# THE VIEWS EXPRESSED MUST REPRESENT THOSE OF MANAGEMENT

## Radio Ownership and its Impact on Political Speech in Uganda

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# Introduction

The question of who owns the media has in recent years become a growing subject of debate and contention in Uganda. The need to address this question gained greater urgency during the 2011 elections as it emerged that access to radio, in particular, appeared to be influenced by political considerations rather more explicitly than at other times and in previous elections. While this is a long-suspected trend in state-owned media and in the nominally public broadcasting sector, the concern now is that the same trend seems to have developed among privately-owned radio stations. In the run-up to the presidential elections in February 2011, an elections coverage survey by MEMONET of 10 radio stations across the country showed that the NRM's presidential candidate and incumbent, Yoweri Museveni, received far more coverage than his six opponents.

At a more fundamental level, some have gone as far as to argue that the problem starts with licensing. They allege that perceived government opponents and critics have deliberately been denied licences to operate broadcasting stations especially radio.

This concern has been triggered by a number of incidents in which opposition candidates and politicians complained that certain radio owners in various parts of the country had denied them access to the airwaves apparently because of their political positions. Yet, the debate surrounding this issue has hitherto been based largely on conjecture, on taken-for-granted assumptions about political discrimination, and on he-said-she-said accusations traded among vocal victims, owners or managers of the offending stations, and the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC), which is the industry regulator that has since subsumed the functions of the previously autonomous Broadcasting Council.

## Objectives of the study

The foremost objective of this exploratory study was to establish whether political considerations, in whatever form, have come into play in the award of broadcast

licences or allocation of frequencies and in decisions to grant or deny different interested parties time on air. If this is the case: What is the extent of the alleged practices? What form do they take? Under what circumstances have the claims of discrimination emerged? Who is affected? What are the ramifications? What are the implications for media freedom and democracy in general? This study inquired into the claims of political discrimination in accessing radio time by eliciting concrete evidence and verifying the claims.

## The approach

First, we obtained from UCC the latest record of broadcast ownership which reflected the position as of March 2011. All broadcast operators must be legally registered entities (companies, non-governmental organisations, public institutions) before they are issued with licences and allocated frequencies. The register of licensed broadcasters provides detailed information including the names of the stations and their owners or contact persons, their addresses, and the assigned frequencies. Whereas some stations may well be registered under proxies, the list of owners is a generally reliable record of ownership. The list was therefore a useful starting point and a necessary but not, on its own, a sufficient reference point for determining the likely political affiliations of the different station owners.

Second, we tracked media reports to establish incidents of alleged denial of radio airtime during the 2011 national election season that started with the official nomination of presidential candidates in late October 2010. Where possible, these reports were double-checked through follow-up interviews with the 'victims' and 'perpetrators' in order to verify the claims.

Third, we conducted interviews with selected radio managers/owners in order to determine, to the extent possible, whether their political orientations in any way shaped the editorial decisions they or their staff made about the political content of the programmes or messages they aired about the 2011 national elections. Just by studying the official register of licensed broadcasters, it was possible to pick out some of the familiar figures and in such cases fairly easy to form judgements

about the potential effects of their political affiliations on the editorial decisions of the stations they owned. In general, we validated our judgements by speaking to radio managers/owners selected from a geographically representative sample of radio stations located in all regions of the country. We also made it a point to speak to the managers/owners of radio stations that were named in the media reports about complaints of discriminatory behaviour towards opposition politicians.

Lastly, we used the evidence to answer several larger questions about media freedom in Uganda. These questions included issues of access, pluralism, independence, diversity, criticism and dissent, regulation, as well as voice and representation.

## Access to radio during political campaigns

On January 17, 2011, the lawyer representing Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) presidential flag bearer Kizza Besigye wrote to the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) indicating that the candidate intended to sue the broadcaster for reneging on the contract to run his campaign adverts. The lawyer said in the complaint:

> According to our instructions, our client, through his media booking agents, contracted your corporation by making bookings and paying for the airing by your corporation of television and radio adverts for purposes of promoting his campaign/programmes. We have been advised that a total of UGX 19,859,000/= was received by your corporation pursuant to the said contract. The said adverts, which were provided by our client's agents to officials of your corporation, were to run between 4th December 2010 and 4th January 2011.
>
> Our client has conducted comprehensive media monitoring in a value-for-money audit and has found that in spite of your corporation accepting payments to air an agreed number of adverts on UBC Television, Mega FM and Star FM as well as your legal obligations under the Presidential Elections Act, only a small fraction of the agreed adverts were aired. No lawful or other explanation has been given for this state of affairs to our client. Further, attempts by our client's agents to meet with you to resolve this matter have been frustrated by your failure to honor appointments agreed with you. As you might imagine, the effect

> of your corporation's unlawful conduct on the campaign efforts of our client is negatively colossal, given the faith our client put in your ability to deliver owing to the reach of your television and radio stations and the limited time frame within which campaigns for the said election can be conducted.

The redresses demanded from UBC for breach of contract and violation of Besigye's human rights included: damages of UShs 2 billion (approx. US$ 800,000); a public apology; a written commitment not to violate the candidate's rights again; and immediate broadcast of the material. Our inquiries at the Electoral Commission indicated that UBC had refunded Besigye's deposit.

According to the FDC communications officer Isaac Mufumba, Kagadi Kibaale Community Radio (KKCR), based in the Bunyoro region of western Uganda, inexplicably went off-air 15 minutes into a paid-for talk show sponsored by the party. The suspicion was that the programme had been deliberately yanked off the air. In a political environment laden with conspiracy theories, the sudden interruption of the programme could not have been a coincidence. The 'mysterious' stoppage of the programme was attributed to the fact that Mwalimu Musheshe, a founder and chairman of Uganda Rural Development and Training Programme, a non-governmental organisation that owns the station, was also the board chairman of the National Agricultural Advisory Services, a large-scale government programme that supports farmers. We asked Jackline Akello, the director of programmes at KKCR, to respond to these allegations. Her sentiments revealed the frustrations that radio operators too face in dealing with politicians:

> Mr Musheshe is the chairman of Uganda Rural Development and Training Programme, the organisation that owns the station, but he is not the owner of the station. So, he does not decide what goes or should not go on air on KKCR. Indeed Dr Besigye's show on KKCR was supposed to run for one hour from 9 pm but our ten-year-old generator developed technical problems. The programme thus went off air after 20 minutes, and the problem was not solved until after about six hours. We apologized and asked him to bear with us as we sort it out. We called in technical people to help but they could not sort it out for over six hours and by that time obviously Dr Besigye had already left. It is not fair that FDC officials would accuse of us of deliberately taking them off air when it is the generator that developed technical problems. All our programmes for the whole night were affected.

