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A STUDY OF CENSORSHIP IN KENYA: WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE  
TO ITS EFFECTS ON THE AVAILABILITY OF LITERATURE IN LIBRARIES.

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original  
work and has not been presented  
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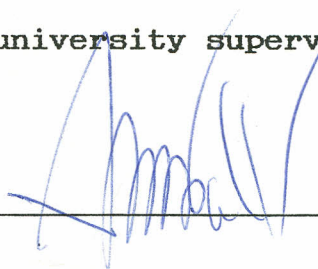
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(Candidate)

This Research Project has been  
submitted for examination  
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university supervisor

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_



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D E D I C A T I O N

This work is dedicated first to my dear father, Ezekiel Onyango, and to my beloved mother, Edwina Adera Onyango, who, at that early age, introduced me to the wonderful world of books. It is further dedicated to my brother, Pauli Onuma, and friend, Francis Githinji for the encouragement they gave me to change from a Physical Scientist to an Information Scientist.

## ABSTRACT

This is a study of censorship activities in Kenyan Libraries during the period 1966 to 1992. The themes covered by the study include censorship trend, magnitude of the censorship as a problem, the censors, the actions taken by librarians, and the level of awareness of the proscribed publications.

The study has established that in the period covered:

- . censorship was on the increase and that censorship increased with increase in political turbulence
- . that most of the items proscribed are print materials
- . that the level of awareness of the proscribed or challenged items is low
- . that the government is the most active censor
- . that most of the controversial items are censored on political grounds
- . that the librarian has not done much to keep censorship off the libraries.

The study further established that, due to the political climate, information on censorship activities was not readily forthcoming. The researcher therefore feels that there is room for further research in this area so as to provide more comprehensive data on the topic.

## A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The ALA World encyclopedia defines censorship as

..... a prohibitive act directed against the original forms of information or materials conveyed - or intended to be conveyed - on printed page, on T.V., in motionpictures, on the radio, in works of art, in voice recordings, or in a variety of electronic data transfer or communication. .... it is also applied to the contents of such live events as stage plays, musicals, dances, public speeches, or art exhibits.<sup>1</sup>

As another author puts it, censorship is

.....a policy geared towards the restricting of public expression of ideas, opinions, concepts, and impulses which may have the capacity to undermine the governing authority or the social and moral order which that authority<sub>2</sub> considers itself bound to protect.

The term 'censor', we are told, originated from the Roman Empire where magistrates, were appointed to take census of the population. These magistrates called censors, were also given the responsibility of protecting traditional values. They were regarded by the Roman officials as protectors of high moral principles, integrity, and acceptable lifestyles among the citizenry. It is worth noting that ordinary

citizens in the Roman Empire who spoke out too freely were persecuted and punished by officials of the government, for example, Ovid (43 B.C. - 17 A.D.) and Juvenal (65 - 128 A.D.) were banished from their homeland because of their unorthodox literary works.

However, in practice, censorship has existed in various forms from the time immemorial. The Assyrian librarian, Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) who developed a collection of more than 30000 clay tablets practised censorship by removing from the library collection whatever the king found objectionable. In the Roman Empire, public library works by Julius Caesar were removed on the order of emperor Augustine (63 B.C - 14 A.D). The emperor Julian (361 - 363 A.D.), founder of the Roman libraries in Constantinople and Antioch attempted to destroy all christian texts.

The introduction of the printing technology in the mid 15th century then stimulated the censorship of books. The Roman Catholic Church for example initiated pre-publication censorship of printed books in an attempt to control heretical ideas. In the 16th century the Roman catholic and the protestant churches leaders sought to control the spread of those religious ideas that were in conflict with their theological teachings.<sup>3</sup>

In England, the Act of Supremacy, passed in 1534, gave King Henry III authority to punish heretics.

Church authorities were required to submit their books to higher officials for prior approval before publication. This act has been revised and changed over the years and was later transmitted to Kenya during the colonial era. Section 52 of the penal code which stipulates that:

....the minister responsible, by order published in the Kenya Gazette, may prohibit the publication or importation of any literature if it appears to him that it is necessary in the interest of public order, health or morals, the security of the state, the administration of justice or the maintenance of the authority<sup>4</sup> and impartiality of the judiciary

is one such act. Others include the Defamation Act, the Preservation of Public Security Act, the Public Order Act, and the Official Secrets Act among others. However censorship has not existed without resistance.

Resistance to censorship or its attempts, too, has along history. The expression "freedom of speech" can be traced as far back as the beginning of human history. This started with the individuals whose works became victims of the censors, and was immediately followed by the sympathizers. However, this has grown and is today endorsed in most constitutional documents under the title of the Bill of Rights. This Bill of Rights can itself be traced to the famous Magna Carta - signed by King John of England in the 12th century. In 1689 a legislation (Bill of Rights) was passed in

England which spelt out what the government or state would not do against the citizen.

Following the French Revolution, the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen was passed in 1789 which included the freedom of the press. U.S.A endorsed the Bill of Rights in her constitution at independence (1776) though the Bill did not gain popularity until after the second world war.

In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed by the United Nations and its articles 19 and 27 state respectively that:

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

and that

Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, enjoy the arts, and to share in the scientific advancement and its benefits

It is interesting to note that during the colonial period in Kenya no such freedom was accorded the 'natives'. Infact, legal censorship in Kenya has its roots in the colonial past. Songs, poetry, books, plays, and dances that were deemed critical of the colonial structures were frequently banned and the artists and composers jailed. For example, just before the first world war, Me Katili, leader of the Giriama resistance movement to British rule, was

arrested and detained. Her songs protested against forced labour and military recruitment and called upon foreigners to leave Kenya. Many Giriama youths were arrested for singing these songs.<sup>6</sup> Also the Luo Thrift Press was by early 1950's printing half a dozen publications in Kikuyu, Luo, Kikamba, Swahili, and Maragoli. All these, except only the Nyanza Times by Oginga Odinga, were suppressed with the Emergency of 1952. Those African Publications that remained were instructed to publish in swahili to facilitate censoring.<sup>7</sup>

After independence, Kenya saw virtually no great change.<sup>8</sup> The independent Kenya inherited all the colonial laws and institutions with the only change being in the introduction of the constitution. A domestic Bill of Rights for Kenya made its first appearance in 1960. This was closely modeled on the Bill of Rights passed in England, but it made little difference in practice. It has exceptions such as the public safety, the public order, public morality or health, and the protection of other's rights, that it has been virtually ineffective. It cannot defend the author, the publisher, the librarian, or even the reader when faced with a case of censorship.

As a result many readers have found themselves in

jail for being found in possession of this or that publication. David Lengazi Mzirai, an engineer with the ministry of Transport and communication for instance was sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment for possessing seditious literature.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The list of proscribed publications given in the appendix (by no means exhaustive) is a testimony to the magnitude of censorship in Kenya. Further to this, it is not uncommon for publications to be confiscated and publishers arrested as a result of an article in the publication being objectionable to the authorities, an example being the impounding of 30,000 copies of 'society' magazine by police on January 5th 1992 followed by the arrest of the magazine's editor later in April.<sup>10</sup>

Censorship has also been applied on individual author's works because the authors held opinions divergent with those of the government of the day. This has forced many writers to seek sanctuary abroad, thereby impoverishing further the country's already poor cultural life.<sup>11</sup> The fact that a good number of the country's writers have gone into exile elsewhere in Africa, or left the continent altogether, inevitably, has an impact on the writers left behind. As Ashworth and Fichardt have noted, this makes "many writers... afraid to say anything which might offend the government... resulting in an extraordinary degree of self censorship."<sup>12</sup> Irungu affirms this when he states that in the Kenyan Universities, "speakers have had their papers scrutinized before

permits could be issued. No doubt such policies have promoted self-censorship and in turn affected the character and the quality of the papers."<sup>13</sup>

A further illustration of this is the requirement that students and researchers, especially those working in the social science disciplines, obtain a permit from the Office of the President before they can be allowed access to certain public records.<sup>14</sup> Such permits are never granted for works to be carried out in certain "sensitive" topics or even to certain individuals. Maina wa Kinyatti was for instance, in 1987, stopped (and later arrested) for researching on the Mau Mau movement - a subject he was told was politically sensitive and would divide the people of Kenya.<sup>15</sup> Miruka sums up the effects of such restrictions when he says that "The fear thus installed in the artists... could be blamed for the... literary desert in the country. Publishers have been wary of producing works critical of the status quo..."<sup>15</sup>

In view of this then it would not be an exaggeration to say that the ideas and information that the public gets are, by and large, the only ideas and information they are allowed to get. This, (among other factors) has contributed towards scarcity of stimulating reading materials within the country.

The increase in censorship activities over the years (as shown by the list of proscribed publications) is a two-fold problem to libraries. In the first

place, literary desert has forced libraries to depend more on foreign published literature which in most cases, apart from the obvious financial implications, has not been quite relevant to local situations. A user seeking information on say, "Document delivery systems," is more likely to find almost inexhaustible literature on computerized document delivery systems - a technology that is yet to effectively catch - up in Kenya. A user looking for literature on "library censorship", too, is more likely to be treated to a situation existing in United States or United Kingdom rather than the Kenyan situation. Libraries, thus, fail to satisfy the needs of their users. Secondly, libraries, especially those catering to the public, have the responsibility and duty to develop and sustain a positive reading habit among the citizenry. But lack of variety in literature can only be a negative stimulant to reading.

Therefore, in libraries, censorship is seen as a problem from three angles, the cost of providing literature, the relevance of the literature provided to our local needs, and the effectiveness of the literature in cultivating and sustaining positive reading attitudes.

