THE GUARDIAN mMQ i W. Monday May 7 1990 Between the lines . Nomavenda Mathiane Frontl i ne OURNALISTS in South Africa are experiencing grave problems. For black journalists the situation is even worse. We stand between the "system" and the "people", while at the same time facing our "masters" who are white and have no idea of the black world. Some editors accuse black journalists of using the paper to advance their political agendas while seeing nothing wrong with a white journalist arguing a black line in the same pages. White journalists. living in white areas. enjoy immunity. They can write any story and will never be petrol-bombed or neckla'ced. A white journalist can be critical of both black and white politicians. Black journalists dare not. White journalists operate within a fairly literate society which understands media regulations, whereas the majority of black readers do not understand emergency restrictions. For them it is simple. An incident occurs in a black township and they see a black journalist. In the paper the next day no mention is made of what happened. Either the journalists are supressing news, or they are too lazy to do their work. How are they to know that before we can publish sensitive reports we have to get police clearance? Then comes censorship from the liberation move 'Al to play for Continued from page 21 Die Patriot is promoting the concept of a separate Afrikaner homeland and trying to undermine De Klerk. "If ever there were reasons to adopt the policy of partition," a commentary proclaimed. "it is the constant sight of pictures of dancing. tist-clenching blacks shouting the odds about so-called griev. ances . . . Who needs it?" "We should do what we wanted the blacks to do. We'll 3leave Johannesberg. for example. for Azania." Du Toit was

ments. There was a tim when the press had one enemy and that was the law. Falling foul of this meant de tention or whatever the system deemed fit. Today we would rather face a hostile government than cross paths with the movements. -If a journalist contravenes some silly law, the worst that can happen is that he is thrown into jail and the legal process takes its course. But if a black journalist writes a story interpreted as against the movement, then anything from ostracisation or the gutting of the journalist's house to necklacing ts possible. The reporter is labelled and carries that tag for as long as the movement wants. And yet white journalists are not treated in this way. They can ask activists sensitive questions which We would never dream of asking. Liberation movements expect black journalists to be revolutionaries like them. We must not question, only report incidents "as they are". Our political affiliations are questioned and we are expected to toe a particular populist ideology. Putting issues into perspective may earn us a bad name. It is difficult to sacrifice the truth for the struggle. After all, we are journalists trained to search for truth. to follow hunches, to mirror society. We also owe it to the public to inform. interpret and alert. How can we perform when we must forever look over our shoulders? At times I wonder if the suppression of news is not an Att'ican disease. Look at the number of African journalists who are working in foreign lands simply because they dared question actions of their governments at home. African prisons are bursting at the seams with people w o dared criticise the government. Do such stories reach the news. papers? If they do. are the editors brave enough to publish them? We know more about what happens in Lithuania than about what goes on across our borders. Already the buzz-word here is about a new and changing South Africa called

PASA (Post Apartheid South Atrica). as though the day apartheid goes. love, goodwill. tolerance and openness will suddenly emerge. But the communities are doing nothing to clear the way for a stable and secure PASA. Instead they are doing everything in their power to suppress any voice caution- . ing the erosion of human rights. It is seen as right to expose the atrocities of the system and condone those done in the name of the struggle. Black journalists are doing good work if they expose the Afrikaner farm. ers who exploit black workers, but become bad guys when they write about black traders in Soweto working fellow blacks as slaves in their shops. For all the harassment and bullying of journalists, I still have faith that we will have the last laugh. I strongly believe in the African idiom that nothing lasts forever. One day Africa will learn to take criticism. In the meantime. we will continue to chronicle history as best as we can. Nomavenda Mathiane is assistant editor of Frontline, an independent monthly political magazine started in 1979. It has three staff and a circulation of 10,000. Frantline has just lost an appeal against R12, 000 damages and costs in a libel action taken by Inkatha president ChiefMangosuthu Buzhelezi. ing woman who rushed into the started Vrye Weekblad because room with a letter denouncing De Klerk's latest speech. AT THE other end of the Afrikaner press lies Vrye Weeklilad. (Independent Weekly) the most prosecuted newspaper precisely because it is the only Afrikaans one to challenge white rule from the left. lts editor Max du Preez. a refugee from the commercial Afrikaans press -11 years with Beeld - has particular contempt for his former colleagues. "They hate us," he says with satisfaction, "and that's because we write about them as well. We are seen as fundamentally treasonable. and against everything that is holy about Afrikanerdom. "We have a tradition here. When you are an Afrikaner and you turn against apartheid, you

saying when our interview was f'normally become anglicised. interrupted by a English-speakg Well I'm most definitely not. I 1M,, I know that my father, uncles, and cousins are from rural areas, and they are tine people. But they are also racists, they do the most appalling things. and they vote for the National Party. It has become clear that they simply don't know what is going on in this country." Vrye Weekblad has a circulation of only 13.000, which does scant justice to its importance. As he sat calmly sucking his pipe. Du Preez faced a R1 million libel writ from the deputy commissioner of police, a R500,000 writ from "super-spy" Craig Williamson, and another R200,000 writ from P.W. Botha, all stemming from his revelations about South African hitsquads. And he is appealing against a six-month suspended sentence for quoting Joe Slovo when he was a banned person. "We are in perpetual opposition," he said MEDIA:11 Suddenlyywhite South Africans have to accept black faces on a white screen, not as terror ists but as political leaders. Georgina Henry reports on the South African Broadcasting Corporationis idea of reflecting th The changing bias of breadcasting NE small sign that the South African Broadcasting Corporation is inching _ towards creating a reputation for less partial news coverage was the dropping of the nightly editorial comment from its main television service. The official reason for the , end of this discredited slot government propaganda at its V crudest - was that "such talks are no longer suitable". Since February 2, even its fiercest critics have admitted that the SABC is trying to cover a fuller spectrum of political debate. The corporation itself would 'say that change came earlier than February. "It was the middle of last year that we started on a new approach." says Carel van der Merwe, the

director of news who rejoined the news division 18 months ago. before the last election. "We had done a lot of research. looking at social and political findings. And. at the end, we sat down and decided there were 240 statements of fact about the trends we found in South African society. Then we set ourselves four tasks.

