strict Israeli restrictions on the movement of Palestinian journalists were efforts by the PA, after the attack on the World Trade Center, to ban photo coverage of Palestinians celebrating the attack as a victory. International media became more dependent on local Palestinian stringers rather than Israeli journalists whose safety could no longer be assured. Palestinian reporters were directly subjected to controls by the PA. Controls which had been reduced before the latest *Intifada* (uprising) were increased during the year of intensified fighting. In December, the Israeli army destroyed the Palestinian radio and TV headquarters in Ramallah.

Italy: 2-11-14= 27 F
Private news media are generally free of government control but the May election of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi reopened concerns raised when he occupied that post several years earlier. Berlusconi's extensive holdings in television placed potential control of 90 percent of all TV broadcasting in his hands, as well as a significant stake in the publishing business and related power in the field of advertising. Under his government responsibilities are the main state-owned television network and the three main channels of Radio Audizioni Italiane (RAI), all of which provide most of the news available to the public. Their boards of directors are appointed by parliament. Private broadcasters must, by law, provide equal time for opposing candidates if they run political ads. In July, during the globalization summit in Genoa, 16 journalists were injured when police raided buildings housing protesters.

↓Jamaica: 3-8-6= 17 F
Jamaica enjoys a free press, and newspapers frequently criticize the establishment, despite the occasional intimidation of journalists during election campaigns. Rampant crime throughout the year did not directly influence the country's constitutional guarantees of press freedom, but inevitably caused journalists to cover some drug-related crime sensationally while self-censoring other aspects in self-defense. The major print and broadcast media are privately owned and report freely on non-crime-related issues. Libel and defamation laws carrying prison terms remain on the books, although they are rarely enforced. A Freedom of Information Act, still being drafted by the government, contains exemptions that would allow the government to withhold certain information.

↑Japan: 1-7-9= 17 F
The press is independent and highly competitive but informal alliances persist between exclusive press clubs and certain government ministries. The clubs tend to avoid or weaken critical analysis of official policies. An exception in 2001 was the prime minister's visit to the Yasukuni war shrine. Some papers praised him, others were harshly critical and included the angry reactions of other Asian countries. Journalists often self-censor rather than report difficulties of financially troubled companies and banks. The media expressed concern about the provisions in a personal data protection bill that was submitted to the Diet in April.

Jordan: 29-20-11= 60 PF
A plethora of laws directly or indirectly restricting press freedom generates uncertainty among journalists of what and who may be covered with impunity. This leads to considerable self-censorship. By law, journalists must be members of the Jordan Press Association, and expulsion is tantamount to ending a career in journalism. Broadcasting and the Jordanian news agency (Petra) are state owned and operated. The government owns large shares of two major newspapers, and influences other private publications. In 2001, the trial of publishers and journalists in State Security Courts was provided by an amendment to the penal code. This was attributed to the defense against terrorism but the courts' function was only vaguely defined. Other amendments would imprison journalists for harming national unity, inciting hatred, insulting the dignity of individuals, or promoting "deviation from what is right." The measures also provide for the "temporary or permanent" closure of newspapers and restore prison sentences for defamation. The information ministry was dissolved and would be replaced by the state-appointed Higher Media Council whose purposes were also ambiguously described. In March, six Israeli journalists were barred from an Arab summit in Amman because officials claimed to be unable to ensure their safety. In December, two journalists of the independent Qatar-based Al-Jazeera network were held for questioning.

↑Kazakhstan: 24-22-23= 69 NF
Though the constitution provides for freedom of the press, the government controls or otherwise influences most newspapers and printing, distribution, and broadcast transmission facilities. The president's eldest daughter controls several television companies, radio stations, and newspapers. The criminal code was amended in 1997 to make it a criminal offense to offend the president. The government has repeatedly harassed or shut down independent news media. Self-censorship is widespread. In April, the editor of the independent newspaper *Soldat* was sentenced to a year in prison for printing an article linking the president to corrupt business deals. All Internet service providers must route their lines through a state registration system, allowing the government to control the country's access to the Internet. Under cover of anti-terrorism activity, troops occupied the studios of an independent television station and temporarily halted broadcasts. The country's "tax police" have also been used to silence or intimidate the press.

↑Kenya: 24-21-22= 67 NF
Although Kenya's colonial-era sedition laws were repealed in 1997, President Daniel arap Moi's ruling KANU party has warned that Moi would not tolerate "insults from the press." The Official Secrets Act, the penal code, and criminal libel laws restrict press freedom. Numerous cases were brought against journalists for defamation. The country's few private radio and television stations are either pro-Moi or carefully apolitical. Private print media are vibrant, although they face government harassment. A new media law proposed at the end of the year would appoint a government censor to monitor the media and require registration of publications through an exorbitant fee. Another act would license television programs and advertisers.

↑Kiribati: 4-2-15= 21 F
Freedom of the press is generally respected. Former Prime Minister Ieremia Tabai's efforts to launch a private radio station to compete with the state-run broadcaster failed last year, but he did begin distribution of a new independent weekly, the

Kiribati New Star, in May. The government-run radio and newspaper offer diverse views. Protestant and Catholic churches publish newsletters and other periodicals. The September 2000 bar on New Zealand–based journalist Michael Field remains in place.

***Korea, North: 30-36-30= 96 NF**
All information is tightly controlled. Citizens are subjected to severe indoctrination through the mass media. At work and elsewhere, they receive an onslaught of propaganda from radio and television, which receive only pre-tuned government stations. Citizens may be sent for "corrective labor" or executed for criticizing the regime of Kim Jong Il. Few foreign journalists are accredited, and foreign broadcasts are prohibited for all but the elite. People have neither the right nor the technical ability to access the Internet. However, a Chinese news agency reported that the government has created a national Intranet network.

↓Korea, South: 3-11-16= 30 F
Print and broadcast media offer vigorous, independent coverage including strong criticism of government policies and officials. Such coverage, say journalists, sometimes results in politicians and businessmen using libel laws to punish journalists for articles that are accurate though critical. Courts sometimes jail journalists under criminal libel laws. Newspapers are privately owned and associated with substantial business interests. Most broadcast media are state subsidized, but they offer diverse views. The London-based *Economist* stated that a survey of 703 journalists revealed that about a fifth admitted being paid by their sources. In the most controversial step this year, the National Tax Service fined 23 media companies $390 million for tax evasion. Tax authorities filed criminal charges against five media executives and for many weeks imprisoned the publishers of the two largest newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-a Ilbo*. The opposition and some international press-freedom associations accused the government of President Kim Dae Jung of trying to gag the press. The papers had been critical of Kim's economic reforms and overtures to North Korea. Many civic groups and the majority of citizens polled viewed the case as an appropriate tax evasion matter. The criminal charges and further threats nevertheless served to cast a pall over mainstream journalism by inhibiting or influencing some coverage, and reducing the credibility of the press.

↓Kuwait: 22-19-8= 49 PF
Self-censorship is widely practiced to avoid penalties under the Printing and Publications Law and the penal code. They restrict criticism of the emir or relations with other states, material deemed offensive to religion, incitement to violence, hatred, dissent, or news that affects the value of the national currency. Arbitrary enforcement further adds to the harassment of journalists. Broadcasting is fully state-owned. Newspapers are privately owned. They frequently criticize government policies and officials. They strongly criticized the lengthy deliberations over forming a new government in February. In April, a court ordered the al-Jazeera television network to pay damages for a talk-show host who accused Kuwaitis of using acid to kill Iraqis, Palestinians, and Kuwaitis at the end of the Gulf war. The editor of *al-Majales,* a veteran female journalist, was shot to death in March.

↓Kyrgyz Republic: 24-22-22= 68 NF
All media must register with the ministry of justice. In June, the registration of 16 already-approved new media outlets was halted, and they were told that they had to re-register. Other forms of harassment of journalists were routine. A presidential decree made it easier to imprison journalists who criticize the government. Both state and private media are subject to government pressure, which inspires self-censorship. Journalists who criticize the government may be prosecuted under the criminal code's restriction on libel. The independent newspaper *Res Publica* was shut down by a court for several weeks until it paid two fines for losing a libel suit stemming from an article accusing the head of state television and radio of corruption.

↓Laos: 26-34-22= 82 NF
Criminalizing "misleading news" on the Internet was only the latest draconian effort by the government to restrict all news and information available to Laotians. The government owns all newspapers and broadcast media and tightly controls their content. In June, authorities announced they would introduce a new law requiring journalists to slant their coverage to favor the government. Rules already in effect subject journalists to five to fifteen years in prison for not filing "constructive reports" or for "attempting" to obstruct the regime.