> But we are not surprised because politicians often have a tendency of giving political explanations to every situation. We are the only radio station in Kibaale district that gave Dr Besigye such a platform. In fact, as part of our democratization programme, we had given each of the four major political parties including fiveFDC 30 minutes of free airtime every week over a period of 5 years (2006-2011) to talk about their programmes. I am surprised that Dr Besigye and his officials never mentioned it to the media, yet FDC had earlier written to us appreciating it. We have now withdrawn the offer because it has been misused. They have been using the time to abuse rivals and building their political careers instead of using it to build the community, so they will now have to pay for the airtime. We think democracy should be a way of life for the community and not an individual thing. We think democracy is bigger than politicians and any of their political organizations. Our airwaves are always open for free to children's programmes, people with disabilities, women and any other groups. We do not discriminate on the basis of political affiliation.

While KKCR may have been unfairly accused, six other radio stations in Bunyoro, namely, Bunyoro Broadcasting Services, King's Broadcasting Services, Radio Kitara, Spice FM, Hoima FM, and Liberty Broadcasting Services, actually denied Besigye access to their services. Robert Rukahemura, the programme controller at Hoima FM, observed that Besigye was denied access because the managers were under instructions not to allow any politician on the radio without clearance from the proprietor. He said the workers knew that professionally it was wrong to deny anybody access to the radio, but that "this is a business whereby you have to comply with the instructions of your bosses."

Likewise, Besigye's appearance on Nakaseke FM in central Uganda was blocked in January 2011. Peter Balaba, the station manager, admitted that the radio declined to host Besigye because some members of the community were uncomfortable with his being featured on the station. Balaba would not reveal the details behind the decision.

In Moroto, north-eastern Uganda, Nenah FM ran a few of Besigye's campaign adverts before one of the radio's directors, Nahaman Ojwe, ordered them off the air. In fact, Ojwe was listed on the station's website (www.nenahfm.com) as its executive secretary. He also happened to be the resident district commissioner of Moroto since 2007 and, for that matter, essentially a civil servant even though

a political appointee of the president. However, Solomon Baleke, the news editor of Nenah FM, insisted that the station was independent and that Ojwe, who practiced as a journalist before becoming a political functionary, could not deny anybody access to the media.

Then there was the case of NBS FM in Jinja, eastern Uganda, which took Besigye's adverts and money but later declined to air the adverts and subsequently returned the money. NBS FM is owned by Nathan Nabeta, who at the time was the Member of Parliament (MP) for Jinja East constituency on the ticket of the incumbent party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM). He was re-elected and is now the chairman of the parliamentary committee on ICT.

Many leading NRM politicians and NRM-leaning business people own radio stations all over the country. Voice of Teso in Soroti in the north-east and Voice of Busoga in Jinja in the east are both owned by Mike Mukula, who is the NRM vice chairman for eastern Uganda. Mukula contested and won the Soroti Municipality seat on the NRM ticket. He admitted that his stations had refused to air Besigye's adverts, arguing that the owner of any business was at liberty to decide whom to do business with. Kinkizi FM in Kanungu, in the south-west, is owned by Amama Mbabazi, who was then the local MP, security minister, and secretary general of the NRM. He was re-elected and is now the prime minister. Rukungiri FM in the south-west is owned by the local MP Jim Muhwezi of the NRM. He is a former health minister and also represented the area in the last parliament. Super FM in Kampala is owned by Peter Sematimba who was then the Local Council III chairman on the NRM ticket. Voice of Lango in northern Uganda belongs to Felix Ogong, a former minister and local MP for the NRM who was re-elected to represent his constituency. The list at the back of this booklet has several other owners of FM stations who are directly linked to the current government. These include finance minister Maria Kiwanuka (Radio One and Radio Two - Akaboozi); junior energy minister Simon D'Ujanga (Radio Paidha); former Museveni legal aide Mohammed Omar (Arua One); Museveni's principal private secretary Grace Akello (Joshua FM); Museveni's chief pilot Ali Kiiza (Radio Kitara); NRM MP for Masindi Municipality Ernest Kiiza (Bunyoro Broadcasting Service); NRM MP for Kibale Frank Tumwebaze (Rwenzori FM); presidency minister Kabakumba Matsiko (Voice of Bunyoro); information minister Mary Karooro Okurut (Crane

Broadcasting Ltd); junior labour minister Mwesigwa Rukutana (Radio Ankole); NRM MP for Kitagwenda Nulu Byamukama (Radio Endigyito); and former junior housing minister Edward Babu (Metro FM).

## The space for critical political discourse

In early 2010, the management of Tropical FM in Mityana, central Uganda, abruptly cancelled a one-hour programme that Besigye had booked and paid for. The RDC, Nsubuga Bewayo, reportedly ordered the cancellation. To gauge the extent to which the general political climate was supportive of critical or alternative political voices and dissent from the establishment or official viewpoints, we sought the opinions of proprietors and managers of radio stations that were not involved in explicit controversial actions involving opposition politicians during the last national elections.

Alex Muluga, the general manager of Kapchorwa Trinity Radio in eastern Uganda, said that his station allowed all political groups to disseminate their messages regardless of ideology. Although the station was independently owned, he conceded that it was widely perceived as a pro-NRM media house. Muluga said this misrepresentation had compelled some opposition politicians to not even bother to seek airtime on the radio. Moreover, some opposition politicians who booked time for sponsored discussion programmes did not show up either. According to Muluga, the main problem for the management of the station was with the RDC who wanted to make decisions for them regarding who to host. The station, we were told, was closely monitored by government officials in the district because it transmitted in eight languages and covered most of the eastern border region of Uganda including parts of western Kenya. This, Muluga said, made the station popular with NRM candidates, which seemed to have forced the opposition candidates to opt for other stations in the belief that they were more accessible and open to their messages.

Pastor Joseph Serwadda, the owner of Impact FM, an evangelical broadcaster, said that all decision-making was the responsibility of the station's management. "They were in charge of making professional decisions of who to host and what

to air," he told us. He said that his role was to guide the management on what was acceptable and what would not be tolerated, and that he would only step in if the managers made serious errors of judgement. It should be noted that as convener of the annual New Year prayer meeting, Pastor Serwadda had hosted President Museveni, the NRM flag bearer, and prayed for his win at the 2011 elections.

At Choice FM in Gulu, northern Uganda, manager Joseph Odwar said that the station was independent but required whoever was to go on air to fill out a form on which the guest indicated what he or she intended to talk about. If approved, the presenter or programme host was then obliged to ensure that the guest did not divert from the commitment made on paper. On some occasions the authorities demanded recordings of the programmes. So the managers had to be careful as the station was once threatened with closure for allegedly "inciting violence". As Odwar pointed out, "Nobody wants his radio station closed down; so we had to be careful and the management knew that being shut down would mean loss of jobs." He said, however, that all candidates were free to air their views unrestricted but were required to comply with certain conditions.

At Busoga FM in Jinja, eastern Uganda, the manager, Julie Bell, said that all political parties were represented on the station's management team – some openly supported the opposition while some were for the NRM. The management of the station had the freedom to make professional decisions about what political messages to air.

Kasirivu Atwooki, an NRM MP and a former junior minister for lands, has a licence to start a radio station registered as Emambya FM. The station will provide a commercial service, but he said that he will not tolerate "messages that divide the people and create enemies". No character assassination will be allowed because the radio is supposed to promote peace and unity. For Atwooki, the disclaimer that "the views expressed do not represent those of management" will not work on his station and he will insist that the technicians and journalists he employs pay attention to everything that goes on air.

