

https://dspace.org/

Black power, white press; literacy, newspapers, and the transformation of township political culture

Charney, Craig

1993-05-10
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/8510

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

CHARNEY

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

African Studies Seminar Paper
to be presented in RW 7003 SEMINAR ROOM
AT 4.00pm 10th May 1993

Title: **Black Power, White Press; Literacy, Newspapers, and the Transformation of Township Political Culture.**

by: Craig Charney

No 338

AFRICANA LIBRARY

NOTE TO THE READER

This paper presents Chapter Five of my Ph.D. dissertation, whose tentative title is "Social Movements, Power, and Discourse in a Newly-Industrialized Country: the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1966-1977." It is a very rough first draft, so my apologies in advance for the lack of polish, incompleteness, and excessive length of the material. All suggestions for possible cuts will be welcome.

To give you some idea of how the chapter fits into the rest of the thesis, I have included the table of contents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Theoretical Introduction: Social Movements, Discourse Theory, and Newly Industrialized Countries

2. The Origins of the BCM, 1966-1971

3. Something in the Air: The Student Movement, 1969-1976

4. The Good Word: Black Theology and The Churches, 1967-76

5. Black Power, White Press: Literacy, Newspapers, and the Transformation of Township Political Culture, 1960-1976

6. The Re-Emergence of Mass Protest, 1972-76

7. The Soweto Uprising, 1976-77

8. The Legacy of the BCM, 1978-83

Chapter Five

BLACK POWER, WHITE PRESS: Literacy, Newspapers, and the Transformation of Township Political Culture, 1960-1976

> "Until the permanent legalization of a public sphere that functioned politically, the appearance of a political newspaper was equivalent to engagement in the struggle for a zone of freedom for public opinion..."
> -Jurgen Habermas

Black political mobilization in South Africa has largely been explained by factors which are either structural or external to the communities involved: falling wages and employment, the contradictions of school and township administration, and anti-colonial wars on the country's borders. Social and political movements, leaders, and processes within black communities have received short shrift. The political consciousness of different sections of black society has frequently been neglected or read off from class positions. The institutions, organizations, and discourses which shape them have been ignored or treated as tools of the status quo. In particular, the movement which did the most to initiate the black political renaissance, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), has been written off as a "group of petit bourgeois intellectuals" without links to the masses. Yet the resulting accounts have failed to adequately explain the forms and gaps of the re-emergence of mass resistance over the past two decades or to predict or periodize the development of national political life[1].

Work by social scientists and historians abroad suggests a shift to a focus on social action and discourse that might better explain the re-emergence of vigorous social and political movements in South Africa's black communities than the economistic structuralism on which scholars have relied. McAdam has suggested that for grievances to translate into a social movement requires the appearance of opportunity for political action, development of organization, and subjective freedom to act -- all political and ideological factors which do not flow automatically from structure.[2] The implied conception of social agency, presented by Mouffe and Laclau, replaces class essentialism with a de-centered subject, constituted by articulating responses to various discourses -- race, class, nation, gender, age, community, etc.[3] Habermas' emphasis on social communication and political culture points to a central element in this process, since they determine the nature of the public sphere of interaction and the capacity of members of groups to participate within it.[4] The specific role of literacy and the press in the development of national and working-class consciousness and movements has been highlighted by Benedict Andersen, E.P. Thompson, and others.[5] This chapter will trace their impact in the case of South Africa.

The argument of the chapter is that changes in social

reproduction -- urbanization and education -- created political opportunities which the Black Consciousness Movement seized and, in turn, used to form new audiences for mass political and social mobilization. The growth of mass literacy and newspaper readership in the 1960s and 1970s opened the way for a challenge to the existing structures of political communication and power by creating a new mass urban reading public and a growing corps of black journalists. Black journalists, in turn, developed their own organization and used the institutional contradictions of the white-owned liberal opposition press to re-politicize black newspapers. In urban black communities, the result was to re-open space for political discussion and mobilization, accelerate the transformation of a parochial political culture into a national one, and expose a vast audience to BC ideology. These developments were an essential but thus far neglected condition for the rebirth of mass protest in the 1970s and of organized worker and community movements in the next decade.

I. THE CHANGING NATURE OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION: LITERACY, NEWSPAPERS, AND THE RISE OF BLACK JOURNALISM

(Needs Intro graf)

Newspaper readership in black communities in south Africa was quite limited until the 1960s. The 1962 National Readership Survey showed that only 7% of African adults read an English-language daily paper.[6] More than eight out of ten read no newspapers at all, either daily or weekly, English- or African-language. Of those who read dailies, the overwhelming majority lived in cities, especially Johannesburg, drawn largely from the narrow stratum of relatively better-off and better-educated men. In black communities across vast stretches of the country, particularly the bantustans, small towns, and white farms where most Africans lived, newspapers were rare, except on the desks of the occaisional teacher, preacher, lawyer, or clerk. Around Natal, for example, the 1962 survey showed that only one African in 25 read The Daily News, while the Zulu-language Ilanga reached just 1 in 20. Even amid the rows of brick houses and long migrant hostels in the country's burgeoning urban townships, only one adult in five read an English-language daily. Contrary to what might be expected, the gap was not filled by the electronic media. In 1962, radios could be found in just 12% of African homes -- usually alongside the neatly-trimmed curtains and lounge sets of the urban well-to-do. The same patterns prevailed in colored communities, where seven in ten did not read a daily paper and those who did were concentrated in the cities and upper-income groups.

Instead, communication in black areas was marked by the predominance of the oral and the vernacular. It was a culture of face-to-face discussions -- between family members, friends, and neighbors in township yards, shebeens, and rural homesteads, workmates in busses, factories, offices, and farms, home-boys in hostels and compounds. Local news flowed fast along the "bush

telegraph," but far less about national affairs (give example). "Mass" communications were also largely oral: political meetings before the banning of the ANC and PAC, church services, chiefly courts and assemblies, story-tellers and myths, or the reading aloud of newspaper items to the illiterate. These parochial, local information networks paralleled the patrimonial character of the state, with a largely unschooled public, where even the majority of urbanites were newcomers to town whose lives were still oriented around traditional-type solidarities and moralities drawn from rural, lineage-based societies.[7]

Social and economic change in the 1960s and 1970s created new forms of reproduction of urban black communities which made change possible in this pattern of communications and loyalties. Urbanization and industrialization during the long boom created massive increases in the demand for schooling, both from capital in need of better-educated labor for factories, offices, and shops and from blacks seeking social mobility and skills to cope with city life. The emergence of the school as the central public institution in the reproduction of urban black communities was part of the transformation linked to the emergence of the second generation of city-dwellers, proletarianized, educated, and literate, along with the rapid growth of a white-collar workforce. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of African blue-collar workers off the farms with at least five years schooling almost doubled, reaching 1.16 million, which included 47% of the urban proletariat.[8] The number of literate urban Africans almost tripled between 1951 and 1970, when it reached 2.64-million, or two-thirds of adults in the cities.[9] To put into perspective how rapidly the stream of information to which Africans were exposed had changed, Weekend World's 1975 readership in the PWV area alone (1.36-million) was close to twice the number of Africans who could read English country-wide in 1951.[10]

For the South African press, the rapid growth in literacy and income levels among blacks during the 1960s and 1970s translated into huge increases in black readership.[11] Between 1962 and 1975, the number of Africans reading English-language dailies tripled to 1.1-million. Readership among coloreds almost doubled over the same period, reaching 438,000. In 1975, more than 40% of urban African men read a newspaper every day. The newspaper-reading audience was greatest in Soweto, where three out of four African men read a daily; one-fourth to two-fifths of the men in other cities did the same.[12] (Surveys showed that many fewer African women than men read English-language newspapers.)

The result of this growth was the development of a three-tiered press for black South Africans.

1)Township editions of English-language white-oriented papers, such as The Star, the Rand Daily Mail, and the Sunday Times in Johannesburg and East London's Daily Dispatch, were launched for the black middle class. The blacks who read these publications were described in the fiction of the time: Adam, the middle-aged floor manager in a Johannesburg radio shop in

Miriam Tlali's Muriel at Metropolitan, or the "fortunate" Chevrolet-driving stranger in a navy blue suit, snow white shirt and blue tie of Mtutuzeli Matshoba's "My Friend, the Outcast".[13] Surveys painted a similar picture: black readers who were high-school educated, disproportionately middle-class, and resembling in many ways the whites who read the same papers.[14]

2)Revamped or new papers were specifically oriented towards the urban black working class -- The World and the Cape Herald. The most important development in the black press in this period was the emergence of The World as the favorite of the blue-collar Africans on the Reef. In the early 1960s it was converted from a rather elitist biweekly broadsheet into a racy, mass-circulation tabloid on the lines of papers like New York's Daily News or the Daily Mirror of London. Multiplying its readership by six between 1962 and 1975, it scooped up the bulk of the vast new low-income readership around Johannesburg to reach an audience of 679,000 in the latter year (twice that of its middle-class rivals on the Reef).[15] For Tlali, its readers were typified by Ben, the cleaner in the block of flats behind the Metropolitan Radio shop who followed Soweto's beauty queens in the paper.[16] In Cape Town, a similar role was played by the bi-weekly, colored-oriented Cape Herald, whose 42% share of the colored working class was almost twice that attracted by local English-language dailies.[17] (While most middle-class readers also read these newspapers for community news, they were usually the only papers which workers read.)