## 1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

That censorship is prevalent in Kenya currently is beyond question. The issues that this study is targeted at and the questions intended to be answered are:-

- (1) To determine the types of subject materials most prone to censorship and why?
- (2) To determine censorship trend. Is it on the increase or in the decrease?
- (3) To ascertain whether censorship, as a problem, is being felt in libraries. If not then why?
- (4) To determine who the censors are i.e who, out of the groups mentioned in the limitations, really are the censors in Kenya.?
- (5) To determine how complaints on the offending items are channeled to the librarian
- (6) To determine the actions taken by the librarian in such cases.
- (7) To assess the level of awareness of the librarians and library users of the proscribed items.

### 1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A study of censorship with specific reference to the Kenyan situation is significant in several ways.

(a) In verbal discussions with some practicing librarians, many showed the tendency to dismiss censorship as a problem currently affecting libraries in Kenya. To some extent this may be considered as true-especially considering the fact that no librarian has so far been taken to task to justify his inclusion of a given title in the collection. It is the researcher's belief, however that censorship is more prevalent than the librarians cared to admit and that, directly or otherwise, it does influence the direction or inclination of view-points in the library collections. For instance, the list given in the appendix suggests heavier restriction on publications conveying communist ideas. The exclusion of such works from the library would tend to direct library collections towards a capitalist view point and this gives a slanted picture of ideologies. It is the researcher's view that, as Matogo says:

In the library... ideas, whether left or right-wing must be allowed to compete against each other in a free social milieu<sup>17</sup>

In any case Kenya is a dynamic society and, if

for librarians, authors, publishers, and even readers to prepare before hand. This then forms the first significance of this intended study - to come up with quantitative as well as qualitative data that might help reduce the surprises that may be awaiting the unsuspecting librarians, authors publishers, teachers and readers who may be of the belief that they are unlikely to ever be faced with a censorship issue.

(b) Secondly, the study is intended to bring together the isolated cases that have been reported in books, journals and newspapers (including the Kenya gazette) over the years. It is expected that some quantitative data will emerge to determine the subjects of the materials censored, the formats of the information carriers in each case, the reasons given for the objection and the action taken. It is the researcher's belief that this information will have practical value to teachers and educationists in designing curriculum, to librarians in designing their collection development programmes and to leaders and government authorities in making statements and decisions from an informed background. For instance, in the editorial of the Kenya Times, January 13, 1984 the following statement was given:

exposure to pornographic and crime literature can only encourage attitudes of crime and pornography in the youth<sup>18</sup>

This could have been what led the late Hon. Echakara

(then an assistant minister), in parliament, on March 17, 1984 to make the statement that the government would ban the importation of such literature because: "We want the country to grow as a moral society".<sup>19</sup>

The question that such statements, from people in authority, raises is whether they are backed by any factual evidence or scientific data. By making such casual decisions, could our leaders not be confining our already poor literature to the reading needs of the juvenile? This then leads to the third significance of the study i.e.

(c) To act as a challenge for the academic community to come up with a scientific study of such literature identified in this study as objectionable and determine their effects on the morals or social well being of the Kenyan society. It is worth noting that such studies conducted elsewhere have shown no definite negative effects, as supported by the following statement in the ALA World Encyclopedia:

many incidents of censorship are currently based on the assumption that exposure to certain ideas, words, images or sounds will produce undesirable or illegal behavior on the part of persons who have read, seen, felt, or heard them. But results of many scientific studies have failed to provide definitive answer to this question. Responses and reactions to materials deemed to be objectionable or obscene have been unique; they have varied from one group to another.<sup>20</sup>

(d) Finally, information on who the censors are

in which subject areas, coupled with a good background knowledge of a given library's user community should enable the librarian to tread on safe grounds in his/her collection development without over-compromising the reading needs of the users. At the same time the information will enable him (librarian) to know which areas in the collection to anticipate problems from and thus prepare in advance to handle the situation.

#### 1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Censorship is a wide concept both in its sources, the time span of its practice, and its subject dimensions. Therefore for objectivity to be maintained in this study, it is necessary to have limitations on all the three dimensions. In this study, the coverage shall remain limited to:-

1. Censorship as administered by government officials, the publishing houses, the librarian, and library users.
2. Censorship with respect to published literature or literature intended for publication. No attempt will be made to study censorship as applied to non-published matter such as exhibitions and speeches.
3. Censorship or its attempts as have been reported in the Kenya Gazette, in the daily or weekly newspapers, by publishers, and by librarians.
4. Censorship activities during the years of the post-independent Kenya.

## 1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Certain terminologies and phrases have been used in this paper. Some of these terminologies may have potentials of dual interpretations depending on the reader's background. For the purpose of communication with all readers, such terms have been defined in this section. However, the reader should note that the definitions given may not necessarily be the dictionary definition of the terms, but are defined only in the context in which they have been applied in this study

1. **Court Contempt:** A statement or act, oral or written that portrays disobedience or disrespect to court officials or their functions.

2. **Defamation:** This consists of a false statement concerning another person without a lawful justification. Such statements tend to lower a person's image among other members of the society generally, or tend to make the society shun or avoid such a person. Defamation falls in two categories.

(a) **Libel:** Is the defamatory statement made in some permanent and visible form e.g. in a book or newspaper.

(b) **Slander:** Is that defamatory statement which is contained in a speech or in some sign or gesture but not permanently recorded.

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- 3. **Obscene Literature:** Literature that is abhorrent to morality or the virtues of a society, often is taken to be literature designed to incite lust or depravity.
- 4. **Pornographic Literature:** This is literature, written or pictorial, that depicts erotic behaviour and/or is intended to cause sexual excitement.
- 5. **Seditious Literature:** The type of literature that would cause incitement resistance to, or insurrection against the lawful authority.
- 6. **Treasonable Literature:** The type of literature that depicts the compassing or imagining the death of the president of Kenya or his depose by unlawful means from his position as president by a person owing allegiance to the Republic whether in Kenya or elsewhere.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

Literature related to censorship is so wide and varied that a study of this size can not and should not aim to attain exhaustivity. Instead, what has been presented in this chapter may only be considered as a filtered representation of opinions of others whose works pre-ceeded the present study in this subject field.

#### 2.1 THE LIBRARIAN AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

Any discussion on censorship is, in essence, a discussion of human freedom or, more precisely, the freedom of the mind. This freedom is what has come to be called intellectual freedom. Oboler defines intellectual freedom as:

the right to freedom in research and in the publication of results of that research, the right to freedom of discussion in the classroom in dealing with subjects on which the lecturer had acknowledged expertise, and the same rights to speak or write off campus as any other citizen<sup>1</sup>

The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences defines intellectual freedom as :

that freedom which is claimed by a college or University professor to write or speak the truth as he sees it, without fear of dismissal by his superiors or by authorities outside

this college or university. The term also denotes the corporate freedom claimed by an institution of higher learning to determine its policies and practices<sup>2</sup> without restraint from outside agencies

The connotation given to the institutions of higher learning here is wide and I would view media freedom or the freedom of press to fall within intellectual freedom. Thus, strictly speaking, intellectual freedom or the freedom of the mind means the freedoms of speech and press.

To the librarian, intellectual freedom goes beyond simply speech and press. The rights with which the freedom is associated come with added obligations, responsibilities, and duties which gives the librarian various roles to play in dealing with intellectual freedom. As Oboler says:

... he must... be a staunch defender of intellectual freedom. He must go beyond the passive posture of simply defending it, but must actively promulgate it. By so doing he should clearly define what is meant by intellectual freedom (in his locality), and also who its opponents are, whether they are simply ideological or active, ...It is... not enough simply to be an opponent of the opponents of intellectual freedom, the librarian must also support its friends<sup>3</sup>

But claims have been made that in carrying out these duties the librarian, too, exercises censorship.

White asserts that :

some librarians...carry out this censorial... tradition by circulating... only works of high literary merit or the proper moral content<sup>4</sup>

Here, White was referring to the librarians' preference of one book to another in the cause of selection. His assertion is confirmed by Donnelson who, in two surveys of Arizona teachers and libraries to uncover some reasons for censorship, received replies to that effect. One librarian answered "We haven't got a damned thing worth censoring"<sup>5</sup>

Another teacher wrote:

No censorship problems. No, nobody here would support us. When they hire... teachers here, they make sure that teachers are either cowards or pliable. Those that are cowards present no threat... Those that are pliable are brainwashed. Nobody here ever taught anything remotely worth censoring. And if you think that's bad, you ought to see out library. The library has even less to offer than the English classes.

One teacher - librarian replied:

The teachers and librarian are hired by the school board which represents that public. The public, therefore, has the right to ask any of us to avoid using any material repugnant to any parent or student. Therefore, I would not want to recommend or teach or handle any book anyone might object to for any reason.

Yet another teacher answered:

Our librarian advises that we do not have a problem because she anticipates that if such books as .... were in our library we might have a problem, and she does not put them on the shelves. It is available in paperback; if they want to read it, let them buy it she says

Reichman, however, makes a distinction between the processes involved in selection and censorship. He says

that:

selection is carried out by trained professionals, familiar with the wide variety of the available choices and guarded by a clear principle of the purpose to be fulfilled by including the item in the collection. The professional... has opinions, viewpoints and values, but one purpose of the professional training is to develop the ability to recognize and transcend bias. By contrast, the censor's judgement is that of an individual, and it is most frequently based on criteria that are inherently personal and often intolerant.... where the censor seeks to exclude materials, the selector looks for ways to include the widest possible variety of textbooks and other library materials<sup>6</sup>

## 2.2 THE CENSORS

When one reads the existing literature, it is easy to come up with the impression that it is always the government who is the censor, the body that limits the citizen's right to free access to information. This view has been given because most writers on this subject have been critics of the government. For instance, articles 1 and 3 of the principles set up by the Charter for a Free Press<sup>7</sup> portrays the government as the major obstacle to the free flow of information. In his article 'Truth From Below', Carver says that:

The current regimes in Africa have inherited their hostile attitudes towards the press from the founding fathers of the continent. Most of those early nationalists were uncomfortable with an independent press. ... Their solution was to bring the press<sup>8</sup> under tight control, the legacy of censorship.

