CREDIBILITY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE:
A STUDY IN PHOTOJOURNALISM, SEEING AND BELIEVING

Malcolm L Lyle

Masters Diploma in Technology
Photography
CREDIBILITY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE: 
A STUDY IN PHOTOJOURNALISM - SEEING AND 
BELIEVING

"The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given meaning by the words. And the words by themselves remaining at a level of generalisation, are given specific authority by the irrefutability of the photograph"

(Berger & Mohr, 1982)
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DECLARATION

This dissertation is submitted in compliance with the requirements for the National Diploma in Technology in the Department of Photography (and in the field of photojournalism) at the Natal Technikon (Now known as the Masters Diploma in Technology).


I declare that this dissertation, as titled above, is entirely my own work both in conception and in execution.

/  

SIGNED:  
Malcolm Leonard Lyle  
NATAL TECHNIKON, DURBAN
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SAM EV A T T I N G

TITEL: DIE GELOOFWAARDIGHEID VAN DIE
FOTOGRAFIESE BEELD: 'n STUDIE VAN
FOTOJOERNAALISTIEK, SIEN EN GLO.

Die gemiddelde leser verwerp dikwels die geloofwaardigheid van die geskreve woord, maar verander sy mening wanneer 'n foto as "bewys" bygevoeg word.

Die meeste Suid-Afrikaners sou byvoorbeeld 'n mondelinge of geskreve berig oor 'n massamoord op Angolese vroue en kinders deur die SAW verwerp, maar as die woord aangevul sou word met fotomateriaal sou die meeste van hulle die berig glo.

Waarom word die foto as meer "waar" beskou as die woord? Dit kan net so maklik gemanipuleer word en sodanig manipulasie is baie meer effektief omdat daar geglo word dat dit moeilik of onmoontlik is om dit suksesvol uit te voer.

Duisende jare lank was die woord feitlik die enigste medium van kommunikasie. In the 400 jaar sedert Gutenberg se uitvinding van los drukletters het die woord "magtiger as the swaard" geword. Dit is maar slegs die afgelope 75 tot 100 jaar dat die foto 'n massakommunikasiemiddel geword het - trouens dit is nou 'n universele taal.

Ons kon in hierdie kort tydperk beswaarlik gewoond raak aan die wonder van fotografie - die spieël met die geheue - en wie durf 'n wonderwerk bevraagteken?
Beslis te min tyd om sy geheime agter te kom, sy permutasies te begryp of 'n teenmiddel teen sy uitwerking te ontwikkel.

Die foto het ongetwyfeld die ideale, eintlik die enigste, bewys vir die geskiedenis geword. Die word alom erken as die onpartydigste middel om 'n gebeurtenis vas te lê. Per slot van rekening word dit gebruik waar 'n presiese weergawe, lewensgetroue of akkurate reproduksie van skakering, lyn, gestalte en vorm vereis word.

Die medisyne, wetenskap en fisika maak almal omvattend gebruik van fotografie. Wetstoepassinginclightingsdienste, sekerheids- en regeringsagentskappe, foto-meganiiese reproduksie en selfs die vervaardiging van gedrukte kringwerk is afhanklik van die akkuraatheid van fotografie. Dit is 'n werktuig van die wetenskap, optika en meganika en moet dus noodwendig onpartydig, akkuraat en waarheidsgetrou wees. Anders as die woord is dit nie "vormbaar" nie en anders as die skildery is dit lewensgetrou - vratte en al!

Dit alles en nog meer het tot die vaste oortuiging geleid dat die "kamera nooit lieg nie". Dit is by uitstek die "ooggetuie" - ons glo almal ons ø. Ons bevestig gedurig ons aansprake deur middel van fotografie, selfs die eenvoudigste kiekie bewys dat ons werklank met vakansie oorsee was. Namate ons kommunikasie meer en meer beeldend word (TV), verwerf ons baie kennis via die medium van fotografie.

Eksperimente bevesig wat ons reeds weet, nl. dat die gesigsin bo enige ander sintuig geglo word. Dit is ons belangrikste oorlewingsintuig. Ons voorouers het geen rede gehad om nie hulle ø te glo nie - enige vertakking van die menslike of dierfamilie wat nie sy ø wou glo nie sou lank voor die dinosouriërs uitgesterf het.
Hierdie geloof is dus in ons gene vasgelê en dis net die afgelope 50 jaar of so dat ons enige rede gehad het om ons oë te wantrou.

Westerse opvoeding beliggaam vertroue in ouers, onderwysers, dosente, ens., wat elk grafiese illustrasie as opvoedingsmiddel gebruik. Later herken ons die beeld in die werklikheid, die geloofwaardigheid daarvan word bevestig en dit verseker toekomstige geloof. Trouens, die beeld is dikwels meer werklik as die werklikheid self. Aangesien waarneming van of 'n ooggetuie of 'n tuusseenganger (foto) veronderstel word, word dit noodwendig aan die fotografiese beeld gekoppel en die beeld word die bevestigende sintuig self. Die beeld is dikwels beter as die werklikheid, want besigtiging veronderstel meer tyd om te dink en na geheuebeelde te verwys; die noodsak om fisies te reageer ontbreek en daarmee saam die adrenalien wat die denkprosesse versper. Die foto bewys in der waarheid dikwels hoe min ons oë wel sien.

Die foto is ongetwyfeld die finale geskiedkundige, 'n " spieël van ons tyd ", waaronder ons nooit werklik sou geweet het hoe Churchill of Smuts gelyk het nie. Ons sou nooit die grusaamheid van die Joodse slagting geglo het nie, of verseker geweet het dat daar mense op die maan was nie. Die volle verskrikking van die Koreaanse passasiersvliegtuig wat met totale lewensverlies in 1983 afgeskiet is, het nie heeltemal tot ons deurgedring nie, want daar was geen foto's om te bewys dat die werklik gebeur het nie.

Ten spyte van die voorafgaande is dit egter 'n feit dat die kamera feitlik niks anders doen as lieg nie. 'n Stilfoto is 'n abstraksie van die werklikheid: dit neem 'n
driedimensionele onderwerp en verander dit in 'n tweedimensionele beeld. Dit breek veelkleurigheid af tot skakerings van grys. Dit vernietig perspektief en skaal. Dit stol beweging en keer die verloop om; dit vernietig die kontinuum van ruimte en tyd. Daar word beweer die enigste ding wat 'n foto nie kan doen nie, is om die waarheid te vertel, want 'n toneel het nie net 'n enkele onveranderbare betekenis nie.

Selfs wanneer die foto heeltemal eg en " waar " is, kan die byskrif die waarheid omkeer: " The photograph is mute it speaks only through its caption " (Sontag, 1977, p108).

Alle kommunikasie het 'n doel en gewoonlik is dit die skepper daarvan se eie gewin. Kommunikasie beïnvloed die verhouding wat dit skep of waarop dit berus en as sodanig is dit nie net sosiaal nie, dit is ook polities. Die foto is 'n integrale deel van kommunikasie en het dus automaties politieke ondertone. Ons moet dus die permutasies van die foto se oënskynlike eenvoud ten volle begryp. Dit is 'n beeld wat geensins eenvoudig is nie, trouens dit kan op geslepe maniere benut word.