CBS FM, which is owned by the Buganda Kingdom in central Uganda, is the

poster child of what happens when freewheeling discourse collides with the state's version of acceptable speech. The government shut the station down in September 2009 at the height of the violent protests that were triggered by its decision to stop the Kabaka (king) of Buganda, Ronald Mutebi, from visiting a breakaway region of the kingdom. The government contended that it acted pre-emptively for security reasons as the Kabaka's visit was considered provocative by some and would have exacerbated the tensions in the area. In the ensuing conflict, the government alleged that CBS had incited the riots with its inflammatory rhetoric, which justified its closure. The station was allowed to broadcast again a few months to the February 2011 elections in a move that was interpreted as an attempt to placate a politically sensitive voting bloc. Kaaya Kavuma, the managing director and chairman of the station, told us that his radio had acted professionally throughout the election period.

"The Kabaka has people in all the political parties," Kavuma told us. "So we have to bear that in mind in our programming and news presentation. There were complaints of bias from either side, which to me is acceptable." He observed, however, that the fact that the NRM did not sponsor as many adverts and political messages as the opposition led some to concluded that CBS was biased towards the opposition and against the ruling party. Kavuma said that this was a misrepresentation of their position.

At Open Gate FM in Mbale, eastern Uganda, the director, Charles Mukhwana, said that the station was "always open" to all political views. They tried their best to be balanced and independent though they were sometimes compelled to consult with the RDC and the security authorities when it came to hosting "controversial people". This, he said, was because they did not want to clash with the government. As Mukhwana put it, "We think we are partners and also they give us the licence to operate." As a balancing strategy, they ensured that no opposition politician was featured on a talk show without a member of the NRM on the same show. He said they had learnt from a mistake that almost got them closed down. This was before the swearing in ceremony of President Museveni when an opposition politician had a paid-up talk show on which he talked about the walk to work campaign.

## The role of regulation

Charles Ochola, the spokesman of the Electoral Commission (EC), told us that the EC received several verbal complaints from a number of candidates that some media houses, particularly in western Uganda, had denied them access to their radio stations. According to Ochola, the aggrieved parties were asked to submit their complaints in writing and to attach documentary evidence like receipts as proof that they had paid and been assured of service. In virtually all cases, the complainants never followed up with the EC.

The lack of follow-up by the complainants notwithstanding, Ochola said, the EC went ahead to investigate the allegations by contacting the radio stations mentioned. Its findings revealed a mixed bag of reasons that led to denials of access. In one instance, the complainant wanted to dictate the time to be on air without regard for the station's programming schedule. At one radio in Masindi, the complainant approached the station manager with a cash payment for the service, yet the station's policy was to do all bookings at the headquarters in Kampala, which the complainant found unacceptable. Differences such as these were sometimes framed in political terms.

If proven with documentary evidence, the EC's policy was to forward such cases to the Media Council if they involved the print media or to the Broadcasting Council for action as the regulations required. The EC has no powers of sanction, but the Media Council and the Broadcasting Council are mandated to take disciplinary action including suspending the licences of operators if found in breach of the regulations. In fact, before the elections, the EC had approached both councils and requested them to write to all media houses, especially upcountry radio stations, to urge them to allow all contending political parties unfettered access to the airwaves in accordance with the country's electoral laws. The two bodies actually did write to every radio station in the country through the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) with that very appeal.

In the particular case of UBC, said Ochola, the EC wrote to the organisation to notify it that the electoral law obliged the national broadcaster to be impartial

and to give all sides equal access to the electorate. UBC assured the EC that it had scheduled two talk shows per week to cater for all the candidates. Ochola said that to his knowledge, the reason for Besigye's reported aggravation was that he had booked a slot that UBC had already allocated to another candidate and that UBC had refunded his deposit.

Godfrey Mutabazi, the executive director of UCC, was adamant that his agency was independent of government control when we asked him about lingering suspicions that the state had a say in deciding who got licensed to broadcast:

> Yes, we are independent. The government does not give us directives to implement. We follow the law and guidelines that have been set up by Parliament. We are not under government control and I don't know why people say that. Let somebody give us evidence of the so-called government control.

On complaints by opposition politicians of being denied access to the airwaves, Mutabazi argued that whereas the law required all media houses to give equal time and space to all sides in the electoral contest, UBC as a public broadcaster had a special mandate to ensure a level playing field. On the other hand, said Mutabazi:

> UBC is underfunded, so they need money to run their programmes. I heard that some parties did not have money and wanted free airtime. Also, the candidates who complained did not give us their complaints formally. They gave them to the media. In that case we could not take any action because if we do not receive any complaints, there is nothing we can do about it. There is no way we can deal with an issue that has not been formally brought to our attention in writing.

On the measures the UCC took to ensure fair play for all contesting parties in the last elections, Mutabazi explained:

> In the run-up to the elections we wrote to all the private broadcasters under their association and sat with them in a meeting and told them that they were under obligation to give all sides access for as long as they met the station's conditions. If you have your own private radio station, nobody can come and direct you on whom you can host and not host on the station, except for the government, which can make certain demands because there is a public service obligation in every licence. As for politicians who own radio stations and deny politicians from rival parties access to the airwaves, we can handle it if we get a formal written complaint. We can direct him or her to respond to the accusation and to change that position. But we can only do

> that if they lodge a formal complaint because basically we are a complaints-led regulatory body.

With the odds clearly stuck against them, opposition parties have searched for different ways to force their voice through. Long before the elections, the FDC seems to have anticipated the situation it would have to confront during the campaigns of 2011. The party had secured UShs 190 million (approx. US$ 76,000) from American donors to set up a radio station but it was denied a licence by the Broadcasting Council on the grounds that a political party was not allowed to own a station. When that course failed, the party tried to buy off two existing radio stations in the hopes of circumventing the licensing procedure. But there is a catch: the law prohibits the sale or transfer of a broadcasting license without the approval of the regulator. In other words, without the regulator's clearance, a broadcasting station cannot change ownership. That is the legal trap in which the FDC found itself. Besigye confirmed the party's strategy in statements attributed to him by *Daily Monitor* on March 15, 2010:

> We asked for a licence but the government has been delaying the process. When we pressured them [government] they told us that they had stopped issuing licences because the airwaves were full. But we had plan B in case the official channels failed. As we were pressuring the government to give us a licence, we were also planning other tactics of acquiring a radio, and I am happy plan B worked. I can now tell you that we have acquired two radio stations. One is on air now and another will be on air within a month.

Mutabazi, then chairman of the Broadcasting Council, was quoted in response:

> We do not licence radio stations owned by parties. The Electronic Media Act does not say anything like that and we are not going to allow anything like that. You do not just sell a radio station like selling a cake. The rules are clear, the council must know the seller and the new owner of a station before it is sold.

## Conclusion: Implications for media freedom and political speech

This study shows that the last political contest, and indeed the contests of 2006 and 2001, was not just about issues such as poverty and how to improve things

like the agricultural sector, how best to attract foreign direct investment, or whether or not to reduce the size of government. It was also about the means to use to articulate those issues to the electorate and the broader body politic of Uganda. In a way, therefore, there was as well a contest over media outlets, especially radio which is the most common medium in Uganda, making the media an important player in the electoral process.