↑Latvia: 2-7-10= 19 F
The mass news media are generally free of state control. The private television channel has twice the audience of the state-run system. Many privately owned radio stations broadcast in Latvian and Russian. However, broadcasters are required by law to limit the use of languages other than Latvian to 25 per cent of their total daily broadcasting time. Most newspapers are privately owned. The state publishes a weekly and a less frequent publication. All major cities have private newspapers. Political and economic interests sometimes affect content. There is a wide range of political coverage.

↓Lebanon: 26-31-17= 74 NF
The government continued to crack down on independent broadcasters. The regime has moved slowly to approve frequencies to replace nearly 200 radio and television outlets shut down in 1996. Approval of only five TV channels has included three owned by government figures. Only six radio stations have been licensed to carry news. Print media are independent of the government, though their coverage often reflects the views of local and foreign groups that finance them. "Insult" laws prohibit negative coverage of the head of state or foreign leaders. All foreign print media are subject to government approval. Individual journalists faced official harassment. A Lebanese-American journalist was charged with "dealing with the enemy." Her passport was cancelled and she faced imprisonment after participating in a Washington seminar that included an Israeli. Undercover security agents beat several journalists covering an anti-Syria protest. In separate cases, several journalists were sued for "defaming the army" and photographers were beaten for covering protests. In December, two journalists faced the death penalty for "contacts with the Israeli enemy."

↑Lesotho: 13-15-18= 46 PF
Constitutional provisions for press freedom are generally respected, though journalists occasionally suffer harassment and attacks. There are several independent newspapers, including Christian publications and four English-language weeklies that freely criticize the government. There are four private radio stations but no local television. The state-controlled print and broadcast media reflect only government views. South African radio and television broadcasts reach Lesotho.

↓Liberia: 26-31-20= 77 NF
President Charles Taylor's regime exercizes sweeping control over all print and broadcast media. In mid-year, the president took control of all national broadcasting. He owns KISS-FM, the only nationwide FM radio station, and Radio Liberia International. His government banned private short-wave radio stations, including the Catholic radio station, Veitas, which discussed human rights issues. It had sought to resume broadcasting after a two-year hiatus caused by technical problems. State television and one private channel broadcast irregularly. Some newspaper journalists received death threats and were under surveillance. One print journalist and a talk-radio host were arrested. Foreign journalists were ordered to give a 72-hour notice in writing before they could enter the country. Two daily newspapers, *The News* and *Guardian*, were shut down over alleged tax arrears, and the board chairman of *The News* was briefly detained. The government dropped its case against four journalists who had been charged with espionage after they reported the government had spent $50,000 to repair helicopters while civil servants went for months without pay. They were released after writing an apology. All reports on fighting in the north of the country and on other unspecified issues of national security must be cleared before publication with the ministry of information.

↑Libya: 26-36-26= 88 NF
Free news and information media do not exist. At a time when Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi is continuing his campaign for international respectability, members of the international press reported fewer restrictions on their movement and less interference from officials. However, the state owns all media, and continues to fully control reporting of domestic and international issues. Vague laws allow for the arbitrary interpretation of any report as illegal. Foreign programs are censored, but satellite television is widely available in Tripoli, the capital.

↑Lithuania: 4-7-8= 19 F
The media are editorially independent, though publications may be banned and journalists penalized for infractions ruled by a court. Press freedom may be limited if it is necessary to protect health, honor, dignity or the constitutional order. Most Lithuanian media are privately owned. State-owned radio and television are under pressure from the government, which controls budget allocations. Most newspapers and the distribution systems are privately owned. Lithuanians, however, generally get their news from radio and television. The 1998 telecommunications law grants the Lithuanian Telecom a monopoly on terrestrial communication until 2003.

↓Luxembourg: 3-4-7= 14 F
Both law and practice protect freedom of the press. Newspapers are privately owned and all media free of censorship. Private radio stations are licensed by the government. Radio and television broadcasts from neighboring countries are easily available. In April, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the conviction and sentencing of a Luxembourg journalist for quoting a press report on corruption was a breach of Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights. Eight major private newspapers are published in several languages. The state-chartered, French-owned commercial television channel dominates the broadcast market.

↓Macedonia: 11-14-21= 46 PF
The government and Albanian insurgents exploited the news media to advance their divergent causes, pushing the country towards civil war more than once during the year. Intensive diplomatic efforts prevented the conflict from erupting beyond forced expulsions and massacres. The government did not repress the news media. There are many publications for a relatively small population but the pluralism of content resulted in information niches; members of one ethnic group rarely received news from another. Journalists favoring one side or the other carried false or sensationalized reports that were bound to enflame ethnic animosities. Some misinformation can be attributed to the lack of professionalism and proper journalism training. The government controlled the state-run television and radio network but also licensed a private television station with national outreach. The government owned one-third of the shares of newspapers in several languages. Positions of responsibility in these media are assigned politically so the papers' content is always pro-government. Other newspapers are privately held and often reflect party biases, but they generally have a wider readership than those controlled by the government. Several local television stations rebroadcast satellite signals. Most radio stations carry mainly entertainment programming. Legal penalties for slander were not used to penalize or harass journalists. The government distributed some funds received from TV and radio taxes to media in need of support. Police briefly detained a reporter in June, and later assaulted two contributors to Agence France-Presse.

↑Madagascar: 3-14-14= 31 PF
The state monopoly of radio and television has ended. Ten private radio stations now broadcast in addition to the government's radio and television stations. Private media, however, have a more limited range than the government systems. Several daily and weekly newspapers publish material critical of the government and other parties and politicians. In general, the press enjoys considerable freedom. However, the government occasionally pressures the media to curb its coverage of certain issues, opposition politicians are rarely given access to state-run media, and journalists practice self-censorship. A national journalists' association reported that six reporters and editors received threatening phone calls from unidentified persons between July and August, according to the U.S. State Department.

↓Malawi: 19-21-14= 54 PF
Despite government guarantees of press freedom, there were attacks on the news media in 2001. Officials launched three charges of defamation against *The Chronicle* newspaper. The printer and editor of *The Dispatch* newspaper were arrested on charges of publishing "false information." Threatening printers raised the likelihood they would refuse thereafter to publish opposition papers. Similarly, vendors of *The Dispatch* were arrested for selling the newspaper. A pro-government journalist was threatened and beaten, and another journalist was threatened by suspected officials of the ruling party. In November, the *Daily Times* reported that the United Democratic Front (UDF) had drawn up a list of journalists to be assaulted for discrediting the ruling party. Whether or not this account was accurate, the fact that it was given credence by the reputable Media Institute of Southern Africa indicates the lowered credibility of the government vis a vis the news media. In the face of harassment, diverse opinion is reflected in the country's two dozen newspapers. The state-owned Malawi Broadcasting Corporation controls television and most radio service, which reach a larger audience than do the print media. There are four private radio stations.

↓Malaysia: 28-24-19= 71 NF
The Malaysia Chinese Association (MCA), the second most powerful party in the ruling coalition, bought two major Chinese-language newspapers. Leading editors were replaced with MCA-favored journalists. This further consolidated state control of the news media. That control is systematized by the annual issuance of government licenses for print and broadcast media. Authorities sometimes do not renew licenses for opposition media outlets. Political news and editorials in the main private newspapers strongly favor the government. Until the recent buyout, Chinese language publications offered fairly balanced coverage. Several Malay-language papers are pro-opposition. The Sedition Act and the Internal Security Act

restrict criticism of government policies. State-run Radio Television Malaysia is the major broadcaster and mainly provides pro-government views.

↑Maldives: 22-20-19= 61 NF
The penal code bans speech and publications that could "arouse people against the government." The law authorizes officials to shut down newspapers and sanction journalists for insulting Islam, threatening national security, or libel. Regulations make editors responsible for the content of their publications. Journalists consequently practice self-censorship. No banning of newspapers or imprisonment of journalists was reported in 2001. Most major media outlets are owned by the government or its allies, although they do criticize officials at times. Newspapers such as the daily *Aafathis* criticize government policy. The state-run television news and public affairs programs discuss timely issues and criticize government performance. That station and the state-run Voice of the Maldives radio station are the only broadcast media.

↓Mali: 6-10-7= 23 F
Though Mali's news media are among the freest in Africa, the government occasionally arrests journalists for criminal defamation. Legislation in 2000 provided for reduced penalties for libel. In May, however, the head of the country's public television station was sentenced to one month in prison for a comment on corruption. At least 100 independent newspapers operate freely, and across the country more than 120 independent radio stations, including community stations, broadcast in regional languages. The government operates one television station and many radio stations, but all carry diverse views, including those critical of the government.

↑Malta: 0-5-8= 13 F
The government continued its decade-long effort to diversify the news media. The constitution provides for freedom of the press. Several Maltese-language newspapers and a few English-language papers are published. To promote their political views, two main political parties own newspapers, television, and radio stations. There are six TV stations and 19 radio stations. Malta has one of the lowest rates of Internet usage in Europe, with only four percent of the population online.

