

JABULANI! FREEDOM OF THE AIRWAVES

Conference Report  
Doorn, Netherlands, August 1991

# JABULANI! FREEDOM OF THE AIRWAVES



Towards Democratic Broadcasting  
In South Africa

African European Institute





C o n f e r e n c e   R e p o r t  
D o o r n ,   N e t h e r l a n d s ,   A u g u s t   1 9 9 1

# JABULANI! FREEDOM OF THE AIRWAVES

T o w a r d s   D e m o c r a t i c   B r o a d c a s t i n g  
I n   S o u t h   A f r i c a



Conference Recommendations	67
----------------------------	----

#### Annexes

List of Abbreviations	74
Glossary of Terms	76
Conference Participants	79

## Jan Nico Scholten

Executive President of the African-European Institute



Radio and television have, in a democratic society, significance as sources of news and information. Broadcasting has immense value as vehicle to convey political and educational concepts and cultural values.

Radio and television are being used by regimes to propagate their policies but radio and television have also proved their worth by mobilising resistance to regimes. Radio, as the older of the two electronic media and as the more flexible, has been successfully used in combatting occupation forces by transmitting underground or from abroad. This happened during the Second World War and was repeated in liberation struggles against colonial regimes. Radio Freedom, as the voice of the ANC, played an important role in the fight against the system of apartheid, which was so blatantly propagated by the state-controlled SABC.

Now in the new phase of South Africa's history radio must take up a new and important role in the negotiation process, in the process of democratisation and reconciliation. In order to be able to fulfill that role effectively, broadcasting in South Africa needs to be restructured as soon as possible to guarantee democratic access to the airwaves.

Europe has a responsibility to assist in this transition period with the liquidation of the South African system. In the field of human resource development it is clear that apartheid has for a long time excluded many South Africans from actively benefiting from proper education and training.

One of the fields the outside world could assist South Africa in, concerns training of media personnel, be it for programme-makers, technicians or managers, as also in the field of the media many South Africans have been excluded from actively participating in formulating broadcasting policies and programmes. This need for training projects was emphatically pronounced at the Jabulani conference in Doorn.

The AEI and OvRF present through this report the important recommendations accepted by the Jabulani conference. Implemented they will contribute to a democratic South Africa, where freedom of the airwaves will be and remains an indispensable prerequisite for a guaranteed democracy.

## Jan Pronk

Minister for Development Cooperation, Netherlands



I do strongly support the resolution about the control of the airwaves and the state broadcaster with guarantees for fair, open and impartial reporting throughout this interim period.

Communication demands expertise aimed at the target group. The conference takes this up with the recommendation for training with regard to journalism, technique and management. Training which takes into account the local context, the local social and cultural environment - an evident addition.

The linkage of Africa - also in a special sense that of the population of South Africa - features prominent on the international agenda. Initiatives from within the society, as 'Jabulani!' are vitally necessary to test and anchor this link.

Freedom of information is essential to the realisation of human rights within a democratic society. It is a citizen's unalienable right to have at his disposal the means to inform himself. On the other hand a government should preserve the cultural heritage and the cultural identity of the groups that make the society. The organisation of 'Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves', subsidised by Development Cooperation, Netherlands, links up with this concept in an exemplary way.

With the participants of this conference I am convinced that in the situation South Africa finds itself in now, it is especially radio which - in view of its massive accessibility for the population - plays an important role in the public awareness and conscientisation about the ongoing negotiation process, but also in the democratisation and the call for reconciliation.

## Mrs Maartje van Weegen

Chairperson OvRF



Maartje van Weegen

We are happy to see you here and we wish you a pleasant stay. I say this on behalf of the Dutch support group for Radio Freedom, of which I happen to be the chairperson; and on behalf of the Dutch anti-apartheid movement, AABN.

Our support-group is called (in Dutch): 'Omroep voor Radio Freedom', but within the ANC we are commonly referred to as 'Omroep' (which, by the way, would be in Afrikaans the same as: 'Uitsaai' - and 'Broadcast' in English). So, once more, on behalf of 'Omroep': Welcome!

You are here to discuss the future of radio and television in South Africa. We have asked you to do so here (in this country) for a number of reasons.

The developments in South Africa last year created an atmosphere of expectations and change. It was not clear what the position of Radio Freedom

in South Africa would be. At the same time the Radio Freedom people and the ANC were eager to discuss the future options for radio and television. That is when the idea for this conference was born.

It was decided to organise the conference in this country on the express request by the South African media people we discussed it with. Some South African journalists for instance felt that they would never be able to relax from following the news, if they had to attend a conference of this kind in South Africa. Because practically every day new developments occur - which, let's face it, excite journalists everywhere.

Now this may seem strange to us, Dutch journalists, because we no longer have much dramatic news in this (organised) country. Certainly not on a daily basis. ...Let me see now: Last week the Queen broke a leg on her holiday.....and the leader of the Dutch Labour Party could not be traced on her bicycle....

But seriously: we thought that it would be interesting for you to have a chance to meet with representatives of the Dutch way of broadcasting; to discuss with them the various options of having a public broadcasting system which reflects the pluriformity of the different social layers. That is what we thought *then!*

We are not so sure *now*, what the Dutch broadcasting system actually is. Because in fact, we witness a battle between the public broadcasting and the commercial broadcasting in the Netherlands. It is not so much a matter of who will win this battle, but we are sure that broadcasting in our country will never be the same again. You will find out that nobody really knows what the Dutch radio and television will look like next year or next month for that matter.

All the same you will find it interesting to learn how the Dutch radio and television operate. You will see for yourselves on Wednesday. Let me say straight away that we have no illusion that our example could be copied elsewhere. We did not,

therefore, invite you over here because we feel that South Africa should copy this pluralistic broadcasting system of ours.

Finally, we could not dream, nine years ago (when we started with "Omroep"), that you today would be here, talking openly about the future democratic South Africa. No secrecy, no fears of South African spies anymore. What a difference with the recent past!

Nine years ago, we were approached by the Dutch anti-apartheid movement, AABN, whether we, some Dutch broadcasters, could spare second-hand tapes etcetera for Radio Freedom. We liked the idea of supporting Radio Freedom, but we refused to treat the whole thing as a charity. So we started collecting funds for new equipment for the mobile studios in the different stations of Radio Freedom. Editors and technicians were trained, in short we were available for Radio Freedom. We got the support of a large section of the Dutch population. Radio Freedom has become a household word in Holland.

It is often said that the Dutch interest in South Africa originates from the 'tribal' connection. I don't know whether this is true, but I do know that the Dutch realised that Radio Freedom is similar to Radio Orange during the Second World War when Holland was occupied by the Germans.

Moreover, it is felt that apartheid is a product of the Western world. Apartheid had been maintained with Western support. So therefore, we felt it our duty to do whatever we can, to help with the liquidation of that system.

Sometimes, Western politicians seem to believe that apartheid has already been liquidated. We know better. We know that the system is not yet liquidated, far from it. We think that radio and television have a very important role to play in the process toward democratisation. The electronic media cannot be left in the grip of the interest groups that now control the airwaves. We feel therefore that broadcasting should be given the priority it deserves.

We regret that until now the electronic media do not seem to feature prominently on the political agenda. We, from "Omroep" will therefore continue to take an active interest in the media situation in South Africa.

At the end of this week, hopefully, you yourselves will have a clearer picture of the future role of radio and television in South Africa. When you

have this clearer picture, we can decide also what our part can be in helping you to achieve your ideals.

I wish you a fruitful discussion!

## The Control of Broadcasting: Transition Period

Willie Currie, Secretary-General FAWO Transvaal



There is much talk about the changing broadcasting environment in South Africa. SABC's Viljoen likes to remind us that the broadcasting environment is becoming more competitive. However, to me the broadcasting environment looks rather like an ecological disaster zone, devastated by apartheid. We have to ask ourselves questions about the ecology of broadcasting and reclaim our broadcasting environment from the dead zone of apartheid. I guess this is an invitation for us all to go green.

What are the issues that we need to come to grips with during the transition to democracy? The changes in South Africa affect every sector of South African society. Sectors under apartheid that were dominated by the white minority section need to be opened to all South Africans. Take for example the health sector. The struggle is about the ability to open a health service to all, or to limit

access to a smaller privileged group of the South African society. These are pre-emptive strategies based on the argument that market forces are paramount.

This argument suggests that free market forces will place decisions in the hands of consumers, who will choose what product they wish to buy. Companies then should compete to sell their products and the market will determine which companies survive.

### Broadcasting sector

The strategies of the State and big business aim at restructuring broadcasting before a new government comes to power or a new constitution comes into force. The aim is to change the economic environment to limit local access. The SABC has pulled most production inside for its own production unit and there is limited local content on M-

Net/Bop TV. The SABC will be restructured into business units, which could be sold to the private sector or which could operate as de facto private companies in a relation of unfair competition to independent film production companies. Moreover, it would allow the concentration of power in M-Net by press companies and big business.

The Broadcasting Task Group is to recommend the deregulation of broadcasting and to remove it from the political sphere by:

- a) establishing an Independent Broadcasting Authority on conditions favourable to elements within the private sector; and
- b) making market forces the dominant mechanism for determining what we see on our screens or hear on our radios.

In contrast, the goal of the democratic liberation forces is the democratisation of all sectors of society. What do we mean by democratisation in relation to broadcasting?

- Broadcasting should be structured in a way that it is open to all sections of South African society.

- Broadcasting should have a public duty to help overcome the divisions and imbalances in South African society caused by apartheid.

- Broadcasting should encourage the development of a society and culture that all South Africans can identify with.

- Broadcasting should express the full diversity of language and culture in the country.

- Broadcasting should be democratic in that everyone can participate in it and see the complexity of our society reflected in it.

- Broadcasting should belong to everyone in their capacity not just as consumers, but in their capacity as citizens who have a say in their country.

The government and big business are arguing that we should let market forces decide on the structure of broadcasting. This is an argument that the consumers' choice is paramount: let broadcasters compete and give the consumers a choice over what they want to see or listen to.

This argument has a certain validity in the economic marketplace: it is a good principle to let the people decide and not impose on them. However, this argument forgets four points:

1. Not everyone has the money or the skill to compete in the broadcasting sector. Black people are at a disadvantage because of years of discrimination. How can all would-be black broadcasters

have equality of opportunity, when the history of 40 years of apartheid and more than 300 years of colonialism have severely disadvantaged black peoples' chances of getting access to the skills/resources to become competitive in the market?

2. People are not just consumers exercising economic choices; they are also, and in South Africa's case we hope they will be, citizens of a country. This could perhaps be seen as a political marketplace where people choose their own government. This is democracy, and we have very little experience of it in South Africa. Arguments for market forces can be hostile to governments, even those democratically elected. We need to recognise that people's political choice is as important as their economic choice, and market-forces arguments are wrong to only emphasise economic choice as primary.

This is not to say that only governments should control broadcasting. It is rather to say that we need to come up with approaches that can guarantee the independence of broadcasting from the extremes of market forces as well as the extremes of authoritarian government control.

3. Arguments for market forces tend to forget that societies are very complex environments where people speak different languages and have a mixture of cultural identities and feelings about themselves. Market forces often operate to emphasise the lowest common denominator between people and neglect the points of difference between people. The interests of the powerful in a society may be promoted while the powerless are more easily marginalised. In terms of South Africa, a balance may need to be struck between the role broadcasters may play in developing a new national image for South Africa that everyone can identify with, while ensuring that the diversity of languages and culture is also promoted and not neglected. The question is whether market forces can guarantee this.

4. Market forces have the capacity to destroy completely the viability of indigenous South African film and broadcasting industries. Foreign product can be bought for much less than it costs to produce local film and broadcasting product. An American TV series can be bought for R300 per minute, while a local TV drama series can cost

anything from R3000 to R10,000 per minute. If the guiding force in our broadcasting sector is only market forces, the local film and broadcasting industry has no chance of competing with the international image markets. We need to think very carefully about an economic development strategy that will make the South African film and broadcasting producers of indigenous local programmes, rather than turn our broadcasters primarily into conduits for foreign product. We have to find ways of strengthening our local film and broadcasting industries, so that we can produce programmes for Africa, for the rest of the world, at the same time as we produce them for ourselves.

We have to face the following questions:

- How can we act to ensure that broadcasting in South Africa is reorganised in the best possible way for all the people in South Africa, both as consumers and citizens?

- How can we ensure that whatever changes are made to broadcasting - whether by the present government or a future government - that these changes will be democratic and not imposed from the top by the rich and powerful forces in our society?

These questions have immediate as well as long-term implications. We will have to respond to the government's Broadcasting Task Groups' report in the next few months. If the government accepts the BTG's recommendations, there may be legislation drafted in the next sitting of the tricameral parliament. Public broadcasters may try to sell some of their assets to the private sector without a mandate from the people, who at present have no say over the disposal of public assets. As negotiations unfold we will have to face the question of whether the SABC as a newscaster can be trusted to be impartial and fair. Can changes to broadcasting, in the absence of a democratic constitution or society, be considered as anything more than interim arrangements that have no force beyond the negotiations period?

How do we connect these important short-term issues with clear longer-term goals for developing a broadcasting sector that is truly part of a democratic society that has rid itself of the effects of apartheid?

It seems there are three main areas in the broadcasting sector where the democratic parties need to arrive at clarity: **privatisation; deregulation; and the control of broadcast news during the nego-**

**tiations.** Our response to these issues needs to be connected to a long-term vision of the future of broadcasting in South Africa. In other words, we should not make decisions about these immediate issues that will diminish the realisation of open broadcasting systems in the future.

In terms of privatisation, we need to ask whether it is legitimate to privatise public assets when the majority of South Africans at present have no say over the decision to dispose of those assets. In terms of deregulation, we can imagine three scenarios going through the Task Groups' mind right now:

1. **Total deregulation**, with allocation of all available frequencies and allowing market forces to dominate;

2. **Modified deregulation**, with allocation of all available frequencies, and tempering market forces by anti-trust/cross-ownership legislation; and

3. **Limited deregulation**, with allocation of some frequencies and with strict conditions on their use.

I can imagine three possible approaches to the state's deregulation strategy:

1. **Interim Government**, with power to deregulate the broadcasting industry given to an interim government to decide;

2. **Judicial Commission of Inquiry**, in which a Human Rights judge hears public comments on the Task Group report and frames legislation for deregulation in the transition period; and

3. **No deregulation**, until democratic government is elected.

In terms of the control of broadcast news during the negotiations, there are possibly three scenarios:

1. **Broadcasting council**, with powers to redress breaches of impartiality by newscasters is set up; accountable to the All Party Conference or completely independent of it;

2. **Interim government**, controls the broadcast news of SABC and BopBC and guarantees their impartiality by changing the board of the SABC; and

3. **International monitoring commission**, established to monitor the impartiality of broadcast news with the assistance of the European Broadcasting Union and the African Broadcasting Union.

We need to think about these options very carefully if we are to come up with a coordinated strategy during this conference.

## Control of Broadcasting: Discussion

### Don Ngubeni

We should categorize in short, medium and long-term objectives. But above all we can't wait too long, we must be in a hurry. We should not leave the role of the SABC to the government.

### Carl Niehaus

It is clear that the government wants to rush into this, but they have no right to make decisions for the future. That is also the task for us to set out now. The current government is undemocratic and we must not wait for them to set the agenda. We must set the agenda. An interim government has to see to it that the structure of the SABC can be removed from control, so we can get proper access.

### Raymond Louw

We are missing a sense of urgency about what is happening with the task group. Legislation will be introduced next February, so that leaves us approximately five months. Therefore we need urgent action.

### John van Zyl

Also we need to decide what identity South Africa has; is it first or third world? And then what about the needs of society such as education and culture. If the main aim is to democratise the broadcasting system then maybe we should set up our own production facilities. At the moment the SABC is setting up private companies, but they are not selling off the assets. Thus privatisation is happening in a creeping way.

### Stan Katz

We shouldn't wait for an interim government or a new constitution because then we wouldn't be able to compete, we are commercial and have to think about the shareholders.

### Anthony Duke

Waiting would leave everything in the hands of

print and knowing the illiteracy rate in South Africa this wouldn't do much good for the people during elections. Electronic media have a social responsibility.

### Don Ngubeni

When we are discussing the Task Group's report, the Task Group is setting the agenda. The question should be what is going to be the role of the SABC, what about deregulation, etcetera.

### Harris Cxaweni

The SABC is heading towards privatisation. It is shifting from the political to the economic arena. Signal distribution, for example, is going to be privatised. When people are buying frequencies now, they are the people who already have money.

### Willie Currie

Areas for further discussion, with a view towards proposals and recommendations, are:

- The most urgent short-term question is the response to the Task Group in the next few months and ways of taking the initiative away from the Task Group.
- In the medium-term there are questions of the interim period and the question of deregulation during this period.
- In the longer term there is the process leading to the formulation of a broadcasting policy for a new society.
- What steps should be taken to prevent the government from acting unilaterally in deregulating the broadcasting sector?
- How do we empower progressive constituencies in the interim period to put them in a more competitive position in broadcasting, e.g. communities, students, trade-unions, women, etc?
- How does one ensure the impartiality of news during the negotiations?
- The privatisation and commercialisation of the SABC, and in particular its transmission services.

## The Control of Broadcasting: Netherlands Example

Paul Hendriksen NOS, Head Department International Affairs

I thought that it would be appropriate to give you some basic information on the basic principles of our broadcasting system and some observations on what of it could be useful for the reform of the RTV structure in South Africa, or rather for the discussions you will have here about this subject.

The main element of our RTV system goes back to the 1920s when radio was introduced. Our society then consisted of a number of rather autonomous movements, or perhaps one could say sub-societies, based upon ideological principles. We had the group of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Socialists and a fourth group whose reason of existence was mainly that they did not want to belong to any of the other three.

These groups had their own institutions in most areas of social life. Of course they had their own political parties, but also their own schools and even universities, trade unions, hospitals, welfare and youth organisations, leisure clubs, etc. This was called "pillarisation" or "columnisation". And it was only natural that each "pillar" started, during the 1920s, a radio station of its own. They did this by creating associations with members, and the five founding stations still exist.

I will not go into the way in which this system developed since, but I can assure you that even at this moment, when radio has been replaced by television as the most important of the two audio-visual mass media, this system of "pillarisation" constitutes the backbone of our RTV structure.

The funny thing by the way is that these "pillars" themselves have almost disappeared in the meantime in almost all social areas, except radio and television, and the ironic thing was that radio and television themselves were very important in this process of breaking down this pillar structure.

You see, before radio (and TV for that matter) was introduced, people belonging to a certain pillar were informed within this pillar by leaders and media within this pillar. But when radio came and television even more, they were reaching every-

body. Anyway, what we still have is a system where radio and television are licensed to and operated by completely autonomous organisations of different denominations.

There is no governmental control over the content of programmes. The only link with the government is due to the fact that radio and television are still making use of scarce hertzian frequencies. Broadcasting has to be licensed. That is one reason. The other is that the government has financial control over broadcasting, because it is financed for approximately 60% out of license fees, which are collected by the government. The other 40% is funded by advertising. Advertising time is sold by an independent company that has no control over programming.

If you would ask if everybody is happy with this system, the answer I would like to give you is yes and no. Yes, because due to the fact that all the broadcasters are completely free and independent there is no governmental influence whatsoever. Especially when one looks at some foreign RTV systems where there is in many cases a monopoly in the area of public service broadcasting (e.g. BBC in the UK or BRT in Belgium), very much care has to be taken to keep a neutral or non-partisan position in every issue, in order to avoid protests from insulted parts of the audience and/or political pressure. We don't have that problem. Nobody is hurt when he sees or hears something which is against his political beliefs, because he knows that the next day he might hear a contrary opinion.

My answer whether everybody is happy with the system would be no, if you look at the disadvantages of a system that is so fragmented and lacks so much cooperation and coordination. We have, for example, eight broadcasting organisations responsible for about 70% of the total broadcasting time. Then we have NOS - not an association but a sort of national institution - which fills 20%, and then more than 10 very small organisations - some with an educational objective, others representing spe-

## Control of Broadcasting: Discussion

### Don Ngubeni

We should categorize in short, medium and long-term objectives. But above all we can't wait too long, we must be in a hurry. We should not leave the role of the SABC to the government.

### Carl Niehaus

It is clear that the government wants to rush into this, but they have no right to make decisions for the future. That is also the task for us to set out now. The current government is undemocratic and we must not wait for them to set the agenda. We must set the agenda. An interim government has to see to it that the structure of the SABC can be removed from control, so we can get proper access.

### Raymond Louw

We are missing a sense of urgency about what is happening with the task group. Legislation will be introduced next February, so that leaves us approximately five months. Therefore we need urgent action.

### John van Zyl

Also we need to decide what identity South Africa has; is it first or third world? And then what about the needs of society such as education and culture. If the main aim is to democratise the broadcasting system then maybe we should set up our own production facilities. At the moment the SABC is setting up private companies, but they are not selling off the assets. Thus privatisation is happening in a creeping way.

### Stan Katz

We shouldn't wait for an interim government or a new constitution because then we wouldn't be able to compete, we are commercial and have to think about the shareholders.

### Anthony Duke

Waiting would leave everything in the hands of

print and knowing the illiteracy rate in South Africa this wouldn't do much good for the people during elections. Electronic media have a social responsibility.

### Don Ngubeni

When we are discussing the Task Group's report, the Task Group is setting the agenda. The question should be what is going to be the role of the SABC, what about deregulation, etcetera.

### Harris Cxaweni

The SABC is heading towards privatisation. It is shifting from the political to the economic arena. Signal distribution, for example, is going to be privatised. When people are buying frequencies now, they are the people who already have money.

### Willie Currie

Areas for further discussion, with a view towards proposals and recommendations, are:

- The most urgent short-term question is the response to the Task Group in the next few months and ways of taking the initiative away from the Task Group.
- In the medium-term there are questions of the interim period and the question of deregulation during this period.
- In the longer term there is the process leading to the formulation of a broadcasting policy for a new society.
- What steps should be taken to prevent the government from acting unilaterally in deregulating the broadcasting sector?
- How do we empower progressive constituencies in the interim period to put them in a more competitive position in broadcasting, e.g. communities, students, trade-unions, women, etc?
- How does one ensure the impartiality of news during the negotiations?
- The privatisation and commercialisation of the SABC, and in particular its transmission services.

## The Control of Broadcasting: Netherlands Example

Paul Hendriksen NOS, Head Department International Affairs

I thought that it would be appropriate to give you some basic information on the basic principles of our broadcasting system and some observations on what of it could be useful for the reform of the RTV structure in South Africa, or rather for the discussions you will have here about this subject.

The main element of our RTV system goes back to the 1920s when radio was introduced. Our society then consisted of a number of rather autonomous movements, or perhaps one could say sub-societies, based upon ideological principles. We had the group of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Socialists and a fourth group whose reason of existence was mainly that they did not want to belong to any of the other three.

These groups had their own institutions in most areas of social life. Of course they had their own political parties, but also their own schools and even universities, trade unions, hospitals, welfare and youth organisations, leisure clubs, etc. This was called "pillarisation" or "columnisation". And it was only natural that each "pillar" started, during the 1920s, a radio station of its own. They did this by creating associations with members, and the five founding stations still exist.

I will not go into the way in which this system developed since, but I can assure you that even at this moment, when radio has been replaced by television as the most important of the two audiovisual mass media, this system of "pillarisation" constitutes the backbone of our RTV structure.

The funny thing by the way is that these "pillars" themselves have almost disappeared in the meantime in almost all social areas, except radio and television, and the ironic thing was that radio and television themselves were very important in this process of breaking down this pillar structure.