At play are questions of media freedom and political speech in Uganda. In these are folded issues of access to media and democratic space, political and media pluralism, and dissent. The general picture that emerges from the foregoing sections – a picture of contest between those in power and those outside – is not new in Uganda. During colonialism, black politicians and activists turned to the media, and actually helped launch modern Ugandan media in the 1920s, to challenge the colonial order. The colonial state fired back, arresting and jailing critical writers, and shutting down publications. That is an approach that the government of newly independent Uganda continued in the 1960s. Critical politicians and journalists – especially after the 1966 falling out between the central government under Prime Minister Milton Obote and the Buganda Kingdom under Kabaka Muteesa II, the ceremonial president of Uganda – were harassed and jailed and publications such as *Ssekanyolya* banned. Abu Mayanja was a politician who frequently wrote critical articles in *Transition* magazine. The Obote government detained him in 1968 under emergency laws and charged him with sedition only after an outcry. Court acquitted him but the government kept him in jail all the same until the Amin coup of 1971. *Transition* migrated to Ghana. The 1970s under Idi Amin were a nightmare for journalists, politicians, and just about everyone else. Things have been a little better under President Museveni since his assumption of power in 1986. But the temptation to shut down critics and opponents and presumably keep them from taking power remains. It is just that it is not done as brutally as before – at least not all the time.

Indeed, it is under the Museveni era that Uganda promulgated a fairly progressive constitution especially regarding civil and political rights. Even the attendant laws have been mostly decent. It is worth outlining elements of this legal regime before we venture into the reasons why it is not followed or enforced by all. Uganda's legal code regarding democratic behaviour is largely derived from

best international practice, underpinned by documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is crucial even for a democratising country such as Uganda to hold free, fair and non-violent elections where all contending political points of view are fairly and equitably heard through media, both public and private, so that the voters have the opportunity to make informed choices. But that media should be free, responsible and pluralistic.

Uganda's Constitution in article 29 (1) (a) guarantees freedom of expression and the media on top of giving every citizen the right of access to information in the possession of the state "except where the release of the information is likely to prejudice the security or sovereignty of the State or interfere with the right to the privacy of any other person" (Article 41 (1)). The country's electoral law is clear as well. Article 23 of the Presidential Elections Act, 2005, deals with equal treatment, freedom of expression and access to information of candidates, while Article 24 deals with rights of candidates.

- Article 23 (1) During the campaign period, every public officer and public authority and public institution shall give equal treatment to all candidates and their agents.
- Article 23 (2) Subject to the Constitution and any other law, every candidate shall enjoy complete and unhindered freedom of expression and access to information in the exercise of the right to campaign under this Act.
- Article 24 (1) All presidential candidates shall be given equal treatment on the State owned media to present their programme to the people.

These provisions are largely similar in the Parliamentary Elections Act 2005. Enforcement of these laws is, however, patchy at best. Thus the opposition and some civil society players view enforcement institutions such as the police, the Electoral Commission, and the Uganda Communications Commission as biased in favour of the incumbent president and his ruling party. This suggests a contradiction that hampers the advancement of media freedom and political speech. In 2005, Uganda re-embraced multi-party politics following a 20-year break. This opening of the political space has, however, come alongside increased attempts by the government to closing off, or least narrowing, the means through which the plurality and diversity of views would find full expression: the media. The public broadcaster, UBC, will rarely touch opposition politics and politicians. It is as if UBC is a Museveni or NRM media outlet. But this is just another

example of the fusion of the state and the ruling party. In such a context, any criticism of the party and the government over which it presides gets equated with lack of patriotism, to being an enemy of the sovereign state of Uganda. Even outside of elections, it is difficult for politicians to assemble and demonstrate in the enjoyment of their constitutionally guaranteed rights.

It is in this fusion of state and party that private media operate. It is yet another contradiction then that instead of seizing the moment and play the loftier role of challenging the status quo and improve the quality of political life, private media owners have acquiesced to the regime's power-retention shenanigans. Instead of providing a platform for all views to find expression so people can make political choices based on the widest possible exposure to the ideas out there, several amongst them do the opposite. The reason for this is largely that the powerful Museveni government punishes, or at least attempts to, those who are seen to oppose it.

Ruling party politicians who own radio stations such as MP Mike Mukula of Soroti Municipality, with his Voice of Teso and Voice of Busoga, would be expected to deny the opposition a platform. How about business people who are not active politicians? These fear to lose government business in form of advertisements should they host opposition politicians. Government departments such as the Ministry of Health spend quite large sums of money on public campaigns in which they use radio, especially in rural areas. This is a major source of revenue for these FM stations. So stations that need that advertising, and that is the majority, have to ensure they do not annoy the powers that be. When Catholic Church-owned Radio Sapientia was re-opened, having been closed down on the same day as CBS and two other stations, it was told to not put place Ministry of Gender adverts just before and just after political shows.[1] Never mind that the station was

1 This is how the *African Media Barometer Uganda 2010* put it: "Because Uganda's economy is small, the government is the biggest advertiser. Government advertising constitutes about 70 per cent of the market, with the Ministry of Health being crucial because it spends a lot on all sorts of public health campaigns.

"On a number of occasions this economic clout has been used to tame critical media. In the 1990s the government imposed an advertising ban on the privately owned *Daily Monitor* newspaper following news stories and opinion pieces that were viewed as critical of the state.

"In recent years, the pressure has not been applied officially but in a more subtle way. Companies doing business with the government do not want to be seen to be associated with newspapers regarded as "enemies" by placing adverts in them. After the re-opening of Radio Sapientia, one of four stations closed during the September 2009 riots, the manage-

told to stick to religious programming entirely.

Besides, the government would also come down hard against the station owners over any infractions, say taxes, the kind that they would ordinarily let pass. Some of these business people also do other businesses outside owning media houses, and if seen to be anti-government, they could lose out on government contracts and tenders as well. In a poor country, these are real threats to livelihood. Yet, ironically, a balanced approach by business owners of radio stations would ideally level the political playing field especially for electioneering and possibly contribute to ensuring acceptance of election results by all parties involved. This can only be good for a country's political stability. Stability is good for business too. But if key players in society such as the business class act in fear of their own government, this cannot speak well for all freedoms and for the future of the country.

ment of the station was asked to sign a declaration that political ('anti-government') programming would not be put around Ministry of Gender adverts."