Die foto het twee betekenisse, aanwysend en inbegrepe, maar in die werklike lewe is daar nie so 'n onderskeid nie. Die inbegrepe aspek word deur die aanwysende waarde verdoesel. Dit sê: " Ek is 'n bewys, 'n dokument, 'n majienproduk, 'n kind van die wetenskap. Ek kan nie lieg nie want ek het geen bymotief, geen filosofie, geen idealisme, geen ander doel as om die visuele sintuig te dien nie. " Die inbegrepe aspek is subtiel, oop vir individuele vertolking en ideologiese motivering.
Die mens agter die masjien word uit die gesig verloor. Die beeld word bemiddel, aangepas, beheer en gemanipuleer deur fotografiese tegnieke wat onder die direkte beheer van 'n alte menslike fotograaf is. Time/Life (Editors, 1979) beweer dat 'n objektiewe foto nie bestaan nie. Die grootste fout wat ons kan maak, is "to identify liberal and concerned documentary entirely with reality" (Burgin, 1982).

My eie eksperimente het getoon dat mits die aanbieder van die foto en byskrif as redelik onpartydig gereken word, die publiek enige kombinasie sal aanvaar, self byskrifte wat mekaar weerspreek. Weer eens, is daar werklik soiets soos onpartydigheid in die mediawêreld?

Foto's word deur individue verskillend vertolk - nie net die fotograaf voorsien sy kyker van 'n "filter" nie, die redaksionele departemente "filtrer" dit verder en so ook weer die kyker sodat dit in sy eie verwysingsraamwerk kan inpas.

Vyftige miljoen jaar lank het die mens onvoorwaardelik die oë "geglo; 50 jaar is net nie genoeg tyd om hierdie genetiese oortuiging omver te werp nie. Ons het nog nie al die kodes van fotografiese taal geleer nie - 'n taal veel subtieler, slimmer en meer geslepe as wat ons ons ooit kan voorstel.

Die kykers/lesers het inderdaad grootgeword (Gordon, 1984) is beter opgevoed, minder naief, maar aan die ander kant het die media ook nie stilgestaan nie, hulle is slinkser en meer bedrewé.

Opnames bevestig telkens die publiek se algemene wantroue in joernaliste; hulle is altyd heel onder op die leer van geloofwaardigheid. Tog word die pers dikwels
aangehaal om iemand se bewerings te staaf - " Dit was in die koerant en daarom moet dit waar wees ". 'n Paradoks bestaan ongetwyfeld en kan verklaar word deur die menslike geloof in wat op skrif gestel is " in swart en wit ". Gewoonlik word dit net gedoen as die feite gestaaf kan word. Verder kom publikasie van 'n mens se aansprake neer op bevestiging daarvan.

'n Onlangse opname het bevind dat joernaliste die minste van almal vertrou word, maar dat die televisie-nuusleer bo verdenking is. Eienaardig, die nuusleer lees tog maar net wat die joernaliste skryf.

Die antwoord lê in motiveringsnavorsing en sielkunde; die manipulasie van die mens het 'n multibiljoendollarbedryf geword. " Americans have become the most manipulated people outside the Iron Curtain ", aldus Vance Packard (1961). En massakommunikasie leer ons by die Amerikaners.

Dit lyk dus na 'n geval van " sake soos gewoonlik " ten spyte van die lesers / kykers se groeiende volwassenheid en die talryke onthullings soos Lies, Damned Lies (Porter, 1984); " Four arguments for the Elimination of TV " (Mander, 1978). The First Casualty (Knightley, 1975); The People Shapers (Packard, 1978); en baie ander.

Ons word inderdaad geweldig gemanipuleer.

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"WHILE THE CAMERA WAS LEARNING TO LIE, IT ALSO PROVED ITS POWERS OF EVIDENCE"

(MacDonald, 1980)
"With Photography a new language has been created, now for the first time it is possible to express reality with reality."
Ernst Haas (Kozloff, 1979)

"And all he believes are his eyes, and his eyes they just tell him lies."
(Dylan, 1985)
1.1 **Background To And Development Of The Study**

It is necessary that, before reading this dissertation, the motivational factors behind the project be presented. After six years of research the original intention of presenting the findings in a coldly conventional manner has come to be not only undesirable but indeed irrelevant. Why this should be will emerge in this introduction.

When the study began, it was not my intention to attempt to discredit the media nor yet the image serving this media; nor was it my thought to discredit the principle of mass communication. It was to protest against the subversion of the photograph - especially in the field of photojournalism - which is characterised by the enfeebling of the camera’s image as a credible witness, thus weakening its power for good. This study was to be a demonstration of how manipulative the mass communications industry has become, and of the role which it has, in the process, assigned to the photograph.

Even before the writer joined a daily newspaper as chief photographer the seeds for an investigation into the reasons for photography’s disproportionate credibility were sown. Indeed if the photograph were a purely denotive factor, neither reason nor cause for this study would have existed.
But the photograph is not ever the final result: juxtaposition and text frequently supply an interpretation at odds with the original image. All too often the photograph is inserted into a set of thematic interpretations which permit it to serve as the index for specific themes. The connotative value of the photograph is not always realised by the average audience but it is fully exploited by the media which employs 'still' photographs as means of creating specific images.

Credibility of the photographic image is the essential ingredient in photojournalism, and the use of the photograph, the mainstay of journalism as we know it. It is this credibility which the writer - as a photographer, teacher and former photojournalist - would like to see protected rather than exploited. This is the prime motivation behind this study and the decision to undertake it.

During the course of the study it will be shown that much journalism (as we know it) has reached what appears to be its 'autumn years'. Never before have its practitioners been so mistrusted. Journalism's intimate association with photography has contaminated this, the ultimate recording medium, as part of the process. Having lived so closely with photography for most of my life I find this vicarious contamination most perturbing. Yet because of its nature, the manipulation of the photographic image is inevitable - what is not acceptable is distortion for mischievous purposes, and it is this process which is (all too often) practiced by the media.

Until a few years ago the credibility of the photograph was seldom, if ever, seriously queried. The adage 'The camera never lies' was accepted confidently by the public. This confidence has been altered dramatically, more specifically since the advent of
the electronic image. This particular image has no original negative to supply final and conclusive proof of validity. Images can be "so perfectly altered that the eyes cannot detect it ..." (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, January 1987).

Those familiar with photography know that the results produced by the camera are almost always distortions of the truth in some way or another. But the realization of this by the general public, along with an insight into the many ways in which photographic 'truth' may be distorted, has produced a sense of trauma which approaches that induced by the loss of religious faith!

Without an accurate and objective recording device how can conclusive proof of distant events be provided? The sad truth is that there is no such device which cannot, in some fashion, be manipulated. The camera and its image cannot fill this role - especially now it has been suborned by journalistic propagandists. It is their greatest prize and weapon by which history may be better manipulated.

Within the context of all this - motivations, concerns and intentions - it was one of the original objective of this research to determine why the photographic image outweighed, by far, the credibility of the written word. This proved to be a relatively simple research exercise. A second objective was to determine how long this belief could persist in the face of so much deliberate manipulation by photographers themselves as well as the media.