You see, before radio (and TV for that matter) was introduced, people belonging to a certain pillar were informed within this pillar by leaders and media within this pillar. But when radio came and television even more, they were reaching every-

body. Anyway, what we still have is a system where radio and television are licensed to and operated by completely autonomous organisations of different denominations.

There is no governmental control over the content of programmes. The only link with the government is due to the fact that radio and television are still making use of scarce hertzian frequencies. Broadcasting has to be licensed. That is one reason. The other is that the government has financial control over broadcasting, because it is financed for approximately 60% out of license fees, which are collected by the government. The other 40% is funded by advertising. Advertising time is sold by an independent company that has no control over programming.

If you would ask if everybody is happy with this system, the answer I would like to give you is yes and no. Yes, because due to the fact that all the broadcasters are completely free and independent there is no governmental influence whatsoever. Especially when one looks at some foreign RTV systems where there is in many cases a monopoly in the area of public service broadcasting (e.g. BBC in the UK or BRT in Belgium), very much care has to be taken to keep a neutral or non-partisan position in every issue, in order to avoid protests from insulted parts of the audience and/or political pressure. We don't have that problem. Nobody is hurt when he sees or hears something which is against his political beliefs, because he knows that the next day he might hear a contrary opinion.

My answer whether everybody is happy with the system would be no, if you look at the disadvantages of a system that is so fragmented and lacks so much cooperation and coordination. We have, for example, eight broadcasting organisations responsible for about 70% of the total broadcasting time. Then we have NOS - not an association but a sort of national institution - which fills 20%, and then more than 10 very small organisations - some with an educational objective, others representing spe-



cific churches. All the political parties also have some broadcasting time of their own. All that is really too much to guarantee efficiency.

And our main problem at the moment is how to reach more efficiency, because - for the first time in history - public service broadcasting is suffering from very heavy competition from RTL4: a satellite-to-cable service operating from Luxembourg, but directing its programmes specifically to the Dutch audience. They have caused a drop in our market share from 85% to a little bit above 50%, due to European regulations, which amounted really to deregulation on a national level, at least in this country.

Now this loss of audience is one thing, which is regarded by some (including the government) as even more important than the loss of advertising revenue. As I have said, the revenues of public services broadcasting are derived for 60% from license fees and for the other 40% from advertising revenue. So when we lose a substantial part of this income, the only solution is to raise license fees, but this is - as you can imagine - not a very popular issue with the politicians and the general audience, that will wonder why they pay more for programmes that they watch less. The only solution is to try to increase viewership, and this can be reached most effectively by changing the programme balance towards more popular programmes.

Now, what can be learned from our experiences with the organization of radio and television.

I will give you some ideas that I have developed during my broadcasting career, that could be useful to think over during your discussions:

1. The first one is that, even if our system could be regarded as ideal (which is not the case), it cannot be imitated in any other country. It is so much connected with our, very peculiar and very particular social history and our national mentality for that matter, that moving it into another social environment would not work.

2. One of the things that foreigners always assume about our system is that the pillarisation on the transmitter side is completely reflected in the viewing behavior on the audience side. They expect that the programmes of the Roman Catholic, e.g., broadcaster will be watched only or mainly by Roman Catholic viewers. I can assure you that this is not the case at all. The majority of every programme is watched by people not belonging to the "pillar" of the broadcaster concerned. People more

often do not realize at all who is the broadcaster. They are more interested in the content of the programme than in the origin of it.

3. More or less related with this point is the fact that the comparison that is very often made by politicians and broadcasting policy-makers between RTV organisations or channels on the one hand and newspapers on the other. Many times such comparisons are made in order to advocate the application of organisational principles of the printed media in the area of broadcasting. This comparison however is not valid at all. Not only because of the scarcity of airwaves as opposed to paper, but also because people read generally only one newspaper. Because of this every newspaper has to offer a complete package.

4. Audiences, at least the majority, tend to go for easy programming. The idea of "captive audiences" did work in the old days, when there was only one or perhaps two television channels. Since the proliferation of channels and the high penetration of remote control gadgets, people do watch what they really prefer, which in most cases is: entertainment before information, and information rather than education. Audience research is important, provided it is done on an open and scientific basis and independently so that it cannot be controlled by interested parties.

5. Even in situations when one succeeds in reaching audience with information and education, the capacity of radio and television to really influence audiences is low if not absent. The idea of radio and television as a "hypodermic needle" is obsolete and has been replaced by the idea of RTV as a "mirror" of the society.

6. Another thing to be learned from the Dutch experience is that it is advisable to try to get an integrated structure for local, regional and national broadcasting. We have neglected this. Especially regional radio broadcasting has been developed in this country more or less independent from and really competing with the national structure. And because both regional and national radio pretend to provide a public service, competition between the two seems to be unwise and a waste of public money.

7. An interesting development in broadcasting involves the three functions of creative process - production - transmission (comparable to writing - printing - distribution), which are being more and more separated. Broadcasting gradually only takes

up distribution, and the production decisions are taken elsewhere.

8. Since our originally monopolistic system has competition, we have invented the expression "public service broadcasting" as opposed to "commercial" broadcasting. In many European countries that is the system.

This however is an artificial or theoretical model. So far, for example, the ITV broadcasters in the UK (relying completely on advertising revenue) called themselves "public service broadcasters", and rightly so, because the conditions on the basis of which they acquired their broadcasting licenses were comparable to those that are being applied to real public service broadcasters. My suggestion is to be careful with adjectives like "commercial" or "public service" because they do not always refer to unequivocal concepts or definitions.

### News Broadcasting

The broadcast organisations are either too small for a daily news operation or are cultural or minority-focussed broadcast organisations. Most of the broadcasting organisations have current affairs programmes, in which they are able to comment on news events. They are the visiting card of their organisation.

### License Fees

The government collects the licence fees and distributes revenue over the several broadcasting organisations against a fixed rate. In Britain they wanted to use subscriptions instead of licence fees. It is still under discussion. There is a future for public broadcasting, because if you leave the field of public broadcasting and go into commercial broadcasting you lose an important field of programme categories. At the moment in Europe we are in the process of trans-frontier broadcasting, in which regulations are based upon the idea that broadcasting is based on the economic service. If we leave public broadcasting completely, we will lose valuable programmes for the functioning of democracy.

### Broadcasting Organisation

What we learned from the Dutch media history is that it is good to have an integrated system of local, regional and national broadcasting. In Holland we have neglected that area and the local and regional broadcasting developed independently, almost in

competition with the national broadcasting. Especially regional radio, although it is a public service. The NOS is an umbrella organisation in which all the broadcasting organisations are represented; and the NOS has also the responsibility to prepare a broadcasting policy and to advise the government.

### Government Role

The broadcasting area is part of the Ministry of Culture. They have no influence at all on the content of the programmes, but they do have influence on legislation, in which they can change the system and the financing of broadcasting. With the financing they can make conditions on which the broadcasting organisations get their money or not, more cooperation, more coordination, etc.

## The Future of Radio in South Africa

Don Ngubeni, Director Radio Freedom



*Don Ngubeni*

Simply put, we want open media and free airwaves, which promote and defend democracy as enshrined in the constitution. Yet it is much more complex. There are more questions that are thrown up even by the concept of democracy. Those who seek answers and solutions to these questions have to proceed with a machete through thick bushes of suspicion, mistrust, hatred and anger.

In trying to define a role for the broadcast media, it is impossible to ignore the legacy of racism and oppression. We are faced with a very difficult situation of the period of transition, from the old to the new democratic order. However, the old and the new are locked in mortal combat. The old still retains an overwhelming capacity to resist the birth of the new. It still is in full control of those instruments of state that were used to keep the

forces of change in check. Those forces and real institutions are still being used to deny expression of the new.

It is a fact that there have been some developments. But these developments in themselves do not signify the end of apartheid, as they do not begin to address the consequences and implications of years of domination and denial. Actually, the authorities in South Africa seem determined to dictate the pace and direction of change. They still refuse to accept responsibility for their actions. What they have done, through the repeal of some laws has been to open some safety valves to release pressure on the cooker, as opposed to merely sitting on the lid.

On the other hand, the forces of change seem to be struggling to marshal enough strength to impose their will and demands on the system. At each and every turn the government has flouted agreements with impunity. The forces of change lack control of the instruments of state power, to effectively bring about the desired change. The demand for an interim government represents an assertion that the present government is incapable of acting impartially. This means we are still adversaries with the South African government, as opposed to being partners seeking common solutions to common problems.

It is within this context that we should look at the role of the broadcast media. Some questions need immediate attention. Can the SABC as presently structured play an impartial role during the period of transition, negate overnight the role for which it was created, and provide a forum for debate as well as create bridges of understanding? This conference has the responsibility to address these questions and provide solutions.

The SABC is also in its own way trying to define its role. It is trying to determine how to influence the outcome of this transitional phase. It is twisting to extricate itself from its past legacy. Yet these twists and turns only represent changes in

form but not content. The engine, the motive force, lies outside of the present structures of the SABC. However, that force that challenges the SABC must be sufficiently prepared for that task.

At the moment, I think the role of broadcast media should be defined in such a way as to answer the specific and hard realities of our situation. We have a past history of hatred, mutual suspicion, divisions, exploitation and oppression. The process of healing must begin. But it cannot begin while the responsible ones still persist in denying the wrongs and crimes of the past. It cannot be while they use their power to thwart every effort to bring about change.

The broadcast media has the responsibility of building bridges. It must allow open debate and discussion about the new South Africa that we are all looking forward to. The right to freedom of expression, to participate, must be made a reality.

Let me end up with this anecdote: Bush, Gorbachev, Mandela and De Klerk go to see God. Bush asks God about the new World Order: Will it succeed? God answers: Yes, but you will no longer be alive! Bush starts crying. Then Gorbachev asks God about the future of Perestroika. He answers: It will succeed, but you will have died long before. Now Gorbachev starts crying. Lastly, Mandela and De Klerk ask God about the New South Africa. And then God starts crying.

# The Future of Radio in South Africa

Don Pinnock, Head Media Research and Training Unit, Rhodes University

Radio is the single most important form of communication in South Africa today. More people have radios than have mattresses, and more than seven people in ten listen to the radio regularly. In the rural areas the figure is nine in ten.

There are two reasons for radio's popularity: poverty and illiteracy. Taking the last point first, researchers vary on how many people in South Africa are illiterate. Market Research Africa puts absolute illiteracy at 24% and functional illiteracy (that's below Standard 2 education) at around 60%. This is conservative. In the rural areas my Media Research and Training Unit found functional illiteracy to be as high as 83%. UWC researchers put it at eight in ten.

Total readership of the largest newspaper in my region, *The Eastern Cape*, was 2.9% - that's three people in a hundred. And readership of the country's biggest daily, *The Star*, is 10%. Only two people in ten watch TV regularly. By and large, South Africa doesn't read and doesn't watch TV - it listens to the radio.

Poverty also dictates preference. In rural areas the cost of a book would feed a family for a week, newspapers have more value as fuel than as sources of information, and TV sets are either too expensive or need electricity which people do not have.

But there are worrying things about South Africa's seeming enthusiasm for radio. Mainly, the problem is that it's largely controlled by the SABC, which is not a neutral player in the business of winning hearts. And its monopoly of the airwaves is a fact which will dominate this conference.

Linked to this is the fact that radio in your own language is always more believable than radio in someone else's language. Given the SABC's monopoly of the vernacular services, a survey figure which gives Radio Bantu an 84% "complete satisfaction" rating is grounds for unease. This unease was underlined when we found in a survey that six people in ten in the Eastern Cape didn't know who Nelson Mandela was! What, we need to ask, is this

immensely popular, highly credible radio service *telling* people? Of those we surveyed, 40% didn't know the ANC had been unbanned (let alone banned)!

Now I know numbers can be boring and can be wrong. But these numbers, if they are anywhere near correct, tell us that if the SABC is in control of the airwaves when a one-person-one-vote election comes around, the progressive movement is in big trouble. All it needs is for Radio Bantu to tell people that a cross on your ballot paper means you *don't* vote for that person and 84% of the population will give it a high credibility rating! Heaven knows what they will say about Nelson Mandela!

So, basically, radio is immensely powerful and it's in the hands of the wrong people. The monopoly must be broken and we need an Independent Broadcasting Authority as a matter of urgency.

Regarding the future of radio in South Africa, the first thing we have to do is to get hold of it. And when we do, I suggest we restructure it like this:

**National public service radio.** This would be state-funded and would deal with education and entertainment. It would also service the national technical infrastructure and provide support for smaller local radio operations. My argument for state radio is that we need to project a national identity, promote national reconciliation and eliminate illiteracy.

**Commercial radio.** I think we need commercial radio, I think it's fun and it has the means to generate the funds for technological and programming innovations. It could be national and/or local.

**Community radio.** This would be semi-funded, semi-commercial and exclusively local. It needs to be highly-interactive talk radio with maximum community access. In other words, it needs to *be* the community talking to itself. It could be funded by a state subsidy dependent on population and listenership, by local advertisements and by selling programmes.

By way of conclusion let me say this: Radio is

a way to bring the sounds of all Africa to the south - sounds which apartheid has held back from our ears for so long. It is a way to begin building what Albie Sachs calls a rainbow culture, where marabi music and Mozart jostle for air time with T.S. Elliot and Mzwaki Mbali. Where Tolstoy and Todd Matshikize share the same waveband and where people start to dismantle the group areas in their hearts.

We have hardly begun to explore the beauty of our many cultures with the microphone. And we need to make a start now. But we will have nothing at all in the loudspeakers unless we: free the airwaves; get public support; and mount an urgent training scheme for technicians, programmers and broadcasters.

We cannot demand the airwaves if we don't have the means to do anything creative with them. The best guarantee of democracy is to broaden the skills base among progressive communicators. Otherwise, whatever the future government, the means of communication will be in the hands of an elite. And we don't want that, do we?

## Libby Lloyd

In Canada we focused on **community radio**. I worked at a radio station, and visited community radio stations in the reserves in Canada. Based in Montreal there is a world association of community radio broadcasters. I used their archives for research.

Community radio can be linked to all the issues that have been discussed at the conference, such as language, training, education and culture. Community radio is an organisation, a movement in itself. Essentially, it is something that is participatory. Participation is not only something in the form of phoning in, but also in what sort of programming there is, the ownership of the station, who is employed there, and even in programming itself the listeners participate.

There are numerous ways in which community radio has been used around the world. In some cases they see community radio as one of the training grounds for radio journalists. It is not a formal institute that you need to set up, it is something where the process is continuing all the time.

It can also be used as an organising tool, it can be used as communication, as a telephone system. It can be used to empower people, to teach language, for the promotion of culture. And very important, it has a bottom-up and horizontal structure. That

means talking to each other instead of from the broadcaster down.

Community radio and development are inextricably linked, they support each other. It also plays an important role in developing South-South links. We can get information from each other, from community to community.

What is important for this conference is that we can't begin to decide on anything like what sort of structures are needed and how they are going to begin to be linked into communities, what funding and whether we are going to use volunteers or not, because it has to be decided by the communities themselves. Perhaps what can be looked at is the importance of any sort of legislation in favour of community radio, so that you are making it possible for community radio to exist, and facilitating the continued existence of community radio. We should also be facilitating the establishment of community radio.

# The Future of Radio: Discussion

## Edric Gorfinkel

In South Africa we have been attached to negative terms like non-racialism, non-sexism and illiteracy. The positive side to all of these things is the very rich oral tradition. How does active participation in the choices of democratisation happen within the illiterate population? This is where radio has its strongest hold.

A public service may perform the function of informing people what is happening in leadership. For instance public service radio might broadcast live the negotiations process and therefore make clear to the people what the politicians are trying to tell them. When you have the people talking to leadership, that is community radio. One can distinguish three sectors: the public; the commercial; and the community sector.

Community radio distinguishes itself from other radio, because it is all controlled, owned and run by the people who broadcast. Training is the key to that - massive training to demystify the production job. It is not that difficult. Community radio is a much cheaper way to get informed than being informed by the other media, and people have more access to it.

## Nicola Galombik

Radio distinguishes itself also from the other media, because it has a popular function. In between the programmes it performs this function as a news-bringer. The other functions are serving and interacting with the people's every-day cultural and 'dreadful' lives. Community radio shouldn't be just about election processes and other political topics. It also has to have a cultural function, although that's seen as a rather vague term.

## Jon Berndt

The figures Don presented were interesting because of the political information that goes into peoples heads. A big percentage listens to the radio, but a small percentage only listen to the news. How

do we democratise communication, broadly speaking. It is patronizing to give attention to the radio for illiterates only, we should look further than that. We should develop a broad strategy on radio and television.

## Lumko Mtimde

My experience is that people in the rural areas only listen to the news.

## Libby Lloyd

I worked for a community radio in Canada. The radio is integral with the community. The community decides. In every community there is a different understanding of community radio, because every community is different.

## Michael Markovitz

There is no community radio in South Africa at all. Why don't we talk about how to set it up, instead of talking about the role it should play. To talk about the role is important for preempting the role of training and other reasons. You cannot talk about the role of something when it is not there practically. Otherwise it is talking in a vacuum.

## Moeletsi Mbeki

We are talking about the role of radio in a changing South Africa. COSATU is, at this moment working on where the infrastructure is going to be established. It is good for us to complain about the SABC, which is trying to give us a fait accompli; but we also have to do the same thing instead of sitting back and complaining.

The great majority of COSATU members have a problem in terms of reading in a normal way. Secondly, we have 1,250,000 members. So we decided to reach the members via the radio, because most of them have radio. They listen to their radio in their home language. So if we were to intervene in changing the radio, in practice we'd want to change the SABC-African language broadcasting service.

again. By post, often things arrive late or not at all.

## Carol Steinberg

Fiction shapes people's attitudes, their relationships, etc. It forms peoples identities. If you want to change or influence peoples minds, you should write something essential to the quality of life. I would like to see COSATU make, for example, a working class soap. It would also solve the problem that programmes around it influence the content, because it is a self-contained living world of its own.

## Zohra Ebrahim

A Civic member who gets offered a programme that is only information will reject it, because you have such a variety of people in the community and most of them tune in to the soaps.

The issue of lacking power and control is important. We need the information systems that do exist. There is a whole range of terminology that has come into the news, and that is why people turn it off - they don't understand what is said.

The civics cannot pay for airtime as COSATU did. When the SABC offers a programme to us we will reject it. The money has to go into the infrastructure of the organisations.

There are a lot of reasons why pirate radios will be important in a lot of areas. We are also quite willing to take over places in the SABC.

## Paddy Clay

The SABC should stop its commercialisation. There is one practical thing to do. The SABC exists, it is opening up to other organisations and we must open it up further and thereby preempt, what certainly should be a Task Group offer, that there will be given time, that organisations will be allowed on. We want that airtime. We should start with radio, not talk generally about radio, TV and the whole corporation. Say radio, because practically every organisation can produce its own programme. The SABC has just to give airtime. We should concentrate on the reality, and in the second place look into the illegal aspect.

## Libby Lloyd

The SABC sees what it can get away with. What we are talking about now links in very much with the impartiality of news during the negotiations, and that should include the role of the SABC.

We managed to push SABC to show a TV programme which was made by COSATU and VNS. We should place demands on SABC, because this shows that we can win. We should think about what we want to demand from SABC now, not when we have reached the ideal situation. It is a rather mistaken notion of democracy that what the majority wants happens. What matters is what the organised forces do with their powers. At the moment South Africa is based on race, but when that falls away, it is certain that the people who are better organised will have more say than the unorganised. What will we do to make sure that these unorganised people get what they want. We need an independent authority as matter of urgency.

## Heather Hills

Besides just looking at radio, we should also look at radio and the link with other media. *New Nation* has signed a contract with METRO. The question whether to go for just any transaction is crucial. When you go in and pay for airtime, you set a precedent. This conference should come up with a statement on that.

There is a tendency in all of us to sit back and wait until the new South Africa has come. The only way to make sure that that is going to be democratic is if we do something about it now. Sanctions played their role, the international community played its role, the negotiations are playing their role now from the point of view of the leadership. But we are forgetting about the role of the people, who in fact brought us this far. We should represent those people here.

One way to go about democratising the air waves is by bringing in a human rights lawyer. Negotiations with part of the leadership is another strategy. People also have to be organised. And one way of organising them is by community radio. In a legal document, we can say we don't like this and we don't like that, and that is important. But, with the community radio we should also address the question of illegal community radio. That our organisations have been legalised doesn't mean we have to act in a legal way.

## Mahlomola Skhosana

People in the community get explanations in meetings about issues such as electricity, houses, etc. They go home and don't act, because they didn't understand. Via the radio we can explain it

The other thing is: we shouldn't request time of the SABC, but demand our right.

#### Nicola Galombik

We need to coordinate a broad front of initiatives. There is more chance for manipulation if there is isolation. My worry is that we don't have a sense of how far the issues are in relation to community radio.

#### Solly Rasebotsa

It is underlined that the COSATU option should be abandoned. It actually weakens the democratic forces. COSATU has the power to go to the SABC; what about the women, the civics and all organisations which don't have that power? And what if COSATU is not able to force the SABC to give more time and get more control, what will you achieve? What about Bush radio, what would that achieve? For us, to achieve democratisation of the airwaves, one has to emphasize the coordination of an IBA. Then we take away the control of programming and editing from the SABC.

All financial possibilities that COSATU is able to master for some of the other groups, could be directed to the community-waves, where COSATU can organise its programme on its own. We should follow the alternative structures instead of following the SABC.

#### Carl Niehaus

We should be very careful of abandoning things. We should look at the short, medium and long-term. What COSATU is doing is a short-term situation. We have to look at the gains and losses. It shouldn't undermine us. In this situation it actually gained more than it lost. We are all very concerned about paying for airtime.

I believe in everything that is said about community radio. However, we mustn't forget about the medium and longer term. We have to gain control over all the rest of South African broadcasting, including the different nationalist stations. Policy is extremely important. The amount of credibility is based on that. What we have to do in the medium-term is to gain control through an Independent Board. Community radio stations are only one part of what we have to do. We mustn't lose control over the long term.

\* Here followed some off-the record discussion.

#### Michael Markovitz

We don't have boats to pirate on, and it is very expensive and suicidal to have your equipment renewed all the time. The Media Defense Trust, during the State of Emergency, helped the print media out with court cases. The MDT should come into action during the first coordinated switch-on pirate campaign. We should make sure that each community radio group has a group of lawyers who immediately go to court about that.

The first hour of piracy has to be very good; people should have the feeling they miss something. That is where the civics come in to say that we lost our radio station. The print media should also give complete publicity about it.

#### Raymond Louw

As chairman of MDT, I say apply for assistance.

#### Prakash Kusial

The question is: are we taking something at all costs or at a price? At all costs, we should reject the COSATU approach; at a price, they can go ahead.

#### Moeletsi Mbeki

We must be careful to bedevil the SABC, they are human beings like you and me. COSATU has consulted with DIP and Culture from the ANC, with the SACP, within COSATU and with FAWO. Our dealings with the SABC are only one part of the approach we take. We applied for a national broadcast licence. We also work together with CASET to see what can be done to get community radio off the ground.

#### Willie Currie

The following points will be put on the discussion list for this afternoon:

- How do we build community radio stations, including the question of training and the question of piracy?
- On what conditions should progressive organisations get access to the SABC?
- How do we popularise the issue of broadcasting and develop multiple strategies around it, including fiction and enjoying broadcasting?
- How do we build a network around broadcasting issues, including community radio?