Ashworth and Fichardt also have noted that

Many governments have tried to stifle creativity and suppress expression, to mould the expression of writers, and to prevent the writers' voices from reaching their audience...

This trend of thought is further seen from scholarly papers like Irungu's where he states that:

Kenya's political establishment has, since independence been engaged in a systematic campaign to emasculate academic freedom....<sup>10</sup>

Miruka, in his article 'censorship no more' has also expressed his optimism that, with the advent of political pluralism, there will be more likelihood of reduction (if not total elimination) of censorship activities."<sup>11</sup> Here Miruka, too, is suggesting that censorship activities originate mainly from the politicians or the government in particular.

Still, even heads of states have at one time or another given this picture-that the government is mainly to blame for the restriction of intellectual activities. President Museveni, for instance, in his welcome address to the delegates to the Kampala symposium on 'Academic Freedom, Research and the social responsibility of the intellectuals in Africa' raised that concern that many political leaders have banned certain books, journals and plays and executed or sent into exile hundreds of academicians.<sup>12</sup>

However, attempts to limit individuals' rights to knowledge and ideas come from many sources. As Broderick observed:

In the public library setting, complaints may originate with the board of trustee, the directors, and the professional or clerical staff. The public library will also receive complaints from individual members of the public as well as from organized groups<sup>13</sup>

Matogo agrees with Broderick's assertion that even the librarians can also be a censor in the process of selection or weeding.<sup>14</sup> As has been mentioned before in this chapter, White<sup>15</sup>, Donnelson<sup>16</sup> and several teachers and librarians<sup>17</sup> confirm that the public, organized groups, teachers, school boards, etc are all possible origins of censorship.

### 2.3 ORIGINS OF CENSORSHIP

Ochieng' has asked the question:

why is freedom of the press... confronted with so many<sup>18</sup> insuperable difficulties in the third world?

Reasons advanced for the objections of the publications or the circulation of a given literature are as varied as are the censors. Most authors, however, agree that the most common reasons include obscenity, pornography, defamation, treason and sedition. Matogo, in his definition of censorship, also summarizes the reasons

when he says that such literature

May have the capacity to undermine the governing authority or social and moral order which that authority considers itself bound to protect.<sup>19</sup>

Whereas the reasons for censorship are well agreed upon by the different authors, the origins of it has not been as unanimously expressed. Some authors have argued that it is the constitution that has left too many loopholes to guarantee intellectual freedom. However, Ochieng' has the opinion that it is the economic and cultural conditions of these third world countries that has led to the loopholes. According to his argument:

It is not the absence of constitutional guarantees that is responsible for our .... attacks on the press and other media of intellectual expression. On the contrary it is the shaky economic and cultural ground on which our political systems stand - a ground paved by colonialism and maintained by neo-colonialism - which is responsible for the sustained onslaughts on free expression.<sup>25</sup>

Ochieng's concern here was with the inadequacy, in the third world countries, of the technology and expertise to handle the collection, organization, and dissemination of information: a situation which, if unchecked, would ensure a uni-directional flow of information from the developed to the under developed world.

Ainslie has said the following:

... he who controls communication controls more than the means to transmit messages. He has in

prior censorship involves the suppression of the work before its publication. At this stage the writer is basically affected. This is when publishers choose what to publish - thereby practising self - censorship. Post facto censorship takes place after publication. This type of censorship is basically carried out by booksellers and librarians. It is also carried out by appointed censors or other individual censors.<sup>29</sup>

They (Achieng and Ouma) add that the two main categories can further be re-categorized into political censorship, religious censorship, obscenity censorship and media or intellectual freedom censorship.

Righter<sup>30</sup> warns that, in the pre-publication censorship, publishers are not the only private censors, printers in a number of cases have refused to set in type copies submitted to them.

## 2.5 METHODS OF CENSORSHIP

Ashworth and Fichardt have said that, to silence its critics, governments have used a diversity of means including

physical abuse and psychological intimidation; prolonged detention without charge or trial; overt and subtle censorship; the co-optation of writers; the deprivation of vital material needs and the festering of an atmosphere that inhibits intellectual and cultural pursuits<sup>31</sup>

Irungu<sup>32</sup> agrees with the above when he says, of the Kenyan state, that the state's control of the judiciary and mass media, use of terror, the political appointment of top administrators at the Universities

and other institutions of higher learning, the presence of student informants, the arrest and incarceration of lecturers of differing political persuasion, the de-registration of the academic staff union, the abusing of lecturers in society, and the scrutinizing of speaker's papers before license can be issued are common ways of silencing government critics.

Miruka<sup>33</sup> has also pointed out that one other means of censorship in Kenya has been the withdrawal of set books from the secondary school syllabus because the authors held divergent views from those of the political establishment.

Kiratu<sup>34</sup>, the Music Composer's Association (MCA) chairman, points out that censorship of songs that criticize the government is often effected by banning the music from being played over the state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC).

Carver<sup>35</sup> has categorized the above into three groups, that is

- (a) the physical attacks on journalists and journals. The same can be extended to authors and books

(b) the legal frame work of censorship where there is lack of constitutional safeguards for journalists, authors, licensing procedures, defamation and sedition laws.

(c) economic restraint, a very powerful tool effected through such methods as the government's ownership of printing press the withdrawal of state advertising, and the discriminatory use of foreign exchange allocations for newsprint.

Ochieng<sup>36</sup> however dismisses the government ownership of the newspaper ( and by extension the printing press) as contributing to the infringement of the freedom of the press.

Githii on the other hand, in his personal vendetta with Odinga, gives another dimension; the Kenya News Agency (KNA). His assertion goes that

... could Mr. Odinga tell us the intentions behind the creation of the Kenya News Agency with aid from communist countries. Was the intention to centralize the news at source and, therefore, promote censorship, or was it to ensure the widest dissemination of news?...<sup>37</sup>

Surprisingly, even journalists and authors, a group that has been in the fore-front in the freedom of the press campaign, have also engaged in self censorship. This arises from the legal restrictions imposed on them which, as Miruka<sup>38</sup> observes, make them shy away from sensitive topics. One well known

journalist/author who has spoken in favour of self censorship is Ng'weno who says that

... there isn't enough national unity...the press should confine itself to the difficult task of helping unify the nation... most likely it will involve restrictions on what can be published or commented upon. Which should ideally be self imposed<sup>39</sup>

Another move towards self censorship by the press is seen in the formation of the press complaint commission in Kenya. This body ( composed of the journalists themselves) once issued the statement that

the media should not publish anything that is obscene, vulgar<sup>40</sup> or offensive to the public good taste...

Self-censorship by librarians has already been discussed. Broderick says that

...if a librarian objects to a library book, chances are he/she will not select it for purchase, will restrict access to it, or will remove it after a problem has surfaced.<sup>41</sup>

One aspect of censorship that seems to be less addressed is the seizure of imported publications at the entry ports by customs officials. That this method, too, is being used in Kenya is reflected in Hon. Echakaras's statement in parliament that the government would ban the importation of certain type of literature.<sup>42</sup>

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## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 INSTRUMENTATION

Data necessary to help meet the objectives listed above was collected from public records, by questionnaires, and through verbal discussions with librarians.

**3.1.1 Public Records:** A list of officially proscribed publications was obtained from the penal code, cap 63. Further information on objectionable publication had earlier been obtained through discussions with librarians and also from newspaper reports and periodicals. These were compiled into one comprehensive list. This list was used in writing out the questionnaires (see appendices 3,4 and 5). The official list for non book materials could not be obtained because the officials concerned were afraid of the consequences of releasing such information and suspicious of the intentions of the research.

**3.1.2 Written Questionnaires:** Questionnaires included in appendices 3, 4, 5 and 6, were served on government officials, libraries, library users, and publishers respectively. However the Government officials declined to participate - giving one excuse or another.

Some of the librarians originally proposed as part of the study refused to participate. As a result more libraries had to be brought in. In total, seventeen libraries within Nairobi were contacted. Of these, only fourteen accepted to participate.

Whereas the questionnaires were intended to be self administering, problems that arose at the pre-testing stage necessitated these to be turned into interviews. The questionnaires were therefore served on the librarians and an appointment made for a date when the researcher could meet the librarian and, together, fill in the questionnaire. Of the fourteen libraries that were willing to participate, only eleven libraries eventually filled the questionnaire. The composition of these respondent libraries was; two school libraries, four academic libraries and five public libraries.

The choice of the libraries was carefully made, taking into consideration their sizes, organization, staffing, and their accessibility (i.e being within reach of the researcher). However the number of school libraries contacted was particularly unrepresentative of the total number of such libraries within reach. This had to be so because most of these libraries have no organization in the library sense and are run by teachers or other staff with no formal library training. It was the researcher's view that such libraries would

not serve the purpose of this study.

The questionnaires to the librarians and library users were pretested by administering them to the librarians of Kenya Science Teachers College, Kenya Technical Teacher's College, and the Bureau of Educational Research in Kenyatta University. Necessary corrections were made before administering the questionnaire to the intended respondents. The same was done for the library users.

Data collection assistants were used to distribute the questionnaires to the library users present in these libraries. The assistants themselves were drawn from the undergraduate students of Kenyatta University and were briefed on what to expect. They were further presented with the questionnaire to fill themselves and ask questions where anything was not clear. The target had been to reach 10 users per library participating in the study. A total of 102 filled questionnaires came back.

### 3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysed was obtained from answers given to questions in the questionnaires and interview sessions.

Answers to question 3 for librarians and question 4 for the library users were sorted out by year when the materials were challenged. The titles of the items and years when they were challenged were recorded on

the table in the appendix. From this appendix the numbers challenged was sorted out in five-year terms and tabulated in the table 1. From these figures, a graph (figure 1) of the number of publications censored against the year was drawn to show the trend in censorship. Discussion thereafter was based on both figure 1 and table 1.