↓Marshall Islands: 0-5-5= 10 F
The government generally respects freedom of the press, but journalists occasionally practice self-censorship on sensitive political issues. The government's monthly *Marshall Islands Gazette* carries official news and avoids political coverage. A privately owned weekly newspaper publishes in both English and the Marshallese language. Of two radio stations, one is state-owned. Both broadcast pluralistic views. A cable television company shows U.S. programs and occasionally covers local events.

↑Mauritania: 23-18-20= 61 NF
Municipal and national assembly elections in 2001 provided some movement toward a freer society, but strict control of the news media by the ruling party tainted the election. About 20 private newspapers publish regularly and are sometimes critical of officials but they must register with the government and submit copies of the papers before publication to the interior and justice ministries. They may block material deemed offensive to Islam or threatening national security. During the year, the authorities seized seven issues of different journals. In April, a government minister withdrew a correspondent's accreditation. The state owns the only two daily newspapers and monopolizes nearly all broadcast media.

Mauritius: 5-7-5= 17 F
Press freedom is guaranteed in the constitution. All broadcast media are government-owned and generally reflect official views. Privatizing of broadcast media has been planned. Libel laws are strict but are rarely used to harass the press. More than a dozen private newspapers provide diverse views, often highly critical of both government and opposition politicians.

↑Mexico: 14-20-6= 40 PF
President Vicente Fox, victor over the long-established ruling party, came to power vowing to end the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)'s practice of buying favorable press stories. Most observers agree that the practice of paying reporters for positive coverage appeared to be on the wane in 2001. However, the media, while mostly private, largely depend on the government for advertising revenue. In November, the president disparaged the news media for distortion, libel, and deception. He and his wife had been the butt of sensational articles. Journalists, for their part, continued to receive physical as well as verbal threats and attacks. Two reporters were killed in 2001. Police officers threatened and punched reporters, a court

failed to convict even the confessed murderers of a journalist, and six newsmen were threatened with death and their homes put under surveillance. One journalist was charged with criminal defamation. Other attacks on the media went unresolved. The government continues to control broadcast licensing, which frequently leads to self-censorship. Official influence, if not censorship, is apparent in television. TV stations sometimes provide government officials with free broadcast time.

↑Micronesia: 2-2-16= 20 F
News and information are diversified and widely dispersed among the federated states. An independent weekly newspaper, the *Island Tribune*, carries controversial and politically sensitive issues. Each of four state governments and a religious organization operate radio stations. Residents of Pohnpei and Chuuk have access to cable television. The federal government publishes a biweekly information bulletin, *The National Union.* State governments produce newsletters. Other papers generally avoid sensitive subjects. Unlimited public discussion over the Internet is increasing.

Moldova: 22-20-17= 59 PF
The constitution prohibits insulting the state, and a calumny law forbids defaming senior government officials. Nearly 1,000 libel suits have been filed in the decade since Moldova became independent. In 2001, the constitutional court struck down a parliamentary amendment intended to limit the restriction on Russian-language broadcasts. Parliament approved an amendment to the press law banning financial support from foreign governments for Moldovan media. Official European observers criticized the nation's electoral code for denying "sufficient information" to voters to make "a fully informed choice." Privately held television stations and newspapers were accused of clear bias toward individual parties and candidates in the 2001 election, which returned communists to power. Moldova's Ministry of the Economy, Department of Privatization, Chamber of Trade and Industry, State Customs Office, and Journalists' Union opened the Center for Public Information in 2001. The Center is intended to provide information on social and economic issues to the press.

▼Mongolia: 4-12-15= 31 PF
The "gentlemen's agreement" between the recently elected ruling (former communist) Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MAKN) and publishers of the private newspapers resulted in an ungentlemanly, unpublished accommodation: the newspapers avoid criticizing the government in return for tax-free favors to the news media. Diverse political biases are reflected by a growing number of sensational tabloids that have joined the five more conservative broadsheet newspapers. They cover the broad news horizon but do not criticize the government. Most papers support a political party. In frequently filed libel and slander cases, the burden of proof is on the defendant. Radio is the key source of information for many in the countryside. Privatization of the Mongolian National Television and Radio (MNTV), available to all Mongolians, has been pledged by parliament but not yet accomplished.

↓Morocco: 22-22-14= 58 PF
Ten lengthy articles in the Press Code detail scores of acts of defamation punishable by up to 20 years in prison and fines of more than $100,000 for journalists, or confiscation and censorship of publications. The law restricts offensive reporting on national security and prohibits criticism of the monarchy, Islam, and Moroccan claims to Western Sahara. Broadcast media are mostly government-controlled, and those that are not practice self-censorship. Foreign broadcasting is available via satellite. The crackdown on independent media, which began last year, continued throughout 2001. Two directors of *Le Journal Hebdomadaire* were convicted of defaming the foreign minister and sentenced to two and three months in prison. The student newspaper of an Islamic group was seized. The editor of the weekly *Demain* magazine was threatened, its director sentenced to four months in prison, and the magazine later suspended indefinitely for criticizing the royal family. Issues of two French newspapers were banned and an *Epoca* photographer detained for coverage of Western Sahara. Authorities blocked access to one web site. Internet access is mostly unrestricted but prohibitively expensive.

Mozambique: 17-14-17= 48 PF
Under a constitution that provides for freedom of the press, independent newspapers are replacing the war-era government publications. Several under the banner of the cooperative Mediacoop are faxed to subscribers, but publications in Maputo, the capital, have little influence in the largely illiterate rural areas. The state owns or influences all of the largest newspapers. Criminal libel laws restrict free expression and lead to self-censorship. Though there are more than a dozen licensed private radio and television stations, the state influences nearly all broadcast media. The opposition is inadequately covered in the government media, especially in national radio and television.

Namibia: 3-19-12= 34 PF
Constitutional guarantees of press freedom are occasionally infringed by officials who threaten journalistic freedom and take bureaucratic measures to harass journalists. The major daily newspaper, *The Namibian*, often in opposition to the government, is repeatedly denounced by government officials. The president banned all government advertising in that newspaper, ordered all government offices to drop their subscriptions to *The Namibian*, and prohibited its distribution in government offices. A defense bill introduced in parliament would limit media coverage of security and defense issues. Critics declared that the bill fails to impose "the least restrictive means" to protect national security while adhering to the constitutional protections of freedom of expression and media freedom. Reporters for state-run media have been subjected to indirect and direct pressure to avoid reporting on controversial topics. The state-run Namibia Broadcasting Corporation, however, has regularly presented views critical of the government. There are five private radio stations and one private television station.

↓Nauru: 5-12-10= 27 F
The government respects freedom of the press though there is no independent news publication. The government publishes the *Nauru Bulletin*, a weekly newspaper. The state owns Nauru TV, the only television channel, and Radio Nauru, which carries Radio Australia and BBC broadcasts. In May 2000, police raided Nauru TV and confiscated a videotape of a parliamentary vote. In August 2001, the government banned Michael Field, an Agence France-Presse reporter, from entering Nauru to cover an annual meeting of the Pacific Islands Forum. Field had been regularly covering Nauru's involvement with money-laundering issues.

↓Nepal: 21-24-15= 60 PF
Frequent Maoist rebel violence and the slaughter of members of the royal family further tested journalism in Nepal in 2001. The government was accused of trying to impose unofficial censorship by detaining prominent editors and newspaper publishers. The government frequently arrested for short periods journalists accused of supporting the Maoists. Maoists also detained some journalists, and extracted "donations." Press freedom was said to be in a "fragile state." The Supreme Court in July cancelled the government's demand that private FM radio stations broadcast only news released by state-owned media. The government owns the only television station. The hundreds of independent newspapers have limited influence because of the low rate of literacy. After a state of emergency was declared in November, police raided newspapers and arrested journalists charged with associating with the Maoist movement. In December, 10 Maoist journalists were sent to a detention camp.

The Netherlands: 5-4-6= 15 F
Free speech is guaranteed though promoting racism or incitement to racism is forbidden. Journalists may be imprisoned for "insulting" the king, the consort, the heir apparent, or an official present in the Netherlands of a friendly government. No recent cases have been reported, but journalists self-censor to avoid criticism of the royal family. Radio and television, under the supervision and regulation of the state, operate freely and provide diverse views. All Dutch newspapers cooperate in the administration of the independent Netherlands News Agency.

New Zealand: 0-1-7= 8 F
Newspapers and broadcast media express diverse views with few restrictions. Independent broadcasters share time with state-owned radio and television. Following an outcry by domestic watchdog groups and the opposition National Party, the government in November withdrew a last-minute provision in an electoral bill that would have allowed for criminal defamation suits over articles written during election campaigns.