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# FM RADIO STATIONS ON AIR AS AT NOVEMBER 30, 2010

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ARUA | | | |
| | Nebbi | Radio Paidha Ltd<br>Mr. Simon D'Ujanga<br>P.O. Box 25491, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 118, Paidha. | 87.8 |
| | Arua | Arua One FM Limited<br>Mr. Mohammed Omar<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 121, Apac. | 88.7 |
| | Nebbi | Radio Maria Association (Radio Maria)<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 90.5 |
| | Arua | Radio Pacis<br>Fr. Tonino Pasolini<br>Director<br>Arua Catholic Diocese<br>P.O. Box 454, Arua | 90.9 & 90.4 |
| | Arua | Bornfree Technologies Network (Nile FM)<br>Mr. Sakia B. Adile<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 450, Arua or<br>P.O. Box 28741, Kampala. | 94.1 |
| | Arua | BBC World Service<br>Ms. Strong<br>BBC Nairobi Office<br>P.O. Box 58621, 00100 Nairobi. | 99.4 |
| | Arua | Voice of Life<br>Mr. Isaac J. Anguyo<br>P.O. Box 103, Arua. | 100.9 |
| | Arua | Homenet Limited | 104.5 |
| GULU | | | |
| | Gulu | Northern Broadcast Ltd (King FM)<br>Mr. David Mwaka<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 26101, Kampala. | 90.2 |
| | Kitgum | Childcare International (Mighty Fire FM)<br>Mr. David Livingstone Okello<br>P.O. Box 40, Kitgum. | 91.5 |
| | Gulu | Norah Media Group Ltd (Choice FM)<br>Mr. Joseph Odwar<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 802, Gulu. | 92.1 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kitgum | Salt and Light Christian City Church (Radio Kuch)<br>Pastor David Livingstone Okello<br>P.O. Box 498, Kitgum. | 93.7 |
| | Gulu | New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd (Radio Rupiny)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 95.7 |
| | Moyo | Transnile Broadcasting Service (Moyo FM)<br>Ms. Winifred Desire Isoke<br>P.O. Box 22783, Kampala &<br>P.O. Box 144, Moyo. | 98.6 |
| | Kitgum | Kitti Radio Station Ltd (Kitti FM)<br>Mr. Jimmy Katumba Ociti<br>P.O. Box 166, Kitgum. | 99.9 |
| | Kitgum | POL FM<br>Mr. Johnson Omona<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 166, Kitgum. | 100.7 |
| | Gulu | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (Mega FM – government-owned) | 102.1 |
| | Gulu | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 103.1 |
| | Gulu | Radio Maria Uganda Association (Radio Maria)<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 105.7 |
| LIRA | | | |
| | Lira | Voice of Lango (Felister)<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 10606, Kampala or<br>Obote Avenue<br>P.O. Box 263, Lira. | 88.0 |
| | Pader | Uganda Australian Foundation (Palwak FM)<br>Mr. Francis Odida<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 914, Kampala. | 88.3/87.7 |
| | Lira | Estalup Enterprises Ltd (Radio North)<br>Mr. Dickens Elem<br>Director<br>Plot 22/24 Maruji Road<br>P.O. Box 391, Lira. | 89.0 |
| | Lira | Radio Wa – Lira Diocese<br>Alberto Eisman<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 99, Lira. | 89.8 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Pader | Best Services Company Ltd (Luo FM)<br>Mr. Walter Okidi Ladwar<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 14, Pader or<br>P.O. Box 34601, Kampala. | 92.4 |
| | Apac | Radio Apac<br>Mr. Jimmy Okello<br>P.O. Box 121, Apac. | 92.9/106.5 |
| | Lira | Radio Management Services Ltd (Lira FM)<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 95.3 |
| | Lira | Rhino Communications Company Ltd (Rhino FM)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 96.1 |
| | Pader | Radio Piwa<br>Mr. Polly Okello Owiny<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 7480, Kampala. | 96.5 |
| | Lira | Unity Investments Ltd (Unity Radio a Lwak)<br>Mr. Jimmy Luis Uhuru<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 17, Lira. | 97.7 |
| | Lira | New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd (Radio Rupiny)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 98.1 |
| | Lira | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 100.0 |
| SOROTI | | | |
| | Soroti | Teso Broadcasting Service (TBS FM)<br>Managing Director<br>Friends Holdings Ltd<br>P.O. Box 784, Soroti. | 87.6 |
| | Soroti | Voice of Teso Ltd<br>Mr. Mike Mukula<br>P.O. Box 103, Soroti or<br>P.O. Box 7376, Kampala. | 88.4 |
| | Soroti | Kioga Radio Ltd (Kioga Veritas FM)<br>Fr. Athanasius Mubiru<br><br>Diocesan Development Coordinator<br>Soroti Catholic Diocese<br>P.O. Box 641, Soroti. | 91.5 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Amuria | Kide Communications Ltd (Joshua FM)<br>Ms. Grace Akello<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 4964, Kampala. | 93.5 |
| | Kumi | Continental FM Station Ltd<br>Ms. Winifred Adio<br>Chairperson<br>P.O. Box 226, Soroti. | 94.7 |
| | Soroti | Delta FM Radio Ltd<br>Mr. Wilson Kaija Akiiki<br>Development Education<br>Leadership Training in Action<br>P.O. Box 641, Soroti. | 97.0 |
| | Soroti | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 96.7 |
| | Soroti | New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd (Etop Radio)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 99.4 |
| | Soroti | Baptist International Mission of Uganda<br>Rev. Bryan L. Stensaas<br>Assistant Director<br>P.O. Box 10, Soroti. | 105.1 |
| MOROTO | | | |
| | Moroto | Nenah Ltd (Nenah FM)<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 29, Moroto. | 104.7 |
| | Moroto | Radio Management Services (All Karamoja FM)<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 94.7 |
| | Kidepo | Radio Management Services<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 89.6 |
| | Kotido | Radio Management Service<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 88.7 |
| MASINDI | | | |
| | Hoima | Kisembo Electronics Engineers Ltd (Radio Hoima)<br>Mr. Deo Kisembo<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 86, Hoima. | 88.6 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Hoima | Ababaigara Company Ltd / Liberty Broadcasting Service<br>Mr. Edward Kiiza<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 157, Hoima. | 89.0 |
| | Hoima | Spice Media Services Ltd (Spice FM)<br>Mr. Edgar Agaba<br>P.O. Box 8700, Kampala. | 89.9 |
| | Hoima | Radio Maria Association (Radio Maria)<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br><br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 90.7 |
| | Kibaale | Kagadi Kibaale Community Radio<br>Mwalimu Musheshe Snr<br>Chairman/Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 162, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 24, Kagadi. | 91.7 |
| | Masindi | Kings Broadcasting Services Ltd (Voice of Bunyoro)<br>Ms. Kabakumba Matsiko<br>Kings Broadcasting Services<br>P. O Box 626, Kampala. | 93.6 |
| | Masindi | Christian Life Ministries (Top Radio)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 94.9 |
| | Hoima | Madison Baptist Church (New Life Radio)<br>Mr. Tony Stark<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 178, Hoima. | 96.2 |
| | Masindi | Earnest Publishers / Bunyoro Broadcasting Service<br>Mr. Ernest Kiiza<br><br>Chairman/Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 427, Masindi or<br>P.O. Box 11730, Kampala. | 98.2 |
| | Masindi | Masindi Broadcasting Service (Radio Kitara)<br>Capt. Ali Mohammed Kiiza<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 442, Masindi. | 101.8 |
| | Masindi | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 105.0 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| FORT PORTAL | | | |
| | Kamwenge | Radio Kamwenge FM Ltd (Voice of Kamwenge)<br>Patric Kaihwa<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 33747, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 1544, Kamwenge. | 87.9 |
| | Kamwenge | Rwenzori FM Ltd<br>Mr. Frank Tumwebaze<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 26625, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 1516 Kamwenge. | 89.7 |
| | Fort Portal | Radio West Ltd (Radio West)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 91.0 |
| | Kasese | Kasese Catholic Diocese (Kasese Guide Radio)<br>Fr. Sunday Augustine Masereka<br>P.O. Box 105, Kasese. | 91.4 |
| | Fort Portal | World Evangelical Ministries (Life FM)<br>Rev. K. L. Dickson<br>Chief Executive Director<br>P.O. Box 925, Fort Portal. | 93.8 |