It was in pursuance of this latter objective that the writer became increasingly involved and increasingly disturbed - having first passed through periods of dismay, incredulity and finally depression. For the manipulation which occurs is often so
blatant that the intelligence of the reader/viewer is frequently grossly insulted. The author came to realise that anyone failing to appreciate any insult must, by implication, be ignorant of any visual trickery. This objective therefore became the major concern.

Among other objectives was to establish something of the fundamental nature of the communications media. This entailed an attempt to review aspects of 'journalism's good character', its finer points, good intentions, and its social value. In the process journalism turned out to be not the unsullied thing which many readers still believe it to be. It will be seen that the media has two primary aims which are virtually interchangeable: to make money and acquire power:

God made people read so that I could fill their brains with facts, facts, facts, and later tell them whom to love, whom to hate, and what to think. [Thus said Alfred Harmsworth, newspaper magnate] (Cudlipp, 1980, p79).

McLuhan has observed that the media is too important an aspect of ultimate power to be left to the mercies of democratic flux or human inadequacy. "All media work us over completely," he states, (McLuhan, & Fiore, 1967, p4).

In view of these two original objectives it may be said that, if this study serves to indicate the way to a better understanding of publishers and journalists' aims, then it will have fulfilled its purpose. Many fine journalists have unwittingly aided mass media aims. Should my research cause any of these individuals to say "We have found the enemy, and he is us", then it will have been worthwhile.
From the foregoing it may be felt that an apparently inordinate degree of attention has been accorded to the journalistic part of photojournalism. This has been necessary because the word and the image are inextricably intertwined, with the word frequently being the dominant member of the duo. According to Susan Sontag (1977), the photograph is mute, it speaks only through its caption. This marriage of word and image goes beyond a mere intertwining or a complementing of each other. The relationship is a synergism in which one cannot operate without the other and in which the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Berger and Mohr (1982,92) put this relationship into a nutshell when they comment that:

The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given meaning by words. And the words which by themselves remain at the level of generalisation, are given specific authority by the irrefutability of the photograph.

An old printer's adage claims that "with twenty-six soldiers of lead I will conquer the world ". And we are; even as children, familiar with the saying, "The pen is mightier than the sword!" This potency is bolstered by photographic evidence, the resultant combination is unbeatable - and from this combination stems power.

A reader takes up his daily newspaper, reads a particular item and scoffs. The following day, in the same newspaper, there appears further news on the same story, carrying an unsharp and not overly informative land-line photograph. Suddenly the reader becomes a believer. The only difference between disbelief and belief is the addition of a series of coarse lines and dots. This rather crude and ambiguous, low definition addition has dramatically altered the reader's cognition and view of the world.
The answer to the question of media credibility lies however in the credibility of the photograph. The strange thing is that the press photograph is made up of dots and lines in much the same way as is the typed message carrying the reader's own colloquial language. Photography's credibility is equally strange since the photographic image began to lie from its very inception and has never ceased doing so. The image, the transmission of the context, are all open to manipulation, yet for decades the sense of credibility has persisted.

Just why this state of affairs should exist, despite our knowledge of the manipulative possibilities contained within the parameters of photography, is the basis for this study.

1.2 Aims Of The Study

The major aims of this project are: (1) to demonstrate that photographic images are manipulated for specific reasons; (2) to illustrate how detrimental to all concerned such practices are, and (3) to provide a mirror for self-examination for those photographers who are unaware of their part in the media 'conspiracy'. If these aims can be achieved, the study may well form the basis for a photo-journalistic code of conduct.
1.3 Assumptions And Hypotheses

It is a fundamental assumption of this study that although the word is immensely powerful and can easily alter the meaning of the photograph, it is the photograph which provides the pivotal point about which credibility/scepticism revolves. The primary question is why should this be so. Phrased differently, the problem posed in this study is to discover why it is that news only becomes proven when photographic evidence is supplied. The hypotheses are as follows:

1.3.1 The primacy of the sense of sight: of the five senses we learn to suspect all four other than sight. Never sight, our major distance and survival sense. Despite proof of its fallibility SEEING IS BELIEVING.

1.3.2 The ‘Camera never lies’ syndrome. Eye-witness evidence via an objective, scientific recording device. Vision by proxy, surrogate seeing.

1.3.3 Western upbringing which embodies trust in parent, teacher, tutor, etc., each using graphic illustration as an educational tool.

1.3.4 Belief in institutions and key figures. Credence is given to material offered regardless of content.

1.3.5 The ‘put-it-into-writing’ syndrome. Lies are never committed to writing.
It is these hypotheses which will be tested in the course of the dissertation.

Mankind is either master of, or slave to, the media. The Masters continue to grow in power as they diminish in number. The slaves are well and truly manipulated. This study endeavours to explode the myth of a caring, kindly-disposed mass media. It is a dictator in no way benevolent, in every way bellicose and belligerent, and cunning in the extreme.
CHAPTER 2:

THE NATURE OF SEEING

This photograph is absolutely genuine, there was no creative retouching, manipulation, montage or posing, it is exactly and precisely what the camera saw, and in fact what the photographer saw for a split second as the two rhino passed each other.
CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF SEEING

And his brain has been mismanaged
With great skill
And all he believes are his eyes
And his eyes they just tell him lies

Bob Dylan (Infidels Album, 1985).

2.1 Significance of Vision in Intelligence

This chapter on the 'nature of seeing' deals with the first hypothesis - reasons for mankind's belief in the retinal image as a surrogate for reality. An understanding of the eye / brain relationship is pivotal to an understanding of the media: its permutations and our reaction to it.

Some human beings see different things differently from other human beings. Vision is highly selective and, as a result, problems concerning the nature of reality become the rule rather than the exception. This militates against uniformity of experience and individual perception. Even without deep research it becomes obvious that the sense of sight is pivotal to human intellect, going well beyond simple survival. It is acknowledged that perception does not always provide us with the whole truth and nothing but the truth (consider illusion). Perceptual aberrations provide fertile ground for the cultivation of subversion.
Perception and the thought-process rely to a great degree upon the image or ikon, and it is in this respect that the photograph exerts its influence, and that influence is in turn exerted upon the photograph:

We behave with photographic messages as if they were the original, since we can intellectually equate a small paper image with the tiny retinal image of a far object

(Jussim, 1983, p299).

For most purposes seeing an original scene and then seeing a photograph of that scene are virtually the same thing. Certainly as time passes images merge.

When viewing a photograph, the participant of the event depicted will frequently perceive more than during the actual event itself. People make careless use of their eyes:

While there is perhaps a province in which the photograph can tell us nothing more than what we see with our own eyes, there is another in which it proves to us how little our eyes permit us to see

(Dorothea Lange, in Evans, 1978, p203).

Shepard (1972, p10) presents an interesting view of the nature of seeing. He claims that it is the development of the human eye, above all else, that has resulted in the evolution of the species:

The braininess of the primate is a complex coincidence of luck, environment, physiological and anatomical inventions, habits and opportunities. The visually acute, diurnal, binocular eyes seeing colour and having a fovea are inextricably a part of human evolution - not a result or a cause, but an essential ingredient

(Shepard, 1972, p10).