Answers to question 6 to users ere counted for each publication and entered in column 1 of table 3(a) and (3b). Answers to question 7 for users were counted for each publication and entered in column 3 of the same tables. Answers to questions 5(b) were counted for each publication and entered in column 5 of still the same tables. For all these figures, percentages of the total number of publications were calculated and used in the discussions thereafter.

Answers to question 8(a) to library users were counted and entered in table 3(c).

Answers to questions 9(i) for librarians were counted for every title and entered in column 1 of tables 3(d) and 3(e). Percentages of total number of librarians were sorted out by title and reason for objection and entered in columns 3 to 12. For each reason the percentages were worked out and recorded. These formed the basis of discussion on the magnitude of censorship in libraries and the actions taken by the libraries.

The combination of the actually banned titles and other titles commonly available in the libraries (given in the questionnaires for both the librarians and library users) was intended to test the level of awareness of the proscribed publications. Answers to question 9(ii) to librarians and question 12 to library users were counted and recorded against the user group as indicated in table 4(a). Percentages of the number of respondents and the number of publications whose banning they are aware of was calculated and used in the discussion following table 4(a).

Answers to question 13 to library users were sorted out according to the channels of information. This question was also put verbally to the librarians during interviews and their answers recorded. The number of publications known through the various channels was recorded in table 4(b). Their percentages were calculated and used in the ensuing discussion.

The censors were sorted out into groups i.e religious groups, government, librarians, teachers, parents, publishers, and the general public. The number of times any group challenged a publication was counted from answers to question 7 for librarians. This was entered in column 1 of table 5. The reasons for the challenge in every case was recorded on table 5. For all the figures, percentages of the total number of publications challenged was calculated and used in the discussion that followed.

On the basis of the title of the publication, its bibliographic details, and its content where available, the publications challenged were sorted out by subject. The figures obtained are as shown in table 6.

On the basis of the tables given and other observations stated thereafter, deductions and conclusions were drawn.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

#### 4.1 CENSORSHIP TREND 1966 - 1992

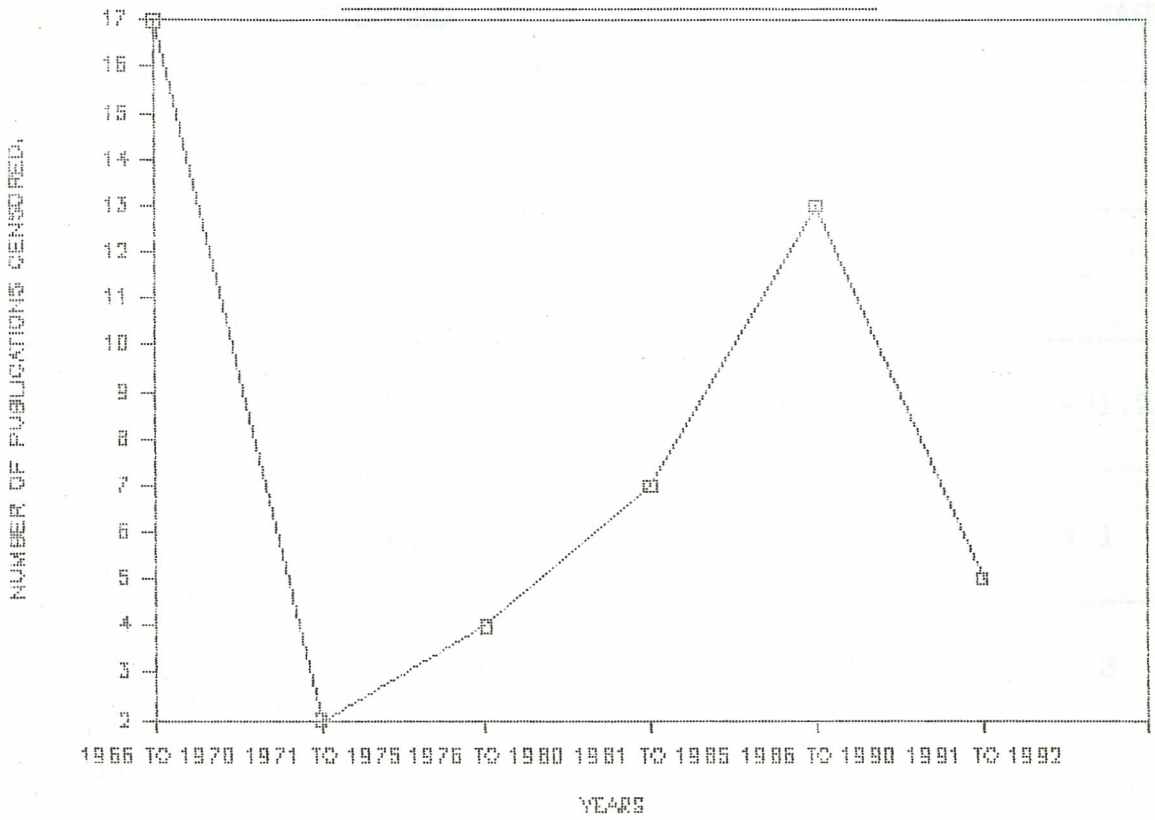
Figure 1 and table 1 show the trend in censorship activities in five-year periods from 1966 to 1992. Censorship was at its highest in the 1966-1970 period when 35.4% of the total activity was recorded. The activity then dropped to an all time low figure of 4.2% in the 1971 - 1975 year period. From then it increased to 8.3%, 14.6%, and 27.1% in the periods 1976 - 1980, 1981 - 1985, and 1986 - 1990 respectively. This was followed by a drop to 10.4% in the two - year period 1991 - 1992. Since this last period is not yet a complete five - year term the drop cannot be taken to infer a relaxation in censorship. As has been pointed out later on the negative attitudes of librarians towards this type of research, the researcher accepts that these figures are much lower than they would be if librarians were open to give this type of information. For instance Maungu (1993:5) reports that in one institution order requests had to be screened and specific titles would be deleted. He cites an example of the same institution where the library was instructed to write to the Robert Kennedy Memorial Centre for Human Rights rejecting a donation of some

FIGURE

17 titles and a request that the centre should not send any donations to the library again. The same library, acting under orders, discontinued subscription to specific periodicals like Africa Confidential and issues already in the library withdrawn. Such cases were never reported to the present study because the librarian decided to keep quiet about the cases.

FIGURE 1

CENSORSHIP TREND 1966 - 1992.



T A B L E 1

## CENSORSHIP ACTIVITY BY YEAR

YEAR	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS CENSORED	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1960 TO 1965	--	--	--
1966 TO 1970	17	35.4	--
1971 TO 1975	2	4.2	-31.2
1976 TO 1980	4	8.3	4.1
1981 TO 1985	7	14.6	6.3
1986 TO 1990	13	27.1	12.5
1991 TO 1992	5	10.4	-16.7
TOTAL	48	100.0	

These figures include both the publications that were

banned and those that were objected to but not necessarily banned.

#### 4.2 PHYSICAL FORMATS OF CENSORED ITEMS

Table 2 is an analysis of the number of censored materials by their physical formats. This table indicates that censorship is heaviest on the printed matter which formed 92% of all censored items. Non book materials i.e. video tapes, film strips, audio cassettes and phonograph discs only formed 8% of the total items censored. Reasons for this observation could include the following:

(i) All of the respondents in this study were library users or librarians. But the libraries in Kenya are more associated with the print media than the non-print. It is for this reason, the researcher feels, that information on censored non-print materials was not readily forthcoming. It was reported in the Nation of 30/4/93 for example that no less than eight plays were banned in 1991. These are certainly not included in the figure given in table 2.

(ii) For the official censors initially contacted, only those dealing with the print materials were willing to give information on the censored items. It is the list provided by these officials that was used in the questionnaire. The research therefore seems to have been biased towards the print right from its instrumentation.

(iii) Information on censored non print materials seems not to be as well documented as print materials.

T A B L E 2

## PHYSICAL FORMATS OF CENSORED ITEMS

PHYSICAL FORMAT	NUMBER OF TITLES CENSORED	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Print *	44	92.0
Video tape	1	2.1
Film strip	1	2.1
Audio Cassette	1	2.1
Phonograph disc	1	2.1
T O T A L **	48	100.0

\* This figure include 3 plays which were banned but their written forms remained in the libraries

\*\* The difference between this total and that of table 5 may be attributed to the block ( or blanket) censorship like that of Foreign Language Press or the Comb books.

#### 4.3.1 AWARENESS OF BANNED PUBLICATIONS

Table 3(a) is an examination of the levels of awareness of the officially banned publications. From the table the college lecturers (8.8% of the respondents) is the group most aware of what publications have been banned, with a 76.5% awareness level. This is followed by the librarians (9.7% of the respondents) with an awareness level of 58.8%. The levels of awareness for the college students, High School teachers, High School students, and the general public were respectively 41.2 %, 23.5%, 17.6% and 17.6%.

This table shows a low level of awareness in all the groups with exception of the college lecturers and the librarians. But these two better informed groups form only 18.5% of the respondent population. Considering the nature of their profession, the librarians' level of awareness falls below expectations.

It was further observed that the local periodicals; *Nairobi Law Monthly*, *Society Magazine*, *Finance* and *Beyond* was known to virtually all the respondents of all the libraries visited, only one public library had a list of these publications displayed on notice boards for users' awareness. It was also the

researchers' observation that most of the librarians did not consider educating the users in knowing about the proscribed publication as being part of their duties.