## The Role of Training and Development in South Africa

Jaap Swart, Manager Radio Netherlands Training Centre



#### International Experience

Much training will be needed as soon as the South African groups which were excluded from participation in the development processes, are given access. The media will have to convey 'bodies of knowledge' by means of distance education, which are crucially instrumental for the economic development of society. Furthermore, the media play a role in the complex cultural development of the post-apartheid society.

One is inclined to present the journalistic role of the media as 'neutral', 'objective', 'technical': reporting facts and presenting them in their context. Journalism in the future South Africa, however, will require professionals trained to have profound knowledge and empathy with the cultures in their public, beyond the usual professional skills. The role of the media is thus expected to expand considerably. New fields will open up and new

people are to take an active part. Training media practitioners for the press, radio and TV will concern journalism, education and development.

We should not ignore the media when they seemingly have no 'cause' or 'aim' as e.g. in entertainment. Despite the alleged negative effects of entertainment programmes based on foreign cultural realities, it is a relevant fact that such entertainment programmes can generate discussion, make people aware, affirm or dismiss opinions, values and norms. Such productions, TV series, soaps, shows, etc. are expensive, but their indigenous production is important.

Within the framework of international development cooperation, media training has been provided by various agents. From early on the churches were active, which has resulted in important professional organisations coordinating and stimulating media development. UNDA e.g. is an impor-

tant Roman Catholic umbrella organisation, while CAMECO (Catholic Media Centre) in Aachen provides professional service. The WACC in London is a Protestant initiative providing research and coordination to Protestant media activities.

Many countries have provided training in the field of the media. **Cuba** for instance has been prominent in training for radio, film and TV in Latin America. The relative isolation of the country hampered this, but the Cubans still organise international festivals attended by many.

The British Thompson Foundation has been very active both in **England** and on the spot, but - except for their technical training in Glasgow - has stopped training people in England, sending teams out instead. The BBC training originally provided courses especially for foreigners, but changes brought about in the BBC have required training for internal needs. People from abroad may still be admitted, but the courses are tuned to BBC needs. The French have their INA in Paris, with training for both **France** and francophone countries. France has always resisted recognition of different needs between their own and the needs d'outre mer. **Germany** has been very active. The three development organisations linked to the major political parties - the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (CDU); the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (SPD) and the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Liberals) - have fostered activities all over the world. Deutsche Welle trains radio programme-makers from the Third World in Köln while Radio Freies Berlin provides TV training for the Third World in Berlin. Both also provide training 'in country'. The former Deutsche Demokratische Republic also provided much training. **Italy** and **Spain** for a long time were not very prominent, but recently the Spanish energetically took up training in Spain as well as 'in situ' for Latin America.

The Scandinavians - **Swedes, Norwegians and Danish** - have contributed considerably to media training. This was done mainly in the Third World itself. Two important organisations are the Danish filmschool and WIF (Worldview International Foundation), an international organisation in Norway. **Canada** has given training in various Third World countries, but it also hosts important institutes coordinating the provision of educational programme material produced in the Commonwealth.

The US has given aid to many media initiatives

all over the world. This was done via the governmental AID organisation as well as via, among others, the Inter-American Foundation and the Chrysler, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. There is a certain preference to train media practitioners in the US rather than in the countries involved. The International University of Florida however has launched a programme training Latin American journalists on the spot. The Academy for Educational Development (AED) in Washington D.C. also gives important support to media activities in developing countries.

The importance of **Japan** in media training is growing. Originally the Japanese were known for their support with hardware and technical training, but they are also providing programme production training both in Japan and in the countries involved.

**Australia** is very active and **South Korea** has recently made known that they are offering training. We should also mention the **Soviet Union** and **Hungary**.

There are three important media organisations in the Third World itself. In Asia the AIBD (Asian and Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development), in Africa the KIMC (Kenyan Institute for Mass Communication) and finally in Latin America CIESPAL (Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicacion para América Latina) represent important traditions in media training and development.

Allow me a final word about **RNTC** (Radio Netherlands Training Centre). The Centre started in 1969 as a training centre for programme-makers from broadcasting organisations in the Third World. This is still an important aspect of its work. In the international training courses - radio and television - hundreds of students from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean were trained and many will follow. However, the activities have branched out in a number of ways. From 1977 onward RNTC increasingly participated in media projects in developing countries: training broadcasters in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America during short intense courses of a number of weeks; and implementing projects of a much longer duration like the development of the media infrastructure of an agricultural project in Ghana, the creation of training departments in media institutes like CIESPAL in Quito/Ecuador and the development of radio stations in Liberia, Peru, Ecuador, etc.

In the meantime the Centre in Hilversum added specialized courses. RNTC has responded to the request from development organisations to provide media programme productions and to train experts who use media to reach specific groups in the society. For this group of non-media professionals training was organised in radio, TV and in print enabling them to make good programmes with the new consumer techniques.

In the fields of health, agriculture, education, ecology, population activities, etc. there is a rapidly growing need for people to get access to user-friendly techniques, like video cameras, consumer editing equipment, audio equipment, desk top publishing equipment, etc. These techniques are easy and cheap, opening new promising communication channels. Whereas the typewriter became a household tool once it reached the non-professional, the same goes for the new audio-video and print equipment. There is one important catch: having a camera and being able to push the buttons does not provide a programme. To write a story, to make a video programme, and to produce a radio programme, one must be trained.

The project activities imply most of the time the use of more than just one media. This multi-media approach to communication required planning and management to obtain the necessary coordination. Consequently RNTC increasingly includes communication management training in its courses. In educational programme production for broadcasting as well as the development of campaigns to support agricultural, health, ecology, etc., communication management has become a crucial factor.

One can see how the enormous growth in the quantity and quality of media-facilitated communication, stimulated by the rapid development of media technology, requires ever more training. The increased communication tends to as much heat up the social processes fostering accord and discord as it enables the members of society to seek the improvement of social conditions and ways to better attune the various aspects of development.

The ever-growing role of media has caused the number of media training institutes to grow in accordance. The number of Western international training organisations serving the mass media in the developing countries tended to decline however.

The regional organisations have held their ground and even increased, although there are

changes in the nature of their training services. Many countries have started national training centres to take care of the basic media training needed by the broadcasting organisations. Short courses and workshops are in demand, and the training needs of the non-professionals require new forms of training organisation.

## The Role of Foreign Training: Netherlands Example

Max Snijders, Communications Assistance Foundation

In the Netherlands we have been in journalism for over 350 years, which gave us the idea to share our experiences with others. This idea came up when speaking with the Minister for Development Cooperation, a few years ago, because people weren't too happy with the UNESCO policy.

In the Netherlands after the Second World War, all newspapers were tied up to religious backgrounds. Readers don't want a predictable medium. The projects that followed from this tried to stress pluriformity. This pluriformity does not exclude that different opinions come forward; we call it the platform function of the media.

From a broad background people got together to talk about this concept and with the Ministry of Development. The result was the creation, in 1986, of a Communication Assistance Foundation (SCO). SCO is directed towards the grassroots, in search of more media connections, for example between regions and main cities or regions and the capital, and a more even distribution.

Knowledge from independent sources is crucial. The people must have the opportunity to get information from independent sources. We help to establish media, to create a form of pluriformity. This is a very important aim. We are hardly in the field of television; but we are in radio. Training is an important objective: for example the rules of journalism, what is news actually - going out into the field.

Another aim of SCO is assisting in alphabetisation. In developing countries it often happens that people who were once capable of reading are not interested in reading, so that their reading skills disappear. There is an additional need for material. With some material you can achieve more participation in the government of the country.

The Dutch government supplies the money for the Foundation, but they don't interfere in the choices we make. They only look at formal aspects; we call it marginalisation of the authority. There is a search for independent projects and pluriformity,

and not for projects by authorities who tend to give news elements which are only pleasant for the authorities themselves.

As a starting point, we don't execute guiding principles ourselves. Execution is done by our counterparts in the developing countries. We work with trainers out of area. Thusfar we have had projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We have a strict form of project approval.

In South Africa, SCO works with *Weekly Mail*; we do a training programme for journalists. We hope to extend our programme in South Africa, and we hope for a pluriformity of the media in South Africa.

### Practical matters

Universities are not considered for SCO support. We assist in communication for the general public. We train, we don't educate. Projects are not aimed at professional organisations and not at a specific public. SCO is connected to media, not necessarily to institutions. The ultimate aim is to establish media (newspapers); we want to have a radiating effect.

Being situated in a so-called homeland would not disqualify for support at all.

If you have support from the community to set up a radio station, you could ask SCO for establishment costs and training costs for community radio. Even, if necessary, you could get equipment. The same goes for other co-financing organisations.

It will cost you an enormous amount of energy to form a national organisation. In practice it will not be easy to consider a proposal concerning a national development programme strategy, on behalf of a network of interest groups. But I am not against it. Other organisations think the same and tend to support project-by-project (or initiative) rather than an overall proposal.

People usually do a training in a centre; so, not 'on the spot'. To qualify you must have a viable project and sufficient knowledge about details.

## Training and Development in South Africa

John van Zyl, University of the Witwatersrand

### The Public Broadcasting Service Option

Generally, there is the need to train the teachers, students and media officers. There is a further need to train writers and producers to make programmes for use in schools, the workplace and the community centre. Finally, there is a need to train an educational broadcaster who can identify educational and developmental needs.

All of this might seem far removed from the realities of South Africa, with the educational crisis in impoverished rural communities, with no access to electricity, no funds to purchase television or video equipment, few teachers qualified to use conventional materials, and students that have forgotten what a "learning culture" is. However, in spite of the problems, educational broadcasting might well be the only way that the educational crisis can be kick-started back into a learning culture mode.

South Africa's radio and television service have contributed little, if anything, to broadcast education. The conservative and reactionary nature of broadcasting has probably had a negative effect on education and culture, through its promotion of apartheid and its perverted sense of history and social relations. The major European and American intellectual debates of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s simply did not enter popular consciousness in South Africa. Feminism, capital punishment, abortion, homosexuality, the green movement, the anti-war movement, and civil rights seldom featured in discussion programmes, dramas or series.

This means that while we attempt to address the very real educational crisis in Black education, we must also bear in mind the cultural crisis that faces most South Africans of whatever colour. For instance, a black student entering university has suffered deficit education and comes from an environment where a learning culture has well-nigh disappeared. However, a vigorous academic support programme will probably remedy this.

A white student entering university might not be disadvantaged in the same way as the black student, but he or she suffers from a more subtle deficit, namely years of Christian National Education indoctrination as well as years of political cultivation from Broederbond television. Therefore, such a student needs to "unlearn" all that ideological garbage. Television and radio can help the "unlearning" process by creating a more congenial cultural and intellectual climate than the previous ideological ice-age.

The black educational crisis presents a complicated challenge to educational broadcasting. On the one hand, it could be the innovation factor that attracts black students back to magnet schools. On the other hand, it could upgrade teachers qualifications economically as well as provide them with teaching materials which they could never have dreamed of - an approach qualitatively and quantitatively different to DET policies.

Now South Africa nervously faces up to the new Educational Renewal Strategy of June 1991. Its legitimacy is suspect since democratic structures had not been consulted. Its concept of a single non-racial curriculum, decentralisation and local control, as well as the strong recommendation that distance-teaching be utilised to help solve the educational crisis, are of some interest to educational broadcasters.

There is an urgent need for a Media Institute in South Africa supported with materials, finances and lecturers from Europe and the United States to train educational and developmental broadcasters in all areas, technical as well as conceptual.

The conjunction of the Education Renewal Strategy document and the report of the Task Group on Broadcasting (August 1991) at least clears the ground for the struggle for democratisation to assume a new form. On the other hand, the proposed Media Institute could be the centre from which educational and cultural programmes are broadcast. It could fulfil three functions: training;

making programmes on commission; and transmitting them. It is not impossible to consider the Institute having its own satellite link to several regional stations, which could retransmit locally to community stations.

### Potential of television in education

Both radio and television are significantly **motivational** in nature; they focus attention on a subject and attract student and worker involvement. They create an interest-rich environment. But both television and radio must be supported by written material to prepare the instructor and assist the student. *Before* the programme is engaged, and *after* the programme has been seen or heard, reinforcement is needed to assimilate the knowledge gained.

Many radio and television educationists now refer to themselves as "service providers" rather than as broadcasters. Not the television monitor or the shortwave radio provides the education, but the entire process of trained instructor, motivated student, adequate supplementary material as well as well-written and produced programmes provides education.

There must clearly be close liaison between the educational authorities and programme producers to identify ends, prioritize strategies and to organise distribution and access to the programme.

It is the most superstitious form of media determinism to believe that television is a "window on the world" and that students and workers can learn by simply watching. It does not work that way.

### Disadvantages of educational broadcasting

The disadvantages revolve around the fundamental problem of access to transmissions. Broadcasting is almost universally available in the UK and the US, but there are many places in South Africa where radio and television cannot be received (parts of the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, and Northern Transvaal). Apart from that, there is also the question of lack of power. Obviously electric generators need both fuel and maintenance and they can be stolen. Solar-powered batteries are a better option.

The next problem is accessing the programme to the student. In a school there is usually one television monitor and a video cassette recorder (VCR). A single monitor and a VCR seldom reach

more than 30 students at a time. If educational broadcasting is to be utilised effectively, then schools should be equipped with video projectors in at least two large classrooms capable of seating 200 students. Radio is always simpler since transistors are cheaper, more portable and easier to maintain.

The next question is that of convenience of viewing time. In a school a "live" broadcast might not coincide with the time-table. In a distance-learning situation there are students for whom particular transmission times make viewing difficult or impossible (particularly workers who commute or work shifts). Such students have to have recourse to recording facilities.

### The VCR revolution

"Live" broadcasting of radio and television programmes is increasingly problematic, since it must be viewed when transmitted, does not allow for one segment to be studied in depth and is inconvenient for follow-up discussion. Recorded material, on the other hand, can be reviewed at leisure and integrated into the supplementary material through the "pause-go" method.

At present the increase in the number of VCRs in industrially developed countries (50% in the UK, 85% in the US) has created a new practice for students, namely "displacement viewing", i.e. using programmes that have been recorded off-air at a more convenient time. PBS can broadcast "block feeds" of an entire television course on an accelerated satellite schedule for off-air recording ("down-loading") by a school or college, which cuts down on time, cost and effort.

There is, surprisingly, not yet a cheap radio receiver with a recording facility that also has a timer, so that students can set their radios to record programmes off-air during the dead hours of the night.

This means that there is increasingly a distinction between **broadcast format** and **video format**. The former is the conventional programme, made to be seen once only, and the latter has encoded instructions for pausing, review and reference to supplementary material.

### Satellite distribution

Educational television is already reaping the benefits of satellite delivery. On the one hand, there is the usual satellite capability of delivering

large amounts of information to many access points spread over a large area. The access points can either be centralised down-link transmitter stations that act as redistribution centres, or else they can be the individualised down-link receivers in homes and schools using the small, cheap "squarial" dish. On the other hand, there is the interactive capacity that satellites have through which viewers can talk back to instructors.

PBS used this system with its small, special-interest school courses, but its flagship satellite course is the Adult Learning Satellite Service (ALSS), launched in 1988 to deliver directly to colleges with a satellite downlink facility a broad range of educational programming: telecourses, resources information and live, interactive video conferences. The aims were to increase distance-learning opportunities, enrich classroom instruction, update lecturers, provide community adult education courses and provide in-service training to teachers.

### Conclusion

What are the disasters that South Africa must seek to avoid if it wishes to embark on a thoroughgoing, multi-million Rand educational broadcasting system that will grapple with its educational and cultural problems?

Checklist of potential causes of failure:

- The degree of illiteracy blocks off use of television programmes with any written component;
- Rural poverty and lack of resources inhibit the purchase and maintenance of technological hardware and software;
- Language and cultural barriers render the material purchased ineffective;
- There is not enough consultation with teachers, students and grassroots organisations to provide an effective "down-up" communicational link and establish credibility for the programme;
- The initial funding is too low, so that essential steps are missed out;
- After the initial funding runs out, the educational channel fails to be self-sufficient financially;
- Absence of education or utilisation officers prevents instructors from becoming familiar with the new material and reinforces their fear of television;
- Absence of a learning culture prevents students from utilising the benefits of educational broadcasting; if they don't see the use of it, they won't use it;

- So much time and energy goes into the making of programmes that not enough remains for supplementary material;
- Instructions on how to use and evaluate the programmes arrive too late to be of use to the teacher.

I suggest an independent educational and cultural channel, modelled on the American PBS system, should be established in South Africa, funded internationally from endowments, etc., by subscriptions and making own programmes. It could either be an expanded version of the existing Mmabatho Edutel service, or else an independent channel based in the Media Institute. This channel could either broadcast directly all over South Africa by DBS, or else there could be a second tier of regional stations which could initially be based at universities. They could retransmit the national programmes, make their own and provide access to local communities. A third tier could be community stations, which receive programmes, provide access at a local level "live" or record programmes to send up the line.

It would initially need to be funded heavily by American philanthropic foundations, European Economic Community money, possibly UNESCO funding, but would later survive on a state subsidy of around 20%, corporate funding, private subscription, controlled advertising, sale of programmes and training programmes.

Through the use of community stations or properly-equipped magnet schools, rural teachers and development workers could be brought into contact with metropolitan areas, thereby **lessening** instead of **widening** the rural/metropolitan split. Existing and new schools would have to be provided with a power, maintenance, receiving and distribution "package".

Finally we then have two scenarios for implementation of such a scheme:

- 1) the three tier system that provides access but ends up with duplicated facilities which cost money. It lends itself to implementation on a small scale, say in the PWV area which serves about 9 million people. After that, each region could expand as finances become available; or
- 2) a central transmitter that broadcasts directly through DBS to homes, community centres, schools, and factories, which is ultimately cheaper than the first option.



# Training and Development: Discussion

In preliminary responses a number of pressing issues were raised. In particular, it was noted that media education cannot be totally divorced from the problems of education as a whole, and that therefore the problem of transforming teachers from the "indoctrination culture" is very relevant.

Apart from transforming the culture of learning, it is necessary in South Africa to address the lack of a culture of production. This practical side of the debate was illustrated by the question: what am I to do after I receive training and return to my position, where an absence of materials, not lack of skills, is the chief constraint?

Reservations were also expressed about the separation of public education from entertainment broadcasting, because it may isolate learning from 'normal' life.

With regard to proposals for action, communications and media studies in the universities were seen as overdue for reorientation, as are people's perceptions of their purpose.

With respect to the SABC, it was noted that replacing personnel there was not as appropriate as upgrading those who seem amenable to change. Training would of course be necessary to fill openings of those who would leave. It was noted that use could be made of expertise from within the Southern African region to help fill the need for a training centre in South Africa, without going off to Europe or America for assistance.

## Jaap Swart

There are distinct advantages to facilitating an exchange of ideas on the needs and opportunities for external training. Looking toward the vast experience gained elsewhere is also an asset. In Latin America for example, a public broadcasting service similar to that proposed here was first established in a very formal and structured way. The people couldn't really identify with it, and their reactions led to the organisers of educational broadcasting bringing it closer to the people, to a

more community-oriented structure.

There needn't be a trade-off between that personal and local contact with a speaker or topic and the broader reach to the national level. Don't fall into the 'either-or' situation. Both are possible and necessary. For example, in the Dominican Republic there is one radio station to cover one valley, Radio Santa Maria. Here there is a very strong identification of the people with the station. Educational programming is provided and the station itself functions as a meeting place where local and other issues can be discussed. It is part of a developmental process. When the government wants to start an initiative, it goes to the radio station to begin a broad discussion. In terms of education they have a small teaching staff, and they rewrite their texts annually based on local examples. Not only is a social function served by coverage of family problems, but the whole family often listens and learns together.

## John van Zyl

The remarks I made regarding the lack of a learning culture refer specifically to the Johannesburg/Soweto area. What is needed to restart the learning process here is a new alliance among teachers, parents and students. Students need to be empowered and student interaction needs to be built in to reverse the standard domination model.

In response to the suggestion that public education becomes isolated if put on a PBS channel rather than mixed with entertainment programmes, it can be noted that there are precedents in the US of very attractive programming which people watch in preference to sit-coms, for example the series on civil rights. I think people are sick and tired of sit-coms, and people only watch TV 1 and TV 2 because that's all that we have.

It is true that we must use our local teachers and rely as much as possible on talents within South or Southern Africa. At the same time, there are things we don't know and there are definite benefits from

talking to UNESCO or RNTC, for example. Most importantly, we have got to teach teachers, to become independent.

## Moeletsi Mbeki

There have been recent negotiations between COSATU and the employers and the state on resolving the adult education crisis. By putting up a lot of money, the employers are disrupting organisations. Regarding further BBC market penetration, we shouldn't allow it. They aren't open to reverse penetration. We don't want to see the world through the eyes of the BBC. We would rather send our own correspondents. The issues involved in this are very delicate, very sensitive.

## Thabo Makhene

We have locally-produced PBS programmes, like Black Sport, dramas, etc., which we mix with foreign programmes and which attract viewers from other stations. Before we started, on 31 December 1990, I visited various PBS channels in America to get a feel for smaller and larger stations. Based on the experience there, we worked out the current mix, with programmes such as Front Line and South Africa Now, translated into local language so that those who don't understand English can follow the programmes. We have found out that people who are illiterate are more inclined to watch documentaries. So we choose relevant programmes and topics of interest throughout the Third World: e.g. health, education, birth control, AIDS, alcohol abuse, etc. and we give background on UN agencies and their work, like WHO and IMF.

## Julie Frederikse

The SABC does not appear willing or able to change. But it is ours, and we must change it. Creating an alternative is not the answer. The ANC doesn't want to create a separate army just because the SADF doesn't want to change. The SABC calls itself community-focussed, and we need to make it so. The proposal seems to be an American concept. Public TV there is quality, but very tiny - something like 4% of total viewing.

## Willie Currie

The trade unions and other progressive organisations are independent of the political parties. Lets not go down the avenue of Eastern Europe.

Independence is absolutely critical. An independent Board of Control should come for, e.g., the SABC. Broadcasting independence can't be transferred from America. We need to open up a discussion on the proposal and on the issue of training in broadcasting in general. FAWO is now having a debate on the whole concept of institutes, for film, etc., and this needs a broad debate.

## Mark Gevisser

Ultimately we would want a team of South African journalists throughout Africa and elsewhere, but it won't happen in the near future. In this situation it might be good to use the BBC services. We shouldn't close out this option. It is also true that some good programmes are available from the US, as the example of Mmabatho TV shows. As we don't know what the status of the SABC will be in the future, it might be good to have an alternative.

## Jaap Swart

The ILO is very active in technical and vocational training. Their approach to vocational training is very innovative, and I suggest you get involved and in any case get information about this programme.

## Akwe Amosu

In the discussion on the SABC, it is critical that the people see the SABC as theirs and recognise the need to get it back. It is retrogressive to start another PBS alongside SABC. The SABC needs to be independent, and structures need to be created to prevent party control in future.

Only very entertaining documentaries can compete with standard TV programming. Educational programming needs continuous space on its own channel for the varied topics of literacy, farming, bookkeeping, etc. The need is for a separate, independent state educational programme channel, run by professional staff and working closely with the viewing public. There shouldn't be competition for funding between educational and entertainment channels.

## Zohra Ebrahim

Regarding broadcasting independence we can learn some lessons from Eastern Europe. Independence means more than just ownership, it is also accountability. Removal of state control must not remove accountability.

A word of caution on the role of the Urban Foundation, there are many grey areas not yet worked out. If we really start to have an open culture, we need to make access to power possible.