An interesting thought emerges as he discusses the various species;
... there has not been as much mutual evolution between nuts and squirrels as between fruits and monkeys. Locating coloured fruits may have been the making of the primate fovea. It is possible that the lack of brightly coloured nuts as much as anything else keeps squirrels from becoming human.

(Shepard, 1972, p.10).

In other words given the basic significance of vision as part of being human, much of our perceptual fallibility is due to an overriding belief in our eyes. There is far, far more to seeing than the excitation of the visual cells of the retina. Humans must learn to interpret light and shade and to decode its messages, this is proven by the visual awakening of the infant and the person born blind who is,

... first sighted by surgery. He sees a painful blur ... a chaos of pure sensation without localisation ... and senses a new insecurity

(Shepard, 1972, p.15).

Shepard demonstrates in his work that vision is our primary sense for the exercise of intelligence. Educationalists will not disagree, neither will philosophers nor psychologists. Marshall McLuhan states that in general we suspect the ear and feel more secure when things are visible,

when we can see for ourselves ... Rationality and visuality have long been interchangeable terms ... most people find it difficult to understand purely verbal concepts


THE EYE

Yet, despite its primacy and enormous significance, the human eye is perhaps the poorest of optical instruments; it is the brain (of which the retina is part), the most
wonderful of computers, that upgrades the image received via the eyes. Our eyes
tell us relatively little, certainly with no accuracy and with scant detail.

The image they project upon the retina is upside down for a start, it is laterally
reversed, distorted and of poor optical quality. This is provable by experiment. The
eye is a simple lens. In fact it is of poorer quality than even the cheapest of camera
lenses. Vertical and horizontal lines are bowed, even the image size on the retina
cannot be compared with object size and relative position. Distortion is inevitable
as the focal length of the average eye is 17mm and retinal diameter approximately
that of the width of a 35mm film. As a simple lens the eye carries all the faults of
such lenses, coma, astigmatism, barrel and pin-cushion distortion, spherical and
chromatic aberration, lateral aberration and so forth (Stroebel et al, 1980, p18). Yet
it can unaided " discriminate among an estimated seven million colors . . . [and] see
an object the size of a grapefruit at a distance of a quarter of a mile " (Condon,
1975). The brain carries out a highly sophisticated version of a computer
enhancement of the original image.

Our eyes / brain correct colour balance so effectively that colour photography is
made more complicated for us. Fluorescent illumination produces green casts on
daylight colour film, Tungsten a red cast; however we see a corrected colour and
thus presume that we will attain a correct colour balance. We are shocked, as a
result, when we do not.

An uncorrected 17mm lens used at a distance of 100 - 300mm produces gross fish-
eye distortion. Were we actually seeing the optical image that is being projected
onto our retina, we would be utterly revolted by any face closer to us than 300mm.
The nose would flare out towards us, the head receding and diminishing to about 1/10th of the size of the nose. It is thus obvious that the stimulus patterns on the retina are not alone in determining just what we see. Its messages are adjusted and modified by what we know of the real world. The law of constancy governs our brain, hence, in appearance, a hand held near the eye looks no bigger than one held at arm's length from the eye despite the fact that retinal image-size differs enormously. We would question our eye's version of the world were it not for our brain's input and collaboration. For example, most of us still believe our reflection in the mirror on the shaving cabinet to be the same size as our face, especially at close range. The image is actually about half-size under these conditions. Our inner senses of dimension differ radically from our visual perception of proportion. The inner senses always exaggerate. A hole drilled into one of our teeth by the dentist feels enormous, but is generally no larger than a pin head. All sensation, the experts tell us, is in the brain. It is this that explains the amputees 'phantom limb' phenomenon and 'placebo medication.'

How then are we to distinguish fact from distortion when our senses are so bound to processes of interpretation. Here we tread on dangerous ground - even the truth carries the ambiguity of the words used to express it. Our perceptions, our conception of truth are based on shaky foundations. Our intellect plays an essential and substantial part in perception; frequently what we see is actually at variance with what is actually there. Philostratus claimed in classical times that, "no-one can understand the painted horse or bull unless he knows what such creatures are like," and, according to Ruskin - "the truth of nature is not be to discerned by the uneducated senses" (Gombrich, 1977).
Every human being has to learn to see, perhaps the most difficult step is rectifying the "upside-downness of our retinal images" (Jussim 1983, p14). After having learned to see, we must then learn to perceive, which is by far the more difficult. Not only must we learn to see actuality but we must also learn to see photographic images (two dimensional imagery is at variance with actuality). We must, as in everything else, learn the codes. McLuhan (1964) writes:

The eskimo no more needs to look at a picture right side up than does a child before he has learned his letters on a line. Just why Westerners should be disturbed to find that natives have to learn to read pictures, as we learn to read letters, is worth considering (McLuhan, 1964, p191).

According to research reports, primitive peoples cannot understand photographs of even familiar objects:

Take a picture in black and white and the natives cannot see it; you may tell the natives, this is a picture of an 'Ox' and the people will look at you and that look says that they consider you a liar . . . (Condon, 1975).

But today there are few "primitives" left; mostly everyone believes implicitly in the photographic image. This is probably (in part) a residue from those first photographic images, considered so miraculous and whose nature was unqueried, that as a universal language, the photograph remains virtually unqueried. We have had insufficient time with which to have grown familiar with photography's vagrancies, so that we have yet to grow fully contemptuous:
If you use a yard-stick to represent the span of time from Paleolithic cave paintings to the present, writing has existed for about 6 inches but photography for a mere 1/8 of an inch. In that fraction of time we have only begun to understand the nature of the camera and its miracle (Dondis, 1984, 174).

So involved are we with the visual evidence that we lose sight of the connotative possibilities of the photograph. By appearing to reproduce the pictured event as it really happened, news pictures suppress their connotative message, their selective interpretation and ideological function. At this level pictures not only support creditability, they also underwrite objectivity. Often news pictures carry a covert message, subliminal and connotative so that, thanks to the photographer’s input, most propaganda resembles objective journalism.

In anticipation of these fundamental ideas, Pliny commented in classical times, "The mind is the real instrument of sight and observation, the eyes act as a vessel receiving and transmitting the visible portions to the consciousness" (Gombrich, 1973).

In addition to these fundamentals, it is also probably true that we think in pictures rather than in words - although words quickly label and replace the pictures when we have words available:

The visionary prophet seems to have been a visualiser, not a verbaliser. The highest compliment we pay to those who trade in verbal currency is to call them visionary thinkers (Dondis, 1984, p7).

"Oh, I see", usually says that someone has had something explained verbally successfully.
Evans (1978, p5) agrees with Arnheim (1972) when he states, in *Pictures on a Page*, "The still picture has an affinity with the way we remember". Much thinking is done in images, when we recall things and people we do so with images and one, cannot, for example, think of a loved one without calling up a mental picture.

Van Zyl and Tomaselli (1977) illustrate this with a quotation from *Alice in Wonderland*. "How can I know what I think 'till I see what I say?"