T A B L E 3(a)

AWARENESS OF BANNED PUBLICATIONS

TYPES OF RESPONDENT	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS WHOSE BAN THE RESPONDENT IS AWARE OF	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PUBLICATIONS
College Student	46	40.7	7	41.2
College Lecturer	10	8.8	13	76.5
High school Student	13	11.5	3	17.6
High school Teacher	6	5.3	4	23.5
Librarian	11	9.7	10	58.8
General Public	27	23.9	3	17.6
T O T A L	113	100.00	17	-

#### 4.3.2 SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON BANNED PUBLICATIONS

Table 3(b) shows the sources from where the respondents got information about the banned publications. From the table, the most popular channel by which this information is obtained is through rumour or word of mouth from one person to another. This transmitted 49.6% of all the cases reported. Only the Librarians seem to rely more on newspaper reports than on rumours. The college lecturers have an equal reliance between rumours and the newspaper reports.

Awareness by notices in the Kenya Gazette and by library announcements appear to be least used - each responsible for only 8.8% of the total awareness. This is disappointing since these are expected to be the official or formal communication lines. Only college students appear to rely on notices from libraries, however, even these students admit that they got the information from a public library and not from their college libraries. Only 0.9% of the respondents (i.e. 1 librarian) relies on the Kenya Gazette for information on censorship.

T A B L E \_ 3(b)

SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON BANNED PUBLICATIONS

TYPE OF RESPONDENT	RESPONDENTS		SOURCE OF INFORMATION *										TOTAL
			1		2		3		4		5		
	Number	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	%
College Student	46	40.7	4	3.5	14	12.4	1	0.9	6	5.3	21	18.6	40.7
College lecturer	10	8.8	2	1.8	4	3.5	-	-	-	-	4	3.5	8.8
High School Student	13	11.5	-	-	2	1.8	2	1.8	1	0.9	8	7.1	11.5
High School Teacher	6	5.3	-	-	2	1.8	1	0.9	1	0.9	2	1.8	5.3
Librarian	11	9.7	1	0.9	7	6.2	-	-	-	-	3	2.7	9.7
General Public	27	23.9	3	2.7	3	2.7	1	0.9	2	1.8	18	15.9	23.9
T O T A L	113	100	10	8.8	32	28.3	5	4.4	10	8.8	56	49.6	100

KEY

\* These figures refer to the number of respondents getting information about the banned publication through the information source as listed in the key below

- 1. By a notice in the Kenya Gazette
- 2. From the daily and weekly papers
- 3. From announcements by government officers
- 4. From announcements by libraries
- 5. Through rumours

#### 4.4 OBJECTORS AND REASONS FOR OBJECTIONS

Table 4 is an identification of the censors, their activity and the reasons for the censorship. From this table, most of the censorship cases appear to be originating from the government - this constituted 73.8% of the total censorship activities. The religious groups follow with 11.9% of the cases. Parents and the general public tie up with 7.1% each while Teachers account for 2.4% of the cases. Seemingly there is no censorship originating from librarians or the publishers. It is the researcher's opinion that censorship from these two groups is not non-existent but is in the form of self-censorship which the groups themselves would rather call selection. Literature that had the capacity to incite the public had the highest score of 33.3%. This was followed by sedition or treason, and obscenity - each scoring 21.4% of the cases. Libel accounted for 14.3% while blasphemy scored 7.1%. Objections or incorrect informational facts was the least with only 4.8% of the cases.

T A B L E \_ 4

OBJECTORS AND REASONS FOR THE OBJECTIONS

CENSOR	ACTIVITY		SOURCE OF INFORMATION *													
	(No. of Times)		incorrect grammar or content		obscenity		Blasphemy		slander		sedition or treason		inciting		TOTAL	
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Religious groups *	5	11.9	1	2.4	1	2.4	3	7.1	-	-	-	21.4	-	-	5	11.9
Government	31	73.8	-	-	2	4.8	-	-	6	14.3	9	-	14	33.3	31	73.8
Librarians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teachers	1	2.4	1	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.4
Parents	3	7.1	-	-	3	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.1
Publishers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
General Public	3	100	-	-	3	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	33.3	3	7.1
T O T A L	42	100	2	4.8	9	21.4	3	7.1	6	14.3	9	21.4	100	-	42	100

\* These may be formal groups like the case of the Shiite Islamic Group or several persons from a specific religious group acting individually.

NB All percentages are out of 42, the total no. of publications objected to.

#### 4.5.1 MAGNITUDE OF CENSORSHIP: USERS RESPONSES

Tables 5(a) and 5(b) show the responses of users towards the banned and objected publications. The table indicates that of the 48 publications declared banned or objected to in various libraries, 41 (or 85.4%) have been of interest to library users. This shows that users expect to find such materials in their libraries.

For those publications that have attracted users' interests, a total of 1338 unsuccessful searches were made in libraries. Consequently 183 attempts (or 9.2% of the unsuccessful library searches) were made to locate the items from other sources. Only 95 (or 7.1%) of the initial searches were eventually satisfied searches were as follows:

T A B L E \_ 5 ( a )

HOW MUCH CENSORSHIP IS BEING FELT IN LIBRARIES: USER'S  
RESPONSES TO BANNED PUBLICATIONS

T I T L E	Users failing to find the title in their library		Users trying to obtain the title by other means		Users Succeeding in	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
The African Communist	7	6.9	1	1.0	1	1.0
Adam	23	22.5	-	-	-	-
Cavalier	-	-	-	-	-	-
Men Only	49	48.0	3	2.9	1	1.0
The Uganda Crisis	86	84.3	7	6.9	6	5.9
The Nationalist	14	13.7	-	-	-	-
Voice of Kenya	3	2.9	1	1.0	1	1.0
World Revolution	33	32.3	1	1.0	1	1.0
Revolution in Africa	31	30.4	-	-	-	-
Who Rules Kenya	91	89.2	17	16.7	6	5.9
The Reds and the Blacks	58	56.9	6	5.9	4	3.9

T A B L E \_ 5 (a) Continued

T I T L E	Users failing to find the title in their library		Users trying to obtain the title by other means		Users Succeeding in	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
News	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cheche Moja Yaweza Kuanzisha Moto Mbugani	9	8.8	-	-	-	-
Quotations from Mao Tse-tung	11	10.8	4	3.9	1	1.0
Africa Development	4	3.9	-	-	-	-
Sauti ya Wananchi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Africa and the World	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voice of Africa	1	1.0	-	-	-	-
Beyond	101	99.0	-	-	-	-
Financial Review	96	94.1	-	-	-	-

T A B L E \_ 5 (b)

HOW MUCH CENSORSHIP IS BEING FELT IN LIBRARIES: USER'S

RESPONSES TO OBJECTED BUT NON BANNED PUBLICATIONS

T I T L E	Users failing to find the title in their library		Users trying to obtain the title by other means		Users Succeeding in	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Can't Pay Won't pay	97	95.1	-	-	-	-
House of Exile	4	3.9	-	-	-	-
Muntu	2	2.0	-	-	-	-
One by One	8	7.8	-	-	-	-
After 4.30	18	17.6	-	-	-	-
Playboy	11	10.8	4	3.9	4	3.9
Sex Art	24	23.5	6	5.9	1	1.0
Moi's Divisive tactics	27	26.5	22	21.6	22	21.6
Titles Written by Kim Il Sung	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not Yet Uhuru	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal Farm	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0

T A B L E \_ 5 (b) Continued

T I T L E	Users failing to find the title in their library		Users trying to obtain the title by other means		Users Succeeding in	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Haven of Repression	62	60.8	46	45.1	13	12.7
University Platform	15	14.7	-	-	-	-
Petals of Blood	17	16.7	-	-	-	-
Black Hermit	92	90.2	-	-	-	-
The Satanic Verses	101	99.0	16	15.7	5	4.9
True Love	26	25.5	-	-	-	-
Drum	18	17.6	-	-	-	-
Finance Magazine	35	34.3	-	-	-	-
The Sex life of Jesus	43	42.2	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and Social Action 18(4) 1992	19	18.6	19	18.6	4	3.9
Philosophy and Social Action V(1-2) 1979	19	18.6	19	18.6	4	3.9
She	1	1.0	-	-	-	-
All Titles by James Hardley Chase	3	2.9	3	2.9	3	2.9
In God's Name	16	15.7	7	6.9	4	3.9

.pa

T A B L E \_ 5 (b) Continued

T I T L E	Users failing to find the title in their library		Users trying to obtain the title by other means		Users Succeeding in	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Cause of All Evils	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0
Kenya Census Report 1989	61	59.8	-	-	-	-
T O T A L	*	N/A	**	N/A	***	N/A

NB: The percentages worked here are out of 102, the total number of Users responding to the questionnaire

\* This figure represents the total number of successful searches made for these controversial publications by users

\*\* This figure represents the total number of searches made elsewhere after failing in the library

\*\*\* This figure represents the total number of successful searches made elsewhere after failing in the library

#### 4.5.2 SOURCES OF ACQUIRING CONTROVERSIAL MATERIALS

The fact that 85.4% of these publications are of interest to users and further that 1338 searches were frustrated as a result of censorship gives a clear indication that, from users' point of view, censorship is actually being felt and is an obstacle to information access. Table 5(c) shows that obtaining the censored items by post and fax (presumably paid for by the user) from abroad forms 50.6% of the alternative ways through which the controversial items are acquired by users. The fact that users will go to such expensive lengths to obtain these materials is further evidence of the fact that the absence of these items from the libraries is being felt by the library users.

T A B L E \_ 5 (c)

#### CHANNELS OF ACQUIRING CONTROVERSIAL ITEMS

SOURCE	NO. OF SUCCESSES	% OF TOTAL
Other libraries	9	9.5
Purchase from bookshops	26	27.4
By post from abroad	22	23.2
By fax from abroad	31	32.6
Information content obtained by word of mouth	7	7.4
T O T A L	95	100

#### 4.5.3 MAGNITUDE OF CENSORSHIP: LIBRARIAN'S RESPONSE

Table 5(d) and 5(e) show the number of times the librarians were affected by cases of banned items or items objected to. For the case of banned items the figures show the number of libraries where the librarian judged the item suitable and worthy of inclusion in the collection. In the case of items objected to, the figures indicate the number of libraries where such objections were forwarded. The table then shows the type of actions taken by the libraries.

