



## Crash Course

John Jenks

To cite this article: John Jenks (2019): Crash Course, Media History, DOI:  
[10.1080/13688804.2019.1634527](https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2019.1634527)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2019.1634527>



Published online: 26 Jun 2019.



---

Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



---

Article views: 9



---

View Crossmark data [↗](#)

---

# CRASH COURSE

## The International Press Institute and Journalism Training in Anglophone Africa, 1963–1975

**John Jenks**

The Ford Foundation and the International Press Institute used an African journalism education partnership in the 1960s to recast Western influence, help develop new nations, create networks, forestall the Soviets and spread the norms of modern Western journalism in the anglophone countries of a newly free continent. Most of the 300 Africans who graduated the African Training Scheme's six-month-long course already were working at newspapers, radio stations and government ministries—often where British expatriates were leaving. The exposure to Western professional practices boosted many of their careers. The IPI's Nairobi school operated from 1963 to 1968 and was 'probably the most effective' of the more than a half dozen crash courses that sought, largely successfully, to put a Western stamp on African journalism education. Finally, both Ford and the IPI prized the network of journalists and officials they had forged almost as much as the education they had provided.

**KEYWORDS** African media; journalism history; international press association; ford foundation; journalism education; press history

### Introduction

As the British were withdrawing from formal control over much of Africa in the early 1960s, they and their American allies were trying to advance informal power and influence through education and aid programs—and forestall the Soviets and their allies who were doing the same. The aid came in many fields, including journalism, where they sought to create an African profession in the Western image: the newspapers would be the same but with 'black faces behind the desks.'<sup>1</sup>

Journalism training came two main ways. African students and journalists were chosen to travel to US universities or UK institutes for in-depth work and acculturation. This practice had helped the US to spread influence through 'networks of empire' in Western Europe after 1945; the hope was to do the same in Africa.<sup>2</sup> The other way to train journalists was to set up crash courses in Africa. A half dozen crash courses aimed to churn out low and mid-level Western-style journalists quickly and in quantity, with the deeper influence and networks to come later. Western journalism educators saw them as temporary expedients to fill the middle ranks of news organizations until Western-style African journalism schools could begin producing graduates.<sup>3</sup> The most thorough and sustained crash course in the 1960s was the International Press Institute's (IPI) African Journalism Training Scheme, which spent Ford Foundation money over five years to put more than 300 Africans through intense six-month training sessions in

English-style journalism at a Nairobi school. Running a journalism school was a novelty for the IPI, which had begun as a Cold War editors' organization of North Americans and Western Europeans devoted largely to press freedom. But the job helped it expand its network to a new continent.<sup>4</sup>

The Ford Foundation was steeped in the mission of modernization and nation-building that permeated much official American thinking toward Africa in the 1960s.<sup>5</sup> In this way of thinking, mass media in developing countries was supposed to grow quickly, breaking down traditional barriers and spreading literacy and innovation so static societies could become modern and dynamic, just like the West. Of course, that process demanded trained, modern journalists, though not necessarily the free ones the IPI initially wanted.<sup>6</sup> Although the predicted media expansion did not happen in Africa, historian Inderjeet Parmar has argued that American foundations were just as interested in creating elite networks around the world that would look to America for leadership.<sup>7</sup>

The cumulative effect of these Western programs was to lead to a system of formal journalism training and communication education that used Western curricula, methods, equipment and even textbooks for decades after formal independence. It may not have been what Africans needed, but it was what the West provided—with the IPI's Nairobi program contributing early and heavily. Later, many African experts recognized the continuing dependence on American and European journalism education models as a problem and set up the African Council on Communication Education. Some hoped to root journalism education in more traditional, rural communication styles and seek a more positive and engaged, and less 'objective' or adversarial approach. This often fell under the rubric of development communication.<sup>8</sup>

This paper relies on archival records and contemporary publications to analyze how a major attempt to mold anglophone African journalism at a key juncture benefitted the teachers and the paymasters as much as the African journalists. The Ford Foundation and the IPI built supportive networks among the continent's journalists and information professionals, linking them to the West at a time of Cold War competition. Their preferred way of doing journalism took root, despite the harsh conditions for ideas like press freedom. Hundreds of African journalists were trained in Western methods—not only in the IPI school but also in myriad other programs—and went on to careers in media and government and helped enshrine Western journalism methods. Whether or not those results best served the needs of African journalism, readers and citizens is an important question, but beyond the scope of this paper.