The importance of the brain in seeing and knowing is that the filtering system for each individual mind is also largely individual. Two people witnessing the same event at the same time, from the same place, will produce differing accounts and photographers will take different photographs of the same scene. This fact is well known by all police departments the world over:

We all perceive our environment selectively, we notice those events or parts of an event that are congruent with our previous experience and expectations and prejudices

(Zettl, 1973, p5).

Dondis put it this way:

It would appear the maker of pictures is limited by what is there in front of the camera and with the exception of a few controls of the information (smile, move a little to the left) must accept the circumstances. But this is a fallacy. One hundred photographers with cameras trained on the same subject will produce one hundred individual studies

(Dondis, 1984, p173).
Psychology has a tremendous role to play, since "The way we see things is affected by what we know and believe" (Berger, 1979).

Bertillan (1983) says: "One can only see what one observes and one observes only things which are already in the mind". Constable (of British Landscape Art fame) is quoted as saying "We see nothing till we truly understand it" (Gombrich, 1977).

In short, vision is central to our knowing and acting, however we are not governed by 'reality' but by our interpretation and constructions of reality. Yet these interpretations and constructions are what we claim to "see".

Andersen's moral tale of THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES illustrates the hold convention has on the collective unconscious - It shows how imagination can make something out of nothing and can be manipulated to produce visions of reality which otherwise conflict with individual consciousness and perception. The innocent eye of a child is not governed by convention, and it took this child to perceive that the emperor was nude. As we learn by rote, A is for Apple, B is for bear; every stage of the process limits the innocence of sight. This innocence is gradually reduced, replaced by an understanding produced by concepts laid down by an authority. Our way of seeing becomes increasingly dependent on collectively held beliefs and values. By the time we have learned that Z is for Zebra, "we have developed the way of seeing the world as others see it... (Buchler, 1987).
2.2 Imagination and Reality

The camera, while helping to record reality at the same time can generate confusion.

Instead of simply recording reality, photographs have become the norm for the way things appear to us. The idea of reality and realism is thereby changed:

... reality has come to seem more and more like what we are shown by cameras. It is common now for people to insist about their experience of a violent event in which they were caught-up -- a plane crash, a shoot-out, a terrorist bombing -- that it seemed like a movie


When we are directly involved in an accident the experience seems to take place in slow motion, just like an action re-play on TV. Mander's following words jolt us into realisation:

Of course you and I can tell the difference between the real and not-real on TV, correct? Well friend maybe we can, but there is sure as hell a lot of evidence that everyone else is pretty confused


" I don’t watch much TV, I prefer real life ". " What day and which channel is that on? " - Jokes frequently exhibit extraordinary depth of perception:

Our thinking processes can't save us ... the images [TV] enter our brains. They remain permanently. We can't tell for sure which images are ours ... Imagination and reality have merged. We have lost control of our images, we have lost control of our minds

... the force of photographic images comes from their being material realities in their own right, richly informative deposits left in the wake of whatever emitted them, potent means of turning the tables on reality - for turning it into a shadow. Images are more real than anyone could have supposed


According to Daniel Boorstein (THE IMAGE, 1983) "Images have become the original. ' The shadow becomes the substance' reality cannot match up to the image" (Dyer, 1982):

... Our perception of what is real often stems not from actual objects but from their reproduced images instead

(Craven, 1982, p.6).

For example, how frequently, when at your favourite fast food outlet, have you compared the hamburger served with the colour photograph on the wall? "Reality becomes true to the extent that it resembles the photograph" (p.6).

The tremendous danger inherent in the media (TV, motion pictures, up-market magazines and books) is that they create worlds of fantasy. Dangerous because it is believed to be the real world. The boundaries of reality/fantasy become blurred and undefined. Aesop put it succinctly when he said: "Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow".

In television viewing what you perceive as a picture is actually an image that never exists in any given moment, but rather is constructed over time. Your perception of it as an image depends upon your brain's ability to gather in all the little dots and form an image.
This is because four million years of human evolution developed eyes to process only that data which were concretely useful. Until this generation there was no need to see anything that moved at electronic speed. A TV image gains its existence only once you've put it together inside your head


Reality and the image begin to fuse.

A classic illustration of the confusion of reality with the moving image was contained in Peter Sellers' film, BEING THERE (or CHANCE THE GARDENER - Lorimar Films) when he desperately attempts to remove the threat posed by street thugs by repeatedly flicking his remote TV control device.

The story, from the book BEING THERE (Kosinski, 1971) revolves about a man who has only known two people in his entire life, and never seen the outside of the strange household. All he does is watch television. He tries to imitate the TV characters, but because these people are only images to him, and having never experienced real people he knows nothing beyond images. He is there physically, but like the TV images he is also not there. He therefore treats people as if they are merely transitory images, they can be switched-off.

This confusion of image and reality is one of the arguments referred to in Mander's (1978) title, FOUR ARGUMENTS FOR THE ELIMINATION OF TELEVISION. It is after all the pivotal point about which media manipulation revolves. "... his brain has been mismanaged with great skill..." (Dylan, 1985).
Reality apparently rests on the assumption that 'seeing is believing'. This is really a restatement of 'The camera never lies'.

However it is not the reality which counts; it is the illusion. Thousands of people and millions of dollars are employed in the creation of such illusions by the media.

The photograph is not a visual truth, not even an objective record. To become such it requires additional information.

For example in the case of a scientific recording of lightening -- a photograph showing a number of multi-pronged flashes could be illustrating a single moment in time, the recording of a huge multi-pronged strike. Or it could be two or more separate multi-pronged flashes over a period of time. Or it could be portraying a greater number of single flashes over an even longer period of time. Only the addition of text clarifies the situation.

The photograph has two levels of meaning, first and patently obvious, the news value of the eye-witness, the impersonal historian. The second, its connotative value, hidden and subtle, open to individual interpretation, thus individual belief regardless. We are all slow to disbelieve our own interpretation, but if we are made to we blame ourselves rather than the inanimate object, the product of an unbiased machine which is the result of a series of scientific occurances.
THE HEISENBERG PRINCIPLE

One of the most serious problems facing the camera as a scientific recording device especially in the ethnographic, historical and news fields, is the phenomenon known as the Heisenberg Principle: "Anything observable is changed by the fact of being observed" (Heider, 1976):

Once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes. I constitute myself in the process of 'posing', I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image (Barthes, 1981).

The presence of the camera can create news, "The camera may invite or encourage violence for the sake of publicity" (Evans, 1978).

Riots frequently only begin after the TV crews arrive. In the age of the mass media, war photographs often do not show human beings at war,

... but human beings at war who know that they are being photographed. 'Until you've seen the way a few of those grunts would run around during a fight when they knew there was a television crew nearby, they were actually making war movies in their heads...'

(Fabian, 1985, p38).

Looking, for example, at the historical ethnographic value of the camera, which is indisputable, the photograph is not beyond supplying incorrect and inaccurate evidence, (apart from the Heisenberg principle, 'no two people see the same world' - Chinese proverb),
MIND MANIPULATION

Vance Packard, in the HIDDEN PERSUADERS (1961, p1) claims that, "Americans have become the most manipulated people outside the Iron Curtain."