#### Mahlomola Skhosana

We are discriminated against not because of pigmentation, but because of lack of skills. If there is retooling, we want to negotiate the terms. If new training opportunities come up, we want to discuss that too. Similarly, the Civic Association needs to have discussion with the unions on the conditions in which big business is allowed into the townships. Prior discussion is needed between civics and unions, not leaving this to the Urban Foundation alone.

#### Jon Berndt

The dominant culture is the culture of consumption, and it is therefore difficult to focus on the culture of production. In relation to technical training, what the state and big business want is training to meet their needs, not the interests of the workers. Educational-programming production should be related instead to the interests of workers and communities. Industry needs technical training to provide skills for the shrinking formal sector, not to provide broad employment. Training along the lines sought by big business will mean training into unemployment.

#### John van Zyl

My proposal has been consulted on widely in South Africa, and any further steps would involve talks with the democratic structures. I also foresee an advisory board from within the democratic structures.

Of course, we need to reclaim the SABC, but through regular contacts with it I don't see the immediate possibility of its conversion to PBS. We see in Europe that it is also difficult to maintain the independence of PBS. Rather than standing beside or in competition with the future SABC, my proposal could be incorporated into the future SABC as its educational arm.

#### Ruth Tomaselli

I want to pick up on an ethos of cultural production where educational broadcasting takes place in a 'bottom-up' context. Here we are not talking about missionary education or "giving people edu-

cation", but allowing an interaction between education, entertainment and cultural expression. Starting at the national level, then going to the regional then local levels misses the point. Lets look at the idea of a radio station in every community.

#### Jaap Swart

After this enlightening discussion, it would be a shame if all the ideas and concerns were somehow lost. I suggest you think seriously of creating a coordinating centre within South Africa. A coordination point is needed to monitor the changing situation in South Africa, to facilitate contacts, and to coordinate activities and relations with other organisations, such as ILO.

In terms of software, there are extensive banks of educational material available, such as in Vancouver. In terms of hardware, very much is happening in professional and non-professional applications and equipment. Advice from an independent organisation would be useful. Training is needed in various fields. A coordination point could keep track of who gets what from where or who makes it themselves.

#### Willie Currie

To summarise this session, three main issue areas should be looked at in the sub-groups:

1. The question of training in film, video, radio and communications in relation to production;
2. The question of developing educational broadcasting in relation to: education policy and the education crisis; existing broadcasters; and an independent PBS channel and media institute; and
3. The question of institutes or coordination centres and the processes involved in forming them.

## Cultural Diversity and Protection of Cultural Possessions

Prof. Njabulo Ndebele, University of the Witwatersrand



Prof. Njabulo Ndebele

How is **the issue of language** to be addressed in the diversity of cultures in South Africa? In the past this cultural diversity has been exploited by the apartheid government to create conflict, hostility, and mutual suspicion between ethnic groups and rural and urban communities.

We became conditioned to noticing differences instead of similarities between people. This state of mind determined individual and social behaviour, resulting in a mental conditioning that became a fundamental basis for social and political control by the state. It is a legacy of the past.

The racist government made all sorts of rationalisations to justify the system. They came up with the deceptive idea of separate but equal societies, for example. The reality was harshly different. Without consulting the people to be affected, the

government decided what kind of society was desirable for black people. They had definite ideas about their cultural identity. They tended to protect the conservative elements of black communities, particularly in the 'homelands'. They effectively set limits within which black people can order their lives. The implementation of this policy took place within an extremely repressive, if at times patronisingly benevolent, atmosphere. It was not being overtly oppressive and of course the victims of these circumstances were seldom if ever consulted on this promised heaven: of being separated but equal.

Some people thought that separation offered them some chance to get a hold on their own future. This situation may have offered an attractive possibility for some kind of political salvation. Manipulating this hope became the primary objective of the state. Yet others saw something deeply repulsive in this development. Political scenarios, that present a grand vision of such magnitude as apartheid, can create a debilitating ambiguity in those before whom they are presented. The possibility of redemption is undercut by lingering doubts and fear of possible deception.

Those who rightly remained suspicious of the state laid the foundations for what has become an almost reflex suspicion by the progressive movement for any dispensation that can be seen to accentuate cultural identity, particularly if this was premised on anything like an ethnic basis.

For example, is it wise to ignore the historical ethnic realities of South African society which pre-date apartheid? We are a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-lingual society. The challenge of the need for a unitary, undivided country is to recognise this diversity as a national asset rather than as problem to be wished away. What is the role of ethnicity in a multi-cultural society?

How do we work towards a national identity in a country with separate cultural identities? Is there a possible common point of convergence? We need

to remove ethnicity as a rallying point in the formation of political groupings. We need to remove the past tendency to associate ethnicity with an implied opposition to other ethnic groups. An ethnic identity should not be seen as a negation of other identities. Ethnicity should be freed from the concept of political opposition.

I am not referring to fixed and unchanging entities. To do so would be to get trapped in the apartheid bind according to which ethnic identity is something immutable. All cultures are constantly subjected to diverse influences. Nevertheless, influences are always absorbed from a particular position of relative stability. But the fact that social groups of all kinds are susceptible to outside influences is an important basis on which to attempt to create conditions for positive, constructive intercultural contact.

The point of convergence should be seen as an enabling universal principle around which the diverse elements of our national life can be brought together in such a way that each element is regarded as a significant aspect of the total cultural colour of our country. This points to cooperation. Perhaps this principle can be located in a Constitution, in a Bill of Rights, and in an economic environment that promises a reasonable material security to all citizens. The culture of each group becomes a sort of nurturing context for individuals offering security of home, community, social and religious rituals, customs and various forms of social behaviour.

### Protection of cultural possessions

What are our cultural possessions? It is my personal experience that **language determines how you look at the world**. When for instance you speak English, your mind can be full of democracy, you are thinking in Western models.

When you enter this world in African languages you enter a world likely to be characterised by references: to monarchy and chiefs; to traditional medicine; to initiation schools; to traditional agriculture; to oral tradition; to funeral rites; to naming ceremonies; and to religious practices of various kinds. Of course, political struggles have entered these languages but this still has not been sufficiently domesticated. Nevertheless, this kind of universe is still quite pervasive even in the consciousness of the average township dweller, if one considers the extent to which traditional doctors are consulted by some of the most sophisticated people.

We are accustomed to regarding tradition as somewhat of a nuisance. But for millions of South Africans these traditions are of a daily concern, and there is no future that can be defined without taking additional interest in this world which has been left out of our immediate consciousness.

If we look carefully at the world just referred to, we will see reflected the following social concerns with: the political process; health; education and the transmission of survival social skills; food; art; issues surrounding the beginning of life on earth; death; and the attempt to find the meaning of life.

These concerns are the common denominator between all peoples, but they assume different articulations depending on historical circumstances, language, culture, etc.

The vast majority of South Africa's peoples approach the contemporary world with an array of social concepts embodied in a linguistic universe located far from the centre of official state interest. That centre is dominated by the European interest through political and economic power, which manifests itself in various forms of social, cultural, intellectual and linguistic dominance. From this centre, the African world is viewed as a static world deserving only of an aloof anthropological interest.

Yet this world is important to the lives of millions of Africans in a most intimate manner. The world of chiefs, traditional doctors and initiation schools is important as it constitutes the only socially-meaningful reference point for issues in politics, health and education. This world is significant only as a conceptual reference point rather than as a world to be necessarily reproduced in its old forms in modern times. It is important that this distinction be appreciated.

This is another way of describing the objectives of the liberation struggle: to restore the life of the oppressed back at the centre of state concern, after it had been marginalised for centuries of oppression. From this perspective, the question of language becomes an extremely serious matter.

### Implications for language

Language provides a medium for discussion and understanding. Also it is connected with our intellectual development. The languages that have been privileged officially, English and Afrikaans, have had the effect of marginalising the other languages in the same way that the other cultures of these languages have been marginalised.

This leads therefore to a language policy, which is crucial. All languages need to be promoted. People need to be empowered through this use of language. Speaking different languages gives you access to things which would otherwise not be available. People can therefore use this ability to speak more languages to make a living. Language can make it possible for people to unite and it can make them powerful.

Once you have decided about the official languages, you have to encourage the ability of citizens to speak, write and think fairly well in those languages. The lack of a culture of learning a language means that many people have less ability to use language in the market place and in the schools in order to succeed. In other words a language policy should attempt to come up with a policy that brings together the country through an official language, but also we realise that languages should be distributed in a regional way.

The starting point for such a policy is the promotion of all African languages in South Africa on the understanding that every citizen has a right to articulate in a language that best expresses his or her culture. That culture becomes the basis for political, economic, social and intellectual development. Beyond that, every citizen must be provided with the opportunity to acquire adequate proficiency in languages of their choice.

In South Africa certain languages will tend to be predominant in particular areas. Every attempt must be made for people of one language group to be exposed to the languages and cultures of other regions. While it has been relatively easy for speakers of English or Afrikaans to learn one African language or another (there have been dictionaries and grammars to facilitate this), language learning across African languages has not been encouraged to any significant extent. For example, I am not aware of the existence of any Zulu-Sesotho dictionary or a Zulu-Sesotho language learning book. The only dictionaries we have facilitate the communication between speakers of English/Afrikaans and the speakers of one of the African languages. There is no communication between the African languages. People all over the country are not aware that there are other language speakers in other regions, and that their culture is valuable.

Language distribution through areas is a fact, and the SABC has used this very well for the advancement of the policy of separate develop-

ment. Take for instance the weather forecast reports on TV2 and 3, which do not show the weather forecast in all languages; and the SABC doesn't show all parts of the map when speaking about the weather in a certain language. The weather only seems to occur in the entire nation on TV1.

We have to think seriously about a community-based media and language. If there is a dominant group of people who speak a particular language in one area, why should they not be spoken to in that language? What does this mean for the linguistic and cultural grounding of the broadcaster, and what does this say about who is to be employed as a broadcaster?

Broadcasting and the broadcaster cannot be separated from the community. A regional approach, for broadcasting in a particular language, has consequences for the availability of expertise in all the different languages. Will it be available or is there money to make this available?

### Implications for Broadcasting

The power of broadcasting should be exploited fully during the period of social reconstruction. The airwaves should be enriched with relevant information, analyses, debates and entertainment that should enhance the ability of the average citizen to participate in shaping the future of his or her country and immediate community.

The idea of community media specifically in the predominant local language should be explored. Although the predominant language should be used in any particular broadcasting area, other specified languages should be allocated time, particularly where there are minority speakers of other languages.

Broadcasting and broadcasters must be linked with local teachers' organisations, cultural groups, churches, workers' unions or associations and a host of others in order to reflect the variety of social interests. The training of local broadcasters in radio broadcasting should be undertaken as a matter of urgency.

Finally, the suggested developments may require considerable sums of money, but what is required is a well considered national plan that will be implemented over a period of time. There should be national willingness to allocate resources commensurate with the national importance of the issue.

# Cultural Diversity and Language: Discussion

## Edric Gorfinkel

In my experience with the use of different languages in the community radio, the bottom line is not so much what language people are spoken to in, but what language people speak for themselves. A consequence of this might be that the majority of first-language Xhosa speakers would understand English and Afrikaans as well. Whereas the majority of first-language English and Afrikaans speakers may not understand Xhosa. So in a debate on the radio where people are speaking the language of their choice, the first-language Xhosa speakers who have traditionally been disadvantaged will have greater access to continuity within that debate. The same trend occurs in theater.

## Carol Steinberg

I want to know if the notion of forging a national identity at this moment in our history is possible in an entirely non-coercive way.

## Njabulo Ndebele

This has to do with the issue of literacy. If you are literate only in Zulu or Sesotho, then you need a translator most of the time if you venture out of your community. It should not be said that you are literate only if you read English or Afrikaans. It also means the ability to read and through that get access to information, and to be able to think and communicate with other people through reading and writing. At this moment, when you don't know English or Afrikaans, you are at a great disadvantage. Hopefully we can evolve into a situation in which people can participate in most sectors of our national life in their own languages. This is a matter of time.

The question of a national identity is a tricky one. I mentioned this issue because we are going to be confronted with the question of which language we should speak, and the question of what kind of culture will evolve, what set of national values. This is all involved in the question of identity.

To what extent is the element of coercion in-

involved? I am hoping that the negotiations will steer us clear of any coercive measures. I don't think it is possible to force people into a culture. We need to be a lot more creative, tolerant and open in such matters.

## Mark Gevisser

There is a lot of multi-lingual stuff on TV2 and 3, trying to represent the complex linguistic reality in South Africa by throwing in different languages together in one program. Can you give a critique to these attempts, because we need to start thinking of models for the future.

## Njabulo Ndebele

I suspect that the problem is not in the use of the languages themselves, but in the fields and issues that are being explored. It is not the language that is bothering me, but the entire story. If the themes would be more challenging and elevating, we would not notice the problem of language. Take for example some of the plays in the Market Theatre.

## Akwe Amosu

It is important to get away from the segregation of the airwaves. The SABC should practise multi-lingualism on its channels. It should be possible to have programmes in two or three languages simultaneously, because there is an enormous number of people who speak several languages. The least multi-lingual group is the whites. This also should be applied to television and the written languages.

## Paddy Clay

What should also happen, is that news on television should not be translated from English and Afrikaans into another language. People should be allowed to write the news in their own language.

## Willie Currie

The national government has always been directing on radio and television to a white audience

and a white public opinion. That is why I want to comment on the kind of relations of power. At the moment it seems to me that public opinion is predominantly white, and in that sense the government will not have to do so much. If this was a Western democracy, the government would have fallen on Inkatha-gate. The situation on radio and television at the moment is such that the government can get away with it.

## Njabulo Ndebele

This seems to fit into the kind of logic in which the government still has not recognized a constituency outside that of the white one, the traditional one. We are here to try and find an alternative to this situation. This also is a question of national identity. Black people are not yet actors in the political arena.

## Anthony Duke

We have been attempting to get an FM frequency, because we would like to have a contemporary station that makes the money on FM, and then be able to tell the people about specialist language education and such, on medium-wave frequency.

## Don Ngubeni

In order to understand the problems of our programmes, we need to address the roots of the problems in South Africa. We are in the situation in which one culture was undermined and being made inferior. The colonial forces tried to destroy all aspects of so-called inferior cultures. That is why we are able to speak English or Afrikaans. We must recognise that there is strength in this diversity of our own languages and cultures; and the white dominant culture is coming to realise that these cultures are as important and not inferior, and that they have been influenced by these cultures as well. Dominant has always been a white sense of identity, not an African one. If we want to arrive at a national identity, all people have to learn to speak each other's language.

## John van Zyl

I want to make a comparison with Europe, where 'smaller' languages are threatened by English. Maybe we can learn a lesson from this. Maybe we should look at other countries where people have tried to solve this problem and learn from their experiences.

# Broadcasting and the Law in South Africa

Michael Markovitz, FAWO Broadcasting Commission

NOTE: The following proposals are not posed as final answers but merely an attempt to generate debate on the subject with more specificity. It represents only the skeleton of a much larger body of research and discussions in the FAWO Broadcasting Commission. I hope that, within the next three months, a more detailed discussion document on draft proposals for future legislation can be distributed to the delegates and organisations represented here.

Our central concerns at this conference relate to the repressive nature of South African broadcast law and how it should be changed. Only the South African government has ever regulated broadcasting, which it controls with the power to issue licences and administer public broadcasting by the two statutory pillars - the Radio Act of 1952 and the Broadcasting Act of 1976. These statutes have served to create monopolistic conditions in the broadcast sector.

## The Radio Act of 1952

In typical National Party terminological confusion, they incorrectly named these two statutes. The Radio Act should really be called the Broadcasting Act, as it provides for the control of broadcasting activities; and the Broadcasting Act should really be called the Broadcasting Corporation Act, as it only deals with the establishment of the SABC. But the confusion caused by the restriction on broadcasting activities is clearly more serious.

The Radio Act provides for the granting of broadcast licences, including exams which applicants must pass to obtain a certificate of proficiency. Both the Minister of Home Affairs and the SABC have the power to veto the granting of a broadcast licence, even if a certificate has been granted. Before a broadcast licence is granted, the Postmaster-General will determine the frequencies that may be used, the power limitations and the conditions that a station must comply with.

While the Act could have been used to open up the broadcast environment, its application has clearly had the opposite effect. The government/SABC veto has entrenched the SABC monopoly. Only M-Net has been granted a licence, but this can by no means be regarded as an opening up of broadcasting. Radio 702 and Capital 604 have been granted licences under homeland legislation.

Aspirant pirates should note that penalties are a R500 fine or six months imprisonment, confiscation of equipment and the cancellation of any licence, certificate or permit.

Clearly the act will need to be repealed in order to consolidate broadcast legislation wherein an Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA) would replace the Postmaster-General and the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications and the cabinet generally as the regulatory body for broadcasting.

## Broadcasting Act 73 of 1976

This Act established the SABC as a public corporation, defined its powers and activities, provided for its financial means and for the authority by which it is administered. The SABC board, which is handpicked by the State President in consultation with the Minister of Home Affairs, has included some powerful members of the Broederbond. The Act also provides that certain activities of the corporation require the approval of the Minister.

The Broadcasting Act, read in conjunction with the Radio Act, has ensured that the control of public broadcasting remains firmly in the hands of the Broederbond/National Party axis. The history of the SABC illustrates the danger of any government being solely responsible for the appointment of the public broadcaster's executive board. While the SABC is at great pains to stress its independence from government, the Broadcasting Act clearly provides for State President or Ministerial interference with aspects of the corporation's activities.

Questions to be considered for future legislation are:

- Who will appoint the Board of the SABC and the Director-General of the Corporation?
- Will the SABC be responsible to a Cabinet Minister, to the IBA or to Parliament?
- How will the SABC be funded? Will the present licence fee/advertising ratio continue, or will future funding come entirely from the fiscus?
- Should the present economic and management structure of the SABC be maintained?

## Interim Proposals and Legislative Amendments

We want changes in broadcast law in South Africa, yet the body empowered to make the law is not representative or democratic. The independent regulation of the broadcast sector and the re-regulation of broadcasting will contribute significantly to the creation of democratic conditions in South Africa. However, the lack of a democratic process during transition could obstruct the achievement of meaningful broadcast freedom. While there are urgent demands for the deregulation of broadcasting, there is also concern that a national constitutional settlement could take some time to achieve. A process is proposed in this regard:

### A. The Task Group's Report and the Legislative Process

1. The Task Group must disband after it has submitted its report to the cabinet.
2. The government must publish the report whether it agrees with it or not.
3. The government, in consultation with interested parties in the broadcast sector and both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations, should appoint a judge to preside over a public hearing on the report. (Acceptable judges might be Justice Kriegler or Justice Goldstone). This hearing should not last longer than two months.
4. All interested parties should comment on the report at the public hearing which could take the form of a commission of inquiry.
5. The judge will then make a report recommending future broadcast legislation on the basis of submissions received.

This mechanism will remove the unilateral policy-making role of the Task Group and will allow other parties, presently excluded from the legislative process, to comment before a public hearing presided over by a figure who is politically independent and has no vested interests in broad-

casting. It could produce amendments to broadcast legislation that will be founded on as much consensus, legitimacy and credibility as possible.

But is a total restructuring of broadcasting advisable before a democratic constitution is enacted? Should new broadcast legislation be passed and an IBA established? Should a process of deregulation and development be set in motion in an undemocratic context? I personally favour interim amendments until we have full democracy, as an IBA may become tainted by the complexities of operating in this transitional process. One proposal for an interim amendment to the Radio Act is the following:

### B. The Establishment of an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee

The All Party Conference could recommend an amendment to section 3 of the Radio Act. At the moment the section serves only the government's interests. This section reads now:

3. Radio Advisory Board. - (1) The Minister may appoint a board which shall be known as the Radio Advisory Board to advise the Postmaster-General on matters relating to the control of radio activities within the Republic. (2) The constitution of the the board shall be as prescribed in the Fourth schedule to this Act which reads as follows:

*The said board shall consist of a representative of: (i) the Department of Posts and Telegraphs; (ii) the Department of Defence; (iii) the Department of Transport; (iv) the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research; (v) the Electronic and Electrical Association of SA; (vi) the South African Broadcasting Corporation; (vii) two additional members if desired.*

Although this Board is even more narrowly constituted than the Task Group, SABC people have indicated that the RAB either no longer exists or never really served any purpose. Nevertheless, the section can be radically altered to provide for an acceptable interim broadcasting mechanism.

The section could be amended to read:

- “3. Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee -
- (1) The Minister shall appoint a committee which shall be known as the Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee.
  - (2) The Minister shall consult with the committee on matters relating to the control of broadcasting activities within the Republic.



*Television opening session, Violet Falkenburg, Prof. Njabulo Ndebele and Zohra Ebrahim*

(3) The constitution of the committee shall be decided by the All Party Conference and/or the Interim Government."

The IBCC could take responsibility for certain matters:

1. Provide for access to the SABC by APC participants;
2. Ensure that the SABC adheres to a Code of Conduct for Fair Broadcasting;
3. Recommend changes to personnel in the present management structure of the SABC;
4. Provide for limited 'interim deregulation'; and
5. Consider the findings of the public hearing on the Task Group's report and accordingly prepare legislation to be debated and enacted by a future democratic legislature.

The IBCC would therefore be the body that controlled broadcasting during transition. The Minister would merely give effect to the IBCC's decisions, and thus the control of broadcasting will be taken out of the hands of the government. The IBCC could veto any proposal made by the Minister, and the minister would be obliged to consult with the committee on every matter relating to the control of broadcasting activities.

### C. Independent Monitoring Commission

A monitoring commission made up of respected foreign broadcasters with an independent tradition could be appointed to ensure that the SABC adheres to a Code of Conduct during the transitional period. A secretariat would monitor all SABC television and radio broadcasts and produce weekly reports. This would be added pressure on the SABC to be an impartial observer of the political process. It would also, through sophisticated publicity, prevent any covert attempt by the National Party to use the SABC for its own ends.

This IMC would also report to the IBCC which would have the power to take action against the SABC or any of its personnel. Both these bodies would only be interim arrangements until a democratic constitution is enacted and new broadcast legislation is passed.

### A Future Constitutional Scenario

It has been suggested that an IBA and a new broadcasting dispensation should be delayed until a democratic constitution is enacted. This scenario includes the important structural variables of a Bill of Rights, a Constitutional Court, an Electoral Commission and an Ombudsman. This scenario anticipates the following:

1. There shall be an entrenched Bill of Rights

enforced by an independent judiciary with the Constitutional Court as the final arbiter on questions of fundamental rights and freedoms;

2. There will be a national public broadcaster, commercial broadcasters and community/local broadcasters;

3. The broadcast sector shall be regulated by an IBA, which shall operate under broadcast legislation and in accordance with the fundamental rights and freedoms protected in the Bill of Rights;

4. The IBA commissioners will be subject to investigations by the Ombudsman following complaints from members of the public;

5. An independent Electoral Commission will supervise every aspect of elections. The IBA will need to negotiate agreements with the Electoral Commission regarding access by political parties to the public broadcaster and fairness to all political parties by the political broadcaster.

### Communications Act

A Communications Act could repeal the Radio Act of 1952 and amend the relevant sections of the Post Office Act. This Act would consolidate broadcast legislation, although it would have to be read in conjunction with a new South African Broadcasting Corporation Act (which would reconstitute the SABC).

The IBA should be established by the Communications Act. The appointment and composition of the IBA, its function, powers, structure, jurisdiction, licencing policy and procedure and dispute procedure should be governed by the Communications Act. The Act can be modelled, in certain respects, on the American Communication Act, which established the FCC, and the Canadian Broadcasting Act, which established the Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Committee. It should, however, provide more access to interests groups in society, possibly with reference to aspects of the German model of broadcasting.