### **Journalism in British Colonial Africa**

In the post-war years the news environment in British Africa varied sharply from colony to colony. In the west, Africans in Nigeria, Ghana (Gold Coast) and Sierra Leone had developed a dynamic multilingual press by the early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> By the 1930s prominent editors such as Kwame Nkrumah and US-educated Nnamdi Azikiwe were using newspapers to push for African rights and power—and getting plenty of readers and influence.<sup>10</sup> Colonial authorities sought British publishers to set up English-style newspapers that would downplay radical politics and grab readers with sports, human interest stories and short news items in a snappy, graphically attractive design.

The *Daily Mirror* eventually came, buying and transforming newspapers, and eventually dominating circulation in all three colonies.<sup>11</sup> The *Mirror* had money and cutting-edge technology for production and distribution, and had British journalists who soon began to train Africans in their image to take over.<sup>12</sup>

East and Central African colonies had a complex and varied media ecosystem—with Christian missions, colonial officials and independent Asians and Africans all publishing newspapers that circulated in relatively small numbers.<sup>13</sup> The mass-circulation commercial newspapers were by and for Europeans, most notably the Nairobi-based *East African Standard*, which also ran English newspapers in Uganda and Tanganyika, as well as a Swahili subsidiary.<sup>14</sup> Late in the colonial era London newspaper magnates Roy Thomson and David Astor hired African reporters and editors, and published relatively liberal newspapers in Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia).<sup>15</sup> In Kenya African-run newspapers flourished after the war, but many of the more politically inclined were suppressed in 1952 with the Declaration of Emergency at the start of the Mau Mau uprising.<sup>16</sup> The *Nation* newspaper emerged in 1959 with backing from Ismaili Muslim leader the Aga Khan to challenge the *Standard* with an English-style (and initially English-run) newspaper that would try to speak for all Kenyans—paying attention to long-repressed African voices while supporting a Western political and economic orientation.<sup>17</sup> The expatriate-run newspapers like the *Standard* and *Nation* closely modeled themselves on the English commercial press, and experienced relative freedom. British authorities were more ambivalent about press freedom, however, when it came to indigenous publications. Throughout the colonies, authorities sometimes closed publications, deported publishers or demanded high bonds, but they also upheld press freedom as it gave an aura of democratic legitimacy to British imperialism.<sup>18</sup>

### The Decolonization Pivot: Looking for Options

British colonial authorities had moved toward independence at different speeds in different parts of their African empire but had a consistent aim of keeping the Soviets out and maintaining their own substantial economic, commercial and cultural influence.<sup>19</sup> They responded first to nationalist pressure in Gold Coast by moving toward self-government and by 1953 the goal of eventual independence. That led to similar pressures in Nigeria. Progress in East and Central Africa was slower, complicated by the substantial presence of recalcitrant European settlers.<sup>20</sup>

Authorities in London knew that providing mass media equipment, aid and training, as well as news, could reinforce their influence. In the late 1940s the British Broadcasting Corporation started developing broadcasting systems in the colonies, which later accelerated.<sup>21</sup> As independence came near, the government subsidized the Reuters news agency's expansion and encouraged the London-based Thomson media empire to pour money into newspaper and television ventures.<sup>22</sup> But Africans were asking for more, especially training for journalists and media technicians.<sup>23</sup> During the colonial era there had been no formal training system in Africa. Occasionally authorities would steer aspiring African journalists to the Regent Street Polytechnic in London, despite its third-rate reputation as a school 'despised by professional journalists.'<sup>24</sup> Some of its alumni, however, were able to master skills and put them to spectacular use in Africa, as was the case

with Zanzibar-based journalist and Communist revolutionary Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu.<sup>25</sup>

The training system the British used at home was impossible to export. The domestic press depended largely on teenagers taking three-year apprenticeships on provincial or suburban London papers, supplemented by short further-education courses.<sup>26</sup> Few English papers were willing to take on African trainees, though the Reuters news agency provided ad hoc training for its African news agency clients.<sup>27</sup> Other training opportunities were small and inappropriate for mass training of hundreds of new journalists. The Commonwealth Press Union regularly offered scholarships for African and Asian journalists. But it was a small-scale operation, taking in no more than a dozen journalists a year, and was designed for mid-level to advanced journalists—not rookies.<sup>28</sup> After 1962 the Thomson Foundation targeted the same small group but in larger numbers.<sup>29</sup>