Mind manipulation (brainwashing) is no modern idea. The early days of religious fervour bears this out. It is a well known fact that Jesuit doctrine included this element - viz "Give us your children before they are five and they are ours forever" (Turner, 1952).

The advertising man is today's Jesuit. Advertising in itself is no ogre but has prepared the way for more sinister practices. Mind manipulation has reached a state-of-the-art zenith.

Motivational psychology, culminating in Ivan Pavlov's research in conditioned reflexes, has much to answer for. Pavlov's dogs, due to Lenin's requirements, were replaced with human subjects (Schwartz, 1969). According to Noebel (1974, p48) the vast bulk of Pavlov's serious research remains a closely guarded Soviet secret. Realising its enormous potential, Lenin ensured this, claiming that Pavlov had "saved the Revolution".
Obviously, western researchers, taking note of Pavlov's experiments have not been entirely outdone. There are no innocents in mind control. Manipulation is rife, reconstruction of thinking patterns is undertaken by many besides the advertising industry, this includes the media.

Mander (1978, p180) mentions Scientology, the Reverend Moon and EST in particular:

In a world where alienation and confusion are common conditions, these new philosophies offer a conformity, mental order that accepts and absorbs all contradictions. The danger is that once a peoples minds are so simplified and receptive, they become vulnerable to any leader, guru or system of forces which understand the simplicity of the code and can speak the appropriate techno-speak


Despite our awareness of methods of persuasion and manipulation we remain subject to them. We have not yet developed an immunity, nor it appears, will we, for example:

A young woman, Magi Discoe, is quoted by Mander (1978, p107) as writing, after investigating and completing a course in EST:

The amazing thing is that even with everything I know about how fascism operates, after a long-enough time I lost touch with my logic and began wanting and needing the approval of this asshole and the smiling, plastic robots around him. There was a moment there when I was with them

(Mander 1978, p107).
2.3 **Subliminal Persuasion**

TV, for example, provides fertile ground for the evolvement of a DREAM FACTORY environment,

... dark room, eyes still, body quiet, looking at light that is flashing in various ways, sound contained to narrow ranges and so on, sounds like a course outline in hypnotic trance induction


The prospect thus arises that with confusion as to reality and illusion the media frankly wouldn't have to worry itself overly about credibility, no awkward questions will be asked by its entranced audience, Key writes:

> It may be impossible to resist instructions which are not consciously experienced. There seems to be a close parallel between these [subliminal] phenomena and those associated with post hypnotic suggestion...

(Key, 1973, iv).

In the concept of subliminal phenomena are included all those techniques now known to the mass media by which tens of millions of humans are daily massaged and manipulated without their conscious awareness... mass communication media must serve the motives... of the controlling power structure within any society

(Key, 1973, p76).

Burgin (1968), puts it this way, "As a vehicle for explicit political argument the photograph stands at the service of the class that controls the press".

The advertising industry, since the advent of motivational research, has used subliminal persuasion copiously: "Today in America advertising is not what you consciously see that sells, it is what stimulates the subconscious that does so" (Key,
As far back as 400 BC, Democritus said: "Much is perceptible which is not perceived by us." Many TV commercials appear to be moronic but this is purposeful:

They are made to appear this way to the conscious level in order to be consciously ridiculed and rejected. The target aimed at in the human mind is the subliminal or subconscious. Most ad-men will confirm that over the years the seemingly WORST commercials have sold the BEST. They have penetrated the defenses.

(Key, 1973, p161).

According to Key (1973), Packard (1961), Stroebel (1980) and others of impeccable credibility we are subjected to a constant stream of subliminal manipulation and suggestion. Virtually everyone questioned believed themselves protected from subliminals. However we are not.

Key (1973) states:

Legislation was introduced, though never passed, in half a dozen state legislatures and in the U.S. Senate, to prohibit legally the use of subliminal techniques in the public communication media. A check of U.S. and Canadian statutes failed to turn up any legal prohibitions. Though many such laws were introduced receiving much publicity, none of these laws were ever enacted.

(Key 1973, p21, p22).

Had they been enacted, modern subliminal methods would render detection unlikely.

When one realises that the very structure of the reproduced image is subliminal, it is no giant step to grasp the fact that it could not have suited sublimination better.
William Irvins stated explicitly that the fine line halftone process was superior to all others, in that the lines and dots of the process were subliminal


In Volume 1 (Advertising - ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA) reference is made to subliminal persuasion as follows:

Use of these techniques to enhance subconscious motives led to the fear in the 1950's that advertisers were gaining the power to manipulate consumers behaviour. The fear was not well founded, for it overlooked the power of the individual to resist persuasion against his own perceived interests ... people have developed resistance to manipulation ...


As everyone knows the average person will not commit murder simply due to or by hypnotic suggestion. He could however be persuaded that it was play-acting, a patriotic necessity parallel to his "perceived interests". Strange how so eminent a publication as the BRITANNICA simply shrugs off subliminal persuasion. (COLLIERS ENCYCLOPAEDIA fails even to mention it). More especially when subliminal persuasion has been proven by clinical psychiatry.

As for dictionaries, up until the early 1970's the subliminal entry contained reference to flashed images resulting in altered behaviour. But since then dictionaries fail to mention this aspect. Stating merely that subliminal is an "adjective applied to stimulation operating below the threshold of perception". Some however, such as Bullock (1977), say: "There is much concern that subliminally presented messages can alter attitudes, but this has not been born out by research " (sic).
Many textbooks on advertising also claim that sublimination does not work. Psychologists disagree. For example, concerning a case involving subliminals, JUDAS PRIEST and their album ‘Stained Glass', a well-known Durban psychologist was quoted as saying "there is no doubt that subliminal messages do work and can be potent . . ." (Daily News, 8 October 1988).

Sublimination, serving the media so subtly and massively, is well protected by its users. Dictionaries and encyclopaedias are part of this media. So vital a factor is not going to be easily given up or weakened by exposure.

If subliminal persuasion does not work, the question arises as to why it permeates everywhere, and is in constant use. The latest example is the map of Africa and other symbols that are contained in the FIRST NATIONAL'S logo of the thorn tree against the rising sun (produced by an American Agency, ‘Corporate Name Change Design Unit').

Professor Wilson Key (1972) shows a number of internationally used liquor advertisements (in magazines) carrying subliminal imagery.

Subliminals are used extensively in the motion picture industry (Key 1972). An example is THE EXORCIST (Fry and Fourson, 1978).

An experiment mentioned by numerous sources was the use of James Vicary's tachistoscope. Over a six month period in 1957, "45 000 theatre goers were subjected to ‘subliminal suggestion’ - urged to drink coca-cola and eat popcorn. Popcorn sales rose 60% while coca-cola went up by about 20% " (Koontz, 1976).
The tachistoscope became obsolete soon after being patented, replaced by more effective equipment.

Those most adept at sublimination achieve the pinnacle of their respective profession or craft.