3)The vernacular press consisted chiefly of the Zulu-language Ilanga in Natal and the Xhosa Imvo Zabatsundu in the Eastern Cape. In those regions, where no local English-language tabloids existed, the vernacular papers took the bulk of the urban working-class male readership, as well as female readership and that in rural towns and homeland villages. To a certain extent, a similar role was played by the Afrikaans press in rural colored areas, especially in the Western and Northern Cape interior. These papers were kept on a tighter leash than other black-oriented publications owned by the big white press conglomerates, pursuing an editorial line which was either apolitical or conservative and homeland-oriented. But the numbers of people they reached was far greater than that of local English dailies, outnumbering their readers by almost 4 to 1 in Natal and 9 to 1 in the Eastern Cape.[18]

These changes had considerable significance: new channels for news provided access to a new world or information and stimulus for political discussion, at least in the urban areas. The need to know was felt keenly: among blacks papers were circulated impatiently, hand-to-hand (with a phenomenal __ readers per copy).[19] By the mid-1970s, the majority of urban households would probably have included one or more newspaper readers. For the first time, news and political discourse diffused far beyond the reach of an orator's voice or a neighborhood chain of gossip. Around the country, the same events and the same ideas began to stir black men and women, starting to break down the culture of silence bred by the

repression of the early 1960s. Workers in offices, factory canteens, and trains, pupils in schoolyards and homes, friends and neighbors on the street all discussed what they read in the press. The new public sphere created by the emergence of the black press thus marked a key change in the structure of political opportunities -- one which activist black journalists would not prove slow to seize.

(transitional sentence or graf needed?)

When the black political movements were suppressed in the early 1960s, it was a disaster for the small corps of black pressmen as well. The repression of that era rang down the curtain on the brief flowering of black journalism which began in the 1950s, centered around a group of talented writers on the monthly Drum and the weekly Golden City Post, owned by the maverick liberal millionaire Jim Bailey. They pioneered a Damon Runyon style of writing combining witty observation, colloquial language, political comment, and hard-hitting exposes that became legendary as the "Drum school."[20] By the mid-60s, however, most of its dashing figures, such as Henry Nxumalo, Nat Nakasa, Lewis Nkosi, and Can Themba, had disappeared from print in South Africa, due to death, exile, or alcohol. Many of their writings were banned, and Drum itself ceased publishing for four years, while caution was the order of the day on the remaining black publications.

The journalists who followed in their footsteps were a dispirited lot, like many other members of the black middle classes. Mostly in their 30s, with a few years of high school behind them, they nostalgically recalled the excitement of the previous decade. Many, (particularly at The World had PAC sympathies; a few, such as Joe Thloloe, had belonged to it. Newcomers were interested in money, not politics, like Phil Mthimkhulu, a tall, slightly built young man who joined The World in 1968 soon after graduating high school in Soweto. He and his colleagues found the profession offered a steady job, but few prospects. Scope for initiative in reporting was limited, and for advancement, almost nil, against a political backdrop which was highly repressive and discriminatory. "The political climate was so pervasive, you couldn't do anything, recalls Joe Latakgomo, hired by The World in 1967. "Invariably, people drowned their sorrows in alcohol most of the time." When a sample of black reporters were polled in 1969, two-thirds expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs.[21]

Ironically, however, while journalism had become a more frustrating career to follow, the number of black journalists was growing rapidly. Until then, at the white English-language papers, a few liberal white reporters had covered township affairs -- when they were covered at all. In the 1960s, these papers began hiring blacks as freelance stringers, then bringing a few of them onto their staffs. Partly this reflected their professed liberalism, but even more so their increasing black readership, which had come to constitute a third or more of the total. The special "township extra" editions -- most extensive

in the Johannesburg papers, with replated front pages and several pages of black news -- needed staff. The largest complements of black reporters in the newsrooms of white-oriented papers were on the Rand Daily Mail, The Star, and the Daily Dispatch. The biggest establishments of all were the fast-growing World and Weekend World in an industrial area west of Johannesburg, where more than 30 journalists banged away at ancient manual typewriters in run-down offices -- a far cry from the modern equipment and air-conditioned comfort of white newspaper offices. Other black journalists worked for the Bailey publications, the Cape Herald, and Ilanga and the Indian-oriented Post Natal in Durban. By the end of the 1970s, the number of black journalists in South Africa was estimated at over 200, up from just 10 counted in the 1946 census.[22]

Journalists who began work in the 1970s represented a new generation -- younger, brasher, more ambitious personally and politically. By 1977, more than two-thirds of the black journalists in a survey were young men in their twenties with matric or higher education.[23] Some had been involved with the Black Consciousness Movement at school or university. The look of the newsroom changed: a visitor would see dashikis, Afro haircuts, and women. So had the mood. According to Joe Thloloe, the youngsters were interested in issues, not literary style:

> "The new generation were not sophisticated writers, like the Caseys or and Can Thembas. They were writing about Tsietsi Mashinini or what the Soweto Students Representatives Council were doing. There was a vast difference in quality, but also in impact."[24]

Among the youngsters at The World were Duma Ndlovu and future ANC guerilla leader Siphiwe Nyanda, friends, former high school activists, and members of the same Dube, Soweto social circle as ANC guerilla-to-be Tokyo Sexwale. Those elsewhere included Rashid Seria, a long-haired young man from Port Elizabeth who joined the Cape Herald in 1973, and Thenjiwe Mtintso at the Daily Dispatch, an intense young woman who had entered Steve Biko's King William's Town activist circle after leaving Fort Hare in the 1973 student walk-off. Of the young journalists of that day, Ndlovu recalls, "We came in young, with politics from BC."[25] They had a tonic effect on many members of the older generation, who sobered up and got to work.

(needs concluding graf)

II. BLACK JOURNALISTS AND THEIR MOVEMENT

(needs intro graf: changing pol opportunities/ worsening grievances; institutional contradiction (papers liberal, opposition, protected; discriminatory, white controlled, conservative; position within competitive white oligarchy led to grievance & opportunity to exploit. Finally organization/actors: BCM activists; break with whites, breakdown of isolation & psychological liberation. Result: movement.)

The growth of a black presence increased tensions in South African newsrooms, revealing the institutional contradictions of a white-run liberal opposition press which spoke to and for black

people. The contradiction between the liberal ideals of non-discrimination and newspaper practice was at its most glaring in the wages and working conditions of black journalists. Although journalism was at the time probably the only profession in the country in which white and black worked side-by-side in similar jobs, white journalists earned two to three times as much as blacks with comparable experience. For instance, the 1970 newspaper Conciliation Board agreement set the base pay of a white journalist with one year on the job at R150 a month, while the minimum for a black with the same amount of experience was R88.[26] Bias extended to perks as well. When The Star's first black reporter, Harry Mashabela, asked an editor why he didn't receive a "marriage allowance," as white reporters did, he was told he was in a "special category." The penny dropped: "You mean I'm black," he said. Likewise, although white reporters were allowed to use the paper's Mercedes Benzes to go out on assignments, Mashabela was again in a special category: he had to use a motor scooter. Nonetheless, white papers used the black reporters as tokens of their liberalism. "Whenever someone visiting from England or America was brought to the office, they would end up at my desk," Mashabela recalls. Yet The Star, The World, and most other papers still subjected their black staffs to the full set of indignities set out in apartheid employment laws -- including even separate toilets.[27] The Daily Dispatch and the Rand Daily Mail, the country's most liberal dailies, normally ignored the segregation laws in practice, but even they dared not flout them openly. The result was an ironic charade: whenever a government inspector arrived at the Dispatch, he would be delayed at reception while the paper's good liberals set to work in a frenzy -- putting up the required "whites-only" signs.[28]

The frustrations of black reporters were only increased by white control of the newspaper production process. Before reaching print, a news article by a black reporter had to cross the desks of the news editor, chief sub-editor and a page sub-editor for editing and page placement, passing before a series of usually unsympathetic whites. The subs at The World, for example, were with a few exceptions "broadly apolitical, which in the South African context means fairly conservative."[29] Denis Beckett, former editorial director of Weekend World, recalls the subs there as "a bunch of righties -- English immigrants. They would've filled the paper with English soccer if they could."[30] At the end of the day, the subs and other white staffers would gather for drinks at a hotel near The World's offices, while the black journalists headed off to township shebeens. Former World reporter Phil Mthimkhulu is caustic about the subs' attitudes: "Race was the determining factor, determining which stories were used and political prejudices expressed." Similar problems were reported elsewhere -- even at the Mail and Dispatch. The issue was less individual prejudice than corporate tolerance, however. Even a man like Don Pinnock, one of the most liberal World subs in the early 1970s and a strong critic of the paper's line, still toed it. "We (the subs) were a corporate head that knew how far to go." While a degree of tension between subs and reporters is normal on any paper, that felt by black journalists

in this era was extraordinary. Says Mthimkhulu, "We used to hate the subs."[31]