Other training models soon emerged on the continent in the 1960s. The Soviets had started paying serious attention to Africa in 1958, and by 1961 the Soviet-backed International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) had launched three-month one-off programs for African journalists in Guinea and Mali, as well as long-running programs in the East Bloc.<sup>30</sup> Plans to set up a permanent journalism school in Nairobi—at the Lumumba Institute—never came to fruition.<sup>31</sup> Small journalism programs emerged in existing institutions in Ghana and Nigeria.<sup>32</sup> Education with a religious bent came from the Protestant African Literature Center in Zambia and the Catholic Nyegezi Social Training Centre in Tanzania.<sup>33</sup> The IOJ's anti-Communist nemesis, the International Federation of Journalists, ran three-week courses in both English and French-speaking Africa, but folded them once its CIA financial backing was exposed in 1967.<sup>34</sup> The quasi-official African-American Institute ran short-courses in Ethiopia and Anglophone Africa in 1963 and 1964. UNESCO also was active in training, but primarily in French-speaking Africa.<sup>35</sup> But 'probably the most effective response' to the need for journalism training was the IPI's African Training Scheme.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1960s training programs, American modernization theorists and African leaders looked toward the modern mass-circulation newspaper as the model to emulate, even though American and British newspapers and journalism had clearly evolved within their political-economic cultures and were not universal templates.<sup>37</sup> There was little consideration given to building upon indigenous newspapers or other communication traditions, especially by the IPI. The Anglo-Saxon journalism ideals of reporting unadorned and mostly unembellished facts had evolved over the decades in the British and American press, and the emphasis on human interest stories, sports, graphics and photography had come even more recently.<sup>38</sup> The concomitant Western—and IPI—ideals of freedom and fairness had seldom been practiced by English press in the colonies, where newspapers often denigrated Africans and backed repressive colonial authorities.<sup>39</sup>

### **The International Press Institute and its Benefactors**

The IPI was a Cold War baby, conceived in 1950 with Ford and Rockefeller foundation money and American concern for press freedom, improved professional standards and the free flow of news.<sup>40</sup> The IPI published a series of reports on journalism's challenges, hosted multi-national conferences, proposed press councils and ethics codes, and criticized

repression on both sides of the Cold War divide.<sup>41</sup> In the mid-1950s, after the Cold War had expanded into Asia, and then Africa, the IPI followed and began to expand its remit.

In 1958 Director E.J.B. 'Jim' Rose decided that Asian newspapers needed editorial, design and managerial help 'to reach the "new literates" whose numbers were increasing by millions every year' and got the Rockefeller Foundation to finance a new program.<sup>42</sup> Of course, the threat of Communist competition from the IOJ in journalism training was never far from mind.<sup>43</sup> In 1960, the IPI began a series of workshops and seminars on management, typography, page design, photojournalism and sub-editing (copy editing). Other seminars aimed at management followed.<sup>44</sup> The foundations' next step was to create enduring local institutions; the IPI's goal was local advocates for professionalism and freedom. Their solution was the Press Institute of India, founded in 1964, followed by other national press institutes and the Press Foundation of Asia.<sup>45</sup> This was exactly what the Rockefeller Foundation wanted, according to a report: 'The record is in some respects a model of a development process which starts with Western initiative and ends with complete autonomy for those aided.'<sup>46</sup> Later, Ford Foundation officials would point to the Asian programs successes in forming national and regional institutions to carry on journalism training and professionalization as something to be duplicated in Africa.<sup>47</sup>

By 1962 Rose had persuaded the Ford Foundation to fund journalism training for Africa. Instead of offering one-off short seminars and consultancies, the IPI would dig in for a few years with a settled training program aimed at boosting the skills of early career African reporters at established newspapers in British Africa and lay the foundation for permanent schools.<sup>48</sup> They largely wrote off Francophone Africa because of its different journalistic traditions and what they viewed as its relative lack of press freedom.<sup>49</sup> The training program was more ambitious—and arrogant—than anything the IPI had done before. As the program's chronicler wrote: '... the IPI's role in Africa was not, as in Asia, to assist in the modernization of the press but rather to assist in the creation of the press and the idea of newspapers as a part of society.'<sup>50</sup>

Planning, establishing and staffing the school was an exercise in personal connections. Despite board pressure to find an African director, Rose and his successor gravitated toward English friends and colleagues with experience in Africa.<sup>51</sup> Charles Hayes and Michael Curtis, who was leading the Aga Khan-funded *Nation* newsgroup, helped plan the school. They all knew Tom Hopkinson, a Fleet Street legend who had been editing the black South African *Drum* magazine. He became the school's director and brought in one of his *Drum* colleagues, Englishman Frank Barton, as the lead instructor. Barton had worked on and edited pro-African newspapers in Zambia for a decade.<sup>52</sup> Their professional skills and record of resisting colonialism and white supremacy presumably made them acceptable for the politically tricky job they had.