The South African IBA could be a two-tier organisation with an executive committee, under which will serve numerous specialist boards, sub-committees or bureaux.

The ten members of the executive committee should not be members of any political party and should have no financial interest in any IBA-related matter. The executive committee will delegate authority and responsibilities to bureaux, boards sub-committees and staff members. The appoint-

ment of the committee shall be made by the President, following nominations by members of the public and vetting by a multi-party parliamentary subcommittee on broadcasting. All meetings of the executive committee should be public, and minutes of the executive committee should be available for public scrutiny.

A number of sub-committees, boards or bureaux will be established by the executive committee to take charge of various areas including: Broadcasting and Development; Engineering and Technology; Policy Planning; Commercial Radio and Television; and Licence Applications.

The IBA will have functions and powers, namely:

- regulating communications by radio, television, wire, satellite and cable;
- allocating spectrum space for AM and FM radio and VHF and UHF television broadcast services;
- monitoring the radio spectrum to see that stations meet technical requirements;
- inspecting stations of all kinds; and
- enforcing provisions in the Act regarding local contact, etc.

A future Communications Act would also need to provide for the following:

- the right of access to public broadcasting facilities during elections (in accordance with specific guidelines);
- provisions on the preservation of broadcast recordings in a National Broadcasting Archive, which will be open to the public;
- an explicit prohibition on government or IBA abuse of radio frequencies;
- a provision which prohibits the IBA from attaching censoring conditions to broadcast licences;
- anti-monopoly clauses to prevent both state and private sector monopolisation of the airwaves;
- provisions which govern affirmative action and development in the broadcast sector, with specific sections on ownership, staffing, management and production;
- a prohibition on foreigners holding financial shares in national broadcasting companies or in creating such a broad-casting company on South African territory; and
- quota regulations on local content to stimulate local film, television and music industries.

The Act would also provide for dispute procedures. First there would be an IBA hearing on the dispute; then there could be an appeal to the Su-

preme Court in terms of broadcast legislation and/or the Bill of Rights, and finally an appeal to the Constitutional Court or Appellate Division. The members of the public, broadcasters and aspirant broadcasters would also have recourse to the office of the Ombudsman if it was felt that the IBA was abusing its power.

### South African Broadcasting Corporation Act

The SABC Act would repeal the Broadcasting Act and would have to be read in conjunction with the Communications Act.

While the SABC Act would retain the public corporation status of the SABC and certain sections in the present Broadcasting Act, numerous changes will have to be made with reference to government interference in the corporation and to the structure of the corporation itself.

The Act could provide:

- for the licensing of the SABC by the IBA;
- that the SABC would continue to be subject to the Minister of Home Affairs, subject to a number of provisos;
- that the Minister would have to call for nominations from members of the public before he appointed any member of the SABC Board and Director-General;
- that the appointment of any member of the SABC Board and Director-General by the Minister would be subject to public vetting by a multi-party sub-committee in a similar way to the manner in which US Supreme Court judges are vetted by the Senate. The committee would have the power to veto nominations made by the Minister;
- that the reasons for the dismissal of any member of the Board or the Director-General be made public in parliament;
- that members of the SABC Board, the Director-General and senior management would, as officials of a public corporation, be subject to investigations by the Ombudsman following complaints by the public concerning the abuse of power or unfair, insensitive, capricious, harsh, discourteous or unduly delayed treatment of any person;
- that the minister would be prohibited from requesting the SABC to broadcast programmes for reception in a country or territory outside South Africa. The government would be obliged to set up a bona fide government-funded external broadcaster, which would negotiate agreements with the

SABC on the same basis as any other broadcaster wishing to utilise the SABC's facilities. In other words, one needs to clearly separate government broadcasting from SABC broadcasting;

- that an acceptable Code of Conduct (under which the SABC would operate) would be established;
- that the SABC, according to the Communications Act which stipulates that the IBA must negotiate guidelines with the Electoral Commission on access by political parties to the public broadcaster during elections, must grant access in accordance with those guidelines.

## Broadcasting Law: Discussion

### Mike McCoy

About the future of **religious broadcasting**, I want to make three points. First, we need to secularise the national broadcasting corporation. That means that the broadcasting corporation needs to have taken from it its Christian-National basis. Secondly, we have to broaden the base of religious participation in the national broadcasting network. Once we have secularised it, we must grant equal and full access to all religious communities. Thirdly, we need to integrate concern for religious broadcasting into the structure of the broadcasting system. There would also be representatives of religious communities on the broadcasting board. I believe that religious broadcasting is a significant dimension of broadcasting. I say this on my own behalf, the SACC has not yet got to the point of reaching this kind of discussion.

### Don Pinnock

Why has there not been a legal test-case yet, since there is no doubt that the community radio means a lot?

### Anthony Duke

You are allowed to apply for a licence but you just don't get it. Should the time come for a test-case, they couldn't afford it; although I would like to make a test-case if Viljoen's suggestions are disappointing.

### Michael Markovitz

It is not the Act itself that creates the monopoly, but the implementation of the Act. If the Act itself was applied fairly, it would provide for the issuing of licenses to people. It might be worth the publicity to try a test-case, but you are not going to win it because their argument would be that this is preempting the situation, as they are going to de-regulate and they are going to make non-monopolistic conditions.

### Harris Cxaweni

I want to know how you can make sure that the frequencies are not solely for the capitalists. Michael said that it is not the capitalists that are the regulating body. And in the law there should be anti-monopolistic clauses; but also you can reserve frequencies for special kinds of radio, such as community radio.

### Edric Gorfinkel

What is it that makes radio a community radio? It seems to be a very interesting idea, but it has to be formulated more precisely. The first principle is the active participation of the community of listeners.

### Raymond Louw

Why is it impossible to get the SABC totally out of the hands of the government, and why should it be in the hands of the government? Why can't we transfer the SABC into a non-profit-making trust, and then set it up as an independent operating organisation? I would like to see that direction being explored rather than leaving the SABC in the hands of government.

### Carol Steinberg

It is quite useful for the public broadcasting corporation to have to account to parliament. In parliament democracy ultimately accounts to people. Also, Michael's idea of having a forum of a 100 people to have a meeting every two months is totally impossible.

### Michael Markovitz

The reason why I put the forum there is precisely to show that it is very difficult to make these kinds of broadcasting authorities in that kind of way. The problem is that you don't want to have any vested interests on your executive committee. And there needs to be some way of getting input from other perspectives or interest groups into the

The roles of the two systems are complementary. As a result the PBS should not have to compete with its commercial counterpart for revenue. Other ways of funding it might be:

- a system of licence fees from listeners and viewers;
- a licence fee from each of the commercial broadcasters;
- grants from large corporations; and
- grants from the central government.

The danger of grants and subsidies from the central government is that the hand that feeds one is not easily bitten.

The exact scope and nature of the state broadcaster is beyond my terms of reference today, but I would like to make one point. The state broadcaster must be independent of government, whatever its political views. For too long South Africa has laboured under a state broadcasting system, shackled to the exclusive interests of a minority. Vast sectors of the population have been kept badly informed, while one political party has used this monolith as its propaganda machine. In the interests of objectivity, credibility and democracy, this must not be repeated.

How then would a deregulated broadcasting industry open to the private sector work? First of all, contradictory though it may seem, there would have to be a regulatory body. The need for some form of regulation flows from the existence of the frequency spectrum. The frequency spectrum is, literally, the number of bands on your radio. This finite resource starts at one end of your dial and ends at the other, accomodating only a limited number of radio stations.

An independent broadcasting authority would issue licences and would control the licence holders. This broadcasting authority would have to be totally independent of government. Only in this way could we guarantee decisions free of party-political influence.

The members of the authority should be professionals in fields identified for representation. I propose that the authority be similar in concept to the body which controls broadcasting in the USA - the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). It would have a distinct set of rules - derived from a firm base of communications laws. It would regulate with a light touch and would also encourage the broadcasting industry to regulate itself. Clearly some form of self-regulation, through a

responsible body, is necessary - if only to keep the airwaves free of obscenity, incitement to crime and, of course, racism and sexism.

Such an idea is already in practice in the USA, where the FCC has moved increasingly in the direction of light regulation. This is also the case in the UK with the Radio Authority set to replace the Independent Broadcast Authority which, in turn, will result in lighter regulation.

To a limited extent, the deregulation process has already started in South Africa - if not in name, then certainly in deed. Radio 702 and Capital Radio are proof of this. They exist as non-SABC commercial entities, serving markets which are not limited to any of the so-called homelands. The radio market as a whole is moving towards regional and local stations. The nationally-based Springbok Radio faded into history, to be replaced by SABC regionals such as Radio Highveld, Radio Jakaranda and Radio Good Hope.

In a deregulated environment this segmentation of the market would intensify. Radio would be allowed to develop, to bring fresh clients to the airwaves, and to serve more communities and niche markets. Above all, deregulation would create a new broadcast industry, driven by natural market forces.

**And what should be the criteria for the granting of broadcast licences?** First and foremost: frequency availability. Deregulation must not mean technical chaos. Secondly, there must be evidence of competence by the applicant. It must be able to show business-ethical standing in the community. Also access to the required finance - broadcasting is not a cheap business to set up. And also the applicant must show evidence of an ability to operate a broadcast station.

**Once a licence is granted, how long should it be held for?** The regulatory body should review broadcast licences every three to five years. Licences should be revoked only as a result of transgression of licence conditions. Once the licence is granted - hands off. Let the licence holder decide what to broadcast. Jazz or gospel, rock or jive, news or comedy - its up to that particular station and its audience. Because if it doesn't broadcast what the audience wants, it will go elsewhere.

Any attempt to impose formats on stations will lead to distortion of the market. And nowhere is this more true than in the field of music, where trends come and go and audience tastes can rapidly change.



*Television opening session, satellite link with South Africa*

To be economically viable, broadcast operators must compete freely for listeners and advertisers in the same way that suppliers of goods and service compete for custom. Their product therefore must be flexible. The same applies to the language of broadcast. English or Afrikaans, Zulu, Tswana or Portuguese - each station will decide how best to meet the needs of its listeners and advertisers.

In the same way, market forces will decide if South Africa needs ten radio stations - or a hundred or even a thousand. Nor is there a magic formula to define such a quantity. The USA, for example, has 10,000 radio stations serving a population of 250 million. The European Community has several thousand, although many of them are Italian pirates. This for a population of 320 million. In the UK there will be some 100 stations by the end of this year, serving 55 million people. That number is expected to increase over the next few years as more licences are granted at the rate of about 30 per year.

Measured against any of those figures South Africa at present is grossly underserved by radio and TV.

### **Economic potential of the broadcast sector**

There is no doubt that the addition of new stations will also bring a significant economic benefit. At the very least it will expand the broadcasting sector of the national economy, expanding the advertising pie, stimulating areas served by advertisers and creating a certain number of jobs.

The SABC, in its 1989 annual report, showed a non-taxable operating surplus of R26.2 million. This it achieved with no less than four TV channels, 24 radio services and teledata. On asset value alone, estimated at a replacement cost of R1.3 billion, this return is economically unacceptable. Look abroad for the contrast. There you will see a profit potential with numerous radio and TV companies in the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand, operated privately and listed on the Stock Exchange. With profits comes a tax-revenue potential.

### **Other benefits**

**The benefits of deregulation are also social and cultural.** These include: the extension of information availability; the installation of the ethos of free speech; an improved quality of programming through increased competition and community



services, introduced by new independent broadcasters in the service of their markets and communities.

We have a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society. By creating a greater diversity of radio and TV services, deregulation will allow us to service the needs of that society.

I believe that the best interests of the greatest number of people will be served by a system whereby the state broadcaster, or PBS, exists alongside the commercial broadcaster.

I would like to end with a quotation: "In the entire history of human existence, no one has thought of anything more efficient than the free market. By mastering it, we will free ourselves from the abyss." Those are not the words of Milton Friedman but of a man who has experienced the alternative and can therefore speak with authority. He is Mr. Boris Fyodorov, Finance Minister of the Russian Federation.

## Media Ownership: Discussion

The address by J. E. Procter, Director General of Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation, during the conference, was made off the record, as were his subsequent comments.

The discussion focussed on the several issues:

- the role of public broadcasting versus commercial broadcasting and the relations between the public, private and community sector; the danger of forming cartels;
- the influence of advertising agencies on the policy of broadcasting companies;
- the amount of state influence on a public broadcasting service;
- the funding and restructuring of the SABC;
- the pros and cons of pirate radio stations;
- (re)nationalisation of the state assets if bantustans privatise broadcasting services.

There was agreement on the assumption that there should be a plural system in a future South Africa. However, the exact relations between the public and the commercial services were yet to be defined.

### Anthony Duke

Capital Radio has experienced tremendous problems in the twelve years of its existence. We are fully funded by the Transkei government, which gave us permission to look into the possibilities of privatizing. The idea is to establish a trust fund for the people of Transkei as soon as they become South African taxpayers.

### Michael Markovitz

Commercial services should be obligated to render public services, e.g., during general elections or in times of national disaster. Problems to be addressed are furthermore: taxation; the issuing of licences; and the allocation of frequencies.

### Moeletsi Mbeki

I am not convinced that advertisers wait for a radio station to do the right thing before addressing its audience. Look at the way Radio 702 has changed its focus on the elite market, which makes it possible to draw certain advertising. Advertisement in South Africa portrays the white 'mind-set' in South Africa. White people seem to be the role model, black women are merely viewed as domestic workers, and all women are portrayed as desirable objects standing next to a new series of BMWs, driven by white yuppies.

### Stan Katz

It was a strategy which we were forced to adopt in order to raise a forum, which in terms of audience worked very successfully. I don't believe that the advertisers really dictate a station's programming policy. Because if they did it would be short term.

### Don Ngubeni

People tend to ignore the historical reality of South Africa. We seem to be starting on the premise that South Africa is already a democratic society. I am worried because people are about to make mistakes in their analyses and therefore their strategies. One speaks about market forces, but we have never been in charge. There was no such thing as competition, since the majority of the population were denied the chance to compete.

The Afrikaners wanted to uplift their members and set up the Railways, Eskom, the Industrial Development Corporation, etc. Now why should we tie the hands of a future government because it will do the same things, but for the right reasons? How can we uplift the poor without government intervention?

### Stan Katz

It may be a bit optimistic to say that market forces should be in charge, and I agree that playing on equal level (no restrictions) is the most important.

**Don Ngubeni**

Look at the role played by radio pirates in Europe (for instance the Dutch Veronica station) and in the USA, which in fact forced opening up the airwaves through their activities.

**Willie Currie**

I fear that the Task Group is not addressing the questions of affirmative action. I suggest to set up a Media Development Board, which could address problems of resources and skills which people from the oppressed majority experience. This could be done in conjunction with progressive organisations and structures, churches or civics. I don't think it would be wise to give all frequencies out on commercial broadcasting. The underprivileged should have access to the air. We have to be creative. We cannot wait for the new government. We have to come up with strategies.

**Anthony Duke**

I very much agree. The system cannot be changed overnight. Let us beware of a change that 'his master's voice' change into 'his comrade's voice'.

**Carl Niehaus**

The current government does not have the legitimacy and authority. When they are going to privatize, the new government will consider re-nationalizing those assets.

**Anthony Duke**

I wouldn't like to see those assets going to a new South African government, whatever government it will be, in fact any asset of any homeland for that matter.

**Paddy Clay**

In the case of Capital, it depends whether this nationalisation will come. There will be nothing to nationalize if one leaves it and people are not able to develop it. Then it will be a theoretical exercise. Some places will not survive if there are no ways of supporting them. I speak specifically of Capital because of the political situation.

**Roy Williams**

There is no short-term policy. What are we going to do during the period of an interim government? Do you keep the funding within the broad-

casting cooperation? When there is a recession, it is not such a good idea. Black empowerment is necessary, but also worker empowerment and community empowerment. In the long run we may not be referring to the same groups.

**Akwe Amosu**

The market in itself is not creating variety. If people want the SABC to stay as big as it is, there is no way to escape advertising. The SABC gets 3/4 of its income out of ads. But it might be a segregated, accessible station. Having 23 stations is ridiculous. Six stations would be enough and would also offer public services.

## Task Group on Broadcasting in South and Southern Africa

Prof. Christo Viljoen, SABC, Task Group Chairman



Prof. C. Viljoen, Willie Currie

*Note: Prof. Viljoen, who was invited to the conference as head of the Task Group, also functions as Chairman of the Board of the SABC and as Dean of the Engineering Faculty of the University of Stellenbosch.*

The Broadcasting Task Group was established in March last year. The Task Group wants what is best for the listeners and the viewers.

The **present system** is as follows. There is no comprehensive policy on broadcasting and no specialized regulatory body. The potential broadcaster applies to the Minister responsible for broadcasting and the Cabinet decides. Four government departments are involved in broadcasting: Home Affairs; Post and Telecommunications, technical facilities; Foreign Affairs, TBVC countries; Development Aid, self-governing areas. Legislation and regula-

tion (historically) revolves around the SABC and does not accommodate other broadcasters.

In the meantime some **changes** have occurred. The South African reform process is underway. Broadcasting is an important element to assure democracy. New broadcasters have come (Bop, 702, Capital, M-Net). Many more people want to broadcast. There is a need for orderly management of the spectrum. De-politicizing broadcasting regulation is needed.

The Task Group **terms of reference** are to deal with the following:

- advise on broadcasting policy;
- guidelines for orderly development of the industry;
- available infrastructure and resources;
- new technology (such as satellites);
- possibility of a regulatory body;

- present system and legislation;
- receive submissions, consult experts; and
- report target date: July 1991.

The Task Group is hoping to finalize the report soon, around the 27th of August. It has not been signed yet.

**Key issues** in the process are: democratic principles in broadcasting, such as freedom of speech and government non-involvement in the content of broadcasting; and an independent broadcasting authority, de-politicising broadcasting regulation.

Possible **structure/functions** in broadcasting:

- licensing, spectrum management, promoting new technologies,
- decision-makers backed by expert staff;
- open meetings, public access;
- promote multiplicity of 'voices';
- cross ownership restrictions, competition;
- rule-making on political fairness;
- promoting localism.

In the present situation, many areas cannot receive all the services, especially the television services throughout the country. Maybe there is a possibility of using a new satellite system with dish antennas, but it is a very expensive system.

The Task Group is not in favour of cross ownership. So there is the question of whether or not another license should be given to M-Net, allowing further competition, considering this question of cross ownership. The Task Group is in favour of reflecting the local culture and its interests. These programmes should be made within the land itself.

The Task Group is thinking of new stations as for instance Radio Soweto, Radio Pretoria, etc. They can serve the local community. There is a clear need for this. The question is, are there any frequencies available? You have to move some stations from the air if you want new ones to enter.

I personally believe that there shouldn't be restrictions on party political/trade union ownership.

To the point of education, who should address those needs? The programmes should not be made by the SABC, but there is a major role for the SABC here.

### Public Service Broadcasting (PSB)

The following remarks on PSB can be made:

1. **Public ownership**, usually involving a large degree of financial autonomy; accountable to the

public through Parliament.

2. **Universal availability**, irrespective of geographical location; the coverage area is therefore national (country-wide), or regional when directed at a specific interest and/or cultural group.

3. PSB caters for **all interests and tastes**, with a commitment to a **balanced schedule** across the different programme genres, which will incorporate elements of **information, education, and entertainment**.

4. PSB also caters for **minorities**; this means that every member of the viewing or listening public will, at some time or another, find something of interest in its programmes.

5. There is a concern for the '**national identity and community**', implying a focus also on domestic programmes (as opposed to only programmes of 'universal' or 'international' approach, or of foreign sourcing).

6. PSB programme content should be **independent of vested interests and government**; political impartiality means political output must be **impartial and balanced**.

7. PSB should be mainly funded by the users thereof from **licences** and/or funds from the fiscus; license fee funding is a form of (poll) tax, which is levied on the owners of TV receivers. In most cases, with the notable exception of the BBC and Australian ABC, advertising is a common supplement to the licence fee income.

8. The emphasis in PSB is on **programming** rather than on audience numbers.

9. **Local production** is an obligation to transmit a minimum level of domestically-produced programmes.

### Commercial Broadcasting

The following remarks apply to commercial broadcasting:

1. Private ownership is usually accountable only to its shareholders (except in the UK, where ITV is also accountable to Parliament by virtue of the fact that it utilises the electro-magnetic spectrum, which is considered to be public property).

2. Profit driven: the aim of commercial broadcasting is to make a profit, and funding is derived from commercial sources. It does not claim any licence fee income, but is funded by either subscription fees and/or advertising and/or sponsorship.

3. Limited coverage: commercial services are normally targeted at profitable areas (except in the UK,



*The Panel: Michael Markovitz, Solly Rasebotsa and Raymond Louw*

where ITV is expected to cover the whole country).

4. There is a **selected spectrum of affordable and popular programmes** (mainly entertainment and recreational).

5. Generally speaking, commercial broadcasters are liable to fewer commitments to provide specific levels of balanced output, domestic origination and impartiality than their public service counterparts (once again with the exception of the UK, where ITV has the same PSB obligations as the BBC).

6. The programming focus is normally on broad market needs.

7. Commercial broadcasters are usually regulated on foreign and cross-media ownership.

8. The aim is to attract the maximum number of viewers and listeners.

Due to the Task Group there is better management and lower levels of information. There have been surveys on the general attitude of the public towards the SABC. The outcome is that the SABC is not doing too badly. One of the surveys was concerning the credibility of the primary source of news. Conclusions are that the majority of people believe most of what they hear on radio (47%) and television (43%). So news programmes are not doing too bad either. This shows that the SABC's image has improved, although of course the SABC

is not perfect!

During the satellite interview it was said that there is no documentary service within the SABC. Statistics show that on TV1, 5.1% of all programmes are documentaries.

## The Task Group: Discussion

A panel consisting of Raymond Louw (COM), Solly Rasebotsa and Michael Markovitz (FAWO Broadcasting Commission) started a round of questions for Prof. Viljoen.

### R. Louw

You told us that in view of the unrepresentative nature of your Task Group, you were considering recommending to the minister to establish a wide-ranging, full and open judicial inquiry into all aspects of broadcasting, which would enable all communities and interested parties to make representations. Does your report contain such a recommendation?

### C. Viljoen:

Yes.

### R. Louw

Would you accept suggestions from other interested parties on the terms of reference?

### C. Viljoen

There is going to be an enquiry, a full public debate.

### R. Louw

On the satellite transmission on Sunday, you said about the organisations which made their views available to your inquiry that the ANC, PAC and AZAPO did not give their views. What other organisations were invited and refused?

### C. Viljoen

The invitation was an open one. The different parties did not make submissions to the Task Group, only the Democratic Party.

### R. Louw

Did Inkatha give its views?

### C. Viljoen:

No.

### S. Rasebotsa

When the ANC, PAC and AZAPO did not come forward, did you not feel that your report would be deficient, if not inaccurate, because it was excluding so many important views from movements with huge followings throughout the country?

### C. Viljoen

It would not have made any difference, because we are depolitisizing broadcasting. And besides, they have themselves to blame, they were invited. But I guarantee that you are not going to be disappointed, you should read the final report.

### R. Louw

Did you not feel that there was a fundamental defect in your inquiry if so many groups refused to talk to you? There was evidence of mass opposition to your inquiry - the mass march on the SABC, the 10,000 signatures from SASPU, etc.

### C. Viljoen

You have to differentiate between the Task Group and the commission of enquiry. There were certain differentiations. There was a shortage of experiences so the Task Group was extended. I myself did not appoint the Task Group, I was only asked to chair it.