From the table, the libraries were affected 111 times. Out of these, in 43.2% of the cases the items in question could not be acquired by the libraries; In 17.2% of the cases the libraries completely removed the item from their shelves; In 24.3% of the cases the materials were taken to restricted access; In 0.9% of the cases the pages objected to were removed; and in 14.4% of these cases the librarians took no action but simply left the materials on the shelves. It can be said from this that 61.3% the censorship attempts were successful, 24.3% of the attempts were only partially successful (i.e item taken to restricted access) while 14.4% of the attempts failed. Virtually all the librarians conceded that whenever an item is banned they promptly remove it from the shelves. Some said that such materials are kept in a store while monitoring the 'political' climate towards such materials. It could however not be established how

many of such materials ever saw the shelves again. In other libraries the librarians were simply not aware of what happens to the publications once their removal from the shelves had been ordered. Some of the libraries commented that once a publication has come into disfavour with the government the librarians do not wait to be asked to remove it, instead all such publications are taken to store awaiting further development. Cases cited of these type included publication by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *The Society Magazine*, *The Nairobi Law Monthly* and Dario Foe's *Can't pay won't pay*.

None of the libraries has a written collection development policy and, by inference, it may be said that none has an established and documented procedure for dealing with challenged materials.

T A B L E \_ 5(d)

HOW MUCH CENSORSHIP IS BEING FELT IN LIBRARIES:

LIBRARIANS' RESPONSES TO BANNED PUBLICATIONS

T I T L E	L I B R A R I E S *		A C T I O N T A K E N B Y L I B R A R I E S **											
	A F F E C T E D		1		2		3		4		5		T O T A L	
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
The African Communist	4	36.4	4	36.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adam	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cavalier	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Men Only	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Uganda Crisis	11	100	7	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Nationalist	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voice of Kenya	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
World Revolution	2	18.2	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Revolution in Africa	2	18.2	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Who Rules Kenya	1	9.1	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Reds and The Blacks	7	63.6	2	18.2	2	18.2	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 5(d) Continued

TITLE	LIBRARIES*		ACTION TAKEN BY LIBRARIES**											
	AFFECTED		1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Cheche Moja Yaweza Kuanzisha moto Mbugani	9	81.8	7	63.6	1	9.1	1	9.1	-	-	-	-		
Quotations from Mao Tse - Tung	3	27.3	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Africa Development	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Sauti ya Wananchi	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Africa and The World	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Voice of Africa	1	9.1	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Beyond	11	100	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5	-	-	-	-		
Financial review	11	100	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5						

T A B L E 5(e)

HOW MUCH CENSORSHIP IS BEING FELT IN LIBRARIES: LIBRARIANS' RESPONSES TO OBJECTED BUT NON BANNED PUBLICATIONS

TITLE	LIBRARIES*		ACTION TAKEN BY LIBRARIES**										TOTAL	
	AFFECTED		1		2		3		4		5			
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Can't Pay Won't Pay	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
House of Exile	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muntu	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Titles by Comb Books	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Playboy	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sex Art	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moi's Divisive Tactics	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Titles Written by Kim Il Sung	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not Yet Uhuru	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal Farm	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	1	9.1	-	-

TABLE 5(e) Continued

TITLE	LIBRARIES*		ACTION TAKEN BY LIBRARIES**											
	AFFECTED		1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Haven of Repression	2	18.2	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
University Platform	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petals of Blood	11	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	100	-
Black Hermit	11	100	-	-	2	18.2	6	54.5	-	-	3	27.3	-	-
The Satanic Verses	3	27.3	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
True love	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finance Magazine	11	100	9	81.8	1	9.1	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Sex Life of Jesus	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and Social action 18 (4) 1992	3	27.3	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and Social Action V (1-2) 1979	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	1	9.1	-	-
She	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Titles by James Hardley Chase	1	9.1	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

CENSORSHIP ACT  
**TABLE 5(e) Continued**

TITLE	LIBRARIES*		ACTION TAKEN BY LIBRARIES**											
	AFFECTED		1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	Number	% of TOTAL	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
In God's Name	1	9.1	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kenya Census Report 1989	2	18.2	2	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL ***</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>43.2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14.4</b>		

\* These figures represent the number of libraries where either the Librarian is interested in acquiring the material but is unable due to censorship; and/or the libraries where the controversial material is already in the library and some action has to be taken.

\*\* These figures represent the number of libraries taking the various actions. The percentages calculated here are out of the total number of libraries that responded i.e 11

\*\*\* The total under the number of libraries affected i.e 111 may be taken as the total number of times libraries are affected by the problem of controversial publications. The percentages along this line are calculated out of 111. The totals are for both table 5(d) and 5(e).

**KEY**

1. Material not acquired by the library
2. Material removed from the library
3. Material taken to restricted access area
4. Unwanted pages removed
5. Material left in open shelf

#### 4.5 CENSORSHIP ACTIVITY BY SUBJECT

Table 6 shows the censorship activities classified by subject. The table indicates that censorship is most felt on publications touching on politics - this accounted for 69.0% of all the cases. Censorship of materials dwelling on religious matters was second with 11.9% of the cases. The subject of family life and other miscellaneous subjects each accounted for 9.5% of the cases.

T A B L E \_ 6  
CENSORSHIP ACTIVITY BY SUBJECT

S U B J E C T	PUBLICATIONS OBJECTED TO	
	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL
Political Science	29	69.0
Family Life	4	9.5
Religion	5	11.9
Others	4	9.5
T O T A L	42	100

NB:

- All publications discussing politics, ideologies, critical of government policies were grouped under political science
- All publications dwelling on social or family relations and problems like "Drum" and "Sex Art" were classified under family life
- All publications presenting religious or theological views were classified under religion
- Any other publication outside the three above have been grouped together as "others"

#### 4.7 ATTITUDES TOWARDS RESEARCH ON CENSORSHIP.

The general attitude towards this type of research can only be described as negative. A few of the responses obtained from some of the respondents are worth quoting here:

A senior Government official when presented with the application forms for a research permit, made the following comment: "Young man, I can assure you that research in this area could not be granted permit some two years ago. However, since we went multiparty, the government has become more open and therefore I see no reason why you should not obtain the permit."

The permit was then handed to the researcher the following day.

When an attempt was made to have a questionnaire filled by another government official, the questionnaire and the permit were accepted and the researcher asked to return the following day to check if an appointment for an interview session could be arranged. On returning the following day, the researcher found that the appointment had been made for a date one month after the date when the study was due to end. On pointing out this, the researcher was told that the official was "very busy and all attempts to fit in your appointment earlier than this was not possible."

One college librarian when presented with the

questionnaire asked to be shown the permit from the Office of the President before she could go ahead and fill in the questionnaire. When this was presented, this librarian responded as follows:

For your type of topic I suggest that we follow the protocols. You have to write a formal application to the principal who has to grant permission in writing, after that I will fill your questionnaire.

This was intended to be a safety valve to fall back to in case questions arise later on as a result of this research report.

One public librarian answered:

I will of course answer the questionnaire but you must understand that all the answers provided are from the ministry's point of view and not from me as a professional.

A university librarian had this to say:

In this area of research it would be safer for everybody if either you presented us with the objectives of your study or alternatively obtain a government permit to conduct this research.

As was pointed out in the literature review, a research permit is indeed a government requirement. However, the day the researcher presented the same, he found the questionnaire having been passed over to the deputy

librarian with a note saying: "could you please advise that we are unable to participate in this kind of research" - meaning the sensitivity of the topic. On verbal discussion with this deputy, she admitted that whenever the banning of a publication was gazetted they had removed the copies from their shelves. When asked where the copies went after removal from the shelves she replied:

I don't know, I really never followed it up. But of course you understand this is off the record - don't quote me.

This type of non committal attitude was also shown by many other librarians. A college librarian, after staying with the questionnaire for two weeks answered verbally that " I cannot participate in this and I wonder if any librarian will"

A teacher/librarian declined to fill the questionnaire and asked the researcher why he could not pick on a "safer subject"

A university librarian in a christian institution was more honest. He returned the unfilled questionnaire with a note stating that:

Sorry, I cannot help you from my official position. We librarians are in no enviable position.... our professional training and ethics demand that we provide the type of information you seek and further that we fight off censorship or its attempts. Yet, in Kenya, we

fear the possible political consequence of such actions or of such information being traced back to us. Our conscience is thus torn....

Such is the attitude of the Kenya librarian - more ready to protect the self rather than the profession or the commodity of their trade.

# C H A P T E R F I V E

## DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

As outlined in chapter one of this study the objectives of the study were stated as:

- (1) To determine the types of subject materials most prone to censorship
- (2) To determine censorship trend. Whether it is on the increases or in the decrease
- (3) To ascertain whether censorship, as a problem, is being felt in libraries
- (4) To determine who the censors are
- (5) To determine how complaints on the offending items are channeled to the librarian
- (6) To determine the actions taken by the librarian in such cases
- (7) To assess the level of awareness of the librarians and library users of the proscribed items.

In this chapter, the researcher intends to discuss the findings of the study, taking into account the objectives of the study above, and finally to make recommendations aimed at improving the state of awareness of censorship activities and ways of diffusing or handling the same.

## 5.1 CENSORSHIP TREND 1966 - 1992

From figure 1 and table 1 it may be concluded that censorship is indeed on the increase and further, that the rate of increase in censorship activities in the country is also in the increase.

The two peaks in censorship activity that is 1966 - 1970 and 1986 - 1990 (on figure 1) are also the periods when there was an intense campaign for multiparty democracy and complaints about human rights violation in Kenya. The former period is the time when the opposition party Kenya People's Union (K.P.U) was formed and eventually banned. The latter period is the time when campaign for multiparties and against human rights violation by the outlawed 'Mwakenya' was at its peak. These tend to suggest that censorship activities increase with increase in political turbulence.