↑Nicaragua: 6-15-11= 32 PF
The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and the government generally respects these rights in practice. However, a new Journalist Guild Law raised concerns regarding freedom of the press. In November, the bitter presidential election pitted former President Daniel Ortega, the Marxist/Sandinista leader, against the conservative businessman Enrique Bolanos of the ruling Liberal Party. Bolanos won despite the heavily pro-Sandinista national radio system. Before leaving office, the Sandinistas had privatized the radios by turning them over to Sandinista loyalists. The newspapers, varied and partisan, reflect hardline and moderate Sandinista views as well as pro- and anti-government positions. News media covered a series of scandals and allegations of government corruption without restriction. Earlier in the year, outgoing President Arnoldo Aleman was accused of harassing a journalist of *El Nuevo Diario*, an opposition paper, and ordering government offices to cancel subscriptions to the paper.

▲Niger: 20-14-15= 49 PF
Rights of freedom of expression and of the press are not always supported in practice though the constitution guarantees such protection. Libel and slander are regarded as criminal acts, and are punished by imprisonment. The publishing director of *Le Canard Enchaine* was sentenced to six months in prison for slander. However, the International Press Institute noted an overall decline in the number of press freedom violations during the year. A government newspaper and a dozen private publications circulate. Some are loosely affiliated with political parties. There are several private radio stations, some of which broadcast in local languages. In April, parliament opened a new radio station named the Voice of the National Assembly. Media outlets joined together to set up a Press Center in the capital of Niamey, which in addition to coordinating dialogue among journalists was charged with helping to negotiate the price, purchase and distribution of newsprint, film and other necessary items.

↓Nigeria: 15-24-18= 57 PF
This vast, turbulent country struggles under President Olusegun Obasanjo, a former general, to provide a freer press than was permitted up to three years ago by the military dictatorship. Several private radio and television stations broadcast with little government interference. Numerous newspapers, including some highly sensational and not always accurate, provide a wide spectrum of views. Journalists have criticized Decree 60, which created the government-appointed Nigerian Press Council and gave it the power to accredit journalists and register newspapers, as a limitation on press freedom. Criminal defamation laws used against journalists inspire some self-censorship. Armed police entered the offices of one magazine, fired guns to disperse the staff, and arrested the publisher on charges of defaming the president. An Agence France-Presse correspondent interviewing on a street in the north was threatened with lynching by a religious sect. An editor of the state-run News Agency of Nigeria was shot dead. Police frequently manhandled news photographers at public meetings, but President Obasanjo chided the officers for resorting to tactics employed by the earlier dictatorships. Some 20 diverse newspapers appear daily in Lagos, the largely Christian capital city in the relatively well-educated south. These papers are largely suspect in the predominantly Muslim, mainly illiterate north. Many acts of violence against journalists occur in the north. The governor of one northern state threatened to prosecute journalists who write negative reports on the implementation of Islamic *Sharia* in the state. In October, the government of Kano state banned a radio station from broadcasting its programs there on "cultural and religious grounds."

↓Norway: 6-1-2= 9 F
The constitution guarantees freedom of the press. Many newspapers are subsidized by the government in order to promote political pluralism. Most papers are privately owned and highly partisan. "Insulting" the flag or country may draw a prison term, as would defamation of the king or regent. No cases have been reported, however. Norway has one of the world's highest rates of Internet users per capita.

↑Oman: 26-18-24= 68 NF
The rigorously applied Press and Publication Law provides for censorship of all domestic and foreign publications. Some criticism of government officials and policies, but not of the Sultan, is tolerated. Journalists generally censor themselves to avoid harassment. Radio and television are state-controlled and provide only official views. Satellite dishes, widely available, give citizens access to foreign broadcasts including *Al-Jazeera*, the popular Qatar-based television channel that carries uncensored views of regional opposition activists. Internet access is not censored, but the government does block some web sites. Some 50,000 Omanis are reportedly online.

Pakistan: 15-26-16= 57 PF
The beginning of U.S. and allied hostilities in neighboring Afghanistan in October exacerbated problems for domestic and foreign journalists in Pakistan. Prior to the anti-terrorist war, official intimidation of journalists had tapered off. There were several cases of reporters tried under anti-blasphemy laws, the mandatory penalty for which is death. Journalists claimed these were politically motivated charges. The police shut down the offices of the *Frontier Post* and charged seven staff members with blasphemy for publishing alleged derogatory references to the Prophet Mohammad. Editors of an Urdu language paper faced similar charges. Islamic fundamentalists and thugs of landlords harassed journalists and attacked newspaper offices. After the Afghan war began, Pakistan initially closed the frontier to journalists and expelled several European correspondents. Later, an angry mob attacked members of the foreign press corps from several countries. In October, the Committee to Protect Journalists expressed its concern over the Musharraf government's apparent refusal to grant visas to journalists of Indian descent. Yet Pakistan continued to have some of the most outspoken newspapers in

South Asia. Nearly all broadcast media are state-owned, though plans to privatize the system were announced in March. Its coverage, meanwhile, favors the government.

Panama: 14-9-7= 30 F
Independent news and commentary appear on scores of radio and television stations, as well as in numerous daily and weekly publications. Self-censorship is markedly increasing, however, because of the proliferation of "insult" (*descato*) charges brought against journalists. By November, some 70 criminal defamation cases involving journalists were pending. These restrictive laws to curb press criticism were enacted during the dictatorship of General Antonio Noriega, and never repealed. Also troublesome was draft legislation intended to regulate journalism. The bills under consideration in the legislative assembly deal with the mandatory licensing of journalists, limitations on the possibility of foreign journalists to work in national media, and the creation of an entity to accredit journalists and punish their "misconduct" against a code of ethics.

↑Papua New Guinea: 3-6-17= 26 F
Two English-language dailies and two weeklies and an independent television channel (viewed mainly in the capital) provide a variety of opinions and aggressive reporting. The two radio networks of the state-run National Broadcasting Corporation came under fire from PINA, the Pacific Islands News Association, when the news director was suspended for allegedly anti-government programming.

Paraguay: 12-23-16= 51 PF
An assassin was jailed for 25 years for killing a community journalist in January. Yet, death threats directed to two other journalists, break-ins at the homes of another two reporters, and the threat by the Lebanese ambassador to harm another journalist chilled the press, already worried by a "gag law" passed by parliament. Law 1728 made more difficult the securing of public records and left considerable discretion to officials in releasing information. Journalists argued that tracking corruption was severely hampered. In September, following actions by both houses of parliament, President Luis Gonzalez Macchi repealed Law 1728. Media independence is compromised by close relationships between the media and political parties, factions, and business interests.

▲Peru: 8-13-9= 30 F
For more than a decade, Peruvian journalists feared the Shining Path guerrillas as well as dictatorial President Alberto Fujimori. In the name of fighting rebels, Fujimori's regime arbitrarily arrested journalists, used death threats against opposition reporters, repeatedly filed libel suits, permitted police harassment of news media, withheld advertising from critics, divested a leading television owner of his holding, and employed torture and other forms of pressure on journalists. Videotapes of bribes being paid to key figures in the media by Fujimori's intelligence adviser Montesinos confirmed that the Fujimori administration paid five of the six commercial television stations, much of the tabloid press, and at least one serious newspaper to run pro-Fujimori articles and editorials. Journalists' exposures of such widespread corruption and abuse of power helped bring down Fujimori, who fled to exile in Japan. After June 2001, the news media gained markedly from democratically-elected President Alejandro Toledo's efforts to restore the credibility and fairness of government. It was not always easy. Some surviving leaders in journalism were charged with complicity in the former corruption. Court processes were begun to sort out the victims from the victimizers. Numerous journalists who had been imprisoned for years were released. The public ombudsman called for repeal of the "insult laws" under which many journalists had been charged with defamation. Some officials who continued in office after Fujimori left the country sued the press under these laws for allegedly revealing their former ties. The Institute for Press and Society, an active press-freedom organization that helped overturn Fujimori, seeks now to improve the quality and ethics of Peruvian journalism. The press is largely privately owned. Radio and television are both privately and publicly owned.

Philippines: 3-16-11= 30 F
Hundreds of radio stations and newspapers across this widely dispersed island country provide varied reports and opinions. In this barely stable democratic society, innuendo is often a substitute for investigative reporting. Rebel action in the south creates widespread self-censorship among many journalists. A number of violent incidents directed at journalists took place throughout the year. A bomb was set off outside one radio station, two journalists were killed for their reporting, and another survived an ambush.