| | Kyenjojo | Kyenjojo Development Radio (Kyenjojo FM)<br>Ms. Joyce Kwebiha<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 1002, Kyenjojo. | 96.7 |
| | Kasese | Diocese of South Rwenzori (Messiah Radio)<br>Rev. Julius B. Kithaghenda<br><br>Diocesan Secretary<br>P.O. Box 142, Kasese. | 97.5 |
| | Fort Portal | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 98.8 |
| | Fort Portal | Voice of Toro<br>Mr. Job Katuramu<br>P.O. Box 22003, Kampala. | 101.0 |
| | Fort Portal | Radio Maria Uganda Association (Radio Maria)<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br><br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 104.6 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| MUBENDE | | | |
| | Kiboga | Kiboga Radio Ltd (Kiboga FM)<br>Mr. Edward Kiiza<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 157, Hoima. | 89.5 |
| | Mubende | Voice of Toro<br>Mr. Job Katuramu<br>P.O. Box 22003, Kampala. | 97.5 |
| | Mubende | Together in Christ (Heart FM)<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 392, Mityana. | 102.3 |
| | Mubende | Mubende Broadcasting & Technical Services Ltd<br>Mr. Charles Kasozi Bukenya<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 47, Mubende. | 106.0 |
| KABALE | | | |
| | Kinkizi | Kinkizi FM Ltd<br>Mr. Amama Mbabazi<br>P.O. Box 2819, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 34, Kihihi, Kinkizi, Kanungu. | 88.0 |
| | Kabale | Voice of Kigezi FM (U) Ltd<br>Mr. Ivan Batuma<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 33747, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 710, Kabale. | 89.5 |
| | Kabale | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 93.7 |
| | Kabale | Radio West Ltd<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd<br>P.O Box 9815, Kampala. | 94.3 |
| | Rukungiri | Maendeleo Company Ltd (Rukungiri FM)<br>Mr. Jim Muhwezi<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 2780, Kampala or<br>P.O Box 72, Rukungiri. | 96.9 |
| | Kabale | UNESCO Kachwekano<br>Secretary General<br>Uganda National Commission for UNESCO<br>P.O. Box 4962, Kampala. | 103.7 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Bushenyi | Crane Broadcasting Ltd<br>Ms. Mary Karooro Okurut<br>P.O. Box 20000, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 132, Bushenyi. | 87.6 |
| MBARARA | | | |
| | Ntungamo | Radio Ankole<br>Mr. Mwesigwa Rukutana<br><br>P.O. Box 11442, Kampala. | 88.4 |
| | Mbarara | Capital FM<br>Mr. Patrick Quarcoo & Mr. William Pike<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7638, Kampala. | 88.7 |
| | Mbarara | Vision Empire Ltd (Vision FM)<br>Mr. Fred Asiimwe<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 358, Mbarara. | 89.1 |
| | Mbarara | Voice of Africa (UMC for EC&SA)<br>Hajj Haroona Sengooba<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 6137, Kampala. | 90.6 |
| | Mbarara | Christian Life Ministries (Top Radio)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 91.8 |
| | Bushenyi | BFM Limited (B-FM)<br>Mr. Jonas Tumwine<br>P.O. Box 271, Bushenyi. | 92.2 |
| | Mbarara | Lion of Judah | 92.6 |
| | Mbarara | Voice of Toro<br>Mr. Job Katuramu<br>P.O. Box 22003, Kampala. | 95.0 |
| | Mbarara | Western Broadcasting Services (Radio Endigyito)<br>Mr. Nulu Byamukama<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 6989, Kampala or<br>P.O. Box 1449, Kamwenge. | 88.3 |
| | Mbarara | Baptist International Mission of Uganda<br>Rev. Keith Stensaas<br>Secretary/Treasurer | 96.2 |
| | Mbarara | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 97.4 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Mbarara | Greater Afrikan Radio<br>Dr. Kihura Nkuba aka Nkamuhayo Rwacumika<br><br>P.O. Box 1742, Mbarara. | 98.3 |
| | Mbarara | Radio West Ltd<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 100.2 |
| | Mbarara | Radio Maria Uganda Association<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 105.4 |
| | Mbarara | BBC World Service<br>Ms. Strong<br>BBC Nairobi Office<br>P.O. Box 58621, 00100 Nairobi. | 107.3 |
| KALANGALA | | | |
| | Kalangala | TimCom Ltd (Ssese FM)<br>Ms. Florence Lwanga<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 6990, Kampala. | 101.9 |
| MASAKA | | | |
| | Masaka | Central Broadcasting Service (CBS)<br>Mr. Godfrey Kaaya Kavuma Chairman/ Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12760, Kampala. | 87.7 |
| | Masaka | Central Broadcasting Service (CBS)<br>Mr. Godfrey Kaaya Kavuma Chairman/ Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12760, Kampala. | 89.9 |
| | Masaka | Kalungu Foundation Ltd (Radio Equator)<br>Mr. David Nabala<br><br>P.O. Box 867 & 775, Masaka or<br>P.O. Box 8085, Kampala. | 93.0 |
| | Masaka | Radio Maria Uganda Association<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 94.0 |
| | Masaka | Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Prime Radio) | 94.6 |
| | Masaka | Christian Life Ministries (Top Radio)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 96.2 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Masaka | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 96.9 |
| | Masaka | Buddu Broadcasting Services Ltd | 98.8 - Repeater |
| | Masaka | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 99.5 |
| | Sembabule | Mbabule FM<br>Dr. David Mushabe<br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 10109, Kampala. | 101.1 |
| | Masaka | Christian Radio Network<br>Pastor Joseph Sserwadda<br>P.O. Box 10725, Kampala. | 101.5 |
| | Masaka | Voice of Africa (UMC for EC&SA)<br>Hajj Haroona Sengooba<br>P.O. Box 6137, Kampala. | 102.7 |
| | Masaka | Baptist International Mission of Uganda (BIMU)<br>Rev. Keith Stensaas<br>Secretary/Treasurer<br>P.O. Box 478, Masaka. | 103.0 |
| | Masaka | Radio West Ltd<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd<br>P.O Box 9815, Kampala. | 106.6 |
| | Masaka | New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd (Bukedde FM)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O Box 9815, Kampala. | 106.8 |
| JINJA | | | |
| | Jinja | Basoga Baino FM<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 38, Jinja. | 87.7 |
| | Jinja | Radio Kiira Ltd<br>Mr. David Abura<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 12695, Kampala. | 88.6 |
| | Jinja | Nkabi Broadcasting Services (Smart FM)<br>Mr. Nathan Nabeta<br>Station Manager<br>P.O. Box 1369, Jinja. | 89.0 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Jinja | Nkabi Broadcasting Service (NBS Kodheyo FM)<br>Mr. Nathan Nabeta<br>Station Manager<br>P.O. Box 1369, Jinja. | 89.4 |
| | Jinja | Voice of Busoga<br>Mr. Mike Mukula<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 2080, Jinja or<br>P.O. Box 10101, Kampala. | 89.8 |
| | Jinja | Victoria Broadcasting Network Ltd (Victoria FM)<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 143, Spire Road, Jinja. | 92.5 |
| | Bugiri | Christian Radio Network (Impact FM)<br>Pastor Joseph Sserwada<br>P.O. Box 10725, Kampala. | 92.9 |
| | Iganga | Nalugoli & Company Ltd (Eye FM)<br>Mr. Muhammad Namadala<br>Chairman/MD<br>P.O. Box 471, Iganga. | 98.8 |
| | Jinja | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio - government-owned) | 95.7 |
| | Jinja | Radio Management Services (U) Ltd (Busoga FM)<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 96.0 |
| | Bugiri | Apex Promotions Ltd<br>Ms. Angelina Aguttu<br>P.O. Box 9222, Kampala. | 102.3 |
| | Jinja | Apex Promotions Ltd<br>Ms. Angelina Aguttu<br>P.O. Box 422, Jinja or<br>P.O. Box 9222, Kampala. | 103.5 |
| | Jinja | BIDADO (Maranatha FM)<br>Managing Director<br>BIDADO - Busoga Inter-District Adventist Organisation<br>P. O. Box 916, Jinja. | 104.7 |
| | Kamuli | Kamuli Broadcasting Service<br>P.O. Box 35536<br>Kampala. | 105.9 |
| | Jinja | Pajoska Agencies Ltd / Bamboo FM<br>Mr. Noah Kalikwani<br>P.O. Box 1390, Jinja. | 107.6 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| MBALE | | | |
| | Mbale | Katinvuma Broadcasts & General Ltd (Signal FM)<br>Mr. Ahmed Kintu Munyagwa<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 2040, Mbale. | 88.1 |
| | Mbale | Faith Radio FM Ltd (Faith FM)<br>Mr. Patrick Okabe<br><br>P.O. Box 631, Mbale. | 90.5 |
| | Tororo | Radio Veros Ltd | 90.2 |
| | Mbale | Capital Radio Ltd<br>Mr. Patrick Quarcoo & Mr. William Pike<br>P.O. Box 7638, Kampala. | 90.9 |