## 5.2 PHYSICAL FORMATS OF CENSORED ITEMS

It is evident that information on censored or objected information in non book formats is scanty. As libraries move to encompass more non book materials in their collections it will be necessary for the librarians to collect such information (i.e what materials are or are not banned) and avail it to library users. It may also be necessary for the librarians to educate the users

on which items are likely to be challenged if found in their possession.

### 5.3 AWARENESS OF BANNED PUBLICATION

The general conclusion drawn out of the data in table 3(a) is that the level of awareness of banned publications is low. It was further pointed out that only one public library had taken the trouble to display the list of such publications to draw users' attention. The question that arises is: If librarians do not consider users awareness of such publications as their duty then what else is their duty as information workers?

It is the researcher's suggestion that the librarians make their users aware of such publication by circulating the list together with their other current awareness materials, to place notices at key places such as the libraries' notice boards etc. A Library Association too should come in and help its members in fighting off censorship from the libraries. Table 3(b) shows that most of the information on proscribed publications is obtained through word of mouth. This is not surprising given that such information is officially meant to be communicated through either the Kenya Gazette or through the Laws of Kenya Cap. 63. Both publications are inadequate in terms of the language used which is more suitable for those in the law profession and their

poor circulation. The latter is also inadequate due to the fact that it is not up to date - the last time it was reviewed being 1979. To this effect the researcher suggests that the Kenya Film Censorship Board, the Office of The Attorney General, and the District Revenue Officer (at Nyayo House presently) publish a list of films, print materials, and plays, for which they are respectively in charge, and circulate such lists to libraries and other key public places so that the public is aware of what is banned.

#### 5.4 OBJECTORS AND REASONS FOR OBJECTIONS

Table 4 shows that most of censorship (73.8% of all the reported cases) originate from the government. Given that some of these publications were in the library before the banning, It must be accepted that, by the judgment of the library professionals, these publications were relevant to the functions of these libraries.

Whereas the researcher agrees with these librarians that it would not be proper to leave a publication on the shelves once its banning has been gazetted, the researcher suggests that if the librarian is convinced of the publication's worth on the library shelves, he should take a step to petition the banning act in a court of law.

Table 4 further shows that 69.0% of all the cases arose for reasons of slander, sedition, treason or incitement of the public. There have been complaints that most of these publications branded as being seditious are in fact honest criticism of the government machinery. (Kihali, J.O Standard 28/2/93 p. 9 col. 3). To this effect the researcher further suggests that the attorney general (or the parliament) should come up and draw a clear line between what is to be considered criticism and what is seditious.

The table further shows that 21.4% of the censorship cases were due to reasons of obscenity. It had earlier been pointed out that such literature has the capacity to corrupt or deprave the youth. Some of such items identified in this study are the *Playboy*, *Sex Art*, and all the books published by Comb Books. It is the researcher's suggestion that further research be done in this area to determine the cause/effect of such literature.

#### 5.5 THE LIBRARIAN'S ATTITUDE:

It was discussed in the literature review (section 2.1) that the librarian, by nature of his profession has the obligation, the responsibility, and the duty to defend intellectual freedom, to clearly define what is meant by intellectual freedom and its limits in his

locality and also to identify the opponents of this freedom and cooperate with the proponents of it.

From the responses to the questionnaire, it can be seen that the Kenyan librarian has not actively played his part. It is also notable that the librarian's professional body, the Kenya Library Association has, until its last seminar of 29/4/93, never addressed itself to the issues of censorship in the country. The association's chairman is recorded to have said once that "K L A" does not operate like a trade union which fights for the rights of anyone "(Karanja V.N. 1992. p.34)

It is the researcher's suggestion that librarians, both individually and through their professional body, come out more strongly in the defense of intellectual freedom.

## 5.6 MAGNITUDE OF CENSORSHIP IN LIBRARIES

As was stated in the methodology, whether censorship is being felt in libraries or not can only be ascertained if it can be determined that either the library users cannot find the information they want or the librarian cannot supply the materials he feels are needed by his/her library user.

The fact that 41 (or 55.4%) of all the banned publications have ended up frustrating 1338 searches shows that censorship is indeed being felt by library

users. Tables 5(d) and 5(e) further show that in 43.2% of the 111 times that the libraries were affected by censorship problems, those libraries were unable to acquire the materials despite the fact that the librarians had judged the materials worthy of inclusion in the library's collection.

Such a high figure again attests to the fact that censorship greatly interferes with these professional's activities. It is for these reasons that the researcher urges the librarians to come up and challenge censorship whenever it is attempted.

From table 5(d) and 5(e), in 61.3% of the censorship attempts the materials in question were either not acquired, the materials were completely removed from the shelves, or the challenged pages were removed. These are cases of completely successful censorship attempts. in 24.3% of the cases the materials were taken to restricted access i.e censorship attempts partially successful. Only in 14.4% of the cases did the censorship attempts fail.

It was further reported that the librarians have without defending their rights to avail such materials to his library patrons, removed the print materials from the shelves when the play adaptations of such materials were challenged.

The general conclusion that can be drawn out of this study is therefore that, on the issue of censorship, the

Kenyan librarian has been a passive advocate of intellectual freedom who neither attempts to acquaint himself with what has been banned nor tries to fight off censorship.

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Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Research study on Censorship administration  
in Kenya and its effects on the availability of  
literature in Libraries

I am a masters student in Library sciences at the Kenyatta University and currently undertaking a research project on the topic above.

To facilitate collection of the necessary data, your library has been chosen as part of the study. I therefore appeal to you to fill in this questionnaire, giving answers that are accurate to the best of your knowledge.

All information provided here - in shall be treated with utmost confidentiality, and will be used only for the purpose of the study. As such, you are requested not to include your name or try to identify yourself in any way through this questionnaire.

Thanking you for your cooperation.

James Akanga  
(Student)

APPENDIX\_2

QUESTIONNAIRE TO LIBRARIANS

Place a    where appropriate

1. State the type of Library

- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| (a) Public   | <u>      </u> |
| (b) Academic | -----         |
| (c) School   | -----         |
| (d) Special  | -----         |
| (f) Other    | <u>      </u> |

2. Have you ever been asked to remove an item from your Collection?

(a) Yes         
-----

(b) No         
-----

If the answer to question 2 is "yes" then proceed to answer questions 3 to 8, otherwise jump to question 9.

3. On the table below, list the titles(s) of the item(s) that you were requested/directed or ordered to remove from the collection and the year when the request/order was made and by whom.

NO. OF THE ITEM	TITLE	YEAR	SOURCE OF ORDER
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

4. Using a | | indicated the physical format of the item that you were requested/commanded to remove from your collection. Follow key 4 below the table.

NO. OF THE ITEM	PHYSICAL FORMAT						COMMENT
	a	b	c	d	e	f	
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

**key\_4**

a = Printed matter (Books, journals etc)

b = Film strip

c = Video tape

d = Cassette tape

e = Phonograph disc

f = Other (explain in the comment column)

5. Using a  indicate the reason(s) or possible reason(s) why the item's removal was requested/demanded. Follow key 5 below the table.

NO. OF THE ITEM	REASON(S)							COMMENT
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

**Key 5**

a = Literature obscene/pornographic

b = Literature blasphemous

c = Literature libelous or slanderous (state against whom it is libelous or slanderous)

d = Literature seditious

e = Literature treasonable

f = Literature against government political ideology

g = Any other reason (explain)

6. Using a  indicate the action taken by your library. Follow key 6 below the table.

NO. OF THE ITEM	ACTION TAKEN					COMMENT
	a	b	c	d	e	
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

**Key 6**

a = Material removed from the library

b = Material taken to restricted access shelves

c = Unwanted pages removed

d = Material allowed to remain on shelves

e = Any other (explain)

7. Using a    indicate who made the request/demand for the item's removal. Follow key 7 below the table.

NO. OF THE ITEM	REQUESTER/DEMANDER						COMMENT
	a	b	c	d	e	f	
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

**Key 7**

a = The public

b = Teachers

c = Librarians

d = The government

e = Publishers

f = Any other (explain)

8. For each of the item use a  to indicate whether there were any alternative reading materials - in the subject covered by the censored or unwanted items - in your library collection.

NO. OF THE ITEM	ALTERNATIVE LITERATURE AVAILABLE?	
	YES	NO
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

9. Overleaf is a list of titles of publications that some of your patrons have claimed interest in , but which are not available in your collection.

(i) Place a  in a long column 1, against any title that you, as the librarian, have tried (or would have liked) to include in the library collection for your readers.