↑Poland: 6-6-6= 18 F
Although the constitution guarantees press freedom and forbids censorship, the country's libel law treats slander as a criminal offense. Journalists, in particular, oppose the growing number of related lawsuits. Poland's growing print and electronic media are independent and diverse. Media empires control large sections of Polish journalism. The founders of the daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*, for example, control 14 local radio stations, printing presses, and broad interests in the Internet. Poland has 50 daily newspapers, many of whose majority shareholders are foreign concerns. The National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council (KRRiTV), the broadcast regulator, has granted 200 licenses for commercial radio stations and 32 licenses for television stations, including satellite television.

↑Portugal: 3-5-7= 15 F
The government has never prosecuted journalists under the constitutional restriction against insults directed at the government or the armed forces intended to undermine the rule of law. Competitive newspapers are owned by private publishers and political parties. Two independent television stations operate alongside the state-owned TV channel.

Qatar: 14-24-24= 62 NF
Though press censorship formally ended in 1995, self-censorship remains pervasive. Direct government pressure on the media has been steadily reduced but state-run radio, television, and newspapers generally avoid reporting on the royal family and Islam. The editor in chief of the major daily *Al-Watan* was assaulted after criticizing an official. After September 11, worldwide attention was focused on the satellite television all-news channel *Al-Jazeera* after it carried lengthy interviews with terrorist leader Osama bin Laden. *Al-Jazeera*, created and funded by a member of the Qatari royal family, had previously confounded other Arab governments after gaining widespread regional viewers by telecasting critical news and opinion of Middle East politics and personalities. *Al-Jazeera* generally avoids critical reports of Qatar. The government has opened government information to the public over the Internet, which has some 45,000 users.

↑Romania: 11-14-10= 35 PF
The penal code provides jail terms for libel, slander, or disseminating false information. This inspires self-censorship by journalists. In October, parliament approved the law on free access to information of public interest. Implementation will require fair dissemination of bureaucratic information, which has been subject to political pressure. The media are mainly independent, and major printing plants are privately owned. There are 15 national dailies and 100 local and regional dailies, most of which are privately owned. Though the state controls major radio and TV stations, there are more than 100 private television stations and some 200 private radio stations. Legislation on the protection of state secrets, approved by parliament in March, provides that anyone who is found guilty of publishing state secrets could receive a prison sentence of up to ten years, and up to seven years for those trying to acquire state secrets. Critics argued that the law infringes upon the rights of freedom of information and expression.

Russia: 13-30-17= 60 PF
Despite President Putin's statement in the U.S. that he supports press freedom, and notwithstanding the Russian constitution's provision for freedom of the news media, the Kremlin continued to pressure media companies and journalists critical of the regime. Gazprom, the state-owned gas conglomerate, took control of Russia's major independent media group, Media-MOST, by acquiring its NTV television station. Gazprom also closed the newspaper *Sevodnya*, fired the staff of the weekly *Itogi*, and took over Ekho Moskvy radio, the last independent outlet of Media-MOST. Many of NTV journalists moved to another independent outlet, TV-6. A court later ruled that the last independent TV station must be liquidated in 2002. In September, Gazprom sold its media outlets. While journalists regarded these steps as press-freedom violations, others saw them as the Kremlin's effort to crack down on oligarchs opposed to the regime. Clearly, however, the Russian public lost access to diverse news and opinions. In outlying regions, news media are mainly dependent on government subsidies and journalists face libel suits and physical harassment intended to intimidate critics. In July, a reporter in the Krasnodar region was thrown from the fourth floor of his home after he received information implicating local authorities in criminal activities. A publisher was shot and killed in the Sverdlosk region after criticizing local authorities. Judicial harassment continued of the journalist who had filmed the pouring of liquid radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan. Private police in Lipetsk took over the regional television station TVK, which had been critical of the region's governor. The Russian military continued to impose severe restrictions on journalists' access to the Chechen war zone, issuing accreditation primarily to those of proven loyalty to the Russian government. Few foreign reporters are allowed into the breakaway republic. The disruptive effects of the war severely hinder news production and the flow of information to the general public.

↓Rwanda: 26-37-24= 87 NF
A press law passed this year intensifies the state-run assault on the news media and inspires routine self-censorship for fear of life-threatening reprisals and imprisonment directed at journalists. No daily newspapers are published. With the exception of one weekly, other weeklies and monthlies are closely associated with the authorities. The government's advertising ban against opposition publications limits their viability. Privately-owned radio and television are forbidden by law. The Rwandan Journalists Association is ineffectual.

St. Kitts & Nevis: 4-6-8= 18 F
Radio and television are government-owned, though managed by a local company. There are some restrictions on access to them by the opposition. Each major political party publishes a weekly or fortnightly newspaper. Opposition papers freely criticize the government. International media are available.

↑St. Lucia: 0-4-7= 11 F
The media carry a wide spectrum of views and are largely independent. There are five privately owned newspapers, two privately held radio stations, and one partially government-funded radio station, as well as two privately owned television channels.

St. Vincent & The Grenadines: 2-7-7= 16 F
The press is independent, with two privately owned independent weeklies and several smaller, partisan papers. The only television station is privately owned and free from government interference. Satellite dishes and cable are available to those who can afford them. The radio station is government-owned, and call-in programs are prohibited. Equal access to radio is mandated during electoral campaigns, but the ruling party takes advantage of state control over programming.

↓Samoa: 4-5-14= 23 F
There are two English-language and several Samoan-language newspapers. A 1998 law enables government ministers to use public funds to finance defamation suits, and several have filed lawsuits against the *Samoa Observer*, an independent newspaper, over stories it had published on public corruption and abuses of power. Authorities also withdrew all advertisements from the paper and threatened to cancel the paper's business license. The government owns two of four radio stations and the only television channel. Internet use is expanding without government interference. The opposition has restricted access to coverage on state-run television and radio.

↑Sao Tome & Principe: 1-3-15= 19 F
Press freedom guarantees in the constitution are respected. One state-run and six independent newspapers are published. No law prevents private broadcasting but the state controls the only radio and television stations, as well as the domestic press agency. Opposition parties receive free air time. Newsletters and pamphlets criticizing the government circulate freely.

↑Saudi Arabia: 26-28-26= 80 NF
The ruling family has long controlled news and information available to the public. Criticism of the government, ruling family, or Islam is strictly prohibited, although observers have noted that media outlets enjoy increasing latitude in covering sensitive subjects such as unemployment or domestic violence. The government owns all domestic broadcast media and closely monitors the privately owned but publicly subsidized print media. All editors-in-chief must be approved by the information minister. Foreign journalists' entry into the kingdom is tightly controlled, and foreign media are frequently censored. The Arab television network *Al-Jazeera*, unusually balanced for Middle East journalism, provides a surreptitious opening for Saudi viewers. Internet access is growing rapidly but all Internet flows are channeled through an official ISP, and filters block certain information. However, the American war on terrorism led to broad international and some domestic discussion of the royal family, its dependence on U.S. military forces, and the role of Islamic fundamentalism in worldwide terrorism. After the removal of a 40-year ban on media unionization, Saudi journalists were permitted to form a trade union in 2001.

↓Senegal: 19-14-6= 39 PF
An increase in press freedom in recent years did not continue in 2001 despite recently elected President Abdoulaye Wade's expression of concern over the harassment of domestic journalists by government authorities. The editor in chief of *Le Matin*, an independent daily newspaper, was prosecuted in July on charges of publishing "false information." In December,

police officers assaulted two journalists during a demonstration. Officials aggressively harassed other journalists. Laws prohibiting "discrediting" of the state remain in force, and lead to self-censorship. Six private radio stations broadcast country-wide, and international broadcasts are accessible. Television is controlled by the state. Internet use is uncontrolled, its use limited only by the cost.

Seychelles: 25-12-14= 51 PF
Laws restrict journalists by prohibiting the violating of the reputation, rights, and privacy of citizens, and threats to public safety, morality, or health. Independent newspapers criticize the government, but official domination and threats of libel suits restrict media freedom. The one daily newspaper is government-owned, and others are run by the ruling party. Opposition parties publish newsletters but the opposition weekly has been sued repeatedly for libel. The state-run Seychelles Broadcasting Corporation provides coverage of the opposition.

↑Sierra Leone: 13-28-21= 62 NF
The government restricts freedom of the press though its protection is guaranteed in the constitution. Journalists are intimidated by various armed militias as well as by security forces. Two journalists were assaulted, one detained, and seven received death threats. Killing of journalists, common in years past, was not recorded in 2001. Corruption remains a problem. Many journalists, suffering under disastrous economic conditions as is the rest of the country, accept bribes. The level of professionalism in the media is also low, leading to misinformation and sensationalism which, in turn, generate crackdowns on the press. Journalists frequently criticize the government. Several government and private radio and television stations operate.