| | Pallisa | VB & C Communications Ltd (Challenge FM)<br>Ms. Deborah Braund<br>P.O. Box 2415, Kampala. | 91.9 |
| | Mbale | Radio Sanyu Ltd<br>Mr. Sudhir Ruparelia<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7781, Kampala. | 96.4 |
| | Mbale | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 96.9 |
| | Mbale | Radio Bugwere Ltd<br>Kamonkoli<br>Jonathan G. Mwede<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 2359, Kampala. | 97.2 |
| | Mbale | Christian Radio Network (Impact FM)<br>Pastor Joseph Sserwada<br>P.O. Box 10725, Kampala. | 98.5 |
| | Mbale | Step Broadcasting & Communication Services Ltd. (Step FM)<br>Mr. Charles Mukhwana<br>P.O. Box 467, Mbale. | 99.8 |
| | Mbale | Voice of Africa (UMC for EC&SA)<br>Hajj Haroona Sengooba<br>P.O. Box 6137, Kampala. | 100.2 |
| | Mbale | Radio Maria Uganda Association<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 101.8 |
| | Mbale | Talcom Electron Broadcasts Ltd (Open Gate FM)<br>Mr. Sam W. Watulatsu<br>P.O. Box 2342, Mbale. | 103.2 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Mbale | Christian Life Ministries (Top Radio – Mbale)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 104.9 |
| | Tororo | Rock Mambo Radio Ltd (Rock FM)<br>Mr. Paul Etiang<br>Chairman<br>P.O. Box 7089, Kampala. | 106.8 |
| | Mbale | BBC World Service<br>Ms. Strong<br>BBC Nairobi Office<br>P.O. Box 58621, 00100 Nairobi. | 107.3 |
| KAPCHORWA | | | |
| | Kapchorwa | Radio Management Services<br>Ms. Julie Bell<br>P.O. Box 7320, Kampala. | 89.2 |
| | Kapchorwa | Presbyterian Church of Uganda<br>Pastor Samson Gusinja<br>Chairman<br>P.O. Box 172, Kapchorwa. | 94.1 |
| | Kapchorwa | Kalenjin FM Ltd<br>Mr. Victor Pkweshiek<br>P.O. Box 23, Kapchorwa. | 95.4 |
| | Kapchorwa | Imani Radio and TV Ministries (Radio Imani)<br>C/o Mushabe, Munungu & Co. Advocates<br>P.O. Box 28594, Kampala. | 101.0 |
| KAMPALA | | | |
| | Kampala | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (Star FM - government-owned) | 87.5 |
| | Kampala | Radio Two Ltd (Akaboozi)<br>Ms. Maria Kiwanuka<br><br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 45889, Kampala. | 87.9 |
| | Kampala | Sanyu FM<br>Mr. Sudhir Ruparelia<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7781, Kampala. | 88.2 |
| | Kampala | Super FM<br>Mr. Peter Sematimba<br><br>P.O. Box 14031, Kampala. | 88.5 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kampala | Central Broadcasting Service (CBS)<br>Mr. Godfrey Kaaya Kavuma<br>Chairman/Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12760, Kampala. | 88.8 |
| | Kampala | Central Broadcasting Service (CBS)<br>Mr. Godfrey Kaaya Kavuma<br>Chairman/Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12760, Kampala. | 89.2 |
| | Kampala | Christian Life Ministries (Top Radio)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 89.6 |
| | Kampala | Radio One Ltd<br>Ms. Maria Kiwanuka<br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 45889, Kampala. | 90.0 |
| | Kampala | Dembe FM 2004 Ltd<br>Mr. Patrick Bitature<br>Managing Director<br>Plot 38, Kyadondo Road, Kampala. | 90.4 |
| | Kampala | Metro FM<br>Mr. Edward Babu<br>Director<br>P.O. Box 946, Kampala. | 90.8 |
| | Kampala | Capital Radio Ltd (Capital FM)<br>Mr. Patrick Quarcoo & Mr. William Pike<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7638, Kampala. | 91.3 |
| | Busiro | Busiro FM (U) Ltd | 91.6 |
| | Kampala | Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Prime Radio) | 91.9 |
| | Kampala | Voice of Africa (UMC for EC&SA)<br>Mr. Haroona Sengooba<br><br>P.O. Box 6137, Kampala. | 92.3 |
| | Kampala | Source Broadcasting (BOB FM)<br>Keita Anguzu<br>P.O. Box 34322, Kampala. | 92.7 |
| | Kampala | Christianity Focus Ministries<br>Mengo-Kisenyi<br>Bishop David Kiganda<br>P.O. Box 70311, Kampala. | 93.0 |
| | Kampala | Monitor Publications Ltd (K-FM)<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12142, Kampala. | 93.3 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kampala | Radio France International<br>Mr. Didier Martin<br>Alliance Francaise<br>P.O. Box 4314, Kampala. | 93.7 |
| | Kampala | Radio Bilal<br>Secretary General<br>Uganda Muslim Supreme Council<br>P.O. Box 1146, Kampala. | 94.1 |
| | Kampala | Uganda Episcopal Conference (Radio Sapientia)<br>Catholic Secretariat<br>P.O. Box 29994, Kampala. | 94.4 |
| | Kampala | New Vision Printing & Publishing Company Ltd (Vision Voice)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O Box 9815, Kampala. | 94.8 |
| | Kampala | Radio West Ltd<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O Box 9815, Kampala. | 95.2 |
| | Kampala | Buddu Broadcasting Service (Buddu FM)<br>Mr. Steven Kayiwa<br><br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 53, Masaka. | 95.5 |
| | Kampala | Touch FM Radio Ltd<br>Mr. Franco Baitwa<br><br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12028, Kampala. | 95.9 |
| | Kampala | Capital Radio Ltd (Beat FM)<br>Mr. William Pike<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 7638, Kampala. | 96.3 |
| | Mukono | Dynamic Broadcasting Services Ltd. (Spirit FM)<br>Mr. Edward Sekabanja Kato<br>Operations Manager<br>P.O. Box 10383, Kampala. | 96.6 |
| | Mityana | Radio Sky-Net Ltd (Sun FM)<br>Dr. Higiro Semajege<br>P.O. Box 4115, Kampala. | 96.9 |
| | Kampala | Jilak-Co. Ltd (Radio City)<br>Mr. Richard Sematimba<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 5585, Kampala. | 97.0 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kampala | Radio Simba<br>Mr. Aga Sekalala Jr.<br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 31564, Kampala. | 97.3 |
| | Kampala | Universal Church of the Kingdom of God<br>Mr. Fransisco De Sousa<br>P.O. Box 10766, Kampala. | 97.7 |
| | Kampala | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 98.0 |
| | Kampala | Christian Radio Network (Impact FM)<br>Pastor Joseph Sserwada<br>P.O. Box 10725, Kampala. | 98.5 |
| | Kampala | East Africa FM, Kampala<br>Ms. Roselyn M. Nyangazi<br><br>Country Manager<br>P.O. Box 26445, Kampala. | 99 |
| | Kampala | Africa Bible College (Radio ABC)<br>P.O. Box 71242, Kampala. | 99.3 |
| | Kampala | Christian Life Ministries (Kampala FM)<br>Pastor Jackson Ssenyonga<br><br>Managing Director,<br>P.O. Box 24609, Kampala. | 99.6 |
| | Kampala | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (Government-owned) | 100 |
| | Kampala | New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd (Bukedde FM)<br>Mr. Robert Kabushenga<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>P.O. Box 9815, Kampala. | 100.5 |
| | Kampala | FM Holdings (Hot 100 FM)<br>Mr. Aga Sekalala<br><br>General Managing<br>Mr. Isaac Mulindwa<br>Executive Director<br>P.O. Box 31584, Kampala. | 100.9 |
| | Kampala | BBC World Service<br>Mr. Joachim Harris<br>Business Development Manager (EA & Middle East)<br>BBC World Service<br>P.O. Box 76 Strand, London WC2B. | 101.3 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kampala | Uganda Media Women Association (Mama FM)<br>Ms. Margaret Sentamu-Masagazi<br>Co-ordinator<br>P.O. Box 7363, Kampala. | 101.7 |
| | Kampala | Christian Radio Network (Alpha FM)<br>Pastor Joseph Sserwada<br>P.O. Box 10725, Kampala. | 102.1 |
| | Kampala | UNESCO Nabweru (UNESCO Community Radio)<br>Secretary<br>National Commission for UNESCO<br>P.O. Box 4962, Kampala. | 102.5 |
| | Kampala | UNESCO Nakaseke (UNESCO Community Radio)<br>Secretary<br>National Commission for UNESCO<br>P.O. Box 4962, Kampala. | 102.9 |
| | Kampala | Prayer Palace Ministries (Dunamis FM)<br>Bishop Grivas K. Musisi<br><br>P.O. Box 23853, Kampala. | 103 |
| | Kampala | UNESCO Buwama(UNESCO Community Radio)<br>Secretary<br>National Commission for UNESCO<br>P.O. Box 4962, Kampala. | 103.3 |
| | Kampala | Arien FM<br>Martin Road, Old Kampala | 103.4 |
| | Kampala | Radio Maria Uganda Association<br>Fr. Joseph Scalabrini<br>P.O. Box 9735, Kampala. | 103.7 |
| | Kampala | Power FM<br>Pastor Gary Skinner<br>P.O. Box 24603, Kampala. | 104.1 |
| | Kampala | Life Resurrection Centre Church<br>Pastor Tom Sembera<br>Life Resurrection Centre Church<br>P.O. Box 71966, Kampala. | 104.5 |
| | Kampala | Suubi FM<br>Ahmed Bogere Masembe<br>General Manager<br>P.O. Box 8303, Kampala. | 104.9 |
| | Kampala | Family Broadcasting Network (Family Radio)<br>Pastor Steven Sebyala<br>P.O. Box 8468, Kampala. | 105.3 |