T S Elliot, long ago pointed out that the camouflage function of 'meaning' in a poem was like the juicy piece of meat carried by the burglar to distract the house-dog of the mind. So that the poem could do its work

(Key, 1973).
Subliminal messages contained within still pictures are referred to as EMBEDS and at best do nothing other than evoke recognition, the intuitive "Oh, yes" that is the response to seeing a brand name after exposure to it in an advertisement. At worst, the world is the manipulators oyster.

It is simply not possible to close the book on the effectiveness on behaviour of subliminal stimuli. One recent experiment by a behavioural scientist in 6 large departmental stores consisted of playing a subliminal message ('I am honest, I won't steal, stealing is dishonest') just below the perceptual level on the Muzak sound track. It was reportedly able to produce a 37.5 per cent decrease in shoplifting in a 9 month period (Schiffman & Kanuk, 1983).

Key claims that, "The media has a proven, completely established ability to program human behaviour" (1972).

It has been shown;

that subliminal messages can have an interesting psychological effect. It has been demonstrated, for example, that the degree of depression that a 'depressive' individual expresses can be increased by exposure to subliminal messages. Similarly such exposure can increase pathological behaviour in schizophrenics and homosexual feelings in homosexuals (Schiffman & Kanuk, 1983).

Key suggests that the increase in mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia, is due largely to the inner conflicts caused by subconscious demands to act against ones own interests (Key, 1973). Which is far more likely an explanation than the one mooted by the BRITANNICA.
Noebel (1974), in THE MARXIST MINSTRELS, refers to the 4th International Psychiatric Congress, Barcelona, which noted the correlation between "accidental" hypnosis ("increased susceptibility to suggestion") and the "tremendous increases in mental illnesses" (p230).

If subliminal suggestion worked - and it certainly did, causing panic in the 60's, with minimal expertise, practice, inferior equipment and little knowledge - then it is beyond doubt that it works in the innovative 80's. Techniques have been perfected, people have not.

It is no accident that television has been used to recreate human beings into a new form that matches the artificial, commercial environment. "A conspiracy of technological and economic factors made this inevitable and continue to do so" (Mander, 1978, p113). Mander adds that within a few years of the start of television, the world started changing, the whole neighbourhood started looking like a television commercial (Mander, 1978, p137). "The media has a proven, completely established ability to program human behaviour in much the same way as hypnosis" (Key, 1972).

What appears to be in operation now is a combination of Orwell's (1949), Huxley's (1932), and Lem's (1971) worlds. The mass media is NEWSPEAK. Reality is NEWSEE. The chief culprit - the photograph, still and moving.
Key (1973), notes how the White House denied any knowledge of the use or effect of subliminals, but did reassure him that nevertheless it would not be permitted to fall into the wrong hands! He writes: "It may be reassuring to know that Washington has carefully protected the subliminal technology of the mass media so it doesn’t fall into the wrong hands" (Key, 1973, p199):

So, all the power of corporate enterprise, the mass media which it supports, and the government it sustains in power - not to mention the educational institutions supported by this affluent establishment - have a collective interest in pretending subliminal persuasion is only a romantic notion dreamed up by some radical, irresponsible troublemaker

(Key 1973, p198).

We invariably return to perceptual problems. How much of our everyday perception is really created entirely within our brains. "The whole of our perception is really false, for it does not copy reality, but symbolises it" (Gombrich/Gregory, 1973).

THE TRUST IN SIGHT: SEEING IS BELIEVING

The human organism is aided in its functions by two major senses, the more important because these two senses are at the same time distance senses. Of these two senses more information is gathered by the eyes than is possible via the ears. Words, semantics, have become mistrusted and we are left with one sense, sight, in which we must, of necessity trust, and trust implicitly.
An experiment which demonstrates the belief in sight above the belief in touch is described in VISUAL CONCEPTS FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS (Stroebel et al., 1980, p204 - 210).

A box is viewed through a window which distorts dimensions. The subject is then permitted to feel the box in total darkness. Results indicate conclusively that what the subjects saw is what they feel. A square box, viewed through distorting glass appears oblong, and will be described as oblong, despite careful feeling and examination of dimensions in the dark by touch.

Infants require a mere year of life to reject their sense of touch in favour of the sense of sight. Considering the part played by tactility, in the developing infant this indicates the tremendous power sight so obviously has:

"Seeing is believing" is an ancient truism, a fact that undoubtedly accounted for pre-historic and historic man's survival. But it could become electronic-age man's nemesis, leading him into the wilderness of manipulation.
Those in the business of motivational research, psychology, persuasion, and propaganda, are well aware of the shortcomings inherent in human perception, turning aberration into opportunity.

The moral rationale being that if perception is false, or at least subjective, why bother with objectivity?

Intellect presupposes objectivity but it is nevertheless a fact of life that intellect cannot exist without subjectivity. Hence the impossibility of 'objective' perception and 'objective' presentation of the 'facts'. To talk of 'objective media' is thus a contradiction of terms.

We are well into the electronic age and the epitome of this age is television (and the camera). Unfortunately it has exploded upon us so suddenly that we are ill equipped to deal with it. "Unhappily, we confront this new situation with an enormous backlog of outdated mental and psychological responses" (McLuhan, 1967, p63):

All media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical, and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the message. Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without a knowledge of the way media work as environments (McLuhan, 1967, p41).

McLuhan (1967) goes on to say:

The dominant organ of sensory and social orientation in pre-alphabet societies was the ear - "hearing was believing". The phonetic alphabet forced the magic world of the ear to yield to the neutral world of the eye . . . Western history was shaped for some three thousand years by the introduction of the phonetic alphabet (McLuhan, 1967, p44).
The goose quill put an end to talk ... it brought roads and armies and bureaucracy

(McLuhan, 1967, p48).

Printing ... created the portable book, which men could read in privacy and in isolation ... man could now inspire and conspire

(McLuhan, 1967, p50).

'Time' has ceased, 'space' has vanished. We now live in a global village ... we must now know in advance the consequences ... since the results are experienced without delay ... at the high speeds of electric communication, purely visual means of apprehending the world are no longer possible, they are just too slow to be relevant or effective

(McLuhan, 1967, p63).

McLuhan is considering 'sensory overload'. Compounded by a media induced diet of tangled reality / fantasy, which we have no hope of unraveling. This, of course, is all grist to the manipulators mill.

According to Muggeridge (1977, p60):

... the media have created, and belong to, a world of fantasy, the more dangerous because it purports to be, and is largely taken as being, the real world

(Muggeridge, 1977, p60).

It is our gratitude for sight that precludes our mistrusting it, this fact has not been overlooked by the opportunist. It could be that the very element which helped in gaining intelligence for humanity will possibly play a major role in humanities demise.

The questions arise as to whether seeing is believing and whether the belief in our eyes will result in our continued survival or ultimate doom.
Media elements, having utilised and capitalised on perceptual aberrations have untold power in their grasp.

The use of the photographic image (sight by proxy) by those well versed in theories of perception is inevitable. They know that photographs do not have an objective existence without viewers; and viewers are not objective. "Photographs are what the viewer reads" (Webster, 1980, p25). Hence manipulation is made easier:

We have already reached a point where remedial control, born out of knowledge of media and their total effects on all of us, must be exerted...[indeed] it is the business of the future to be dangerous (McLuhan, 1967, p12, p160).