### R. Louw

Did you not feel that you should have suggested to the minister that the inquiry should be drastically altered to broaden its scope and representation, and so gain legitimacy? After all, you did make requests to the minister to alter aspects of the inquiry such as the composition, because of the 'shortcomings'. Why not a request that would have met the opposition and given credibility to your work?

### C. Viljoen

These complaints were made in October last year, so they were six months late. And besides that, a



*The Panel preparing for question time with the chairman of the Task Group: Michael Markovitz, Raymond Louw and Solly Rasebotsa*

Task Group that would meet the opposition would have required an immense Task Group. That is a very unworkable situation.

### M. Markovitz

This is not correct. The Task Group was appointed in March last year and the complaints about it started immediately. So you had plenty of time to go into the complaints.

### R. Louw

Also there were further appointments - it was nearly doubled from 8 to 15 members - why did you continue with the inquiry and not suggest a different course of action to the minister? You knew that its activities did not meet the criticisms of a considerable body of people.

### C. Viljoen:

That is all history now.

### S. Rasebotsa

Did it occur to you that the manner of the appointment of the Task Group and its composition was totally contrary to the spirit of negotiation between

the government and the ANC, which carries on with joint working committees? Surely, its secrecy and strong security element was hardly conducive to the 'spirit of the new South Africa' that President De Klerk spoke about?

### C. Viljoen

This was difficult because I am the chairman, and the chairman has nothing to say about the members of the Task Group. There are about 150 Task Groups in South Africa. All Task Groups have governmental authority.

### S. Rasebotsa

So is there any other Task Group concerning broadcasting?

### C. Viljoen

No, but it was my concern that certain people wanted political people in it, whereas the Task Group wants to depolitize broadcasting.

### S. Rasebotsa

Why was M-Net included as part of the inquiry - the only other broadcaster from within South Africa's

borders? Some of the others, such as 702 and Capital Radio, did appear before the inquiry and give their views. Should not M-Net have been placed in a similar category as merely one of those appearing before the inquiry? Indeed, M-Net was later elevated to having two representatives.

**C. Viljoen**

Bop Radio and Capital Radio were given licenses by the governments of Bophuthatswana and Transkei. They don't operate under the Radio or the Broadcasting Act.

**M. Markovitz**

Do you think it would be appropriate for the government to appoint an IBA to operate in the manner you have described, when the country is in a process of transformation to a democratic constitution?

**C. Viljoen**

That is for the government to decide.

**M. Markovitz**

Given the importance of such a body and its need to be credible, how do you propose its members should be appointed?

**C. Viljoen**

You can look at, for example, the United States of America. The Task Group will report to the public, and its report will be openly discussed by the public. After that, this will be laid down in a settlement.

**M. Markovitz**

Will any of these members be party-political representatives?

**C. Viljoen**

Their application depends to a large extent on whether they are 'vakkundig' as experts, not as political members.

**M. Markovitz**

What will be the licensing policy and procedures of IBA in granting licences? The Radio Act provides for broadcasters to be examined to determine their proficiency. Will these continue and who will conduct them? And will their financial standing be a factor?

**C. Viljoen**

answered OFF RECORD.

**M. Markovitz**

If an applicant is rejected will he/she have recourse to the Court?

**C. Viljoen**

They will have recourse to all decisions, they can go to the Court.

**M. Markovitz**

Have you made any specific recommendations against monopoly ownership or cross-holdings by newspapers, ways to break up the M-Net cartel?

**C. Viljoen**

The Task Group did not go into such detail, we did not go into the future of the SABC versus M-Net. A new dispensation concerning broadcasting licences should be negotiated.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Now we would like to ask you about your findings on specific aspects of broadcasting. Who will appoint the chairman, the board and director-general of the SABC? Will the SABC be responsible to a cabinet minister and parliament, or the IBA?

**C. Viljoen**

Again, we did not go into such details. You should be making inputs on such details.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Could you tell us what recommendations were made about public service broadcasting?

**C. Viljoen**

We don't want duopoly, we want more competition.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Perhaps you should explain what you mean by public service broadcasting?

**C. Viljoen**

It is my personal belief that there should be no more than ten services. Another possibility is to have regional broadcasters, so more people can have access to the airwaves. I plead for a utility, non-profitable company. The SABC may be one of the

representatives, there should be a broadly-based representation.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Can you tell us what recommendations were made regarding educational broadcasts and services?

**C. Viljoen**

Education has to be left to high schools. The SABC is only carrying the signal, like it is doing for instance for the religious programmes on Sunday. They are using the SABC facilities.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Are you going to leave a spare spectrum for community radio?

**C. Viljoen**

Once again these are details that we did not get around to spinning out. My personal opinion is that we should have a kind of approach like in the United States. We parcel the spectrum and specifically allocate it. One for community radio, one for education, such as a local university, one for a public broadcaster and one for a commercial broadcaster.

Rest of answer: OFF RECORD

**S. Rasebotsa**

But then how do you define community radio?

**C. Viljoen**

A local radio station which belongs to the local community in ways and means as they see fit. And with say 20,000 Rand you have a local station going. Alternatively, to make ways and means possible with the utility organisation providing the distribution facilities, the network itself. I am a technical man and there are no technical limitations to allowing more broadcasters. Technically, the problem can be solved, but this question goes beyond technicalities.

**S. Rasebotsa**

But then how should they be funded?

**C. Viljoen**

Community radio should be funded by the community itself. But the Task Group did not go into details on this. It depends on a future third level governmental dispensation in South Africa, which

I cannot foresee at this stage because I am not involved in the political process; and this will be negotiated. But let us assume that there will be a third level local government responsible for the local area; I would assume it has access to taxes and directly from the people living in the community or an allocation from the first level of government, a form of cross-subsidisation. Community radio would also allow the local shop-owner to advertise.

**S. Rasebotsa**

What about creating training policies and the provision of training facilities for black people, both in radio and TV, on a meaningful scale?

**C. Viljoen**

For the infrastructure I refer to the transmitter network. At the moment transmitters belong to the SABC. The question is if they should always belong to the SABC. Maybe they could be privatized, but I say this with great caution because there are no such plans. Any broadcaster could be a combination of three things: he could be a broadcaster; he could be a signal distributor; and he could be a programme-maker. The SABC is all three. M-Net is only a broadcaster; it doesn't own transmitters; they utilise the SABC's transmitter network. They are not a programme-maker because they get all their programmes from outside. It could be an open debate whether the SABC should be all three, but that is a question the Task Group did not address.

**M. Markovitz**

Then in your personal opinion on the subject of privatisation, would you say that possibly an IBA should run that network; or do you think that if the commercial sector owned that network, there would not be the chance of it being used and monopolised to exclude people, like the state has excluded people?

**C. Viljoen**

It is my personal opinion that the IBA should not own that transmitter network. It should be a utility company, one trying to make a profit in the end. What should happen is that you would have a choice between pursuing your own transmitter and making use of a utility company providing such a network for you.

**M. Markovitz**

On the question of religion and religious broadcasting, has a decision been taken to end the 'Christian National' character of the SABC, which as a philosophy has been strongly opposed by educationalists? Has the Task Group considered religious pluralism in South Africa?

**C. Viljoen**

The Task Group did not address the question of broadcasting religion and the content of religious services at all.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Did the Task Group consider the question of a language policy?

**C. Viljoen**

No, there are no recommendations other than what you have seen. All surveys indicate that especially on local services, the people still insist on hearing the programmes in their own languages. That is why the SABC runs nine black radio services in different languages. The local services should attend to the needs of the local languages. But the Task Group did not discuss the language issue as such.

**S. Rasebotsa**

There is the issue of skills. Will the SABC discuss the issue of training?

**C. Viljoen**

No, we did not go into details of training at all. I personally believe it is something that must be addressed. There is a shortage of skills. As an educationalist, I have even greater concerns; I believe that we should address the problem at its source, we must start with programmes concerning mathematics for schoolkids who would like to tune into such programmes.

**S. Rasebotsa**

In view of the fact that South Africa is in a transitional phase and involved in negotiations, how does the Task Group see the status of the SABC, its role and its operations?

**C. Viljoen**

The Task Group defined what a public service broadcaster should be, and what a commercial

broadcaster should be. I think that we have the best definition that I have come across. The SABC has a public broadcasting service function to fulfill. This does not mean boring programmes on the sex life of insects. It should be popular programming, a wide diversity of programmes (sports, religion, culture, education, etc.) I believe that the SABC will continue, and that there will always be an SABC for the future as a public service broadcaster; and opposed to that, as we already have, M-Net as a commercial broadcaster.

**S. Rasebotsa**

I specifically mean during the period of transition, when we are having a period of negotiations between the government and the democratic forces in South Africa. The SABC is still heavily controlled by government. Didn't the Task Group address the status of the SABC in this process?

**C. Viljoen**

Yes, you will find a small section even on such questions as news, news bias and impartiality. The SABC is being criticised by every single organisation in South Africa, but that proves that I am not biased. The problem is that the SABC at the present moment has changed course immensely. When I took on the chairmanship of the SABC, it was under the condition that there would be no instructions from the State President. I can vouch that to this day no cabinet minister has been giving instructions to me. I have received threatening letters from the far right about the fact that the SABC is giving voice to a man like Mr. Niehaus. We are as unbiased as can be.

**R. Louw**

Have you made any recommendations as to the timing of the implementation of your recommendations?

**C. Viljoen**

I hope as soon as possible. We are hoping to give a copy to the minister on the 27th, providing that all the members of the Task Group have signed it by then. And it will be made public hopefully before the end of the year. The first implementation, I believe, could not happen before the middle or the end of next year.

I also believe that it is a very good report, and I want to ask you to judge the Task Group on its

report and not on its composition. But if you believe that you can improve on what the Task Group is recommending, please do so. Also, your task will be to come forward with suggestions regarding areas where we said that that should be discussed in further detail. We did not have the time, money and means to investigate such aspects in fine detail.

**R. Louw**

How do you suggest this investigation be carried out, because there is a great deal of detail lacking in this report. You have left the decisions either up to the government or, as you are now suggesting, that it should be further investigated.

**C. Viljoen**

We have addressed all the broad principles that ought to be addressed and make basic decisions. After that, it is a long and hard work to fill in all the details. We have gathered all the information, but we did not have time to go into such detail.

**R. Louw**

Now I request you to change your hat to that of SABC chairman: In view of the past conduct of the SABC - and I am referring to its being a propagandist for apartheid and other government policies - what steps have been taken, or do you plan to take, to change the character of the SABC and its operations to ensure that real change will take place, and that the SABC will be impartial and balanced? We have noted that there has been no significant change in the personnel, who studiously supported apartheid and are now expected to deal fairly with apartheid's opponents.

**C. Viljoen**

The SABC has been restructured completely. All the top five positions have changed. There is only one left over from the old regime; Mr. Smuts, the technical man. The SABC was not propagandistic during my time as chairman. I am proud of the fact that the SABC at the present moment is as unbiased, factual, objective as can be. And the public out there perceives it to be, as I told you.

Now, I have asked: bring me any programme that has promoted apartheid. They could not find one. And I guarantee you that during my chairmanship of the SABC it has not happened.

**R. Louw**

Foreign Minister Botha has admitted that the government ruthlessly tried to influence the outcome of the Namibian elections by covertly funding SWAPO's opponents and mounting a propaganda campaign against SWAPO itself. It has also acted in support of Inkatha - and we know that the SABC played an important role in those processes. What guarantee can you give that the SABC will not be party to further activity against the democratic movements in South Africa, especially as Botha shows no repentance and says he would do it all again?

**C. Viljoen**

I am sorry but my information does not support that. The normal programmes of the SABC went forth. The moment Namibia became independent, we even went so far as to change intent, because the people in the North Western Cape were complaining about the coverage on short wave there. And when you are talking about Radio RSA, it is not under my jurisdiction. Radio RSA is not one of the services of the SABC. We provide the technical services, the transmitters, etc.

**M. Markovitz**

Is it true that senior SABC employee Professor Hennie Human has created a company, Hennie Human (Pty) Ltd, and that he has been granted a 30% discount on payment for the use of Auckland Park facilities in the first year, 20% discount in the second year, 10% in the third year, and finally parity in the fourth year? What is the position of Human at the SABC?

**C. Viljoen**

He is in charge of Production House Two, so he is five levels down from the top. He has no say in any script, whatsoever. And I am totally unaware of such particulars, they are management decisions. If it has happened, then it has not been reported to the Board. Yes, we have restructured the corporation into business units. None of these have been formed into Pty Ltds except one or two now delivering to outside organisations. We do have Boards of Directors of these companies, but not as private companies. The Production House Two has been restructured, they will probably get rid of some of their staff.

**M. Markovitz**

On the question of religion and religious broadcasting, has a decision been taken to end the 'Christian National' character of the SABC, which as a philosophy has been strongly opposed by educationalists? Has the Task Group considered religious pluralism in South Africa?

**C. Viljoen**

The Task Group did not address the question of broadcasting religion and the content of religious services at all.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Did the Task Group consider the question of a language policy?

**C. Viljoen**

No, there are no recommendations other than what you have seen. All surveys indicate that especially on local services, the people still insist on hearing the programmes in their own languages. That is why the SABC runs nine black radio services in different languages. The local services should attend to the needs of the local languages. But the Task Group did not discuss the language issue as such.

**S. Rasebotsa**

There is the issue of skills. Will the SABC discuss the issue of training?

**C. Viljoen**

No, we did not go into details of training at all. I personally believe it is something that must be addressed. There is a shortage of skills. As an educationalist, I have even greater concerns; I believe that we should address the problem at its source, we must start with programmes concerning mathematics for schoolkids who would like to tune into such programmes.

**S. Rasebotsa**

In view of the fact that South Africa is in a transitional phase and involved in negotiations, how does the Task Group see the status of the SABC, its role and its operations?

**C. Viljoen**

The Task Group defined what a public service broadcaster should be, and what a commercial

broadcaster should be. I think that we have the best definition that I have come across. The SABC has a public broadcasting service function to fulfill. This does not mean boring programmes on the sex life of insects. It should be popular programming, a wide diversity of programmes (sports, religion, culture, education, etc.) I believe that the SABC will continue, and that there will always be an SABC for the future as a public service broadcaster; and opposed to that, as we already have, M-Net as a commercial broadcaster.

**S. Rasebotsa**

I specifically mean during the period of transition, when we are having a period of negotiations between the government and the democratic forces in South Africa. The SABC is still heavily controlled by government. Didn't the Task Group address the status of the SABC in this process?

**C. Viljoen**

Yes, you will find a small section even on such questions as news, news bias and impartiality. The SABC is being criticised by every single organisation in South Africa, but that proves that I am not biased. The problem is that the SABC at the present moment has changed course immensely. When I took on the chairmanship of the SABC, it was under the condition that there would be no instructions from the State President. I can vouch that to this day no cabinet minister has been giving instructions to me. I have received threatening letters from the far right about the fact that the SABC is giving voice to a man like Mr. Niehaus. We are as unbiased as can be.

**R. Louw**

Have you made any recommendations as to the timing of the implementation of your recommendations?

**C. Viljoen**

I hope as soon as possible. We are hoping to give a copy to the minister on the 27th, providing that all the members of the Task Group have signed it by then. And it will be made public hopefully before the end of the year. The first implementation, I believe, could not happen before the middle or the end of next year.

I also believe that it is a very good report, and I want to ask you to judge the Task Group on its

report and not on its composition. But if you believe that you can improve on what the Task Group is recommending, please do so. Also, your task will be to come forward with suggestions regarding areas where we said that that should be discussed in further detail. We did not have the time, money and means to investigate such aspects in fine detail.

**R. Louw**

How do you suggest this investigation be carried out, because there is a great deal of detail lacking in this report. You have left the decisions either up to the government or, as you are now suggesting, that it should be further investigated.

**C. Viljoen**

We have addressed all the broad principles that ought to be addressed and make basic decisions. After that, it is a long and hard work to fill in all the details. We have gathered all the information, but we did not have time to go into such detail.

**R. Louw**

Now I request you to change your hat to that of SABC chairman: In view of the past conduct of the SABC - and I am referring to its being a propagandist for apartheid and other government policies - what steps have been taken, or do you plan to take, to change the character of the SABC and its operations to ensure that real change will take place, and that the SABC will be impartial and balanced? We have noted that there has been no significant change in the personnel, who studiously supported apartheid and are now expected to deal fairly with apartheid's opponents.

**C. Viljoen**

The SABC has been restructured completely. All the top five positions have changed. There is only one left over from the old regime; Mr. Smuts, the technical man. The SABC was not propagandistic during my time as chairman. I am proud of the fact that the SABC at the present moment is as unbiased, factual, objective as can be. And the public out there perceives it to be, as I told you.

Now, I have asked: bring me any programme that has promoted apartheid. They could not find one. And I guarantee you that during my chairmanship of the SABC it has not happened.

**R. Louw**

Foreign Minister Botha has admitted that the government ruthlessly tried to influence the outcome of the Namibian elections by covertly funding SWAPO's opponents and mounting a propaganda campaign against SWAPO itself. It has also acted in support of Inkatha - and we know that the SABC played an important role in those processes. What guarantee can you give that the SABC will not be party to further activity against the democratic movements in South Africa, especially as Botha shows no repentance and says he would do it all again?

**C. Viljoen**

I am sorry but my information does not support that. The normal programmes of the SABC went forth. The moment Namibia became independent, we even went so far as to change intent, because the people in the North Western Cape were complaining about the coverage on short wave there. And when you are talking about Radio RSA, it is not under my jurisdiction. Radio RSA is not one of the services of the SABC. We provide the technical services, the transmitters, etc.

**M. Markovitz**

Is it true that senior SABC employee Professor Hennie Human has created a company, Hennie Human (Pty) Ltd, and that he has been granted a 30% discount on payment for the use of Auckland Park facilities in the first year, 20% discount in the second year, 10% in the third year, and finally parity in the fourth year? What is the position of Human at the SABC?

**C. Viljoen**

He is in charge of Production House Two, so he is five levels down from the top. He has no say in any script, whatsoever. And I am totally unaware of such particulars, they are management decisions. If it has happened, then it has not been reported to the Board. Yes, we have restructured the corporation into business units. None of these have been formed into Pty Ltds except one or two now delivering to outside organisations. We do have Boards of Directors of these companies, but not as private companies. The Production House Two has been restructured, they will probably get rid of some of their staff.

**M. Markovitz**

If we ask you to fire people who are closely associated with the old regime, as you call it, would you do so?

**C. Viljoen**

I cannot. The Group Chief Executive can fire them. But it is not as simple as that. The Board is concerned with broad policies. It delegates its management to the Group Chief Executive, etcetera to down below.

**S. Rasebotsa**

Would you support the establishment of an independent media institute?

**C. Viljoen**

Yes. The SABC already has extensive in-house training facilities. And it is ongoing at the present moment outside of the SABC. They are all black people.

**M. Markovitz**

Regarding the discovery of widespread corruption in the sports department, can you give assurances that it has not spread to other departments?

**C. Viljoen**

You are mentioning widespread corruption, but there are two people that appear in court for things they did outside the SABC. We could not find any indication of any financial loss to the SABC.

**R. Louw**

What collaboration is there between the SABC and the police? For instance, what is the working relationship between the SABC news department and the SAP Video Unit? Do the SABC and the police have access to each other's archival material?

**C. Viljoen**

No, I am unaware of any exchange of programmes. As far as the SABC's material is concerned, we are willing to provide news material that appeared on screen. We will not provide you or anybody else, including the police, with off-screen material.

**After the panel, discussion was open to the floor.**

**Stan Katz**

Will the SABC continue its commercial activities,

which are best left to the private sector, or will the SABC scale down some of its activities?

**C. Viljoen**

I believe that the SABC belongs to the public and its commercial activities are part of the PSB mission of the SABC, so there we probably differ in view. And yes, the SABC does require cross-subsidisation of its services. We try to eliminate that, but if the SABC was to close down its loss-making services it would have to close down TV2 and 3. You cannot do that. You must utilise your surpluses of TV1 to also pay for the losses on TV 2 and 3. In the end we break even. The SABC has no intention of extending its services at the present moment. Rest of answer: OFF RECORD.

**Mark Gevisser**

You stated categorically that no minister has ever given instructions about the news content to you or to your decision making staff. Can I remind you of a recent incident that made your own staff at 'Agenda' very unhappy indeed. On Thursday night before my newspaper was to break the Inkatha story, 'Agenda' got wind of it and called my editor to have an open debate with Captain Coetzee of the Ministry of Law and Order. At the very last moment the debate was cancelled at a direct intervention from Minister Vlok. I cannot help but wonder if the public debate around Inkatha-gate would have taken place on the SABC at all if the press over that weekend didn't make such a stink about the first 'Agenda' cover up.

**C. Viljoen**

Yes, I inquired about it; and I have had in writing from Mr. Christo Kritzinger, who is responsible for news, that he took the decision himself without interference. He admits that he did consult with Mr. Vlok, as he did with the Inkatha people, he spoke to both sides. But once again, the debate the following Sunday was a magnificent example of what free speech is all about. And you will admit that Mr. Vlok had a very difficult time from your editor and we broadcasted it. If there had been any at all of that type of interference, Mr. Vlok would have stopped that broadcast. So I investigated it, and if there had been an instruction to stop it I could not get any evidence of that.

**Mark Gevisser**

So Mr. Vlok consulted both sides, and you replied that both sides were the government and Inkatha. Well, there is another side which he didn't consult, the ANC, who were the victims of this campaign.

**Anthony Duke**

I would like to ask you a question in your position as chairman of the SABC. Would you deny that the SABC had any say in a decision taken by the South African Post and Telecommunications Department in not granting Capital Radio a bi-directional data rate digital microwave channel between Johannesburg and Durban, or for that matter any previous applications for Post Office services? A high-ranking Post Office official in Pretoria has informed me, and he wishes to remain anonymous, that our file carries a flag which indicates that any application we make must be referred to the SABC for approval. In other words, does the SABC interfere in Post and Telecommunications decisions?

**C. Viljoen**

I am totally unaware of any such interference. If it happened, it happened at a level below consultations with me. I was told recently that Capital Radio asked for a Post Office line between Durban and somewhere else. It was an application made to the Minister for Post and Telecommunications, Viljoen. Apparently he referred it to the Minister for Home Affairs, Gene Louw, who referred it back. He said it is not a broadcasting matter, it is a telecommunications matter. But I was not consulted about it.

**Don Ngubeni**

About depoliticisation, I find a contradiction in the sense that the appointing committee is political, the authority of the Task Group derives from a political body, it reports to a political body. The decision-making body and the implementing group are political. Throughout our history, we as black people of South Africa feel that we have been left out from decision-making. And the decision-making body should recognise that South Africa is not a white country, South Africa is composed of other people. I am afraid because as we are talking about change, you are still doing things in the same old way. You have never once asked whether we agree or don't agree with you. And finally, how will we begin to solve the problems without accepting the

fact that the South African situation is highly politicised?

**C. Viljoen**

Yes, politics permeates everything, I agree with you. In the end I had one or two options: to disband the Task Group myself because I didn't believe in it; or to try and promote those things which I do believe in, and that includes democratisation of the airwaves; and I think I know something about regulation, about broadcasting and about the technical aspects. And the point you have made illustrates my concern about what is going to happen hereafter. I ask you to judge the Task Group on the basis of its report. And if there is any improvement on what we are proposing, I'll be the happiest person on earth.