For black journalists, matters were not helped by the fact that the chain of command was effectively all white as well. On the "white" newspapers, the News Editors, Deputy Editors, and Editors were without exception all white. Even on the black papers, however, the black reporting staff had no input into editorial decisions.[32] Although The World, the Cape Herald, and Ilanga nominally had black editors, the real power lay in the hands of white editorial directors. For example, The World's frail, elderly editor, M.T. Moerane, was universally seen as a figurehead by his staff. The dry, conservative former teacher could be heard tapping on his office typewriter or going off to fashionable Dube for drinks with the Soweto elite -- but he had so little to say at editorial conferences that behind back his staff called him "Empty" Moerane.[33] The real editorial and coverage decisions were made by editorial director Charles Steele, a no-nonsense man in his 50s convinced that African readers wanted a diet of sports, sex, and sensation. Asked to kill a detailed account of how teenagers sniffed glue, he refused, replying, "I'm not in the business of saving children -- I'm in the business of selling newspapers." Dapper, bland-faced, with a hairline starting to recede, he was less an evil figure than a corporate man. Well educated and well spoken, he defined the limits but rarely had to put his foot done, for he was "the ghost in the machine."[34]

(add graf here on opposition role of English-language press: exposes, support for white opposition, etc. institutional & social strength of opposition. role of opposition and press in legitimating competitive white oligarchy ("democratic police state"). contrast to rhodesia -- no direct censorship.)

Ultimately, however, the opposition role of the liberal English-language press was tempered by its role as part of the white Establishment, business and political. Supporting the moderate white opposition parties, the United and Progressive Parties, it was tied to the same interests to which they were connected. All the major English dailies and weeklies, white- and black-oriented, except the Dispatch and Pietermaritzburg's Natal Witness, were owned by two large press groups. South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) monopolized the morning papers, the Argus group those in the afternoon, both ultimately controlled by Anglo-American and the other big mining and financial institutions. Anthony Heard, former editor of The Cape Times, recalls:

> "It was a cozy little club, a world of 'wheels within wheels' (as a top board member of The Cape Times enjoyed describing it, all falling within the protective clasp of Anglo American and keeping all others--including, of course, the hated Nationalists -- out. Dissident editors who clashed with Establishment thinking were allowed a little head and then finished off.
>
> "The unspoken norm in the commercial press was the capacity not to rock the boat. 'Remember, he IS our Prime

> Minister -- this was said to critical editors, to tone down their writings,... to my own personal and intimate knowledge."[35]

Two successive editors of the Mail, Raymond Louw and Laurence Gandar, paid the price of dismissal for too strident opposition to the government, and their example was an object lesson to the editors of other publications.

Despite their disagreements over policy, there was a good deal of contact between leading white press and government figures. An annual private dinner was held between the Prime Minister and the country's white editors to let the pressmen gauge the government's mood. In 1973, as political turbulence increased, this was supplemented by a public demand from Prime Minister John Vorster for the press to "set its house in order," backed by a threat of punitive legislation, which led to a tightening of self-censorship.[36] Nonetheless, in that era "newspaper editors and cabinet ministers had at least a fairly informal relationship, and observed certain niceties even across political barriers, such as the exchanging of Christmas cards or letters of condolence on bereavement." Even a maverick like Donald Woods of the Dispatch could play the game, appealing successfully to Vorster to help block a conservative takeover of SAAN and sending a note of congratulations on the appointment as Justice Minister of Jimmy Kruger -- in the custody of whose police Woods' friend Steve Biko would die[37] To most of the leading figures in the White Establishment, what they had in common -- a commitment to white leadership, hostility to revolution and Communism -- was more important than their differences.

For black reporters, the seamless web of white control of the press created intense frustration. A substantial majority of those who answered a 1969 survey were hostile to the editorial policy of their papers. The same survey found that just eight of 39 African reporters thought the press performed its functions well or fairly well, while a poll three years later in Johannesburg felt that only 3 of 25 felt it did so.[38] Nonetheless, their anger was hushed by their lack of alternatives. "For years I wrote silly township stories, but could not shoot off my mouth about my frustrations because I would lose my job," said one black reporter from The Star. "There are so few jobs open to us, we cannot afford to lose a job if we have one," echoed a colleague on the Cape Herald. "If we are unhappy, we have no choice but to suffer."[39]

Despite their grievances, however, black journalists lacked any organizational outlet for them until 1973. In 1962, the membership of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ, officially non-racial but overwhelmingly white) had voted to register as a union under the Industrial Conciliation Act. This meant excluding Africans and relegating colored and Indian journalists to separate, segregated branches represented by whites on the National Council. SASJ wage agreements with employers accepted racially discriminatory wage scales.[40] In 1973, the SASJ was challenged to de-register and admit all races

by black journalists from the Cape Herald and white liberals from the Rand Daily Mail, who jointly nominated a colored journalist, Ted Doman, for the National Council. At the 1973 SASJ Congress, hostility to de-registration was so strong it was dismissed without a vote, and Doman's nomination was not accepted. Shocked and furious, the 30 colored and African members of the Cape Western branch all resigned from the SASJ. Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, black and liberal white journalists had formed the non-racial South African Journalists Association three years before, but succeeded in organizing little more than an annual party. Ideological tensions within the organization came to the braking point when one of the leaders, Patrick Laurence of The Star, put a South African flag on the platform at a meeting in late 1972 (check). He saw it as a symbol of the inclusion of blacks -- but they saw it as the symbol of their oppression. In the ensuing controversy almost all the whites walked out -- and the black journalists found themselves in the same position as the black students who left NUSAS five years earlier: on their own.[41]

By the time the black journalists had reached the parting of the ways with their white colleagues, the BCM had come to have growing influence among them through professional and social contact. No reporters had been invited to the SASO (South African Students Organization) 1969 founding conference to avoid making waves before the organization presented itself to students, but from 1970 on SASO's leaders (particularly Biko) courted press coverage of their conferences and activities and befriended journalists. As SASO and the other BC groups became more active, black journalists spent an increasing amount of time covering them, especially on the black-oriented papers. Seria, for example, recalls his first meeting with SASO activists as 1971 after their successful fight to establish a Students Representatives Council, when he met a straggly-looking Johnny Issel wearing a long greatcoat. Contact became more regular after the 1972 student protests shut all the black universities, demonstrating SASO's significance even to skeptical white editors. "After that, you had to check with them on almost a daily basis," says Harry Mashabela.[42] In turn the black journalists were increasingly drawn into the intense, bond-forming social gatherings of BC circles. Bokwe Mafuna, a Rand Daily Mail journalist who met Biko at one of them, described the role played for him by the gumba circuit: "They were social events which had a lot of political significance, where people met one another from all over the country, where you could speak out, pour out your souls to one another." Contact with BC activists, along with talk and readings about BC ideas, were increasingly part of the zeitgeist of the black intelligentsia in the 70s. "It was in the climate of the times, so I got involved," recalls Juby Mayet, who wrote then for Drum magazine.[43]

In addition to the BCM, another politicizing influence on the black journalists was the underground liberation movements. As the ANC and PAC began in the early 1970s to recover from their banning, journalists were among the targets of their propaganda

efforts, receiving both externally published material and, in the case of the ANC, some internally produced publications. Latakgomo of The World received the ANC monthly Sechaba several times a year and regularly got PAC publications. Duma Ndlovu couriered copies of Sechaba into the country for distribution to other BC activists, while he was lobbied and given publications by internal PAC activist Don Mkhwanazi. (Not all journalists on The World received such propaganda, however: Mthimkhulu, for one, never saw any.) In Cape Town, Seria received material in the post from the ANC, and even more from the SACP.[44] Beyond receiving propaganda, a few black journalists were active themselves in the underground. For example, Harry Mashabela was recruited by Anthony Holliday of the Rand Daily Mail to help prepare and distribute ANC and SACP pamphlets during the early 1970s, and Joe Thloloe of Drum was active in the PAC.[45]