Hopkinson landed in Nairobi in January 1963, found equipment and a space on the University College campus, and recruited an inaugural class by contacting newspapers, radio stations and government information offices.<sup>53</sup> The recruits would tend to come from established English-run media and government agencies that could spare a journalist for six months, provide for his family in his absence and guarantee him a job upon return. Most had a few years of experience, but little formal training. Hopkinson later described his work as 'the training of "quarter-made journalists" into "half-made journalists".'<sup>54</sup> A sizeable contingent of the 30 students in each six-month course came from the Aga Khan's *Nation*,

whose editor had done so much to start the training program. As Barton later recalled, ‘we trained a helluva lot of *Nation* people, four or five on every course.’<sup>55</sup> There were also plenty of students from government ministries and state-run newspapers. (The IPI also briefly ran a program in Nigeria but closed it in the face of political problems. Another IPI-backed institute opened there in 1971.<sup>56</sup>)

The work in Nairobi started at 8 am with a discussion of that morning’s *Standard* and *Nation*, both for content and presentation, before moving on to writing and editing exercises. The instructors regularly would give the students a set of facts and tell them to write a news story—initially they would work through it together but as they gained confidence the instructors would gradually pull back and let the students handle the article on their own. Later, the instructors would publicly critique the articles. Mock press conferences were also part of the lessons.<sup>57</sup> Overall, Barton’s goals for the practical training assumed a low level of beginning competence:

On the professional side the need was to turn out good all-arounders – men who could put a news story together in safe, uncluttered prose, who could report a speech getting the facts and figures correct, who could conduct an interview without inciting or insulting the subject, who could sub it (or, in the American idiom, copy-edit it), who understood something about type and the layout of a page, who could scale a picture, write a caption and who could put together a reasonable feature article.<sup>58</sup>

Barton later spelled out those lessons in detail in the *African Newsroom*, his adaptation of an earlier IPI guidebook for Asian journalists. Despite the customization it reads very much like a mid-twentieth century American journalism textbook. According to the text, reporters should approach their assignments ‘with complete impartiality’ and keep their opinions out of news articles. Those should be confined to editorial pages.<sup>59</sup> They needed to be able to write concise inverted pyramid news stories, concentrating on the facts and avoiding “purple passages”.<sup>60</sup> Toward the end of the course the students would go to the *Nation* and *East Africa Standard* newsrooms after the day’s classes to work with the papers’ sub-editors for hands-on learning.<sup>61</sup>

Also like the modern Western journalists—and unlike many earlier African newspaper publishers and writers—they were assumed to have a cultural and economic distance from their readers. They would not know them; they would have to imagine them. On London’s mass-circulation *Daily Mirror*, the imaginary reader had been ‘the wife of the Sheffield bus driver’; in Nairobi, Barton said that reader was ‘the man in the biscuit factory’.<sup>62</sup> Barton later explained that ‘the man in the biscuit factory’ was poorly educated, poorly paid and interested in little more than family or football—African journalists had to reach him in simple language and broaden his horizons, presumably to help him become modern.<sup>63</sup>

Because of the sensitivity of many new African governments, the instructors downplayed the IPI’s free-press message and instead emphasized technical proficiency and professional pride. They hoped these could carry the seeds of press freedom even in the most authoritarian states. Barton’s mantra was: ‘Do the best you can. Play it by ear. Hope for better days and in the meantime improve yourself technically.’<sup>64</sup> Hopkinson made the same point to IPI members in the West, arguing that trained journalists would want to be free—no matter where they worked. Finally, he played the trump Cold War card and

asked the rhetorical question: 'The alternative is these men will be trained by, say, the Chinese.'<sup>65</sup>

Cold War politics also made it into the curriculum in the afternoon classes on African geography, history, economics and law, some of which were taught by university faculty.<sup>66</sup> Kenyan cabinet ministers, members of parliament, foreign correspondents and foreign diplomats—Soviet and American, Egyptian and Israeli—also lectured at the school.<sup>67</sup> English classes featured topical books—George Orwell and Chinua Achebe's works were the most popular.<sup>68</sup> Other books came courtesy of the British Information Research Department (IRD) anti-Communist propaganda agency, whose Nairobi representative reported in 1966 that the IPI school 'welcomes all the books IRD can supply.'<sup>69</sup> Publicly, Hopkinson tried to steer a middle course as Kenyan politics became increasingly polarized and dangerous—not wanting the school to be perceived as 'a mouthpiece for Western opinion.' In 1965 the Kenyan government had shut down a pro-Soviet training center backed by Vice President Oginga Odinga; Hopkinson feared the IPI could be next. To cover his bets, he invited Odinga to the school to speak. He came, lectured, animatedly fielded questions from the students and left—apparently pleased. The IPI remained unscathed.<sup>70</sup>