Singapore: 26-22-20= 68 NF
Singapore's information system is one of the best in the world, but it is also one of the most centrally controlled. This can be attributed to the government's domination, directly and indirectly, of the domestic and foreign news and information media. In recent years, major international publications have been banned, censored or their distribution limited. Official intimidation motivates self-censorship by many domestic journalists, although some commentary in newspapers has been more outspoken in the past year. Most journalists work for media outlets that are linked to the government. The privately held Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), owner of all general circulation newspapers, has close ties to the ruling People's Action Party (PAP). By law, the government must approve the owners of key shares in SPH. The government-affiliated Singapore International Media company runs all four "independent" television stations and 10 of Singapore's 15 domestic radio stations. Four of the remaining five are operated by government-affiliated groups. Government-linked companies also provide the three Internet services and the cable TV service. To close a remaining gap, a new law restricts election campaigning on the Internet and bars the publication of opinion polls during general elections. Some 58 percent of the population logs on to the Internet.

↑Slovakia: 10-5-7= 22 F
The constitution guarantees press freedom and bars censorship. Most media outlets are privately owned. The freedom of information law designed to increase government transparency became operative in 2001. Parliament refused to amend the Penal code to abolish provisions on defamation. Under Slovak law, insulting the state, parliament, cabinet, president, and constitutional court is a criminal offense. Slovak Public Television (STV) carried a parliamentary question-and-answer session during which the prime minister responded to queries about administration reform. Broadcast officials are investigating whether such a telecast during the pre-election broadcast moratorium was illegal. Another TV channel faced investigation over allegedly favoring one political party. The program could be suspended. In the fall of 2001, parliament postponed the adoption of laws on STV and Slovak Radio (SRo) that would have placed these stations on firmer financial footing and would have increased the stations' independence by putting more NGO and business leaders on their governing councils.

↑Slovenia: 2-5-13= 20 F
Constitutional guarantees of press freedom are respected by the government. Most print media are privately owned and are supported by commercial advertising. The major electronic medium Slovenia Radio-Television (RTV) is state-owned. It has three radio stations and two TV networks. At the national level, there are 4 commercial television stations: Gajba TV, Kanal A, POP TV, and TV3. There are also about 42 private stations at the local level. Slovenia also has approximately 68 private radio stations. A new media law regulates the protection of freedom of expression, prohibits the incitement of inequality and intolerance, requires domestic productions to account for at least 20 percent of TV broadcasts, and compels media outlets to seek the opinion of their editorial staffs on the selection of an editor in chief.

↓Solomon Islands: 3-6-15= 24 F
International news coverage was enhanced with the introduction of the first television channel. It was provided free by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The most important source of information is the state-run Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation. It offers diverse views. There is a private FM radio station. Three private newspapers vigorously criticize government policies. A minister threatened to put the government's radio broadcaster on a "black list" for providing news favorable to an opposition member of parliament.

↓Somalia: 26-36-26= 88 NF
In this country without laws or a central government, ruled by warlord fiefdoms, communications are the mouthpieces of businessmen, militias, clans, or regional governments. A Transitional Charter provided for freedom of the press but since the Transitional National Government had little power it could not protect the media. HornAfrik, the major radio and television broadcaster, carries BBC reports. Barakaat, a money-transfer agent that became a bank, built the largest telecommunications network. In December, however, the United States labeled it a terrorist organization and shut down Barakaat's money flow. The United States shut down the Somalian Internet Company, the country's only Internet provider.

South Africa: 4-9-10= 23 F
One of the world's most liberal constitutions protects freedom of the press. Laws allow the government to restrict reporting on the police, national defense forces and other institutions. Laws also compel journalists to reveal sources. Several were subpoenaed this year, but one refused to testify and was not indicted. One minister sued a journalist for alleged defamation. One reporter was physically assaulted. The ruling African National Congress members of parliament directed several attacks on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SADC). The SADC, which was a government mouthpiece during the apartheid era, is more independent today. In mid-year, the legislature considered an Interception and Monitoring Bill, which would empower the police, the National Defense Force, the Intelligence Agency, and the Secret Service to maintain electronic monitoring centers. Under the Criminal Procedures Act already in force authorities have seized journalists' equipment and compelled them to reveal sources.

↑Spain: 1-9-7= 17 F
The Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) separatist movement provided the main threat to press freedom. The ETA targeted the news media for murderous attacks that generated some self-censorship in a country whose constitutional guarantees of press freedom are fully respected by the government. In recent years, the press has been influential in setting the national agenda covering corruption and other major issues. Three independent television stations compete with the state-controlled TV channel, which has been accused of pro-government bias. Basque terrorists this year killed one media professional and attempted to murder several others. ETA was responsible for numerous attacks on media offices and threats to intimidate other journalists.

↑Sri Lanka: 17-29-17= 63 NF
The government controls the largest newspaper chain, two major television stations, and a radio station. Coverage in the state-owned media favors the ruling party. While the government continued to exercise emergency powers attributed to the Tamil insurgency, police and other operatives regularly harassed journalists and banned publications. Although the regulations concerning media coverage of the war were withdrawn in May, some harassment continued. Prior permission was still required by journalists wishing to visit rebel-controlled areas in the north of the country. A British journalist covering the insurgency was seriously wounded while being escorted back to government lines. She was accused of having made an "illegal" visit to a rebel-controlled area without "approval." The editor of *Ravaya* was charged with criminal defamation for having criticized a magistrate. Soon afterward, a smoke bomb was thrown at that newspaper. Security forces occasionally harass and assault journalists, particularly Tamils. A television news reporter was manhandled by police while covering a murder trial. Another reporter was arrested, released, and then received death threats after covering a rape trial involving the police. State newspapers accused the editor of the *TamilNet* news website of being a spy for the rebels in June. At the end of December, he and a colleague were beaten and stabbed by a group of unknown assailants in a newspaper office in Batticaloa. A plot by senior government officials to kill newspaper editors was exposed in November.

↓Sudan: 26-36-25= 87 NF
Despite gradual easing of press restrictions since 1997, significant controls continue during the insurgency in the South. Broadcast media are state-controlled and reflect only National Press Council views. Government harassment generates

severe self-censorship by some and courageous resistance by other journalists. Three journalists were arrested in July, including Alfred Tabban, who reported for Reuters and the BBC and was board chairman of the *Khartoum Monitor*, the country's only English-language paper. It was suspended for three days in September after being judged "harmful" to relations between the country's north and south. Several other *Monitor* journalists were arrested during the year. Two other dailies, *Alwan* and *Al-Ousboue,* were banned for 24 hours in October, and the *Monitor* was closed down a second time for two days. Alfred Tabban was arrested for a third time this year. In November, the government lifted the ban of 12 newspapers but kept four others shut down. Thirty journalists of *Al-Watan* were arrested when they protested the censorship of an article on corruption. While journalists such as Amal Abbas, chief editor of an oppositionist newspaper, have become more vocal, they have been continuously harassed.

↑Suriname: 0-11-14= 25 F
The government generally respects freedom of the press. There are two independent daily newspapers though journalists tend to self-censor to avoid offending the former military leader, Desi Bouterse. An attack on a Dutch journalist in May is still under investigation. Two state-owned television channels carry news and commercial messages in more than five languages. Six radio stations, one state-owned, also broadcast in many languages for the ethnically diverse population. Internet access is not restricted.

Swaziland: 26-26-25= 77 NF
Freedom of the press is seriously restricted particularly on matters relating to political issues or the king and the royal family. The government monopolizes broadcast media, but print media from South Africa are available. Two independent newspapers were shut down twice in less than a month. In June, the king decreed the expansion of his power to ban local publications. A month later, the king repealed the state of emergency decree under which the press was targeted. One newspaper, *The Guardian,* banned four months earlier, resumed publication. In November, the state police warned three local journalists who were freelancing for international press associations that they should stop writing negatively about the country and the king in particular. The Senate House in the parliament endorsed recommendations to fine journalists about $1,000 if they write or misquote issues raised in the legislature. One editor was fined. Police stormed the offices of the trade union federation and assaulted journalists attending a press conference. The police superintendent told a correspondent for overseas news agencies, "I swear I will get rid of you. You are a problem for the police." The editor of the *Swazi Observer* was shot to death by unknown assailants.

↑Sweden: 1-2-5= 8 F
Freedom of the press is guaranteed, and exists in practice. Most newspapers and magazines are privately owned. The state subsidizes daily newspapers without regard to their political or ethnic affiliation. The government may censor publications carrying national security information. Swedish radio and television broadcast weekly programs in several immigrant languages. Satellite and ground-based private radio and television stations operate. More than half the Swedish population uses the Internet.