With the multi-racial SAJA in disarray, and growing awareness of Black Consciousness and other political movements among black journalists, by 1973 the time was ripe for their discontent to take an organized form.[46] In January, the SAJA annual meeting was held at The World's offices, with no whites in attendance. They were addressed by Mafuna, who had dramatically resigned from the Mail during the 1972 SASO conference, and other BC activists. The BC men argued that black journalists should promote resistance to apartheid and the BCM, and urged them to reconstitute the organization without whites. Some older journalists in leading positions in SAJA opposed the plan, hostile to the militancy of the younger journalists, the involvement of "outsiders", and the racial exclusivity of the proposed organization. However, the majority backed the proposal, and the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ) was founded in Soweto on February 12, 1973, with Harry Mashabela as President. The SASO influence was evident: the UBJ constitution was initially based on SASO's, with "journalist" substituted for "student". The black Cape Town journalists who had left the SASJ decided early in 1974 to join the UBJ. At about the same time, the new union was also joined by several coloured and Indian journalists in Johannesburg after the SASJ failed to keep a pledge to establish a non-racial training program.[47]

Despite this promising start, the UBJ remained organizationally weak in its early years.[48] Tension existed between journalists who wanted a militantly BC leadership and Mashabela, who despite his secret ANC ties was perceived publicly as a mild-mannered liberal. The organization was also not spared by the 1973 bannings of BC activists. The orders prohibiting union and political activity imposed on Vice President Bokwe Mafuna and National Organizer Don Mattera in _____ help explain why organizing efforts were weak, record-keeping poor, and structures poorly consolidated. In any case, in Johannesburg the UBJ had a few members at the Mail and Drum, Mashabela was alone at The Star, and at The World -- the union's principal base --there was resistance from hostile management and nervous members. The Cape Town members were isolated by the lack of leadership in Johannesburg, while in Durban, the choice as branch organizer of an Indian journalist, Maraimuthu Subramoney, the

union's first member there, meant that the African reporters at Ilanga refused to join.

From 1975, the UBJ was reinvigorated by an infusion of new blood. At its annual meeting that year, membership discontent led to the election of a new executive, with Joe Thloloe as President and Juby Mayet as Secretary. Temperamentally, the new leaders seemed opposites: the slight, short, round-faced Thloloe, intense, and soft-spoken, and the exuberant Mayet, brassy, beautiful, and with a reputation as a hell-raiser from her younger days. But they proved an effective team, contacting journalists in different centers, re-organizing branches, and setting up records. They made a significant advance later that year, when the Eastern Cape branch was launched, largely on the initiative of Tenji Mtintso, bringing together the black journalists from the Dispatch and a few from Imvo and Black Community Programs in King. Mtintso was representative of a number of younger journalists joining the profession after exposure to the BCM at university or high school (also including Ndlovu, an ex-SASM activist, and Moegsien Williams of The Argus, previously on the SASO regional executive at UWC.[49] Militancy was also promoted by a gradual growth in the number of journalists with ties to the liberation movements (particularly the ANC). ANC and ex-SASM activist Siphiwe Nyanda joined The World, where he worked with his close friend and ANC sympathiser Duma Ndlovu. Nat Diseko, who worked for the Rand Daily Mail, was the brother of SASM President and ANC sympathiser Mathe Diskeo.In the Eastern Cape, heartland of the ANC, material from the liberation movements began to trickle into the hands of journalists after the independence of Mozambique and contacts between Saso leaders and the ANC. Mtintso saw her first Freedom Charter in 1975, when Mapetla Mohapi showed it to her, while Charles Nquakula, elected the UBJ's Border Vice-President in 1976, was recruited into the ANC underground in the same year.[50] The influence of the union activists was reinforced by the black journalists' growing contact with the BCM as its activities and media coverage expanded, as well as the quickening pace of political activity inside and outside the country. A highly successful national conference was held in Soweto in July 1976, catalyzed by the shock of the uprising which began the month before, and accompanied by successful moves for recognition by the International Federation of Journalists. By 1977, the UBJ's membership was estimated at 100 to 150, a clear majority of the country's black journalists. Although it never became a strong union in the traditional industrial sense -- a well-organized body negotiating the wages and working conditions of its members --the UBJ and other BC connections played a key role in helping black journalists become an influential pressure group within the industry on journalistic and political issues.[51]

Perhaps the most important function of the UBJ and the more informal networks among black journalists and activists in those years was to connect them with each other and with movements active in the country. Journalists came into contact through meetings, taking joint stands, informal discussions and parties, and producing and reading the two issues published of the UBJ's

Bulletin. All these things helped breach the isolation and mutual snobbery that divided black journalists as individuals and as staffers on competing papers. This, in turn, encouraged professional and personal solidarity. Mtintso says that after the coming of the union to the Eastern Cape, her colleagues advised her on how to make up for her lack of formal professional training and came at her request to cover a dressing-down she received from Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe. Reciprocally, she briefed them on the death in detention of Mapetla Mohapi, instead of going for an exclusive scoop.[52] The UBJ would also help journalists detained or banned, launching protests at home and abroad, buying groceries, visiting families, and the like. Equally important, the union and other BC contacts provided a forum for politicizing debates and discussion. The most pervasive form of discussion was those on a day-to-day basis among news staff -- bull sessions, tearoom chats, arguments with editors, or in shebeens after work. The participation of UBJ delegations at meetings and social gatherings of other BC groups also meant that they were exposed to the movement's ideas, activities, and -- at times -- its criticism. (The journalists smarted at the nickname some SASO members gave the UBJ: Useless Black Jacks.)

There were also debates within the ranks of the UBJ itself, in which representatives of SASO and BPC often participated.[53] The most important turned around the political commitment of journalists, expressed as a challenge to the traditional professional concept of objectivity: "Are you a journalist first, or are you black first?"[54] The BC activists were not principally advocating the distortion or suppression of news, but rather questioned the priorities of coverage, and the slant and wording of stories and headlines. In particular, they argued that in South Africa;s peculiar authoritarian context, the mechanical application of the traditional canons of objectivity by the liberal English press gave the views of government officials or government-connected black figures greater space than that given opposition figures expressing more popular views. The question was long discussed in UBJ circles, and finally debated at a seminar in Soweto in June 1977. There, Mike Norton and Revelation Ntoula of the new SACC paper, The Voice, argued, "To ask the Black journalist to enslave himself to unemotional nonpartisan objectivity when it is impossible to be unemotional while faced with black suffering and when he is, indeed, partisan to the black cause ... is asking him to deny himself." For the other side, Thami Mazwai of The World replied that the problems facing black journalists in South Africa were not unique, and that objectivity was the "very life blood" of the profession -- but his was ever more of a minority view within black journalistic circles.[55] The question of political engagement also surfaced in connection with UBJ officers supporting policy decisions of other BC organizations. In late 1976, BPC officials met informally with the UBJ leadership at Dr. Ntatho Motlana's home in Soweto to discuss the journalists' concern that a declaration opposing the homelands policy was "too political" for the organization. The discussion reached a consensus that "black journalists were important to the BCM and had to take on a

responsible political role."[56] Such discussions, along with events in the country and outside, undoubtedly had a radicalizing effect on black journalists. When Whitehead surveyed 28 black Johannesburg journalists in 1977, she found that they were "highly politicized," and two-thirds said their political beliefs affected their reporting.[57]

Besides directly exposing black journalists to new and challenging political ideas, the major impact of the BCM upon them seems to have been promoting a sense of psychological liberation. Almost every journalist involved recalls how the UBJ fostered a sense of unity and community among journalists. A typical comment comes from Mothobi Mutloatse:

> "It brought a sense of comradeship. We were isolated individuals -- it brought us together. ... We realized how powerful we could be."[58]

By breaking down the atomization imposed on journalists (like other members of the black petit bourgeoisie) by political repression, the BCM lowered the dangers of addressing political issues and increased their willingness to take risks. The outspokenness this encouraged could be seen in the changes evident in the writings of a man like the Daily Dispatch's Leslie Xinwa, an ex-Robben Islander who had tried to distance himself from politics. It was not lost on the authorities: "You could assess how we shifted positions by the attention the Special Branch paid to Xinwa," says Tenji Mtintso.[59] Black journalists are also unanimous about the important of the pride and self-confidence which the Movement encouraged them to feel both as blacks and as professional journalists. Mafuna says, "I had grown up in an environment of conflict all my life and here, for once, I was with people with whom I could be at ease, among whom I could start believing in myself."[60] Even many of the older journalists displayed a new seriousness of purpose on the job, and a number reduced or kicked their drinking habits altogether.[61] As the mood in the newsroom changed, job satisfaction rose sharply: 25 of the 28 reporters surveyed by Whitehead in 1977 said their newspapers performed its role at least adequately, and 13 felt it performed well (while just 3 out of 25 had given the same response to St. Leger five years before.)[62]

(needs concluding graf)

III. JOURNALISTS' STRUGGLES

The emergence of the black journalists movement, based on their new numbers, organization, ideas, and self-confidence, also gave rise to struggles to transform the black press, whose success in turn strengthened the movement and changed what was published. The World offers one of the most important examples, where a steady and increasingly effective effort by black editorial staff from 1973 on turned a scandal sheet into a politicized mass-circulation daily more than comparable to overseas working-class tabloids. This section is a case study of the struggles which occurred at The World and the changes that resulted in the paper. Similar changes occurred at the Cape

Herald, and important if less dramatic ones in the black editions of white papers like the Rand Daily Mail and Daily Dispatch. While the efforts of black journalists and the flow of events were the driving forces in these changes, they had important allies in the small but active group of liberal (and in a few cases, radical) white journalists.