The program was getting good reviews from the British government, the Ford Foundation, and the American press.<sup>71</sup> When Hopkinson handed leadership to Barton at the end of 1966, he was named a Commander of the British Empire for his efforts.<sup>72</sup> It was harder to tell what the students thought about it all. Neither the IPI nor the Ford Foundation recorded their opinions for the archives. However, we do know about some. For example, journalist Tim Nyahunzvi had worked at newspapers in Zambia and Zimbabwe before coming to Nairobi in 1964. After his diploma he praised the emphasis on current events, English, shorthand and networking. He had met journalists from around Africa and made 'great friends.'<sup>73</sup>

Almost from the beginning the IPI was hoping to turn over its multi-national training to African-run institutions—aiming for the University of Nairobi (then the University College Nairobi). The IPI could maintain its mission, curriculum and connections without incurring political suspicion as an outside group. Formal control was not that important, Hopkinson told a 1965 foundation summit, saying: 'The more willing we are to hand over influence, the more influence we shall have.'<sup>74</sup> But dwindling funds and internal turf battles at Ford, the foundation's frustrations with the IPI's endless appetite for money, and the university's suspicions about a journalism program for students with sometimes sketchy credentials all led to delays.<sup>75</sup> After the IPI graduated its last class in 1968, the university was still in the planning stages. With delays, and Ford support vanishing, the IPI, UNESCO and the Kenyan Ministry of Education sought out short-term Scandinavian money and wound up with Danish journalist Jorgen Peterson as director of the new journalism diploma program. It launched in April 1970 with 32 students from eight countries, but without much IPI influence.<sup>76</sup> Barton advised, examined and occasionally lectured there, but he and the foundation had 'misgivings' about Peterson's competence, judgment and leadership.<sup>77</sup>

Ford and the IPI did not pull out of African journalism, however. They contributed the salary of an expatriate director to the Nigerian Institute of Journalism, which Nigerian publishers launched in 1971.<sup>78</sup> Ford continued to support the IPI's follow-up work for the Nairobi program, funding a quarterly *African Journalist* publication and a series of short-

term conferences and consultancies. It was all about building on the Nairobi program and creating self-sustaining connections and professional spirit among African journalists, according to Barton.

The network of more than 300 journalists all over English-speaking Africa who were trained under the Institutes' original Africa programme has been of inestimable value during the past year. Most of these men – and a few women – are now in key positions in the media and in ministries of information and this has meant being able to set up appointments and working programmes which might otherwise have taken weeks to arrange. Even more important has been the entrée which such contacts have afforded me in dealing with governments.<sup>79</sup>

More specific details on the alumni network are sketchy. IPI alumnus Tim Nyahunzvi returned to Zimbabwe and later ran the University of Harare's journalism school.<sup>80</sup> Cuthbert Katebe had been in the first IPI class, and by 1974 was a journalism lecturer in Zambia, and traveling to southern Sudan to help train other journalists.<sup>81</sup> Tsegaye Taddesse became head of the Ethiopian Journalists Association in 1974 and then flourished as the Reuters' correspondent in Ethiopia for 35 years under a range of dictatorial regimes.<sup>82</sup>

In 1975, Ford stopped the money flow to the IPI, satisfied that the institute had made progress on its goals of Africanizing the media, raising professional standards and assisting 'in aligning the media to the tasks of national development.'<sup>83</sup> Despite pleas from Barton and others in IPI, the once bountiful Ford money spigot had run dry. However, the institute continued its African trainings and consultations, but this time the work was financed primarily by West German foundations.<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

After 12 years and \$1 million in Africa both the IPI and the Ford Foundations were pleased with their work. The foundation pointed to the creation of networks and institutions, especially the permanent journalism schools that emerged in the 1970s, as a sign of success—despite the anemic state of the African press.<sup>85</sup> The IPI had expanded its reach and network to take in a new continent. The 1968 conference was in Nairobi, new African members had joined IPI and Nigerian editor L. K. Jakande had been elected chair of the executive board in 1972. The core commitment to press freedom took a beating, though. When UNESCO asked the IPI to weigh in on the controversial New World Information and Communication Order, the institute claimed to not worry about freedom but instead concentrate on what it could do consistently and well—training professional newspapermen, private or government to improve the technical and professional end products.<sup>86</sup> But at least when the Nigerian government jailed the IPI's former chairman, the institute campaigned to free him.<sup>87</sup> The Soviets also apparently believed the IPI was successful, giving it a backhanded compliment for its 'brainwashing' of Africans to mindlessly imitate Western commercial media and promote continued neo-colonialism under the cover of 'press freedom.'<sup>88</sup>

The IPI's training was a mixed bag for Africans. There were more professional African journalists staffing the formerly European-dominated newspapers in countries like Kenya.