**Carl Niehaus**

I believe there is actually a third option open to you as chairman of the Task Group, besides the two you have mentioned; you can recommend that this report does not go to the undemocratic authority that has to implement it. We want this report to be one of the opinions that will be made available to public hearings, where all other opinions come from the people of South Africa that were not represented on this Task Group. The problem is that in the interim period there can also be an underlying hidden agenda, that you want to move as fast as possible and change the landscape of broadcasting in order to make it very difficult for a democratically-elected government to implement really what the people want, rather than what a small group wants. Our concern is to prevent that situation.

**C. Viljoen**

Yes, that is an alternative way. I would like to be such a chairman of the SABC that whichever is the government of the day, they will be equally happy or unhappy with me as chairman of the SABC. And I believe that the recommendations of the Task Group will stand on their own feet, despite the government of the day. These are the basic things to establish a broadcasting system in an orderly way. And any government in the future has the power to completely change the direction. But your input is a bit late at this stage and should have been made a bit earlier.



**Njabulo Ndebele**

We don't seem to be succeeding in getting across a deep-seated concern, that we pay sufficient attention to the context in which the Task Group is carrying out its work. The report is going to be released in a political context which is made in South Africa today, and which is very problematic. The problem is where the message is located. Sometimes the message is in the content, and sometimes the message is in the form in which the content is carried. In this case the message is in the form. The report is emerging in a political climate that is full of problems.

You have given us copious examples of the United States, the BBC and Australia, but can you give us insight into the situation in Nigeria, in Brazil, in India or in Tanzania for that matter? For these are areas in which a large constituency in South Africa would be interested. What were your findings there?

**C. Viljoen**

Professor Ndebele, you will find a full chapter on broadcasting in other parts of the world, and one chapter on the continent of Africa. We looked at how it is structured and how it works. We could not find anywhere a recipe that we could relocate and transfer to South Africa in toto. The situation in the country is different to that in any other country, the geographical situation is different, the division of languages is different, technically there are different problems. So we had to come up with a formula to the specific problems and needs of South Africa.

**Paddy Clay**

The SABC is going to be the only national broadcaster in the immediate future. And you also said that the SABC has an obligation as a public service broadcaster. Then are you considering extending the Board of the SABC to include a more representative body of people from socially-relevant groups? I am thinking in particular of the fact that at one stage the female population of South Africa was represented by Reeve Forman. I hope that you will make an extension of the Board of Control.

**C. Viljoen**

We do not appoint ourselves, we are appointed by Cabinet. We did study the situation elsewhere in the world, and in Australia there is one representative in what is their equivalent of the Board that

comes from the feminist groups. My personal opinion is that the SABC should be reconstituted to be more representative of the people. A possible recipe: somebody from the educational area, the trade unions, somebody from the sports field, the feminist movement, although I am not aware of anyone as such in South Africa, but I have got good news ...

**Zohra Ibrahim**

I am sorry but that is very bad, it is actually impossible that the head of the SABC cannot be aware of the women's organisations and the women's movement in South Africa.

**C. Viljoen**

I am sorry, but I said feminist organisations. I have no quarrel with you. But I have good news for you, it is no longer Mrs. Forman that's on the SABC. We now have three ladies on the SABC: there is Prof. Elise Botha; there is Mimi Coetsee; and there is Mrs. Maponya. So at least the number has increased by 300%.

**Paddy Clay**

How you are going to handle the SABC? I am talking as a representative of the South African Union of Journalists. You spoke about neutrality and changes in the Chief Executive's position. Many of the staff members of the SABC believe that there will be no neutrality until there is a putsch of most of the editorial staff of the SABC. And that can only come about if there is a different input into the SABC. Have you recommended that government thinks very seriously about recommending socially-relevant groups, and I do not mean women only, but people who represent South Africa.

**C. Viljoen**

answered OFF RECORD.

**Jon Berndt**

We are concerned about the implications of satellite broadcasting. Could you tell us more about the thinking in that regard? At the moment the SABC is using the Intel Sat System, and we were informed that this system is at the end of its lifetime. So the SABC will have to consider some other satellite to take its place. Who is going to control the link-up?

**C. Viljoen**

To date, communications of this type have been under the authority of the Post Office. And they are (this is the situation internationally) officially represented at the International Telecommunications Union. The Post Office in South Africa has got the contract with Intel Sat in Washington. But I expect that re-regulation is going to happen eventually, and that whoever is the broadcaster will control the up-link.

**Joe Mngadi**

Don't you think that the SABC owes an apology to the victims of apartheid for neglecting to report on the sufferings and the victimisation?

**C. Viljoen**

Well, that is something I will pass to the Board.

**Libby Lloyd**

What do you actually mean by investigation?

**C. Viljoen**

As far as news is concerned, there is a very comprehensive guide on handling of news in the SABC. And quite frankly, if you look at that, it pertains to such things as not to be biased, to be representative, to give a fair hearing to both sides. We have seen the results, we are doing better than the newspapers in South Africa. In the end, bias is in the eye of the beholder, that we should realise. I have already had a case where IDASA said there was an interview on radio which was contrary to their best interests, and they were not given an opportunity to have a say as well. I immediately investigated and I agreed with IDASA; and I instructed Mr. Harmse to give IDASA some time on Radio South Africa. That sort of redress is being done.

**Justinus Maluleke**

Can you give us the present ratio between the black and white employees of the SABC?

**C. Viljoen**

No, I cannot give you that ratio. Race is not indicated. In Radio Zulu, Radio Xhosa, Radio Lebowa it will probably be 95% black. Most white people there will be the technicians. On Radio South Africa I would say it is 100% white. We are aware of the fact that too many white faces were seen, and now 30 black people are going through the Univer-

sity of South Africa for managerial training courses, to prepare them for management positions in the SABC.

**Lumko Mtimde**

Will you consider giving airtime to Radio Freedom?

**C. Viljoen**

Well, if Radio Freedom can make use of the spare capacity; there are many other people who want to make use of the spare capacity of the SABC.

**Akwe Amosu**

You stated that you are committed to political impartiality in the coming months, so you would have no objection to an interim monitoring commission in the course of the political negotiations, to ensure that impartiality is maintained across the South African media, not only in the present but also during the democratic elections.

**C. Viljoen**

I have said that I would like to be chairman of the SABC in such a way that whichever party or government is in control, they will be equally happy or unhappy with me as chairman. And if it is negotiated and agreed on by all parties, I am willing to have an interim monitoring commission.

## Fact-Finding Delegations in Europe

One of the reasons for organising this conference in the Netherlands, was to create the possibility for participants to get acquainted with Dutch media organisations and initiatives, as well as with other West European systems and broadcasters. The United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark were visited by some delegates before the conference started.

### Visit to the United Kingdom by Jon Berndt, Willie Currie, Michael Markovitz and Carol Steinberg

We met with a Business Policy Adviser of the Policy and Planning Unit BBC, who described how they were planning to mix in-house production with their 25% independent production quota. He claimed that there were advantages in both. In-house production offered security guaranteed by the money obtained from licensing fees, which people paid directly to the BBC - only 8% of the TV audience did not pay their license fee - while independent production was far more efficient.

In terms of dealing with the competition for audiences with other broadcasters, the BBC has decided to concentrate on what it could do better than its competitors, such as large national sport events. Another advantage the BBC had over its competitors was the fact that it could negotiate long-term contracts and put up money for the development of ideas on the basis of the money from licence fees. The commercial stations were always subject to the fluctuations in the economy, which influence the amount of money available from advertising.

We then met with John Wilson, Controller, Editorial Policy. His main point was that there should be an independent controlling body overseeing the transitional period. He stressed that if one went from a multi-party controlling/overseeing body, then one would be sowing the seeds for political control of broadcasting. He argued that the different political parties and organisations should

be given equal air time on a regular time slot each week.

Our next meeting was with the Radio Training section of the BBC where we were told that they offer a 12 week training course made up of production skills training and a short section on training trainers. These take place twice a year and are aimed mainly at people already involved in broadcasting. These courses cost in the region of £16,000 per person. They also offer one month training courses in other countries and are prepared to send out experienced trainers.

BBC Woodlands, BBC Enterprises was a totally different experience of glass, steel and free enterprise. The Head of Development, World Service Television spoke about their plans to broadcast BBC news to other countries in the world. He got very excited about co-productions and said that this was a major "growth area".

We spoke to the Head of the Engineering Information Department about the costs and problems in satellite broadcasting. The Task Group has been telling us that there is no need to set up any regulating body, as the future in broadcasting was in the direction of an open sky policy given the new developments in satellite broadcasting and that people in South Africa would be able to receive the signal on their domestic bunny or roof ariel. This does not seem to be possible, given that one would need an extremely powerful satellite to be able to do this. The Astra Satellite - which costs approximately US\$ 300 million to put up - needs a dish with a minimum diameter of 60 centimeter. If the dish is to be smaller than this, it would require a bigger and more expensive satellite. SES Satellite company, which put up Astra, has been selling advertising at about £ 4 million per year per channel and there are 48 channels on the satellite. We obviously do not have the same population density as Western Europe, so there is no way in which we would be able to attract the same amount of advertising revenue.

It is clear that we need to find out what satellites

there are which SABC could use and which frequencies are available, but also very importantly, who will control the link-up even if we can consider the possibility of satellite. Whoever controls the link-up will also control the broadcasting, so in the end there is no such thing as an open sky.

### Visit to Germany by Paddy Clay, Raymond Louw, Mel Holland and Eddie Wes

We visited the Hessischer Rundfunk in Frankfurt, WDR in Cologne and ZDF in Mainz. We also spoke with representatives from the Journalists Union and the Media Union, as well as other journalists.

Germany had to divorce the government from broadcasting because of its history of total government control during the Second World War. As a consequence, public service broadcasting is based on a federal state system, but the state does not control broadcasting. The public broadcasters exist through legal agreements between broadcasters and the states. They have structural and programme independence.

Commercial private stations, allowed since 1986, are funded only by advertising and their budgets are growing.

**Structure:** The Director-General is responsible for the Public Service Broadcasting Company in each station. He is elected by a Board of Control, and appoints his editorial staff. This Board of Control consists of people elected by the state legislature and people from social groups, such as the churches and the trade unions, but these persons are responsible solely to the Board and do not represent the groups that elect them. The Director-General is countered by the appointment of a deputy who is politically different.

The Constitutional Court is the final arbitrator. For example, the ZDF was set up by the government to reflect its opinions after the public broadcasters gave more time to the opposition. The Constitutional Court ruled that this was not possible and ZDF had to be more representative of all political colours. The final recourse of the Constitutional Court with regard to commercial stations, many of which are controlled by powerful economic forces, would be to take away the licence of a broadcaster.

Unions, broadcasters and other media practitioners told us that in practice powerful interest

groups on the editorial council exert political control. Strong forces like the churches and unions could determine the entire structure. But the council is not responsible for developing policy - it is only meant to interpret it.

The hierarchy in the public broadcasting corporations believe their system is independent. But they admit it is always politically coloured.

**Funding:** The ARD is predominantly funded from licence fees (80%) and the rest from advertising, in a block of 20 minutes before 8pm. No programmes are interrupted. The ZDF gets 50% of its budget from licence fees, which are collected through the banks and are paid by 97% of the public. The state can withhold an increase in fees if it does not like the way the broadcaster is going.

**Education:** We met with WDR's Education Director. WDR falls under ARD in Cologne, which is a 3rd channel programme.

Educational broadcasting focused on formal school's education and is federally based, therefore specific to the federal education system. It is essentially instructional, ancillary to the federal education syllabi. It does not replace the learning process that occurs within the formal institutions, but rather supplements it. Teachers adapt and utilise programmes according to their own needs within the classroom. Programmes, while based on the formal curricula, are not determined by the federal education authorities.

A total of 4 1/2 hours are allocated to education broadcasting. Programmes are rerun - totalling broadcasting time to 9 hours a week. At the beginning of each term, block showings are broadcast. Programmes are supplemented by programme schedules as well as a periodical to which individual schools subscribe. Subscription rates are the only way in which the popularity of programmes are monitored.

Corporations have not set up central libraries from which schools can access past programmes - schools themselves are responsible for recording and storage. This presupposes access to video recorders. WDR has in the past assisted on a contractual basis education broadcasting in Indonesia.

On their visit to radiostations in Denmark Anthony Duke and Edric Gorfinkel were told that development funding would be available in the future.

### Working Visits in the Netherlands

Most organisations contacted reacted very positively and enthusiastically. These were asked to explain their method of work, their structure, their goals, the general background. The aim was that the visits would turn out to be informative for both sides.

Some municipalities that subsidised the conference organised a working visit to their towns. Visits to local radio stations and meetings with people active in that area formed the major part of those programmes.

Working visits included:

- educational broadcasting companies, such as NOT, RVU and Teleac;
- local and regional radio stations, such as Lokatel Den Haag, Radio Noord Holland and Radio Rijnmond;
- media training institutes, such as COM/Santbergen and RNTC;
- specialised broadcasting institutions, such as IKON (religious), Teletekst (actual information) and Wereldomroep (Radio Netherlands World Service);
- a commercial radio station, Sky Radio;
- the legal supervisory organisation, Commissariaat voor de Media; and
- a separate meeting for and with filmmakers.

The visits were useful and instructive. A better insight was obtained into the Dutch media situation and special programmes which are mainly made by the educational broadcasters. It was also useful for the Dutch counterparts to hear the views of South African colleagues.

## Conference recommendations: towards the future of broadcasting

### PREAMBLE

1. The Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves conference was held in the Netherlands from August 11 - 17, 1991. Delegates from a wide range of South African organisations concerned with the broadcasting sector attended. The aim of the conference was to address a range of issues relating to the future of broadcasting in South Africa.

2. The issues covered during the conference included:

- 2.1 The re-regulation of the broadcasting sector in South Africa,
- 2.2 The National Party government's plans to privatise elements of broadcasting.
- 2.3 The Broadcasting Task Group's report on the broadcasting sector.
- 2.4 The issue of impartiality of state-controlled broadcast news during the transition period.
- 2.5 The role of radio in a changing South Africa.
- 2.6 The question of training, education and development in broadcasting skills.
- 2.7 Cultural diversity and language in relation to broadcasting.
- 2.8 Educational broadcasting.
- 2.9 The role of the private sector in South African broadcasting.
- 2.10 Religious broadcasting.
- 2.11 Public, private and community broadcasting in South Africa.
- 2.12 Broadcasting policy for the future.

### THE THREE LEVELS OF BROADCASTING

1. The conference RECOMMENDS that the system of broadcasting should be conceptualised on three levels:

- 1.1 Public Service Broadcasting;
  - 1.2 Commercial broadcasting;
  - 1.3 Community broadcasting.
2. Working definitions:

2.1 The PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTER is a publicly-owned corporation governed by a Char-

ter, entrusted to provide programming which educates, entertains and informs. It must cater for all tastes and interests, and must be geographically comprehensive. Its Charter calls for it to be accountable to the public, impartial, and independent of government.

2.2 COMMERCIAL RADIO and TELEVISION ENTERPRISES operate for profit by providing advertisers with access to consumers.

2.3 COMMUNITY or PARTICIPATORY BROADCASTING is initiated and controlled by members of a community of interest, or a geographical community, to express their concerns, needs and aspirations without outside interference, subject to the regulation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

### PUBLIC BROADCASTING

1. The conference starts from the premise that the public broadcaster should form the core of the broadcasting system and set the standard of all broadcasting.

1.2 In terms of content, the public broadcaster must remain accountable to the people who constitute its viewer/listenership, and not to its sources of funding.

1.3 The public broadcaster should produce popular material with mass appeal.

1.4 Given the diversity of the South African population, and the deficiencies created by the apartheid system, the public broadcaster must be held responsible not only for popular entertainment and unbiased information, but also for educational programming.

2.1 Independent film and broadcast producers should have access to public broadcasting, since

they offer alternative employment opportunities and a local content component of broadcasting.

2.2 There should be a surcharge on imported film and video products. These funds should be allocated to a film and broadcasting development fund which would promote training and local production.

2.3 A fixed quota of local broadcasting material must be instituted and this must be accompanied by the upgrading (through subsidies and other support mechanisms) of local products to international standards.

2.4 The question of instituting a quota of local programmes in the commercial sector should be further investigated.

#### COMMERCIAL BROADCASTING

1. The conference notes that the commercial sector in broadcasting has a role in South Africa.

2. The private sector is under as much obligation as the public sector to maintain a high standard of programming.

3. Guidelines on advertising:

3.1 Advertising should be subject to a code of conduct as incorporated into the Advertising Standards Authority.

3.2 Guidelines should be set for the types of products suitable for advertising on educational programmes.

#### COMMUNITY BROADCASTING

1. The conference notes that no community broadcasting sector has existed previously in South Africa, and that the active development of this sector is a priority.

2. The community sector should be independent from the other two sectors.

3. A national community broadcasting should be participatory; it should be owned and controlled by the community itself, and the broadcasting content of the station should be determined by the needs of the community as perceived by that community.

4. A national community broadcasting skills pool should be established which will:

4.1 Sensitise its communities to the possibilities and scope of community broadcasting,

4.2 Respond to requests for assistance and information,

4.3 Assist with training where necessary, and

4.4 Distribute material and information within the skills pool.

5. Funding of community broadcasting should come from both the public and private sectors; details of this should be worked out by the communities themselves.

#### BROADCASTING IN THE INTERIM PERIOD

##### BELIEVING:

1. that there are no guarantees that SABC news reporting will be fair, impartial and balanced during the interim period,

2. that impartiality in news is a crucial component in ensuring the fairness of the negotiation process and for democratic elections to take place,

3. that the present government has no legitimacy or authority to unilaterally re-regulate broadcasting in South Africa,

4. that the government's Broadcasting Task Group has operated in secret and represents the interests of a minority grouping,

5. that public debate has not taken place regarding the future of broadcasting;

the conference RECOMMENDS that

1. the All-Party Conference (APC) should appoint a Commission of Inquiry which will survey public opinion and produce recommendations on the re-regulation of broadcasting in South Africa under a democratic constitution;

2. the APC should appoint an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee. The IBCC would take responsibilities for the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period. Its tasks should include

a) requiring the SABC to adhere to a code of conduct to ensure impartiality throughout the interim period,

b) undertaking limited re-regulation in the interests of fair and open broadcasting;

3. to ensure that fair, open and impartial reporting is maintained throughout the interim period, the Campaign for Open Media should be requested to convene an Independent Media Monitoring Commission to monitor all media in South Africa and to report its findings publicly.

#### NETWORKING

The conference notes the need for organisations and institutions to co-ordinate and share their work and objectives as these relate to broadcasting.

1. The co-ordinating committee will be responsible for facilitating the setting up of a follow-up conference on a date to be decided to further discuss issues and obtain mandates.

2. This conference has given delegates an opportunity to assess the range of skills and ability available to the democratic movement in the broadcasting field. It is clear that we will be able to meet the challenge of building a democratic broadcasting environment for the new South Africa. However, this first meeting has shown that women, and black women in particular, are under-represented in this debate and we call on organisers of all future meetings on the electronic media to pay special attention to redressing that imbalance.

3. We therefore propose the building of a National Broadcasting Development Network of all interested parties to undertake these tasks.

4. We further propose that the Network consist of a co-ordinating committee representing key organizations, regions and interest groups in the broadcasting sector.

5. This will be set up by conference to cover the following areas of interest:

- \* community radio
- \* policy issues
- \* legislation

- \* television and video production
- \* educational broadcasting
- \* technology
- \* commercial broadcasting
- \* languages
- \* campaigns
- \* media education and training.

6. Each area of interest will network around its own issue and inform the co-ordinating committee of progress in its area of work. All information will be shared through the network.

#### FUNDING OF PUBLIC BROADCASTING

1. We recommend that an investigation into the funding of the public broadcasting sector is necessary to:

- 1.1 investigate the viability of cutting on advertising;
- 1.2 investigate the means of subsidising this body through either license fees or levies on services;
- 1.3 investigate the possibility of making the public sector more economically efficient.

#### EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

1. The conference believes that educational broadcasting should be developed through the co-operation of broadcasters, mass-based education organizations, formal education authorities, trade unions, non-formal educational organizations and community media.

1.1 This co-operation would possibly occur through an educational broadcasting initiative which could investigate and facilitate discussion in the following areas:

1.1.1 How the SABC should fulfil its mandate to be an educational broadcaster and whether a supplementary independent non-profit educational broadcasting corporation should be established.

1.1.2 Whether there should be a channel specifically devoted to educational broadcasting.

1.1.3 Whether the role, composition and independence of educational broadcasting should be guaranteed through a Charter.

1.1.4 How the educational broadcast sector should be funded.

1.2. The conference believes that community media must play a vital role in educational broadcasting. This contributes to a democratic education process. Educational broadcasting should address educational needs in both the formal sphere, covering primary, secondary and tertiary curricula, as well as the non-formal spheres, including, but not limited to

- 1.2.1 adult basic and continuing education;
- 1.2.2 community colleges;
- 1.2.3 literacy training;
- 1.2.4 worker education

2. With regard to the development of skills for educational broadcasting, it is recommended that projects be initiated to familiarise educationists with broadcasting aids, and to train them in the production of such aids. Emphasis should be placed on:

- 2.1 the utilisation of communication technologies such as teaching aids, visual aids, etc;
- 2.2 media studies,
- 2.3 the development of supporting print media.

### TRAINING

1. The conference strongly ENDORSES the idea that the training of personnel in broadcasting/video-making/film-making skills, together with the wider area of communication in general, is of prime importance in the development of a future broadcasting system, and should be prioritised in any strategy.

We further endorse the idea that training should also include training on how to pass on skills;

2. Training should not be confined to acquiring skills, but to effective communication through broadcasting;

3. Training methodologies should be carefully formulated and should not reproduce uncritically existing training methods and structures;

4. Training facilities should be autonomous and regionally based, but should be co-ordinated through a central body. In this process, the outlying areas should be favourably dealt with, and training

facilities should not be the monopoly of the big cities.

5. A campaign should be mounted immediately to put pressure on already existing training programmes (e.g. Pretoria Tech and Rhodes University) to upgrade, actively recruit and practise affirmative actions.

6. Training and production should be intimately linked. This can be achieved through community-based initiatives, including:

6.1 the use of community radio as a primary vehicle for training;

6.2 opportunities for trainees to place their production in the public sphere through the collection and circulation of audio-cassettes, broadcasting transmission, and the transmission system of the public broadcaster.

7. Funding for training should be the responsibility of the state. Further funding should be solicited from the private sector, foreign philanthropic and/or development agencies, after broad consultation, and in conjunction with local partners.

8. NOTING the need to train all South Africans, especially those who have been traditionally disadvantaged in the acquisition of skills in the electronic media, this conference calls on the National Broadcasting Development Network, or other body, to move quickly to request the Minister for International Co-operation of the Netherlands, and other governments, and their relevant departments to make available training scholarships for South Africans who have been excluded for political reasons from such scholarships for training in radio and television skills.

### MEDIA INSTITUTES.

1. The conference NOTES:

1.1 That there are a number of initiatives in South Africa to establish institutes relating to media training, film and broadcasting, media research and educational broadcasting, and that some of these initiatives are not being co-ordinated nationally; and

1.2 That there may be value in setting up institutes

in these areas in order to focus and co-ordinate development in the film and broadcasting sector;

2. This conference RECOMMENDS:

2.1 That the feasibility of setting up institutes in the following areas be explored:

- 2.1.1 Media training
- 2.1.2 Film and broadcasting
- 2.1.3 Media research
- 2.1.4 Educational broadcasting

### RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING POLICY:

The conference recommends, that given the "Christian National" nature of broadcasting in South Africa under National Party rule, it is essential that steps be taken in the reconstruction of public broadcasting to remove this bias. This is not to deny the importance of the religious/spiritual dimension in society, but instead to insist that "Christian Nationalism" has been (and still is) a profoundly ideological rather than a religious orientation.