At The World, one bone of contention was the coverage of BC organizations. The paper didn't report on SASO's first three conferences in 1968, 1969, and 1970. It began to carry stories on them in 1971, along with others on the series of meetings which led to the formation of the BPC (meetings chaired, not co-incidentally, by World editor Moerane). By this stage, Moerane seemed finally to have accepted the BC leadership as part of the elite black circles which The World had traditionally covered. But there were still disputes about the groups in the newsroom: the paper often failed to assign reporters to cover SASO meetings, carrying wire service reports instead.[63] The tension between politically-inclined reporters and the editor over the BCM is evident in the paper's treatment of the thirteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings in 1973: two days before the anniversary a young reporter, Don Manaka, published a piece on the Sharpeville Youth Organization's commemoration service, while on the day the editor ignored it altogether.[64]

After The World began paying attention to the emergent BC political elite, its failure to cover mass struggles (which could lead to accusations of agitation) became the subject of dispute. For instance, the July 1972 student strikes which paralyzed the black campuses appear to have been ignored by The World (re-check). The turning point came with the Durban strikes of January-February 1973, the first major strike wave of the 1970s in South Africa. The editorial director, Charles Steele, regarded them as distant and unimportant to its readers. So the paper ran nothing on them from their outbreak January 31 through February 6, although they were front-page news in the white dailies. But for Percy Qoboza, the deputy editor, and news editor Joe Latakgomo, the strikes were a vital development, and they argued vigorously for covering them. Their chance came February 7, when a football league dispute led to a suspension of matches, robbing Steele of his favorite front-page subject and letting Qoboza and Latakgomo put the strikes there instead.[65] The UBJ got involved at a meeting the next week, where its members compared The World's coverage of the strikes with the Rand Daily Mail's and released a statement critical of the black paper. The attack drew a furious response in print from Moerane -- but almost immediately The World began to do a better job of reporting social conflicts, particularly around Johannesburg.[66]

Yet such confrontations, while dramatic and important, were also rare. Many more battles in the struggle to change the paper were fought on an ongoing basis in the newsroom. "It was day-to-day issues -- a slow process of transforming the newspapers," says Joe Thloloe. "It was something you fought at conferences daily."[67] The black journalists were particularly critical of the emphasis in front-page leads on sport, crime, and other

sensational subjects. There were also interminable arguments with the subs over the choice and editing of stories. Latakgomo says:

> "Even when a report [on BC activities] did come through, the telex was in the subs room. We were not aware it had come through. the whole structure censored news without our being aware."[68]

The activist journalists at The World acquired important allies in 1974, when Qoboza replaced Moerane as editor and Latakgomo became his deputy. Qoboza had been born in 1939 in Sophiatown, where at his mine-worker father's insistence he received a strict Catholic upbringing and education. (Ultimately he became national President of Young Christian Workers.)[69] He tasted the brutality of apartheid firsthand as a teenager in the 1950s, when his family was removed to Soweto on open army trucks in the pouring rain and he contracted double pneumonia. After school, he worked as a clerk for Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department, then joined the Progressive Party. His politics were broadly liberal -- opposed to the homelands, favorable to capitalism, sympathetic to nationalist ideas -- but he was more outspoken and had more of the popular touch than the snobbish Moerane. He rose rapidly after joining The World in 196_, becoming editor at just 35. Physically, he was round-faced, with a high forehead, broad nose and lips; he was stocky and round-shouldered, though a bit above average in height. Personally, he left a deep impression, with his flamboyance, powerful laugh, colloquial language, and considerable ability. Don Pinnock tells how, two weeks after joining The World in 1972 as an earnest young liberal white sub, he was stunned to see Qoboza, displeased with a story just handed in, jump onto his desk and shout, "You kaffirs! You think you can write?"[70] Though known to like his liquor himself, Qoboza was a tough disciplinarian -- considered necessary in the boozy World newsroom. Qoboza almost suspended Mothobi Mutloatse the week he had been hired, after he had gone on a drinking binge with colleagues. When he asked Qoboza how he could not have gone, the former Catholic schoolboy was blunt: "You should have said no!"[71] Qoboza's second-in-command was the affable but highly professional Latakgomo, a barrel-chested, square-jawed man from Pretoria, the son of a domestic worker who had raised him without a father. Less colorful but more reliable than qoboza, he rose steadily through the ranks after joining The World in 1967. When Qoboza was away at Harvard on a Nieman Fellowship from September 1975 to June 1976, Latakgomo filled in as editor. The year abroad was important for Qoboza -- he read Malcolm X and African nationalist authors, and came home angrier, more impatient, and more militant. Although as editors Qoboza and Latakgomo could not play leading roles int he UBJ, they were broadly sympathetic to BC. They also possessed two important liberal white colleagues at the paper, World manager John Marquard and (from 1976) Weekend World editorial director Dennis Beckett. Increasingly, they challenged Steele's influence over the paper's editorial content and line, until the Argus company finally agreed to remove the editorial director and give them full control of the paper soon after Qoboza's return from the U.S.

The key role which Black Consciousness played in these struggles, as an inspiration and a source of mutual aid and encouragement, is acknowledged by journalists of the era. "We identified closely with the BCM," recalls Mthimkhulu, "and we tried in our news coverage to reflect the viewpoint of the BCM". Latakgomo says, "We tried to move BC from the higher level of the Bikos, Tiros, and Nengwekhulus who had it at the universities."

As the black reporters became increasingly politicized, tensions between them and the white subs mounted. It came to a head in April 1976, when a meeting was held to address the issue (what precipitated it?). There the reporters won the day: it was decided that major revisions to stories would be made only with the approval of the reporter or news editor. The net result of this and the earlier struggles is described by Latakgomo: "By early 1976, we were able, perhaps more so than any other publication, to write strongly on the issues of the time."[72]

(needs concluding graf)

IV. CONTENT AND DISCOURSE

What the black press wrote about, and how they wrote about it, was powerfully affected by the ideas and action of the BCM. The black press had been largely depoliticized in the 1960s, and most of the limited political comment which remained was supportive of the status quo. Both its content and discourse changed sharply in the 1970s, in large part reflecting the efforts and influence of BC activists. These changes can be clearly seen in the pages of The World. How it changed can be seen from the quantitative content analysis of the paper in 1959, 1968, and 1976 conducted by St. Leger. The new voice it found will be explored through a qualitative textual analysis of its treatment of major themes between 1973 and 1976.

The extent of the changes in the black press in the 1970s can be fully appreciated only if the thoroughness of the depoliticization of the 1960s is understood. In that era, the stick of repression and the carrot of an increasingly profitable market led to the taming of a fairly vigourous set of newspapers and periodicals.

Quote St. Leger 201, "The result..."

Reflecting the shift to sensationalism, the proportion of front-page leads on serious topics (politics, labor, national issues) in The World declined by 70% between 1959 and 1968.[73] In the latter year, readers were treated to headlines like "Joe Ngidi flattens Carlton" (boxing). "We play our news safe," a World reporter told St. Leger. "The World tends to sit on the fence."[74] Indeed, his content analysis found that the average issue of The World in 1968 carried only half as many items of social criticism as it had in 1959. South African politics was the subject of almost two-thirds of the editorials in 1959, against just 43% in 1968 -- most of which were "mild", according

to St. Leger, and focussed on official political institutions (the bantustans and Urban Bantu Councils). The World had become so apolitical that when Denis Beckett queried why a typesetter had replaced "socialist" in a reporter's copy with "socialite", he was told, "I'm so used to seeing socialite, I thought it was a mistake!"[75]

As the 1970s progressed, The World changed. "There was a conscious decision to move away from a sex, sport, and booze paper, to a responsible, politically aware newspaper," according to Joe Latakgomo. The proportion of front-page leads dealing with serious issues more than tripled compared to 1968's 20%, reaching 72% in 1976. The share of them which dealt with the bantustans fell by two-thirds, with a similar decline for the UBC's, while increased attention was given to extraparliamentary black political parties. The new headlines included items like "SASO denies Buthelezi demo" and "Fears Hit Transkei Opposition Party".[76] Editorial content also changed sharply. The news space devoted to accidents, sport, and crime was cut by almost half between 1968 and 1976, from 44% to 23%, while the space given news and feature reports on politics and society more than doubled. In comparative terms, the proportion of serious news and features in The World in 1968 had been like that of U.K. working class tabloids such as the Mirror or Express, and little more than one-third that of the Rand Daily Mail. In 1976, the share of serious news and features in The World was twice that of the British tabloids and almost equal to that of the Mail. The paper's editorials also became more political in focus (62% in the first half of 1976), and more vigorous and biting.[77]

(needs transitional graf for move to textual analysis. note debt to diaz and thompson.)