Some individuals became prominent, such as Ethiopian Reuters correspondent Tsegaye Tadesse. Barton claimed that the IPI training boosted one man—unnamed in the article—from a post as an assistant PR man in rural Tanzania to the post of press attaché at the UN.<sup>89</sup> The expected burst of modern newspaper growth to aid nation-building had not happened, however. In fact, the number and circulation of newspapers declined in the first decade of independence in the face of costly imported equipment and newsprint, the poverty of potential readers and advertizers, and government repression.<sup>90</sup> But Western-style journalism education as exemplified by the IPI program had taken deep root in the new universities and journalism training institutes, endured the travails of the post-independence decades and remained a powerful influence on the continent's news media.

## Notes

1. Loughran, *Birth of a NATION*, 143.
2. Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire*; Hachten, "The Training of African Journalists."
3. Hachten, "The Training of African Journalists."
4. The IPI now boasts a global network. See the IPI website, <https://ipi.media/>
5. Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*; Latham, *Modernization as Ideology*.
6. Shah, *The Production of Modernization*; Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*; Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*.
7. Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century*.
8. Domatob, "Communication Training for Self-Reliance"; Murphy and Scotton, "Dependency and Journalism Education"; Okigbo and Pratt, "Curricula for Media Education".
9. Peterson and Hunter, "Print Culture in Colonial Africa"
10. Hachten, *Muffled Drums*, 146.
11. Ainslie, *The Press in Africa*, 57.
12. Chick, "Cecil King, the Press, and Politics," 379–83.
13. Gallay, "The English Missionary Press"; Hunter, 'Komyka and the Coming of a Chagga Public' and Ocitti, *Press, Politics and Public Policy in Uganda*, 19–26.
14. Hachten, *Muffled Drums*, 200–02.
15. Bourgault, *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 161–2.
16. Wall, "Visions of the African Press," 4.
17. Loughran, *Birth of a NATION*.
18. Newell, "Paradoxes of Press Freedom" and Hachten, *Muffled Drums*, 200–02.
19. Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, 187.
20. *Ibid.*, 119.
21. Armour, "The BBC."
22. Jenks, "Scramble for African Media."
23. "Report of the US Delegation,' (1962). Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU), group VIII, series 3, box 223, file 26. Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville (hereafter cited as CU).
24. J.T. Hughes to E.G. le Tocq (Kampala), 5 February 1963, Dominion Office (hereafter DO) 191/96, National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter cited as National Archives UK).

25. Petterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, 108–9.
26. Mikulewicz, “English J-Education System.”
27. Morris to Christofas, 10 September 1963, DO191/96. National Archives UK; Jenks, “Scramble for African Media.”
28. “CPU Training the Third World.” *IPI Report*. October 1983.
29. “Teaching Journalists How to Teach Journalism,” Don Rowlands, *IPI Report*, February 1970.
30. UNESCO, 1965, 32 and Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War*, 19–20.
31. Guebenlian to General Manager, 20 February 1965, 7 March 1965, African-Middle Eastern Training Project, 1961–1963, Box 3A, Reuters Archive, London.
32. Hachten, “The Training of African Journalists”.
33. Carty, “Crusader from Rhodesia”; Gallay, “The English Missionary Press.”
34. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 240–42.
35. UNESCO, *Professional Training for Mass Communication*, 32–3.
36. Hachten, “The Training of African Journalists,” 103.
37. Curran and Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility*, 7–108; Hallin and Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems*, 198–248; Schramm, *Media and National Development* and Report of the US Delegation, (1962). CU.
38. Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* and Le Mahieu, *A Culture for Democracy*.
39. Hachten, *Muffled Drums*, 200.
40. Blanchard, *Exporting the First Amendment*, 366.
41. IPI, *IPI*.
42. IPI, *IPI In Asia*, 15–6.
43. Rose to Gilpatric, 16 February 1961; Gilpatric to Rose, 23 February 1961, Folder 92, Box 14, Series 100, Record Group (RG) 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (hereafter cited as RFA).
44. IPI, *IPI*, 83–6.
45. IPI, *IPI in Asia*, 32–37; “Putting in Perspective”, *Vidura*, May 1967.
46. International Press Institute (Zürich) Asian Program, 29 January 1965, Folder 18, Box 13, series100, RG2, RFA.
47. Bell to Bundy, 19 April 1971, Request for Grant Aid, Section 1, Reel 4774. Ford Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (hereafter cited as FFA).
48. Rose to Stone, 10 January 1962, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
49. Barton, *African Assignment*, 8.
50. *Ibid.*, 7.
51. Minutes: Meeting of the Executive Board, Zurich, 7–8 December 1962, Rohan Rivett: Agendas and Progress Reports, 1963. International Press Institute Archives, International Press Institute, Vienna (henceforward IPI Archives).
52. Hopkinson, *Under Tropic*, 190–213; Bell to Bundy, 19 April 1971, FFA.
53. Barton, *African Assignment*, 11–7.
54. Note on Information Meeting on International Work of Press Institutes, 3/15-16/65, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
55. Loughran, *Birth of a NATION*, 143.
56. Evaluation of IPI Program, 12 August 1983, Grant Evaluation Reports, Section 3, Reel 4774, FFA.
57. Barton, *African Assignment*, 45–6, 60–7.