And we started negotiation with 14 political parties and 16 leaders. By the end of our discussions we had identified 23 national issues. Then we said let's have election debates in five different formats." a This is typical SABC-speak desperately bureaucratic. determined to confound you with statistics to demonstrate the complexity of South African politics. and convince you of the hard task the corporation has in reflecting it. Journalists in the SABC had inhibited themselves in the past, he agrees. "But we have a new situation, " he says. "and a new news service that reflects it. I accept that one of our critical risk factors was that we were looked upon as. the lackey of the government. We can't deny that. But I believe we are already undergoing a complete turnaround in the image of the SABC as a reporter of news." But although reporting of the ANC and other unbanned organisations is now a nightly occurrence. the SABC is still a reflection of the agenda set by the government, under a state president who does not interfere with the broadcast media to the extent his predecessor did. Because the government no longer refers to Nelson Mandela as a terrorist. neither does the SABC. Mr van der Merwe says that

Mr van der Merwe says that politics must be handled delicately by the corportion. "For us as journalists it is easy to switch, but for the South African public . . . suddenly they have to accept that people they were told were former terrorists are political leaders. and they must accept black faces on a white screen."

says. is that there should be 'ipurposeful reporting and support for the currents and patterns of moderation in our society". There is, he insists, a common set of values which the SABC must reflect. What are they? "Free enterprise is one. Streams of moderation another. Intensification of community values. a third." He says that the SABC cannot suddenly just assume that, because politics is changing. everything will change. "We have to report on government processes and government departments as they still are. We have to report

on what is going on in the socalled homelands even though these structures are under Microwaves on the airwaves: the selling of the new-look SABC attack from various groups in a hurry for change." Reporting on the negotiations towards change means reflecting all shades of opinion, he says. which means not assuming that the ANC has a monopoly on black support. Support for "moderate opinion" would seem to include Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha but exclude the ANC radicals, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the right of the National Party (which also complains it iinds it ditlir ult to get spokesmen on the SAJC). The SABC was set up 1.. 1936. a supposed independent service with a charter along BBC lines. It runs 23 radio services in Afrikaans. English. and nine African languages; and four televi. sion channels in seven languages. The first of these. TVl, started in 1976. TVl is the flagship. with programmes in Afrikaans and English. TV2 and TV3 are black-language channels. TV4 is described as multicultural entertainment and sports, mainly in English and Afrikaans. . SABC also runs the external radio services for the government, but recently axed its European broadcasts leading to speculation about the service as a whole. It has a monopoly on television and. therefore, on television news. This may change under pressure from the four newspaper groups, which have a stake in M-NET, the subscription channel. The government is considering their request to run a news service. Other things, too. may change: last month the government set up a task force to conduct a "full investigation" into broadcasting, including consideration of whether it should be privatised. This has created some controversy, partly over the lack of commercial sector representation , in particular, of groups lobbying for radio and television to be opened to independent out. siders. The task force also has been seen as a move to preempt a black government. The SABC news division is integrated in the sense that it serves both radio and televi-

sion. but there are separate

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news rooms for the different
languages. .
The news agendas for the
white and black channels tend
to be very ditTerent.Christo
Kritzinger. editor-imchief of
television news. says this is a
PHOTOGRAPH: DON McPHEE
e new social reality -
matter for the news editors '
themselves. It is a bewilder-
ingly complicated operation.
The night I was there, the W1
newsroom (60 per cent Afrika-
ners, 40 per cent English) led its
8pm news bulletin on the
debate about nationalisation
and the ANC - first, a report
from parliament; second, a
speech from Mandela in which
he had significantly softened
his position. The Afrikaans
news earlier that evening had, .
led on the Harms Commission .
in London. 3
On TV2 (Zulu and Xhosa),
80 per cent of whose audience
lives in Natal, the lead was
soliders going into the Natal
trouble spots. On TVS (north
and south Sotho and Tswana), V
the first three stories were if
about the "independent home- '
lands". Both black channels
had Mandela's speech as the
fifth item.
The language and regional s
differences of the television ser- '5'
vices involve racial divisions. ,3
TV2 and 3 have an all-black i
news room, TVl virtually all . 3
white. TVl tends to have white 1!;
presenters, TV2 and 3 has
black. TV2 and 3 have black
game shows and entertain- ".4
ment. But all the top jobs are in '1, ,
white hands. 3
Advertising is important to -
the SABC - R500 million (5:125 '3
million) a year, compared with j:
R150 million in licence fees.
Theuns Van Heerden, deputy j
director-general responsible for t;
programmes, spends the high- t;
est proportion of his television (1
budget on TV1. He says this is
because the black channels
have a smaller audience, as
ownership of television sets is
lower among blacks than
among whites.
About a third of the budget is :f
spent on programmes from ;
overseas: not British drama. 3'.
because there is an Equity boy-
cott, but a good deal from
America. Murder She Wrote is
the most popular programme. -
Van Heerden says the corpo-
ration is slowly beginning to
redefine its programme policy.
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which means more effort to mix black and white actors and music. for example. He looks a 3e bit nervous. "If you say things are changing too loudly, people will think you're advocating -_ this or that. Already there are, people who accuse the SABC of being part and parcel of the ANC." 4 L, , it ; ._v;"

3, yr. .