The social categories of discourse used by The World in this era are, above all, racial, with blacks understood as victims of racism and indignity. Other social divisions appear in a minor key before the overwhelming role of race in South African life. "Black" is understood as meaning all South Africans of color, or all the oppressed.[78] The principal images associated with it are ones of pathos, humiliation, and dehumanization -- blacks as objects, not actors.[79] Thus, for instance, an expose on the squatters of Winterveld describes them as "crushed" into shanties, facing "exploitation and poverty".[80] Black workers have "meager" earnings; they are "desperate" and "fighting to make ends meet".[81] The black experience is one of "hardship, political repression, economic deprivation, and exposure to white values."[82] A legion of other examples could be cited. The emphasis on suffering in the texts -- a strongly Christian theme -- carries with it an undertone that it is part of the path to redemption (a victim of the struggle such as Tiro is described as a "martyr".)[83] This imagery is associated with hints of an apocalypse to come: in 1976, in particular, there are repeated references to an impending black "explosion" and warnings of an end of days ("time is running short").[84]

A second emphasis in the discourse of The World is the revaluation of blacks and the putting of whites into their place, although less explicitly than in elite BC discussions. For example, Patrick Lekota is quoted during the SASO trial as saying, "The blacks are seen as sub-humans who should become human, and the whites who are seen as super-human must also become human."[85] The claim here, too, is frequently based on Christianity: blacks are created in the image of God, just like whites. Less frequent are direct put-downs of whites, such as Saths Cooper's declaration, "Whites are racists," or Percy Qoboza's exclamation that the first whites arrived in South Africa "penniless, cattleless, and generally vagabonding round the world aimlessly."[86]

The political discourse of The World was liberal democratic, with an emphasis on blacks' claim to citizenship of South Africa and the full rights of citizenship, including the vote. The cornerstone was the frequently repeated notion that South African citizenship was the "birthright" of all blacks, particularly urban blacks with weak homeland ties.[87] The paper's rhetoric concerning political rights was increasingly assertive: Buthelezi's call for majority rule at a Soweto rally in March 1976 was the front page lead, and a day later an editorial said it reflected "majority black thinking." Two weeks later a news story reported Sonny Leon's claim, "Blacks in South Africa will take nothing less than full citizenship."[88]

The other major political theme could be described as constitutionalism: the rights of blacks to equal protection of the law, free speech, and due process. A particular focus was the violation of these rights by the courts, police, and security laws. Many blacks were exposed to the hard edge of the law under apartheid, and the paper looked at this. For example, an Umlazi court where prosecutors and magistrates were drunk is termed a "court of injustice."[89] It gave special attention to the treatment of BCM activists. The 1973 bans on SASO and UBJ activists are criticized as "simply for being opposed to the apartheid system" -- a violation of free speech.[90] The harassment of SASO activists by the police is reported as a violation of civil rights and a form of political intimidation.[91] The detainees held after the September 1974 Frelimo rallies, some of whom were later tried in the SASO-BPC case, received extensive and sympathetic coverage, including reports of demands for their release. One of the strongest referred to "arbitrary arrest and detention incommunicado under the unacceptable laws of the government."[92] The World also reported attacks on the SAP's banning, detention, and torture of Barney Pityana published in the London Times by columnist Bernard Levin. Thus, the tension between the discourse of constitutionalism and rights articulated in The World and the principles and practices under which the black majority was ruled became increasingly evident.

Accordingly, the paper also showed a growing hostility to the clientelist state-created political institutions, and became ever more direct in questioning the legitimacy of the state. In the 1960s, under Moerane, the paper took an accomodationist

stance. An editorial urged Sowetans to the polls in the 1968 UBC election, saying the "future of our people" depended upon it and praising the candidates for "service", "integrity", and their "ability and programs."[93] The paper's line had changed sharply by the 1975 UBC election, which a leader noted received "minimal interest" in the township because of the council's lack of power. "People do not take the UBCs seriously," wrote Latakgomo in his column while acting as editor in 1976.[94] Similarly, while the paper was generally supportive of the bantustans in the 1960s, it swung to focus on bantustan leaders critical of apartheid in the early 70s, then became openly hostile to the whole system by the middle of the decade. This hardening of positions was linked to the approach of the first date set for the declaration of a bantustan's "independence," that of the Transkei in October 1976. The policy of forcing urban blacks to take the citizenship of homelands they had "never seen" was termed "tragic,", and Gatsha Buthelezi's dismissal of independence as merely the "formal trappings of power" was prominently run.[95] Even a conservative like Moerane was sufficiently alarmed to write after his retirement that the "bantustan policy was designed to deflect the legitimate demand of blacks for full participation" in South African politics."[96] In other worlds, the paper's stance increasingly moved towards the non-collaborationist line of the BCM and the rejection it advanced of the philosophy of indirect rule traditionally legitimating the South African state.

As the paper displayed less sympathy for the blacks working within the system, The World displayed growing warmth towards the extra-parliamentary activities of the BCM. During the mid-70s, reporting and comment on the movement's organizations and their activities became increasingly frequent and favorable, though not completely uncritical. A 1971 leader termed SASO's challenge to separate development a "national service," while two years later the cause of the banned SASO men was described as "honest truth and justice."[97] The 1974 BPC-sponsored Black Renaissance Convention was "the voice of the black man speaking. An article on the unveiling of Tiro's tombstone called him a "hero" as well as "martyr", and, equally important, helped mobilization by telling how to catch busses there. The key qualification in the paper's attitude towards the movement was its repeated criticism of the sectarianism of BC leaders, calling on them to co-operate with critical blacks working within the system in the name of black unity. Thus, one leader published during SASO's 1974 conference stated that although the organization played a "valuable role," it displayed an "insulting," "know-all" attitude towards blacks of other views.[98]

Reporting on the movement's ideology itself, although neutral in tone, became increasingly extensive and detailed. In the early years, it largely consisted of reports of SASO and BPC conferences and public meetings, often taken from the wires.[99] However, the most extensive, systematic presentation of BC ideas in The World came during the defense at the SASO trial during the first half of 1976. In this period, many of the major leaders testified, including Saths Cooper, Lekota, and Muntu Myeza. Above all, Steve Biko received his first public platform since

his banning. For the black public, this was the first chance to read a sustained, detailed discussion of the ends and ideas of the Black Consciousness Movement. Altogether, the representation of the BCM in the black press helped suggest the renewed possibility of extra-parliamentary political action and widened the bounds of political discourse. Cooper testified in the SASO-BPC trial that BC had "come to show blacks there is hope" (date?) -- and the black press brought that message to a vast audience.

The discourse of The World in this era on socio-economic issues was one which presented blacks as possessing rights they could assert, and to which capital and the state should respond. This was implicit in the litany of social exposes published regularly in the newspaper: stories describing blacks' poverty, low wages, poor housing and educational conditions, and their regimentation via the pass laws, hostels, and the like.[100] The fact of reporting these stories suggested that blacks had social and economic entitlements as workers and members of the community to fair treatment and decent living conditions. Implicit, too, was the notion of the mutability of the social order: if conditions could not be imagined otherwise they would not have been news worth reporting (as indeed they had not been a few years earlier). The coverage also underlined that the same situation was shared by blacks throughout South Africa, setting a new frame of reference for the rights-based conceptualization of self proposed. The most corrosive social criticism took the form of satire -- especially the time-honored black journalistic tradition of imagining whites in blacks' places or vice-versa. Thus, when Vorster asserted in parliament that the differences between black and white in South Africa were "geographical", not discriminatory, The World reprinted part of a photo-montage from Drum titled, "If Mr. Vorster turned black..." The pictures slyly changed Mr. Vorster into a black manual laborer, letting black readers delight in seeing him awakening in a hostel bunk, working on a road gang, hiding from the police without his pass, and -- sweetest of all -- being endorsed out to his homeland. They dramatically underlined the differences in living conditions and legal status between black and white, and suggested that the head of government himself was not above ridicule by blacks.[101]

The coverage of the mass struggles of the mid-1970s in The World, and the paper's attitude towards them, also emphasised the belief that blacks possessed social and economic rights which they were capable of asserting. From the Durban strikes on, many reports revealed the strength and frequent effectiveness of strikes, bus boycotts, and the like.[102] The very terms in which non-violent mass action was reported underlined blacks' ability to wield power: "massive" actions, which "crippled" whole industrial areas, etc.[103] Editorials and news features took a more sympathetic attitude towards mass action than in Moerane's day, arguing that the origins of protest lay not in agitation but in social injustice, against which protest was a right.[104] The paper's discussions of strikes and boycotts showed an awareness of black workers as a group with considerable power due to their numbers, but not as a social group with interests opposed to those of other blacks. Their self-assertion was seen

as a part of broader black self-assertion.