58. *Ibid.*, 18.
59. Barton, *African Newsroom*.
60. *Ibid.*, 12.
61. Barton, *African Assignment*, 46.
62. *Ibid.*, 56; Edwards, *Newspapermen*, 109.
63. Part Two of Special Survey, *IPI Report*, November 1983.
64. Barton, *African Assignment*, 43.
65. Africa Training Courses: Proposals for 1965 and Onwards, 14 February 1964, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
66. Report for the Year 1967, Grantee Narratives and Financial Report, Section 3, Reel 4774, FFA.
67. Barton, *African Assignment*, 16–7.
68. Hopkinson, *Under Tropic*, 219–20.
69. IRD report: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, 1964–1965. 9 March 1966, PR10556/3/G, FO1110/2074, National Archives UK.
70. Hopkinson, *Under the Tropic*, 255–62.
71. “Toward a Native Press”, *Time*, 15 July 1966; Preliminary Report on IPI, 10 June 1970, General Correspondence, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
72. Nadeau to Carmichael, IPI Evaluation, 16 May 1983, Grantee Evaluation Reports, Section 3, Reel 4774, FFA. Hopkinson’s next job was to research training needs of the British press.
73. “Esso Journalistic Award” (n.d.), Africa Scrapbook, IPI Archives.
74. Note on Information Meeting on International Work of Press Institutes, 3/15-16/65, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
75. Nadeau to Carmichael, IPI Evaluation, 16 May 1983, FFA.
76. “IPI’s ‘Pathfinder Project’,” *IPI Report*, April/May 1970.
77. Barton to Will, 11 September 1972, General Correspondence, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA; Hertz to Robin, 11 March 1970, General Correspondence, Section 4, Reel 4775, FFA.
78. Activities of the Nigerian Institute of Journalism, 25 May 1974, General Narrative and Financial Reports, Section 3, Reel 4774, FFA.
79. Report on the First Year of Africa Consultancy Program, Narrative and Financial Reports, Section 4, Reel 4774, FFA.
80. “Zimbabwean Veteran Journalist Nyahunzvi Dies,” *The Herald*, 22 September 2010. <https://www.herald.co.zw/zimbabwean-veteran-journalist-nyahunzvi-dies/>
81. *African Journalist*, June 1974.
82. Photo Caption, *African Journalist*, December 1974; “Senior Journalist and former Reuters Correspondent Reflects on Career,” *Ethiopia Observer*, 1 April 2016. <https://www.ethiopiaobserver.com/2016/04/01/senior-journalist-former-reuters-correspondent-reflects-career/>.
83. Bell to Bundy, 10 July 1973, FFA
84. “Barton Poised for News Training Plan in Africa,” *IPI Report*, May/June 1975.
85. Bell to Bundy, 10 July 1973, FFA; “First IPI Assembly in Africa,” *IPI Report*, June 1968.
86. IPI, *Strengthening the Third World Press*.
87. “New Regime Releases former IPI Chairman,” *IPI Report*, October 1985.
88. Obukhov, “The Training of African Journalists and the West.”
89. “Success Goes with Speed,” *IPI Report*, June 1968.
90. “The Disappearing Daily Newspapers of Africa,” *IPI Report*, January 1972.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Bibliography