- We therefore recommend the following guidelines:

1. The national (public) broadcasting corporation should be secular in character. It should not favour one religious community over another.

2. Participation in religious broadcasting should be offered and guaranteed to all faith communities, proportional to their membership in society. A formula for access to air time - and policy guidelines for the amount and nature of such access - would need to be negotiated.

3. Religious broadcasting should be integrated into the policy and decision-making structures of the national broadcasting corporation. This might take the form of a Religious Broadcasting Advisory Board as a sub-committee of the national broadcaster or the presence of representatives of faith communities on the IBA itself, or both.

4. Regional and community broadcasting facilities, when they come into being, should be involved in discussion about the place and role of religious broadcasting. However, involvement by faith communities in local radio should be left to local

negotiations and initiatives, and should not be regulated in the same way as national broadcasting corporation policy.

These guidelines should be taken back to all interested parties for further discussion.

### LANGUAGE POLICY IN BROADCASTING

1. The conference notes that the language policy of a country has a direct bearing on the issue of national identity, and thus any future broadcast policy in the area of language should be consistent with the national language policy.

1.1 Conference recommends that efforts to formulate a comprehensive national language policy be speeded up, but notwithstanding such efforts, accepts the following principles:

1.1.1 South Africa is a multi-lingual society, and that all South African languages should have equal validity to be heard on television and radio;

1.1.2 All languages should be broadcast to empower all South Africans in the mastery of different languages;

1.1.3 A culture of multi-lingualism should be encouraged, through the use of more than one language where this does not compromise the coherence of the programming;

1.1.4 The national broadcaster's practice of segregating languages on separate channels in a regional manner should cease.

### ACCESS TO THE SABC

NOTING that

the SABC is opening up to popular demands by democratic organisations for access to its facilities,

### RECOMMENDS

1. that all participating organisations discuss their programme proposals through the networking structures initiated by this conference,

2. that access to the SABC should not be unreasonably denied by them,

3. that points for further discussion should include:

- 3.1. Free access
- 3.2. Editorial control
- 3.3. A training component.

#### **LONG-TERM POLICY IDEAS FOR DISCUSSION:**

The conference recommends that further investigation be conducted in the following areas and that research and policy documents be circulated to delegates and organisations represented at the conference.

1.1 A PBS service free of advertising should be investigated.

1.2 How will the SABC be funded? Will the present licence fee/advertising revenue ratio continue or will future funding come partly or wholly from the fiscus? The options in this regard need to be explored.

1.3 How can we prevent private sector monopolies in the broadcast sector? We must investigate the various mechanisms and laws used to prevent cross-ownership and media monopolies in other countries.

2. With regard to an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), conference notes that:

2.1 as Professor Christo Viljoen was not prepared to divulge substantial information regarding an IBA, we must come up with firm proposals on:

2.1.1 The method of appointment and composition of an IBA,

2.1.2 The IBA's functions and powers,

2.1.3 The IBA's jurisdiction,

2.1.4 The structure of the IBA and the number of specialist boards or bureaux,

2.1.5 the licencing policy of such a body. How will it determine who should be granted licenced applications and on what basis will such determinations be made? Will financial viability or "proficiency" be some of the variables involved or will community broadcasters be allocated specific frequencies regardless of their capital-base and experience in broadcasting?

2.1.6 What recourse will dissatisfied broadcasters have if IBA decisions are unfair? A recourse to

the courts has been suggested. How will this process work?

2.2 All these factors relate to the nature of the relationship between both the government and vested broadcasting interests on the one hand and the IBA on the other. What mechanisms or processes should be employed to ensure that no government can control the affairs of the IBA?

2.3 How can an IBA address the imbalances of race, class, gender, sexual preference, ability/disability, culture and community?



*Closing session*

# Abbreviations

ADJ - Association of Democratic Journalists  
AIBD - Asian and Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development  
ALSS - Adult Learning Satellite Service  
AM - Amplitude Modulation  
ANC - African National Congress  
ANC-DIP - ANC Department of Information and Publicity  
APC - All Party Conference  
AWB - Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging, Afrikaner Resistance Movement  
AZAPO - Azania People's Organisation  
BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation  
BC-system - Broadcasting system  
BOPTV - Bophuthatswana Television  
BOP - University of Bophuthatswana  
BRT - Belgian Radio and Television  
BTG - Broadcasting Task Group  
CAMECO - Catholic Media Centre  
CASET - Cassette Education Trust  
CDU - Christian Democratic Union (Germany)  
CIESPAL - Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicacion para América Latina  
COM - Campaign for Open Media  
CONCRA - Congress of Natal Campus Radio  
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions  
CP - Conservative Party  
CVET - Community Video Education Trust  
DBS - Direct Broadcasting System  
DET - Direct Education Teaching  
DMTG - Durban Media Trainers Group  
DP - Democratic Party  
ERS - Educational Renewal Strategy  
FAWO - Film and Allied Workers Organisation  
FCC - Federal Communication Commission  
FM - Frequency Modulation  
IBA - Independent Broadcasting Authority  
IBCC - Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee  
ICA - Interim Civic Association  
IDASA - Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa  
ILO - International Labour Organisation  
IMC - Independent Monitoring Commission  
IMF - International Monetary Fund  
ITV - Independent Television (UK)  
KIMC - Kenyan Institute for Mass Communication  
MDM - Mass Democratic Movement  
MDT - Media Defense Trust  
METRO - Radiostation in Soweto  
MNR - National Resistance Movement, also Renamo  
MWASA - Media Workers Association of South Africa  
NACTU - National Council of Trade Unions  
NEC - National Executive Committee  
NECC - National Education Coordinating Committee  
NICC - National Interim Civic Committee  
NOS - Nederlandse Omroep Stichting (PBS in the Netherlands)  
NOT - Nederlandse Onderwijs Televisie (Educational TV in the Netherlands)  
NOVAW - Natal Organisation of Video and Allied Workers  
NP - National Party  
PAC - Pan Africanist Congress  
PAWE - Performing Arts Workers Equity  
PBS - Public Broadcasting System/Service  
PSB - Public Service Broadcasting  
PWV - Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging  
RAB - Radio Advisory Board  
RENAMO - see MNR  
RF - Radio Freedom  
RM - Rapitsi Montsho Productions  
RNTC - Radio Netherlands Training Centre  
RTV - Radio and Television  
RTL4 - Commercial TV-station  
SABC - South African Broadcasting Corporation  
SACC - South African Council of Churches  
SACHED - South African Council for Higher Education  
SACP - South African Communist Party

SADF - South African Defence Force  
SAP - South African Police  
SASPU - South African Students' Press Union  
SAUJ - South African Union of Journalists  
SAUK - Suidafrikaanse Uitsaai Korporasie (see SABC)  
SCO - Stichting Communicatie Ontwikkelings-samenwerking  
UDF - United Democratic Front  
UWC - University of Western Cape  
VCR - Video Cassette Recorder  
VNS - Video News Services  
WHO - World Health Organisation  
WITS - University of Witwatersrand

# Glossary of Terms

## FREQUENCY

This is a radio wave length which carries information. Each frequency has a different wavelength.

## ALLOCATION OF FREQUENCY

This is managed by international convention and, usually, the management of the frequency spectrum (electromagnetic spectrum) is delegated to a country to administer. In South Africa this management has been further delegated to the SABC.

## BAND

This is a group of frequencies within the electromagnetic spectrum.

## WAVELENGTH

This is the length of a carrier wave. This wave carries the sound or picture.

## LICENSE TO BROADCAST

This is the registration of a radio or TV station and the allocation of frequencies.

## TERRESTRIAL BROADCASTING

Broadcasting from a land-based aerial which produces a clear signal (it doesn't necessarily need a decoder to receive it).

## MICROWAVE

A way by which audio, video or digital information can be communicated between two points without the use of cables, wires etc.

## MICROWAVE TRANSMITTERS

Transmitters which use a very high frequency. This ensures a clear signal because there is less interference at high frequencies.

## SATELLITE

A spacecraft in fixed position above the equator. It is an electronic mirror in the sky.

## SATELLITE BROADCASTING

A way to extend the distance of landbased broadcasting by reflecting signals off a stationary satellite. There are two forms of satellite broadcasting:

1. For professional services - a system of sending signals between individual broadcasters or between a broadcaster and a transmitting station.
2. Direct Broadcasting Service (DBS) - the signal is transmitted via a satellite to your TV set. This requires a very powerful satellite transmitter and every TV set has to have a small satellite receiving dish. This is an expensive broadcasting option.

## CABLE TV

This involves a form of transmission using a cable to link the transmitter and receiver. You need to buy into this system and it is an expensive option for receivers.

## PBS

Public Broadcasting Service. It relies for finance on licence fees or state subsidy which allows it to provide programmes which are of public benefit but are not necessarily commercially profitable (eg. educational TV etc.)

## IBA

Independent Broadcasting Authority. The job of an IBA is to allocate frequencies and broadcast licences. It is independent from the state. It is a body of appeal in broadcasting matters.

## PRIVATIZATION

When a previously state-owned institution is floated as a private company.

## DEREGULATION OF BROADCASTING

This is when a highly regulated broadcasting environment is reassessed and a number of rules and regulations are reduced, usually making it easier for interest groups other than the state to participate, own and control a broadcasting station.

# Broadcasters in South Africa

## A. SABC

4 TV channels

- TV1 started in 1976 in English and Afrikaans

- TV 2/3 started in 1982 in Nguni/Sotho

- TV 4 started in 1986

23 Radio Stations

- financed by advertising and license fees

- commercial - Radio 5, Radio Metro

- regional: Radio Port Natal, Radio Good Hope etc.

- ethnic/language: Radio Sotho, Radio Zulu, Radio Lotus etc.

- national: Radio South Africa, Radio 2000 etc.

- international: Radio South Africa

The government appoints the SABC Board including its chairman, Prof. Cristo Viljoen (also chairman of the BTG).

The SABC is accountable to the Minister of Home Affairs, Gene Louw.

In 1991 SABC restructured itself into 5 divisions:

- TV

- Radio

- Signal distribution

- the Broadcast Centre in Johannesburg

- group functions.

Each division is divided into business units, e.g. a TV channel or a group of radio stations.

Audience:

- 7,5 million TV viewers

- 12 million radio listeners

Annual Revenue:

- advertising: TV: R 600 million

Radio: R 175 million

- License fees: approximately R 200 million

total approximately R 925 million

## B. M-Net

A subscription or pay-TV station started in 1986

- owned by the major press companies: Perskor, Nasionale Pers, Argus and Times Media.

started under pressure from press companies as compensation for potential losses of advertising revenue from newspapers to television.

Chairman of M-Net is Ton Vosloo who is also Managing Director of Nasionale Pers and Vice-Chairman of the BTG.

M-Net is only available to people who can afford to buy a decoder (approx. R 600) and pay a monthly subscription of approx. R 50.

Audience: approximately 560.000 people own decoders

Annual revenue: approximately R 427 million

## C. Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation

started in 1983

owned by Bophuthatswana government

consists of:

- BOP TV (120.000 viewers) broadcasting to Bop and Soweto

- Mmbatho TV ( 5.000 viewers) broadcasting to Molopo region

- Edutel (educational TV and radio broadcasting to Bop and Soweto - no audience figures but have 360 solar power TV sets in schools and 500 TV sets with electricity.

- Radio Bop broadcasting in English to Bop on FM and the PWV on AM (480.000 listeners).

- Radio Mmbatho broadcasting in Tswana to 200.000 listeners in Bop on FM and PWV on AM.

Annual revenue: R 14 million

## D. Radio 702

Independent Radio station

owned by a private consortium

licensed in Bop due to the fact that it is impossible to get a license to broadcast in South Africa at present

transmitters in Bop

- coverage area: PWV with night skywave projection to Durban and Cape Town

Audience: 360.000 listeners per day

Annual revenue: 12,5% of total ad spend on radio of R 200 million



### **E. Capital Radio 604**

Commercial radio station  
owned by Transkei government  
licensed in Transkei

- coverage area: Eastern Cape and Natal
- FM in Transkei
- AM in rest of Natal

Audience: 120.000 listeners per day

Annual revenue: R 3,5 million

### **F. Radio Transkei**

owned by Transkei government  
broadcasting in Xhosa with English news and one  
hour in Sotho on FM

- coverage area: Transkei with spillage into Ciskei/  
Natal

Audience: 550.000 listeners per day

Annual revenue: R 5 million

### **G. Radio Ciskei**

owned by Ciskei government  
broadcasting in English (70%) and Xhosa (30%) on  
FM

- coverage area: border region

Audience: 130.000 listeners per day

Annual revenue:

- R 2 million from the government
- R 80 - 90.000 per month from advertising

### **H. Radio Venda: no information available**

## **Conference Participants**

### **Delegates**

Akwe Amosu, BBC, Africa desk  
Jon Berndt, FAWO Western Cape  
Paddy Clay, SAUJ  
David Coetzee, Southscan  
Willie Currie, FAWO Tvl  
Harold Cxaweni, Radio Transkei  
Anthony Duke, Capital Radio  
Zohra Ebrahim, NICC  
Julie Frederikse, DMTG  
Nicola Galombik, FAWO  
Mark Gevisser, Weekly Mail  
Edric Gorfinkel, CASET  
Heather Hills, SACHED  
Mel Holland, NECC  
Stan Katz, Radio 702  
Prakash Kusial, CONCRA  
Libby Lloyd  
Raymond Louw, COM  
Catherine MacKenzie, SASPU  
Zithulele Mahaye, Media Resource Centre  
Thabo Makhene, Mmabatho TV  
Justinus Maluleke, ANC/DIP  
Michael Markovitz, FAWO Broadcasting Com-  
mission  
Shepi Mati, CVET  
Eddie Mbalo, Dynamic Images  
Moeletsi Mbeki, COSATU  
Mike McCoy, SACC  
Joe Mngadi, Radio Freedom  
Golden Mqwebu, Radio Freedom  
Lumko Mtimde, Bush Radio  
Njabulo Ndebele, Wits  
Don Ngubeni, Radio Freedom  
Carl Niehaus, ANC/DIP  
Don Pinnock, Rhodes University  
Jeanne Prinsloo, NOVAW  
Jonathan Procter, Bop TV  
Tseliso Ralitabo, MWASA  
Solly Rasebotsa  
Mahlomola Skhosana, NACTU  
Carol Steinberg, PAWE

Ruth Tomaselli, Broadc./Telecom. Working Gr/  
Natal.

Sue Valentine, IDASA  
Shelley Wells, VNS  
Eddie Wes, Free Film Makers  
Roy Williams, Bop University  
Manelisi Wolela, ADJ  
John van Zyl, Wits

\* RM Productions, Free Film Makers, S.A. Now,  
Kevan Harris Productions, Dynamic Images, VNS  
were represented by Eddie Mbalo, Shelley Wells  
and Eddie Wes

### **Guests**

Paul Hendriksen, NOS  
Max Sniijders, SCO  
Jaap Swart, RNTC  
Christo Viljoen, SABC  
Maartje van Weegen, OvRF

### **Omroep voor Radio Freedom**

Paul de Cock  
Hans Fortuin  
Ilona Hofstra  
Petra Overdevest  
Annemarie de Wildt

### **NGOs (Netherlands)**

Jaap 't Gilde (Novib)  
Tini van Goor (HIVOS)  
Leonard Henny (THF)  
Ineke van Kessel (NVJ/ASC)  
Gloria Lowe (THF)  
Huguette Mackay (SRB)  
Adri Nieuwhof (ICCO)  
Maarten Rens  
Job Runhaar (KZA)

### **Conference Staff**

Jeff Balch  
Carla van den Berg

Peter van Diepen  
Caroline van Dulleman  
Hans Dolman  
Fons Geerlings  
Peter Hermes  
Martin Jansen  
Frederique Janss  
Maud Kortbeek  
Bart Luirink  
Gea Mulder  
Bing Müller  
Barend de Ronden  
Karel Roskam

#### **Radio Jabulani**

Marc de Jong  
Jacqueline Nievaart  
Martine van Poeteren  
Ruud Rottink  
Frank Schopman  
Reinalda Start  
Joost Wilgenhof  
Fulco van Aurich  
Huub Bammens  
Karel van Hoof  
Henk Tummers

\* This conference was made possible with the support of:  
African-European Institute;  
Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken;  
CNV, FNV, Dienstbond CNV, Dienstbond FNV en NVJ;  
IKON, KRO, NCRV, VPRO, Teleac en NOB;  
Nederlandse Zendingsraad, Slotemaker de Bruïne Instituut, De Deining, Stadsschouwburg Amsterdam;  
SCO, Haarlem tegen Apartheid, Zuidelijk Afrika Platform Tilburg;  
and the municipalities of  
Alphen aan de Rijn, Amsterdam, Assen, Beverwijk, Delft, Emmen, Gouda, Haarlem, Heerenvveen, Heerlen, Den Helder, Hoogvliet, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Nijmegen, Ooststellingwerf, Oostzaan, Rotterdam, Tilburg, Utrecht, Velsen, Zaanstad, Zoetermeer.  
Alida de Jong School  
Jaap Drupsteen

## AEI Publications

The African-European Institute has published the following documents:

### **1. Southern Africa - Regional**

- **Frontline States: How to Counter South African Destabilisation**, Report of the Conference in Athens, Greece, 20-23 October 1988
- **Southern Africa: European Cooperation and Action against Destabilisation**, Report of the Conference in Madrid, Spain, 6-7 March 1989
- **SADCC in the 1990's: A Common Responsibility**
- **Child Survival on the Frontline: How to Counter the Effects on Children of Destabilisation**, Report of the Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, 21-25 April 1990
- **Southern Africa in the 1990's: Europe's Role**, Report of the Conference in Paris, France, 22-23 May 1990
- **Southern Africa at the Crossroads: New Priorities for European Cooperation**, Report of the Conference in Dublin, Ireland, 21-22 June 1990
- **Europe, SADCC and South Africa: From Conflict to Cooperation**, Report of the Conference in Luxembourg, 14-15 February 1991
- **Eastern Europe and Southern Africa: supporting Democracy and Development**, Prague, Czechoslovakia, 13-15 June 1991

### **2. Namibia**

- **Namibia The Last Steps to Genuine Independence?**, Background document for the Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, 1-5 April 1989
- **Support to Independent Namibia**, Report of the Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, 1-5 April 1989
- **From Colony to Democracy: The Independence Process in Namibia**, Report of a series of Fact-finding Missions to Namibia to observe the election process
- **Namibia's Constitution: Framework for Democracy**
- **Walvis Bay: South Africa's Hostage**, with CIIR and CAN
- **Europe and Namibia: European Cooperation For Southern Africa's Future**, Report of the Conference in Rome, Italy, 7-8 November 1990
- **Development for the Namibian People: New Challenges for SADCC and the International Community**, Report of the Conference in Windhoek, Namibia, 8-10 April 1991

### **3. Mozambique**

- **Mozambique's Unnatural Disaster Persists**, Report of a Fact-finding Mission to Mozambique and Zimbabwe
- **Mozambique - A Tale of Terror**, told by ex-participants of Renamo and refugees
- **Children on the Run**, SamSam magazine, published in English, Dutch, German and Portuguese

### **4. Angola**

- **Account from Angola: UNITA as described by ex-participants and foreign visitors**

### **5. South Africa**

- **Unfinished Business: Apartheid after Apartheid**
- **Violent Stalemate: Media Perspectives on the South African Negotiations**, Report of the Media Workshop in Frankfurt, Germany, 3 November 1990

These publications can be ordered from the AEI office.

# African-European Institute

## African-European Institute

The *African-European Institute* was founded on January 21, 1988, at the International Court of Justice in the Peace Palace, The Hague, the Netherlands.

The *African-European Institute* seeks to promote economic development, social justice and peace in all Southern Africa, by contributing to a fuller knowledge and better understanding of the issues confronting the region.

The *African-European Institute* aims at strengthening the cooperation between Europe and Southern Africa. It can do so due to its unique combination of leading Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and committed parliamentarians, both in Southern Africa and Europe.

The *African-European Institute* has direct access to Southern African and European leaders who, together with development experts from around the world, on a regular basis address the AEI's conferences and seminars.

The *African-European Institute* seeks cooperation with groups that adhere to its objective and agree with its policies. In particular it closely cooperates with the Southern African section of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and with AWEPPAA, the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid.

## Programme

- the mobilisation of support for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and its programme of action for regional development and integration;
- campaigns concentrating on the refugee situation and the plight of children in Southern Africa;
- the mobilisation of support for the development needs of the economy and people of the independent Namibia;
- reconciliation projects designed to bring together South Africans of various backgrounds to discuss points of mutual interest and concern;
- dialogue projects involving inhabitants of the various countries in Southern Africa in discussing future relations in the region and between the region and European countries;
- media projects to improve European coverage of

the conflicts, problems and developments in Southern Africa; and to support the democratic media within South Africa.

## Organisation

The *African-European Institute* is an initiative of people and organisations from the South (Southern Africa) and North (Europe).

This is reflected in its Board of Trustees, which consists of:

- President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Patron;
- Rev. C.F. Beyers Naudé, Chairman of the Board of Trustees;
- Hon. Didymus Mutasa, Senior Minister for Political Affairs, Zimbabwe, Deputy Chairman of the Board of Trustees;
- Jan Nico Scholten, Executive President; President of AWEPPAA
- Pär Granstedt, MP, Sweden Treasurer;
- Brian McKeown, Trocaire (Organisation for Development Cooperation in Ireland);
- Bishop Graesholt, DanChurchAid (Organisation for Development Cooperation in Denmark);
- Hans Pelgröm, Representing NOVIB (Organisation for Development Cooperation in the Netherlands);
- Bernard Holzer, representing CCFD in France (Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement).

## Methods

- organising seminars, conferences and workshops for politicians, government officials, academics, journalists and other interested groups;
- publishing and distributing reports, brochures and books on the various subjects contained within its programme;
- organising fact finding missions for on-the-spot investigation of the changing situation in Southern Africa;
- various other means of providing information through consultations, guest lectures, press conferences, etc.

# Omroep voor Radio Freedom

"Omroep voor Radio Freedom" was founded in 1982 at the request of the Anti Apartheid Movement Netherlands by members of most broadcasting companies in Hilversum, the Dutch national radio and television centre.

Omroep voor Radio Freedom (Broadcast for RF) wants to support their South African colleagues from RF working in neighbouring countries where Radio Freedom studios are established. Radio Freedom, being the voice of the African National Congress, was illegal in South Africa with its heavy censorship laws.

It was considered very important to maintain contact with the people. For the ANC radio proved to be the best vehicle for communicating their ideas and policies.

The aims of Omroep voor Radio Freedom are: conducting a campaign in the Netherlands to raise funds for mobile studiosets, for training, for a strong short wave transmitter; informing the Dutch public on RF and the media situation in South Africa; establishing contacts with other Dutch organisations like trade unions and local broadcasting companies to mobilize solidarity with South African mediaworkers.

Six studiosets have been installed by Dutch broadcast technicians. Several South African radioworkers followed courses in Hilversum; Dutch journalists spent some time in Africa as trainers. Thousands of people are "tientjeslid" or supporter: they make financial contributions regularly.

OvRF stimulates discussions on the future of the South African media, for example by organising the conference 'Jabulani'.

With the changing situation in South Africa, Omroep voor Radio Freedom will continue to support Radio Freedom, especially in the field of training and setting up new radio stations.