Switzerland: 1-2-5= 8 F
There is no government control over the many privately owned publications printed in most common languages. Broadcast media are funded through license fees and advertising. Private broadcasters have full editorial freedom. Racist or anti-Semitic expressions are criminalized by the penal code. A correspondent for *Al-Jazeera*, the independent Arab television station headquartered in Qatar, was denied entry to Switzerland following the September 11 terrorist attack in the United States.

↓Syria: 24-30-24= 78 NF
President Bashar al-Assad, who succeeded his father in 2000, relaxed controls over the news media and promised further reforms. The first privately owned newspaper in 40 years was inaugurated. Even state-controlled papers published lively discussions of political reform. Use of the Internet expanded dramatically. Early in 2001, however, the president announced a slowdown in the reform process. Critics, not as fearful as in the president's father's time, used Lebanese and Pan-Arab newspapers to express dissent. In September, new restrictions on the press were issued, banning news deemed to harm national security, the unity of society, or Syria's international ties. Any publication that calls for change in the Syrian constitution or for civil disobedience would be shut down. Yet the public's demand for critical journalism has been supported by the fast-selling weekly cartoons of Ali Farzat. His satirical paper *Al-Domari* (The Lamplighter) pokes fun, so far with impunity, at political corruption and the bureaucracy.

↑Taiwan: 8-6-7= 21 F
The arrival in Taipei on month-long assignments of two reporters from mainland China's state news agency (Xinhua) reflected Taiwan's expanding freedom of the press. Taiwan's President Chen Shui-bian stated that press freedom should not be restricted, and that no one should be banned from entering Taiwan because of ideology. Advocacy of formal independence from China is still prohibited by law. Police can censor or ban publications considered seditious or treasonous. These restrictions, along with penalties for libel, defamation, and insult are not generally enforced to restrict journalists.

↓Tajikistan: 29-27-24= 80 NF
Full control over the news media is maintained by licensing journalists and issuing explicit instructions to them on what is permitted in the media. Critics of the government rarely appear in public. The government controls most broadcasting, all printing presses and newsprint supplies, and subsidizes publications and electronic facilities. Despite a constitutional guarantee of press freedom, editors self-censor for fear of reprisals. In July, Dodojon Atovullo, the exiled editor of the independent opposition newspaper *Charogi Ruz* (Light of Day), was arrested in Moscow on charges of sedition and insulting President Emomali Rakhmonov, and threatened with extradition to Tajikistan.

Tanzania: 18-18-13= 49 PF
A dozen mainstream journalists were arrested briefly in August presumably to prevent the reporting of tribal clashes in the north. Crackdowns are permitted under the National Security Act, the Official Secrets Act, and the Restricted Areas Act. Newspapers are required to register with the government and authorities are permitted to close papers. The government promised early in the year it would review the press laws to ease controls. Nine newspapers appear daily and many others less regularly. Some are linked to political parties. Papers, including some state-owned, criticize official policies. The government allows private radio and television operators, although the independent media sector exercises a strong degree of self-censorship. Most Tanzanians get their news from radio.

↓Thailand: 10-9-11= 30 F
Bribing of journalists, use of commercial advertising to curry political support in the press, and corruption of low-paid journalists particularly in the provincial press, diminish the professionalism of Thai news media. They are generally lively, diversified, and increasingly engaged in investigative journalism, but are subject to a press code that provides prison terms for insulting the head of state and other violations. A radio journalist was shot dead in a southern city in April presumably for investigating corruption in the local government. Internet laws of 1996, like those for the print and broadcast press, prohibit material that is sexually explicit, or promotes ethnic, racial, or religious hatred, or intolerance. The determination is left ambiguously to the provider. There are no laws supporting access to official information. Observers voiced concern that Thaksin Shinawatra's new government was applying both political and economic pressure on the media in 2001 in order to silence critical voices. Authorities issued warnings to several publications, and also tried to influence the press through their allocation of advertising.

↑Togo: 28-21-19= 68 NF
Four journalists imprisoned earlier in the year were released after serving prison terms for "undermining honor" or reporting "false news." The most senior Togolese journalist, editor of the prominent opposition newspaper, was among those imprisoned. Other journalists were held for questioning. Release of the arrested journalists after intensive international pressure was regarded as a favorable trend. The entire press run of an opposition weekly newspaper was seized. The only daily newspaper is state-owned. There are two state-owned radio stations and 20 private outlets. Two of these are tied to the ruling party. The government owns the only television channel.

Tonga: 18-12-6= 36 PF
Charging criminal defamation is the government's method of restricting press freedom. The deputy editor of a Tongan independent weekly newspaper was charged in February. Criticism of the king, his family, and the government may subject the journalist to court action. There are several privately owned newspapers and an outspoken Catholic paper. The state owns the two television stations and Radio Tonga, whose reports favor the government.

↓Trinidad & Tobago: 4-17-9= 30 F
Throughout the year, a rising crime rate and a highly divisive parliamentary election campaign, concluded in December, tested the freedom of the press. The privately owned press is lively and diverse, and freely criticizes the government and its

policies. Broadcast media are both private and state owned. However, journalists were physically attacked during the political turmoil, and one radio station was reportedly the target of a violent attack, according to the International Press Institute.

↑Tunisia: 26-25-22= 73 NF
Self-censorship is encouraged by state control of newsprint subsidies and public advertising. Dissent is also limited by the press code prohibiting subversion and defamation, which are broadly defined. Broadcasting is government-controlled and provides only official views. Foreign publications are censored. Authorities cracked down on the newspaper of the leading opposition party. Some journalists employ the Internet to express dissenting views. In December, the fixed and mobile telephone lines of opposition figures were cut to prevent them from telephoning to the outside world. A major international diplomatic journal was banned in October.

Turkey: 26-23-9= 58 PF
The criminal code severely limits freedom of expression and of the press. The code forbids insulting state officials and incitement to racial hatred. The Anti-Terror Law prohibits separatist propaganda. Journalists are frequently imprisoned for discussing the military, Kurds, and political Islam; according to an annual European Commission report, some 80 journalists had been imprisoned for political activities or for allegedly infringing various laws between January and November 2001. Police attacked a TV cameraman. A magazine was banned and legal proceedings begun against its editor for "insults" against the army. Another journalist was threatened with imprisonment for "insulting" the judicial system. The Turkish language news programs of the BBC and Germany's Deutsche Welle were banned. A constitutional amendment passed in October allows for broadcasts in Kurdish. However, in November authorities suppressed some media outlets that attempted to publish or broadcast in Kurdish.

↓Turkmenistan: 28-33-30= 91 NF
All media are state-owned and subject to President Niyazov's diktat. A cabinet-controlled committee exercises censorship over all print and electronic media. The presidential press service issues guidelines for political content. Party officials hold key positions in the main publications and broadcast outlets. Reports of dissenting political views are banned, as are even mild forms of criticism of the president. Radio Liberty's (RL) short wave broadcasts provide the only alternative to state information in the Turkmen language. RL's journalists are frequently beaten and harassed. Foreign journalists have few opportunities to visit Turkmenistan and are often limited to certain locations. Use of the Internet is low (4.56 users per 10,000 inhabitants, according to the International Telecommunications Union).

↓Uganda: 14-15-13= 42 PF
The government occasionally overrides constitutional provisions for freedom of speech and of the press by applying outdated sedition and false information laws against journalists. Police sometimes hold journalists for questioning. The media generally are free to criticize officials. Two dozen privately owned publications, often highly critical of the government, are readily available. The government controls one television channel and the radio station with the largest audience. Opposition political parties receive minimal coverage by any media. In rural areas, the largest newspapers and broadcasters are state-owned.

Ukraine: 23-26-11= 60 PF
The government frequently disregards constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and expression, especially during election seasons. Recurring violence directed at journalists is rarely prosecuted. The internationally reported murder of investigative journalist Heorhiy Gongadze remains unresolved more than a year after his death in 2000. A publisher was shot dead in June 2001 and an independent television director was bludgeoned to death in July. Police searched a reporter's apartment after he suggested links between a former security head and organized crime. A court ruled that a newspaper had offended a parliamentarian and must pay a fine that virtually bankrupted the paper. Private media are largely controlled by financial and political interests that exert influence over content. Telekritika, launched this year, critically assesses TV and radio programs and trends, including feedback for discussion of media content. The website was financed through a grant from the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Under a new criminal code, libel is no longer a criminal offense.

↑United Arab Emirates: 26-23-25= 74 NF
Self-censorship by journalists is rife when covering national security, governmental policies, religion, and the ruling families. Newspapers and magazines are privately owned but receive government subsidies. Foreign publications are censored. The

state runs all broadcast media and provides only its own views. Satellite dishes bring in uncensored foreign telecasts. The UAE is the most Internet-connected nation in the Arab world.