- Ainslie, Rosalynde. *The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present*. London: Gollancz, 1966.
- Armour, Charles. "The BBC and the Development of Broadcasting in British Colonial Africa 1946-1956." *African Affairs* 83, no. 332 (1984): 359-402.
- Barton, Frank. *African Assignment: The Story of IPI's Six-Year Training Programme in Tropical Africa*. Zurich: The International Press Institute, 1969.
- Barton, Frank, ed. *The African Newsroom: IPI Manual on Techniques of Reporting, News-Editing, Sub-Editing, Photo-Editing and Feature Writing*. Zurich: International Press Institute, 1972.
- Barton, Frank. *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance*. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Blanchard, Margaret A. *Exporting the First Amendment: The Press-Government Crusade of 1945-1952*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Bourgault, Louise M. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Carty, James W. Jr. "Crusader From Rhodesia Teaches Journalists From Throughout Africa." *The Journalism Educator* 29, no. 1 (1974): 11-12.
- Chalaby, Jean K. *The Invention of Journalism*. Houndsmill: Palgrave, 1998.
- Chick, John. "Cecil King, the Press, and Politics in West Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 3 (1996): 375-393.
- Curran, James, and Jean Seaton. *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*. 5th ed. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Domatob, Jerry Komia. "Communication Training for Self-Reliance in Black Africa: Challenges and Strategies." *Gazette* 40, no. 3 (1987): 167-182.
- Edwards, Ruth Dudley. *Newspapermen: Hugh Cudlipp, Cecil Harmsworth King and the Glory Days of the Daily Mirror*. London: Secker & Warburg, 2003.
- Ford Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
- Gallay, Pierre. "The English Missionary Press of East and Central Africa." *Gazette* 14, no. 2 (1968): 129-139.
- Gilman, Nils. *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Hachten, William A. "The Training of African Journalists." *Gazette* 14, no. 2 (1968): 101-108.
- Hachten, William A. *Muffled Drums: The News Media in Africa*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971.
- Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Heinlein, Frank. *British Government Policy and Decolonization, 1945-1963: Scrutinizing the Official Mind*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Hopkinson, Tom. *Under the Tropic*. London: Hutchinson, 1984.
- Hunter, Emma. "Komyka and the Coming of a Chagga Public." In *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell, 283-305. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016.

- International Press Institute. *IPI: The First Ten Years: The Story of the International Press Institute*. Zurich: IPI, 1962.
- International Press Institute. *IPI In Asia: The First Five Years of the IPI Asian Programme*. Zurich: IPI, 1966.
- International Press Institute Archives, International Press Institute, Vienna.
- IPI. *Strengthening the Third World Press*. Paris: UNESCO, 1978.
- Jenks, John. "Scramble for African Media: The British Government, Reuters, and Thomson in the 1960s." *American Journalism* 33, no. 1 (2016): 2–19.
- Latham, Michael. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and 'Nation Building' in the Kennedy Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Le Mahieu, D. L. *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain Between the Wars*. London: Clarendon, 1988.
- Lerner, Daniel. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press, 1958.
- Loughran, Gerard. *Birth of a NATION: The Story of a Newspaper in Kenya*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Mazov, Sergey. *A Distant Front in the Cold War: the USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956-1964*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010.
- Mikulewicz, R. T. "English J-education System Emphasizes on-Job Training." *The Journalism Educator* 33, no. 1 (1978): 50–53.
- Murphy, Sharon M., and James F. Scotton. "Dependency and Journalism Education in Africa: Are There Alternative Models." *Africa Media Review* 1, no. 3 (1987): 11–35.
- Newell, Stephanie. "Articulating Empire: Newspaper Readership in Colonial West Africa." *New Formations* 73 (2011): 26–42. doi:10.3898/NEWF.73.02.2011.
- Newell, Stephanie. "Paradoxes of Press Freedom in Colonial West Africa." *Media History* 22, no. 1 (2016): 101–122.
- Obukhov, Lev. "The Training of African Journalists and the West." *Democratic Journalist*, no. 5 (1971): 4–7.
- Ocitti, Jim. *Press, Politics and Public Policy in Uganda: The Role of Journalism in Democratization*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.
- Okigbo, Charles, and Cornelius B. Pratt. "Curricula for Media Education in Anglophone Africa." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 52, no. 3 (1997): 8–15.
- Parmar, Inderjeet. *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Peterson, Derek R., and Emma Hunter. "Print Culture in Colonial Africa." In *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell, 1–45. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016.
- Petterson, Donald. *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2002.
- Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
- Schramm, Wilbur. *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- Scott-Smith, Giles. *Networks of Power: Networks of Empire: The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France and Britain 1950-1970*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008.

- Shah, Hemant. *The Production of Modernization: Daniel Lerner, Mass Media and The Passing of Traditional Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011.
- UNESCO. *Developing Information Media in Africa; Press, Radio, Film, Television: Meeting of Experts on Development of Information Media in Africa; Paris; 1962*. Paris: UNESCO, 1962.
- UNESCO. *Professional Training for Mass Communication*. Paris: UNESCO, 1965.
- Wall, Melissa. "Visions of the African Press in Colonial Kenya: What the Nationalists Imagined." Paper presented at the annual meeting for the International communication association, San Diego, CA, 2003. doi:ica\_proceeding\_11979.PDF.
- Wilcox, Dennis. *Mass Media in Black Africa: Philosophy and Control*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.
- Wilford, Hugh. *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**John Jenks**, Communication Arts & Sciences, Dominican University, 7900 W. Division St. River Forest Illinois 60305-1066, United States of America. Email: [jjenks@dom.edu](mailto:jjenks@dom.edu)