The treatment of social and economic issues in The World also revealed a concept of the state as the enforcer of social rights. This understanding implied the idea of the state as a neutral social arbiter -- ideally, if not in the specific circumstances of the racially structured state existing in south Africa. Whether discussing the plight of black bus commuters or urging the recognition of black trade unions, a softer line on Afrikaans-medium instruction in black schools or the scrapping of race discrimination, the interlocutor addressed is the state.[105] It is urged to act in strong yet respectful, constitutional tones, in its own interests and those of the country. Blacks were not expected to rely solely on the benevolence of the state -- the right to protest and non-violent mass action was clearly accepted -- but the state was presented as one which was or should have been capable of responding in the interests of the community as a whole. The background was clearly a social democratic or welfare-state position, distinct both from that of official policy -- which offered traditional society and the homelands as the solution to black welfare -- and from the socialist, anti-capitalist vision growing in popularity among the radicalizing intellectual BC activists.

A topic which grew steadily in importance in the pages of The World in 1974-76 was the South African liberation movements, particularly the ANC. Although the movements were banned, as was overtly promoting their ends and quoting their leaders, this restriction did not eliminate coverage. Their legalization was urged in the name of democratic principles, while reports of their clandestine activity carried an implicit menace of violent conflict. The major thrust of The world's reporting and editorials on the liberation movements was the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and their recognition as representatives of black South Africans. This was openly proposed in leaders, through sympathetic reports on public meetings and appeals urging their release, and by closely following official discussions of the issue.[106] There were also occasional reports of public events involving the movements' leaders or members, including honors awarded abroad or funerals at home.[107] The rhetoric of these articles was still that of democratic liberalism: one editorial urged that the solution of the country's problems required that the "country's black leaders are recognized and have a part in discussions," just as the South African government had accepted they had to in Rhodesia.[108] Such treatment was a demonstration of the respectability and political significance of organizations which the authorities had labelled as "terrorist." Coverage also served to keep their leaders and prominent personalities in the limelight. Thus Leabua Jonathan praised Albert Luthuli as a "great African"; Winnie Mandela became after her 1974 unbanning the mouthpiece of her imprisoned husband; and official consideration of Mandela's release gave Weekend World the nerved to print his picture twice in 1976, contravening the Prisons Act prohibition on publishing photos of prisoners.[109]

Alongside the overt discourse of democracy and clemency towards the liberation movements, a sub-theme in The World from 1973 on was that the banned movements were active underground. There were reports of their propaganda activity, both direct -- such as ANC leaflet bombs, and covert -- such as publicity given meetings of a Reef-based PAC front group, the Young African Christian Movement.[110] There were also reports of raids and arrests of guerilla recruitment networks, which suggested (and perhaps allowed feverish imaginations to exaggerate) the extent to which underground was active.[111] Most important of all was coverage of the steadily quickening pace of political trials involving members of both groups, but particularly the ANC. Ironically, while the incriminating evidence led in these cases made matters worse for the defendants, it only offered proof to the black public that the movements were not dead, while the statements of convicted defendants before sentencing offered them a direct platform to address the masses which they were quick to use. As early as the Moumbaris trial of 1973, The World carried a report of testimony by an ANC member that the organization had "young men prepared to fight."[112] Such reports appeared with growing frequency. In the early months of 1976, two major guerilla recruiting trials in which BC activists were tied to ANC networks, the Molokeng and Tshabalala cases, were being heard and reported in detail in The World. Day after day, World readers following the Molokeng case learned of testimony regarding the involvement of NAYO and TRAYO activists in forming revolutionary cells and planning surveillance for sabotage activities. During the Tshabalala case, which involved similar charges, Duma Ndlovu filed a report which was practically a how-to guide for would-be guerillas. It explained how the accused students had listened to Zambian radio, which called for volunteers to go to Zambia via Botswana for training to overthrow the South African government.[113] The trial reports were neutral in tone, but significant simply for appearing and receiving ample space. They were proof the liberation movements had not been wiped out by state repression, and implied that their preparations for guerilla war might offer an alternative to the politics of collaboration.

(page lost regarding paper's treatment of guerilla struggles in neighboring countries in 1973-74. Must be made up from notes on subject. note mostly wire service copy, hostile attitudes from heads, placement, and captions, reference to fighters as terrorists, conflict of black journalists with subs over this.)

In 1975-76, as Qoboza and Latakgomo strengthened their control over the paper, there was a significant change of tone, suggesting greater legitimacy for and respect for the effectiveness of African guerilla activity. The new editors' attitude differed sharply from the old on armed struggle. In early 1976, an editorial stated, "If Smith does not settle now, he will deserve everything that comes his way."[114] Headlines referred much more frequently to "guerillas," recognizing black fighters as combatants rather than wanton killers, although lingering tension in the subs room was reflected in some references to "terrorists".[115] The seriousness with which the

nationalists' armed struggle was taken by African leaders was also emphasized. The front-page lead headline on their calls for stepped-up guerilla activity in Rhodesia after the 1976 Smith-Nkomo talks failed could hardly have been more explicit: "Africa Beats The Drums Of War."[116] The effectiveness of armed action was also shown increasingly clearly: "The question is how long Rhodesia can comfortably hold out;" or, more bluntly, "Rhodesian security plummets." By late May 1976, an Argus report noted that guerillas were just 40km from the capital and asked, "How long can it be before they start to hit the city itself?"[117] An equally object demonstration of black power via guerilla warfare came from the independence of the Portugese territories, obtained through the barrel of a gun in 1975. The World showed the rapturous welcome afforded Samora Machel as a conquering hero on his return to Mozambique. A picture caption declared he was "setting Cabo Delgado alight with excitement," while his return to the capital merited a front-page lead (30,000 Greet Machel in LM.")[118] The extensive reporting of South Africa's defeat by Angolan and Cuban forces in Angola, while more circumspect due to South African military censorship, must have underscored the vulnerability of white minority rule.

The World's treatment of armed struggle is interesting if viewed within its overall discourse of democratic libralism. Its increasing sympathy for the guerilla struggles in Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Angola, and with it the acceptance of revolution against intransigent white authority, had unmistakeable implications for South Africa as the liberation movements geared up for armed struggle there too. The BC theme -- the capacity of blacks to act, and indeed, to overthrow white-dominated regimes -- was not undermined by the hostile tone of much of the wire copy run. The images stirred were both Fanonist (the revenge of the native -- particularly in the gory accounts of guerilla action in which the conservative white Argus reporters gloried) and Christian (the consumation of the apocalypse, in which the last become first.) However, the reporting and comment dealt almost exclusively with African guerilla movements. Their struggles were not linked to guerilla movements elsewhere (the armed struggles of Vietnam, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Latin America were virtually ignored). In this focus on African nationalism rather than a broader anti-imperialism, the black journalists differed from the broader Third World solidarity and anti-Western stance gaining ground among BC intellectuals.

In sum, how can the impact of the BCM and the struggles of black journalist on what The World published be described? In terms of content, the paper went back to the high levels of politicization which had marked it in the 1950s. In terms of its discourse, the result was a forceful articulation of liberal democratic and social democratic themes: citizenship, rights, blacks' capacity for mass struggle, and state intervention in the economy. But the paper in this era was distinctive from earlier years in its emphasis on BC themes, explicit, prismed, or in the form of presuppositions. These included the definition of blackness, assertive and militant claims to black majority rule

and state resources, the articulation of BC ideology, and reports on the activity of Black Consciousness organizations. Most important of all was a willingness to envision the use of violence to obtain national liberation -- a sharp departure from pre-1960 themes. The World was neither overtly agitational in the sense of party newspapers nor "revolutionary" in the socialist sense of the term. Indeed, striking by their absence are the Marxist, Freirean, and anti-imperialist impulses increasingly evident among BC or liberation movement intellectuals in this era. But increasingly vigorous political and social discourses were articulated in its pages -- as in other black-oriented papers -- and broadcast to a black audience unprecedented in its size and diversity.

(needs conclusion)

1. This is discussed at greater length in Craig Charney, "From Resistance to Reconstruction: Towards a New Research Agenda on South African Politics," Journal of Southern African Studies, vol.16 (1990), pp.761-770. See also Francois Furet, Thinking About the French Revolution.

2. Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1982). The three factors he cites can be related to Steven Lukes' three faces of power in Power, A Radical View (London, Macmillan: 1980), particularly as used by John Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley (Chicago, University of Illinois Press: 1980).

3. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (London, Verso: 198_).

4. This emphasis can be found in the work of Jurgen Habermas, particularly Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere and Communication in the Evolution of Society.

5. See Benedict Andersen, Imagined Communities (London, New Left Books: 1983), Paolo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York, Seabury: 1970), ch.1 and 2, E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, Penguin: 1962), and Maria Elena Diaz, "The Satiric Penny Press for Workers in Mexico, 1900-1910: A Case Study in the Politicization of Popular Culture", Journal of Latin American Studies, vol.22 (1990). These issues have begun to be addressed in the South African context in work by Isabel Hofmeyr, such as "The Spoken Work and the Barbed Wire: Oral Chiefdom versus Literate Bureaucracies," Unpublished Paper, African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1992.