↓United Kingdom: 4-7-7=18 F
A new Human Rights Act provides a statutory right to freedom of expression (though limited by the European Convention which excludes information regarding public safety, health, morals, and the reputation of others). A new Freedom of Information Act grants access to significant areas of information previously closed to the press (while excluding information related to national defense, international issues, commercial interests, and law enforcement). The press, though uncensored and mostly private, is subject to strict libel and obscenity laws. The BBC operates half the electronic media, which are funded by the state but are editorially independent. Authorities have the right to monitor Internet messages without judicial permission in the name of national security and "well being." A prominent investigative journalist was killed in Northern Ireland.

↓United States: 3-6-7=16 F
The September 11 terrorist attacks instantly put American journalism on a wartime footing. First, there was round-the-clock crisis reporting and analysis from rescue operations at the devastated zones. Then, with President Bush's declaration of war on terrorism came extensive news of fighting in Afghanistan. Critics accused the government of controlling the news by keeping journalists away from frontline operations at both "ground zero" in New York and in Afghanistan. As fronts stabilized, hundreds of journalists were permitted to cover advancing Afghan and American soldiers. Indeed, several journalists were killed covering the action. A rapidly passed antiterrorism law was challenged for permitting electronic surveillance of suspected terrorists, among other detention and judicial controls. These acts, the war spirit, and the resurgent patriotism were regarded by some as hindering the protection of dissent in the news media. There were unobstructed anti-war demonstrations on some college campuses. Several prominent intellectuals writing in major publications attributed the destruction of the World Trade Center towers partially to "payback" for American foreign policies. Such comments were not restricted. U.S. officials did attempt unsuccessfully to restrain the *Al-Jazeera* television station from carrying unedited attacks on America by Osama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaida terrorist network. U.S. officials later went on *Al-Jazeera* to broadcast American views. When State Department officials prevented the Voice of America (VOA) from carrying an interview with the leader of the Taliban, journalists and others protested and the VOA broadcast the interview. Several domestic incidents protested by journalists earlier in the year include the five-month incarceration of a writer in a Texas jail for defying a court order to provide notes and files to help police in a murder investigation. In August, a U.S. Attorney notified the Associated Press it had secured telephone records of an AP reporter to determine his source in a case involving leaked confidential Justice Department information.

↑Uruguay: 14-8-3=25 F
Press laws permit imprisonment for criminal defamation or for reporting "false news" that disturbs the peace. The press is privately owned, and broadcasting is both commercial and public. The government, the largest advertiser, can pressure the print media. Media associations expressed concern over a proposed bill, currently before parliament, that would levy a value-added tax (VAT) on the sale of newspapers and magazines. Most citizens, however, get their news from the independent television stations.

Uzbekistan: 26-36-22=84 NF
State-owned or -controlled news media determine virtually all information reaching the public. Censorship, active and passive, confronts the few independent journalists. All broadcast media are subject to annual re-registration. Radios have been shut down for carrying balanced reports. All programs are taped, and live programming is forbidden. The government controls the newspaper distribution system. Still, police harass and arrest journalists accused of links to the banned Erk political party. Defamation of the president or officials, and "spreading falsehoods" subjects journalists to imprisonment.

▲Vanuatu: 4-4-16=24 F
Though the government owns most of the media, the new administration permits criticism of the government on state-run broadcasting. The new prime minister permitted a British citizen, publisher of the island's only independent newspaper, to return after he had been deported by the previous government.

↓Venezuela: 19-15-10=44 PF
President Hugo Chavez and his government repeatedly attacked the news media through harsh speeches, a court ruling that newspapers must state their political leanings, and threats to pass a "law on content" and revoke the license of a respected

television network. A 2000 law empowers the president to suspend broadcasting when he judges it to be in the interest of the nation. Journalists are required to be a member of the National College of Journalists. Criminal defamation laws are enforced against journalists. The constitution, redrafted under Chavez, includes a clause requiring "truthful information" in the press. The National Telecommunications Commission investigated the 24-hour news channel to determine whether it had reported "false news." In June, Chavez threatened to expel foreign journalists who insulted Venezuela or his government.

↓Vietnam: 30-30-22=82 NF
Anti-defamation and national security provisions in the constitution and criminal code are used to intimidate journalists, whether or not the reporting is true. All news media are state-owned. Dissenters should not be given freedom to speak or publish, the People's Army newspaper declared. The press can generally criticize government policies, but not the Communist Party's monopoly on power. Toward year's end, the government launched an intense crackdown on its critics. Fifteen journalists and scholars were arrested.

↑Yemen: 27-23-15=65 NF
Newspapers must reapply annually for licenses to publish and are thus subject to governmental influence. "Insulting" officials or the government can lead to criminal prosecution. Charges of defamation or such threats were brought frequently against journalists. Flogging or arrest may be ordered under the "insult" law. Such pressures on the news media were slightly reduced last year.

↑Yugoslavia: 11-20-14=45 PF
A verbal and occasionally physical tug-of-war between the new government and independent journalists marked the country's transition to democracy. Yet, one of the first acts of the new regime was the opening of state and quasi-state broadcasters and print media in Serbia to representatives of the former opposition bloc and the NGO sector. Independent, anti-Milosevic radio-television channels (radio and television B92) claimed, however, they must vie for formal licensing with news media formerly allied to the accused war criminal. B92 claimed that without a new broadcasting law the media are under constant threat of closure. The government responded that it faced "real chaos" in assigning spectrum positions to more than 700 private radio and TV stations. It sought through new laws to reduce by half the number of licensed broadcasters on the spectrum. Some TV programs were banned pending decisions on licensing of stations. A Public Broadcasting Act establishing autonomous public-service broadcasting is planned. Libel remains a criminal offence, and some journalists practice self-censorship. Police confiscated an independent radio station's tape of a highway demonstration. In the period of uncertainty journalists were physically assaulted at a political rally in Novi Sad. A Montenegran journalist was threatened with assassination. One journalist was murdered in Serbia, and two journalists were killed in Kosovo.

↓Zambia: 22-24-19=65 NF
During the run-up to elections in 2001, the government increased press-freedom abuses. State-funded media were monitored and harshly warned. Private newspapers were threatened and journalists arrested for "defaming" the president. The repeated challenges of journalists generated self-censorship, though courts dropped some charges of criminal libel. As widely contested elections neared, the pressure on journalists was reduced slightly at the end of the year.

↓Zimbabwe: 26-34-23=83 NF
Despite the 2000 law recognizing basic guarantees of press freedom, President Mugabe's year-long crackdown on newspapers and journalists, and his continuing control of broadcast and Internet services significantly reduced press freedom even below the preceding year's diminished level. Accreditation restrictions introduced in June limit access to the country by foreign reporters. Violence against domestic journalists and expulsion of foreign reporters said to be linked to "terrorism" paralleled the harsh rhetoric of the ZANU-PF ruling party's and the government's targeting of the press. The independent *Daily News*, one of the staunchest critics of the government, suffered a series of attacks in 2001. Its editor is facing several criminal defamation charges and its reporters have been arrested and beaten on numerous occasions. In November, Mugabe's regime introduced a draconian law in parliament that would further curtail the operation of the news media. The Freedom of Information Bill would require all journalists to apply for a one-year, renewable license to be allowed to work. Journalists would also be required to follow a stringent "code of ethics" and could be fined or imprisoned for not following it.

Other Freedom House publications on press freedom issues:

Press Freedom Worldwide 1994: Good News and Bad

Press Freedom Worldwide 1995: The Press: Pressed and Oppressed

Press Freedom 1996: The Journalist as Pariah

Press Freedom 1997: Law Epidemic

Press Freedom 1998: Global Warning: Press Controls Fuel the Asian Debacle

Press Freedom 1999: News of the Century

Censor Dot Gov: The Internet and Press Freedom 2000

How Free? The Web & The Press: The Annual Survey of Press Freedom 2001

Annual January-February numbers of *Freedom at Issue* (1977-1989)

Annual January-February numbers of *Freedom Review* (1990-1998)

Essays in annual Freedom House yearbooks, *Freedom in the World,* 1980-1999

Books:

Big Story: How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington, by Peter Braestrup, 1977, 1978, 1983, 1994

Mass News Media and the Third World Challenge, by Leonard R. Sussman, 1977

To License a Journalist? A Landmark Decision in the Schmidt Case: The Opinion of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 1986

Glossary for International Communication: Warning of a Bloodless Dialect, by Leonard R. Sussman 1986

Power, the Press and the Technology of Freedom: The Coming Age of ISDN, by Leonard R. Sussman 1990

The poster-size *Map of Press Freedom 2002*, in color, 20" x 28 1/2", is available on request from the Freedom House offices in New York and Washington, DC. The map in color is also accessible on the Internet with the full text of this study and other related material. See *www/freedomhouse.org.*