(ii) Place a  in a long column's 'a' to 'e' as appropriate to indicate the reason(s) why you have not



TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below					COMMENT	
			i	a	b	c	d		e
Revolution in Africa	_____	_____							
The Courier	Two Monthly Magazine	Jean Durieux (Belgium)							
News	_____	Published in the German Democratic Republic							
Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II	Herbert Vorgrimler (editor)	Burns and Oates (London)							
Who Rules Kenya	Zecky Rukari	_____							
Education in world Perspective	Emmet John Hughes (Editor)	Lancer Books (New York)							
The reds and the Blacks-a person adventure	William Attwood	Harper & Row (New York)							
Scarcity challenged	Heinz Kohler	Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc. (New York)							
Cheche moja yaweza Kuanzisha moto mbugani	Mao Tse-Chung	Foreign Language Press (Peking)							
Socialism, Economics and Development	Alec Nove	Allen and Unwin (London)							
Quatations from Mao Tse - Chung	Mao Tse - Chung	Foreign Language Press (Peking)							
Africa Development	_____	Dhirenda Sharma (Nwe Delhi)							

TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below					COMMENT	
			i	a	b	c	d		e
The liberal Imagination	Lionell Trilling	Charles Scribner's sons (New York)							
Sauti ya Wananchi	_____	Kenya Socialist Group (London)							
Becoming aware of human rights and family	Margaret Gallagher	UNESCO (Paris)							
Africa and the World	_____	Panaf Publications (London)							
Political plays for children	Jack Zipes (Editor)	Telos Press (Saint Louis)							
Voice of Africa	Libyan Embassy	Nairo - North Company							
Black Theatre (U.S.A)	James V. Hatch (Editor)	The free Press (New York)							
Beyond	_____	National Christian Council of Kenya (Nairobi)							
Financial Review	_____	Stellagraphics ltd. (Nairobi)							

TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below					COMMENT	
			l	a	b	c	d		e
The African Communist	South African Communist Party	X - Press Print (London)							
Adam	Rose Terrill	Andre Deutsch (London)							
Human Organizations	Quarterly Journal of the society of applied anthropology	_____							
Cavalier	Douglas Allen (editor) Monthly Magazine	Arizill Publishing Company (New York)							
Bulletin of human Rights	_____	United Nations (New York)							
Men Only	_____	Proprietors city Magazine Ltd. (London)							
The Uganda Crisis: Two years after the battle of mengo hill	N. Nasamba (Editor)	_____							
Africa Affairs	Monthly Journal royal African Society	Oxford University Press							
The Nationalist	_____	Published in Dar-es-salam							
Voice of Kenya	_____	_____							
World Revolution	_____	Progressive Labor Party (New York)							

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE TO LIBRARY USERS

Answer the following questions by placing a  where appropriate.

1. State your present educational position

- (a) College lecturer
- (b) College Student
- (c) School teacher
- (d) School Student
- (e) Primary School Teacher
- (f) Primary School Student
- (g) School or college leaver and employed
- (h) School or college leaver but un-employed
- (i) Any other

If (i) explain .....

.....

2. If your answer to 1 above is a, b, or c state your line of interest or specialization.

- (a) Humanities
- (b) Social Sciences
- (c) Physical Sciences
- (d) Biological Sciences

- (e) Applied Sciences
- (f) Medical Sciences
- (h) Any other

If (h) explain .....

Overleaf is a table of some publications that other library users (students, staff, and the general public) have claimed interest in but could not obtain from their libraries. Study the list then answer the questions below by placing a  where appropriate.

3. Have you ever searched for any one or more of the publications your library?

- (a) Yes  (b) No

4. If the answer to 3 above is 'yes', state which ones (along column 7)

5. If the answer to 3 above is 'yes' did you get any of the items in the library?

- (a) Yes  (b) No

6. If the answer to 5 above is 'yes' state which ones

7. If the answers to 3 and 5 above are both 'No', have you tried to obtain the publication(s) by some means other than the library?

(a) Yes

(b) No

8. If the answer to 7 above is 'Yes' state which one you tried .....

9. If the answer to 5 above is 'Yes', did you succeed in obtaining the publication(s)

(a) Yes

(b) No

10. If the answer to 7 above is 'Yes', State how many publications (not copies of the same publication) you obtained .....

11. Are you aware if some of the publications listed on the table could be banned publications in Kenya?

(a) Yes

(b) No

12. If the answer to 11 above is 'Yes' place a  along column B on the table, against all the publications whose banning you are aware of.

13. For those publications against which you have marked with a  from question 10, place another  along columns '1' to '6' to indicate the channel or medium through which you became aware of the publication's banning. (see the key for columns '1' to '6' below the table)

TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below							COMMENT
			B	a	b	c	d	e	7	
Revolution in Africa	_____	_____								
The Courier	Two Monthly Magazine	Jean Durieux (Belgium)								
News	_____	Published in the German Democratic Republic								
Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II	Herbert Vorgrimler (editor)	Burns and Oates (London)								
Who Rules Kenya	Zecky Rukari	_____								
Education in world Perspective	Emmet John Hughes (Editor)	Lancer Books (New York)								
The reds and the Blacks-a person adventure	William Attwood	Harper & Row (New York)								
Scarcity challenged	Heinz Kohler	Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc. (New York)								
Cheche moja yaweza Kuanzisha moto mbugani	Mao Tse-Chung	Foreign Language Press (Peking)								
Socialism, Economics and Development	Alec Nove	Allen and Unwin (London)								
Quatations from Mao Tse - Chung	Mao Tse - Chung	Foreign Language Press (Peking)								
Africa Development	_____	Dhirenda Sharma (New Delhi)								

TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below							COMMENT	
			B	1	2	3	4	5	6		7
The liberal Imagination	Lionell Trilling	Charles Scribner's sons (New York)									
Sauti ya Wananchi	_____	Kenya Socialist Group (London)									
Becoming aware of human rights and family	Margaret Gallagher	UNESCO (Paris)									
Africa and the World	_____	Panaf Publications (London)									
Political plays for children	Jack Zipes (Editor)	Telos Press (Saint Louis)									
Voice of Africa	Libyan Embassy	Nairo - North Company									
Black Theatre (U.S.A)	James V. Hatch (Editor)	The free Press (New York)									
Beyond	_____	National Christian Council of Kenya (Nairobi)									
Financial Review	_____	Stellagraphics ltd. (Nairobi)									

TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	See the key below							COMMENT	
			B	1	2	3	4	5	6		7
The African Communist	South African Communist Party	X - Press Print (London)									
Adam	Rose Terrill	Andre Deutsch (London)									
Human Organizations	Quarterly Journal of the society of applied anthropology	_____									
Cavalier	Douglas Allen (editor) Monthly Magazine	Arizill Publishing Company (New York)									
Bulletin of human Rights	_____	United Nations (New York)									
Men Only	_____	Proprietors city Magazine Ltd. (London)									
The Uganda Crisis: Two years after the battle of mengo hill	N. Nasamba (Editor)	_____									
Africa Affairs	Monthly Journal royal African Society	Oxford University Press									
The Nationalist	_____	Published in Dar-es-salam									
Voice of Kenya	_____	_____									
World Revolution	_____	Progressive Labor Party (New York)									

APPENDIX 6

BANNED PUBLICATIONS

T I T L E	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER/YEAR	YEAR BANNED
The African communist	South African Communist Party	X-Press Print London	1968
Adam	(editor) Merril Miller	Monthly Magazine by Knight Publishing corp. Los Angeles	1968
Men Only	-	Magazine by Proprietor's City Magazine London	1968
The Uganda Crisis	N. Nasamba	-	1968
The Nationalist		Newspaper Published in Dar es Salaam	1968
World Revolution		Periodical by the Progressive Labour Party New York	1969
Who Rules Kenya	Zecky Rukari	-	1967

B A N N E D P U B L I C A T I O N S Continued

The Reds and The Blacks	William Attwood	Harper and Ron New York	1967
Cheche Moja Yaweza Kuanzisha Moto Mbugani	Mao Tse-Tung	Foreign Language Press Pecking	1967
Quotations from Mao Tse-Tung	Mao Tse-Tung	Foreign Language Press	1967
Sauti ya Urafiki	-	-	1967
News	-	Monthly periodical from Germany	1967
All Past and Future Publications by Foreign Language Press		Foreign Language Press	1967
Any publication depicting or containing emblem, device colours, slogan, Motto or words signifying association with a political organisation		-	1968
Beyond	NCCK		1989
Financial Review		Stellagraphics Ltd. Nrb.	1990
Nairobi Law Monthly			1992
All publications by the group calling itself Mwakenya	Mwakenya	-	1988
Africa and the World	Panaf Publications	Panaf Publications Ltd. London	1970
Voice of Africa	Libyan Embassy	Nairo North Co.	1970

PUBLICATIONS OBJECTED TO

T I T L E	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER/YEAR	YEAR OF OBJECTION
Voice of Kenya	Mwakenya	-	1989
Africa Development	-	-	1986
Can't Pay Won't Pay	Dario Foe	Play by the Sarakasi Players	1992
House of Exile	-	Play Presented at the 1981 School's drama festival Coast Province	1981
Muntu	Joe de Graft	Heinemann 1977	1980
One by One	David Mailu	Comb Books	1985
After 4.30	David Mailu	Comb Books	1985
Playboy	-	-	1972
Sex Art	-	-	1981
Moi's Divisive Tactics	Mwakenya	-	1986
All Titles Written by Kim IL Sung	Kim IL Sung	-	198(1)?

PUBLICATIONS OBJECTED TO Continued

Not Yet Uhuru	Oginga Odinga	Heinemann Nairobi 1967	1969
Animal farm	George Orwell	School Play	1967
Haven of Repression	Kenya Human Rights Commission	A report on the University of Nairobi and Academic Freedom in Kenya	1992
University Platform	-	(Institute of Journalism U.O.N)?	1972
Petals of Blood	Ngugi wa Thiong'o	Heinemann Nairobi 1977	1984
Black Hermit	Ngugi wa Thiong'o	Heinemann London 1968	1984
The Satanic Verses	Salman Rushdie		1989
All Islamic religious education books by KIE	KIE	KLB or JKF	1990
True Love	-	A monthly periodical published in Nairobi	1988
Drum	-	A monthly magazine published in Nairobi	1989
The Sex Life of Jesus		A Film Produced in America	1989

PUBLICATIONS OBJECTED TO Continued

Philosophy and Social Action 18(4) 1992	-	Quarterly periodical by Dhirenda Sharma New Delhi	1992
Philosophy and Social Action V 1-2) 1979	-	Quarterly periodical by Dhirenda Sharma New Delhi	1980
I Will Marry When I Want	Ngugi wa Thiong'o	A Play by kamiriithu Educational, Cultural and Community Centre	1978
Matigari ma Njirungi	Ngugi wa Thiong'o	Heinemann	1986
The Nairobi Law Monthly			1991
Society Magazine		Nyamora Publishers Nairobi	1991