6. National Readership Survey (Johannesburg, Market Research Africa: 1962).

7. In East London, according to D.H. Reader, "In most cases, among this predominantly migrant population, an a biding rural orientation prevents any real interest in or identification witht he values of urban residence." The Black Man's Portion (Cape

Town, Oxford University Press: 196_), p.124. Similar comments can be found in Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje, Langa, and in Belinda Bozzoli, Inaugural Lecture.

8. Population Census, 1960, 1970.

9. Population Census, 1951, 1970.

10. All Media and Products Survey (hereafter AMPS), 1975; Population Census, 1951.

11. Gavin Stewart, The Development of the Rand Daily Mail as an Intercultural Newspaper (Unisa, BA Honors thesis: 1980), pp. 58-71; Fred St Leger and Tim Couzens, The African Press in South Africa, unpublished manuscript, ch.__.

12. QUOTSO 75 (Johannesburg, Markinor: 1975), p.26, and calculations made from AMPS 1975.

13. Miriam Tlali, Muriel at Metropolitan (Johannesburg, Ravan Press: 1975), p.22; Mtutuzeli Matshoba, Call Me Not a Man (Johannesburg, Ravan: 1979).

14. AMPS 1975.

15. AMPS, 1975.

16. Tlali, op. cit., p.25.

17. AMPS, 1975.

18. AMPS, 1975.

19. AMPS, 1975.

20. On the Drum era see Anthony Sampson, Drum (195_), and Neville Choonoo (New York, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University: 198_).

21. Interviews, Phil Mthimkhulu, Joe Latakgomo, and Fred St Leger, "Attitudes of Black and White Journalists in South Africa," Communications in Africa, vol.1, 1974, p.__.

22. Hatchen, "Black Journalists in South Africa," Index on Censorship, 19__' Population Census, 1946.

23. Marion Whitehead, The Black Gatekeepers (Grahamstown, Unpublished B.A. Honors Thesis: 197_), p.77.

24. Joe Thloloe interview.

25. Duma Ndlovu interview.

26. St Leger, op. cit., p.4, and Hatchen, op. cit.

27. Interviews, Harry Mashabela and Phil Mthimkhulu.

28. Donald Woods, Asking for Trouble: The Education of a White African (Boston, Beacon Press: 1981), p.185._

29. St. Leger and Cousins, op. cit., p.174.

30. Interview, Denis Beckett.

31. Phil Mthimkhulu, interview; Stewart, op. cit., p.34; Thenjiew Mtintso, interview.

32. St. Leger, op. cit., p.166' Whitehead, op. cit., p.67.

33. Joe Latakgomo, Don Pinnock, Aggrey Klaaste, Mothobi Mutloatse, interviews.

34. Pinnock, Beckett, Mthimkhulu interviews.

35. Anthony Heard, (Conference Paper, The History of the Alternative Press, UNiversity of the Western Cape, 1991), p.__.

36. Peter Bernstein, "Reporting in Pretoria," Index on Censorship, Autumn 1975, pp.44-45.

37. Donald Woods, Biko (Harmondsworth, Penguin: 1978), p.119; Woods, Looking..., op. cit., pp.189, 198.

38. St. Leger, op. cit., p.9. 21.

39. Whitehead, op. cit., p.67, Bernstein, op. cit., p.46.

40. Llewellyn Raubenheimer, A Study of Black Journalists and Black Media Workers in Union Organization -- 1971 to 1981 (B.A. Honors thesis, Sociology, University of Cape Town, 1982), pp.1-5; Hatchen, op. cit., p.47.

41. RAubenheimer, op. cit., p.2, and Patrick Laurence, interview.

42. Harry Mashabela, Interview.

43. N. Barney Pityana et.al., Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness (Cape Town, David Phillip: 1991), p.31; Juby Mayet, Interview.

44. Joe Latakgomo, Duma Ndlovu, Phil Mthimkhulu, Rashid Seria, Interviews.

45. Race Relations Survey; Joe Thloloe, Interview.

46. Raubenheimer, op. cit., pp.2-3, Graham Addison, "The Union of Black Journalists: A Brief Survey," Unpublished paper, Rhodes University, n.d.

47. Raubenheimer, op. cit., p.5, Seria, Interview, Addison, op. cit., p.2.

48. Mashabela, Thloloe Interviews.

49. Mtintso, Ndlovu, Moegsien Williams Interviews.

50. Mtintso, Nquakula interviews.

51. Hatchen, op. cit., p.45, Raubenheimer, op. cit.,p.7.

52. Mafuna, Mtintso, Thloloe, Mayet interviews.

53. Mafuna, Thloloe, Mtintso, Mutlotase interviws.

54. Addison, op. cit., p.1.

55. UBJ, "Report on Seminar organized by S.Tvl. REgion in June 1977," Typed Minutes, pp.4,5; Hatchen, op. cit., p.__.

56. Raubenheimer, op. cit., p.9.

57. Whitehead, op. cit., p.47, and St. Leger, op. cit., p.173.

58. Mutloatse Interview.

59. Mtintso interview.

60. Pityana et. al., op. cit., p.31.

61. Mutloatse, Mthimkulu interviews, and the author's personal knowledge.

62. Whitehead, op. cit., p.53.

63. Latakgomo interview.

64. The World, March 19, 1973, March 21, 1973.

65. Latkagomo interview.

66. Mthimkhulu interview, Rand Daily Mail __ Feburayr 1973 (check), The World February 16, 1973.

67. Thloloe interview.

68. Latakgomo interview.

69. The Star, February 6, 1975; The New Yorker, November 28, 1977, St. Leger and Cousins, op. cit., p.179.

70. Pinnock interview.

71. Mutloatse interview.

72. Latkagomo interview.

73. St. Leger and Couzens, op. cit., p.280.

74. St. Leger, op. cit., p.22.

75. St. Leger and Couzens, op. cit., p.287, p.222; Beckett interview.

76. Latakgomo inteview, St. Leger and Couzens, pp.280, 216, 215.

77. ibid., pp.208, 211, 227.

78. The World, July 8, 1971.

79. See **The World**, May 18, 1976.

80. The world, __ _____ 1976.

81. The world, October 2, 1975, October 14, 1975.

82. The world, December 15, 1974.

83. The World, December 20, 1974.

84. The World, March 3, 1976, March 31, 1976, May 25, 1976, and March 9, 1976.

85. The World, May 18, 1976.

86. The World, April 4, 1976, September 27, 1974.

87. The World, October 19, 1975, February 27, 1976.

88. The World, March 15, 1976, March 16, 1976, March 31, 1976.

89. The World, May 15, 1973.

90. The World, March 6, 1973, April 13, 1973.

91. The World, July 2, 1974, for example.

92. Weekend World, November 20, 1974.

93. The world, March 29, 1968.

94. The World, 1976.

95. The World, May 12, 1975, October 19, 1975.

96. The World, 1976.

97. The World, July 4, 1971, March 6, 1973.

98. The World, July 4, 1974.

99. See The World, July 4 , 1974 et. seq., July 4, 1974, et. seq., and December 7, 1974 et. seq., for examples.

100. For examples, see The World, _____ 1976 (Winterveld squatters), April 9, 1976 (what?).

101. The World, _____ 1973.

102. The world, July 30, 1974, January 7, 1975.

103. Weekend World, January 12, 1975, September 28, 1975.

104. The World, October 2, 1975, October 14, 1975, April 4, 1976.

105. The World, March 3, 1976, _____, January 13, 1975, March 10, 1976.

106. The World, December 13, 1974, April 6, 1976, october 13, 1975, December 12, 1974, January 19, 1975, September 28, 1975, October 1, 1975, Octobr 28, 1975, April 5, 1976, Weekend world April 25, 1976, May 23, 1976.

107. See the reports of a posthumous OAU award to the late ANC Secretary-General Albert Luthuli, December 11, 1974, and the funeral of Umkhonto we Sizwe guerilla Joseph Mdluli, April 4, 1976.

108. The World, December 13, 1974.

109. The citation was used Decembr 11, 1974, Mrs. mandela was itnerviewed in Weekend world, April 25, 1976, and Mandela's picture used in that issue and May 23, 1976.

110. The World, March 19, 1976, and March 26, 1976.

111. The World, April 25, 1975, May 4, 1976.

112. The World, _____ 1973.

113. The World, March 10, 1976.

114. The World, March 2, 1976.

115. The World, October 14, 1975, February 12, 1976, May 28, 1976.

116. The World, _____ 1976.

117. The World, February 12, 1976, May 25, 1976, _____ 1976.

118. Weekend World, June 1, 1975, The World, _____ 1975.