| AREA | STATION LOCATION | BROADCASTING COMPANY/CONTACT ADDRESS | ASSIGNED FREQUENCY (MHz) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kampala | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC Radio – government-owned) | 105.7 |
| | Kampala | Route One International (University FM)<br>Pastor Martin Sempa<br>Executive Director<br>P.O. Box 21007, Kampala. | 106.1 |
| | Kampala | Best Broadcasting Services Ltd (Best FM)<br>Mr. Ronald Ssegawa<br>Parliament Avenue, Kampala. | 106.5 |
| | Kampala | Uganda Broadcasting Corporation | 107.3 |
| Mityana | Mityana | Gosape Developments Ltd (Boona FM)<br>Mr. Gordon K. Sematiko<br>P.O. Box 10803, Kampala. | 107.6 |
| Nakaseke | Nakaseke | SIBCO LTD<br>Managing Director<br>P.O. Box 12889, Kampala. | 107.8 |

# About ACME

The African Centre for Media Excellence (ACME) is a Kampala-based independent, non-governmental, non-partisan and non-profit professional organisation committed to helping African journalists to seek and achieve professional excellence and improving journalism and mass communication in Africa.

ACME conducts research and training that helps make our news media more reliable and credible sources of information on public affairs, effective tools for monitoring official power, and vibrant forums for public debate. We also work on interventions to equip the private sector, civil society, academia, and the government with skills to engage more effectively with the media, as well as educating the public on how to better appreciate the forces that shape the news. ACME is also involved in local and international advocacy to promote and defend freedom of expression and press freedom.

African Centre for
Media Excellence

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