Despite any evidence to the contrary, seeing, in the mind of most human beings, is believing. "Except I shall see in His hands the prints of the nails...I will not believe" (The Bible, John, c20, v24). The success of camouflage and illusion is that humans will believe what they see (Mander, 1978).

Throughout hundreds and thousands of generations of human existence, whatever we saw with our eyes was concrete and reliable. "It will take generations to let go of our genetically coded tendency to soak up all images as though they are one hundred percent real" (Mander, 1978).

Hence ‘seeing is believing’ together with the belief that the 'camera never lies' are the major reasons for the credibility of the photographic image.
Mander points out that we must cease our unthinking belief in images because today we cannot rely on them to the same degree as did our ancestors. Sensory cynicism, a doubting process, would have been dangerous for all previous human history. However without training in such cynicism we cannot hope to deal with the electronic media. Such training is essential but difficult in the extreme. Owing to the belief in the eyes, aided, as it is, by myth and superstition.

The British monocle craze can be attributed directly to the power of the eye. Perhaps a carryover from ancient belief in the 'evil eye'. Add to this the power of the lens and the wearer of a monocle may fix others with a "powerful stare" (McLuhan, 1964, p188).

Genetically encoded beliefs in the properties of the eye are not obsolete. As recently as this year (early 1988) belief in mythical properties in the eye led to the gouging out of a murder victim's eyes. An attempt by the killers to prevent police identifying them from the after-image on the retina (Natal Mercury, 20 April 1988). The modern belief is that the retina is a sort of film, the eye a camera, recording visual events. This is how most primers in photography will begin their explanation.

Such beliefs are difficult to eradicate. Credibility of the photographic image remains intact. However a constant parade of exposed fakes could militate against this credibility.
2.4 Reality

Reality is understood as plural, fascinating and up for grabs (Sontag, 1977).

Our personal perceptual mechanism is easily confused. However, much of what we perceive is filtered for us by the media, compounding the problem.

Journalism's constant quest, its practitioners will explain, is the constant and dedicated search for the 'truth' and the 'facts'. They deal in 'reality'.

The more astute journalist will use the words 'accuracy' and 'objectivity' in their place.

The problem is that audiences relate to 'truth' and 'reality' rather than 'accuracy' and 'objectivity'. Issues become clouded due to the ambiguity of all these terms, which at worst are totally enigmatic.

'Truth', according to NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER (Dec 1986) "depends on your point of view", and 'realism', according to Green (1984), "is seen only as a repetition of those things already seen and known." Both are diminished by the words and images used to express them.

Well back in history it was discovered, by Plato, Locke, Berkeley and others, that human perception was not as accurate or truthful as we believed it to be, to assume that the world is as it appears is, "one ubiquitous and misleading attribute of naive conscious experience" (Bothwell, 1976).
Gombrich in THE IMAGE AND THE EYE mentions the following experiment: Stand near a window, trace the outline of a large building onto the glass. Move forward or backward, the view will remain more or less stable, but the tracing will radically change. Thanks to the law of constancy (STABILISING tendency - assigns different distances to the images of different objects, thus changing apparent size) distant objects appear to us larger than their apparent size. This..." insinuates that it is our visual experience which rests on an illusion, while our tracing tells us what we really see" (Gombrich, 1982, p193).

We believe the size must remain constant, thus remain constant it does.

Photography too rests on illusion. It is, according to Reynolds (1983), an "abstraction of reality." Since visual experience rests on illusion it could also be termed an "abstraction of reality." Thus it could be presumed that little difference exists between the two (the original scene and the photographic image of the original scene). Viewers tend to ignore the fact that the photographic image has been pre-mediated, it is the photographers interpretation of the scene, his illusion, which he foists on us.

Jussim (1983, p309) says, regarding reality and the photographic image, that due to our conditioning to the acceptance of photography as a model for thought, our ability to differentiate between reality and photography has lessened. So much so that we become "conditioned to expect photographic convention to occur in reality."
Sontag (1977, p19) says:

There can be no evidence, photographic or otherwise, of an event until the event itself has been named and characterised. And it is never photographic evidence which can construct, more properly, identify events. The contribution of photography always follows the naming of an event. What determines the possibility of being affected morally by photographs is the existence of a relevant political conscious.

(Sontag, 1977, p19).

Rephrased, a news photograph would not be taken unless the subject of the photograph was declared "news". This declaration would depend on an individual's conception of the subject in terms of his beliefs, which really means that "believing is seeing".

Perhaps the greatest problem or stumbling-block confronting the researcher in any field is the very genuine confusion to be found in any individual's idea or grasp of reality: people are governed by their perceptions of reality and not by reality itself. This is a very real problem. The question arises as to the recognition of the 'truth' or the facts, being as confused as we are concerning reality.

Once an image is inside our heads we are frequently hard put to remember whether it was seen as an image or an object, whether we saw the actual event or whether it was on a cinema or TV screen. A dream too can confuse, if vivid enough.

Adding even greater dimensions to the problem, Key (1972) states: "Any meaningful analysis of reality must consider all such so-called truths as merely tentative expedients" (p13).
Ernst Haas, according to Kozloff (1979), said "With photography a new language has been created. Now for the first time it is possible to express reality with reality". Daval (1983) asks: "Does the camera record reality or does it reflect ways of seeing reality?". Reedy (1973) claims, "The camera does not record what the eye sees. The camera records what the camera sees, and these are not the same thing..." considering all this we are forced to admit to problems concerning reality.

Were the camera a simple machine without a human operator many of the problems would not exist.

An Impressive body of psychological literature attests to the existence of a remarkable phenomenon called perceptual selection - "which means that witnesses to an event perceive it - quite sincerely so - the way they want to perceive it..." (Small, 1974, p214).

PLATE 5

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BELIEVING IS SEEING

In fact the simple saying, 'seeing is believing', is not so simple, Gombrich, maintains that perhaps 'believing is seeing' is more correct. He illustrates this with the following experiment:

Subjects were seated in the dark, facing a screen and told that their sensitivity to light was being tested. When the researcher requested, a projected beam of light was directed onto the screen, brightening gradually until a dim light would become visible. Each student was required to record exactly when he/she first perceived the light. Once in a while the beam would not be projected when requested, despite this most of the subjects still saw it appear, dutifully recording their various times (Gombrich, 1977).

In another experiment subjects looked into a stereo viewer. Two different transparencies (slides) are placed side-by-side, one eye seeing only one slide, the other eye seeing only the second slide. The experiment thus involved the simultaneous viewing of two different scenes. (Generally the stereo viewer contains two very similar pictures of the same scene, taken with a stereo camera, which has two separate lenses placed at inter-ocular distance from each other, viewing produces a three dimensional effect).

SEMANTICS AND COMMUNICATION (Condon, 1975) quotes this experiment using one photographic slide depicting a baseball game and the other a bull-fight. North Americans see only the baseball picture, whereas the South Americans see only the
bull-fight scene. From this it may be reasonably deduced that people see what they expect or what they are familiar with.

"All communication depends on the interplay between expectations and observations" (Gombrich, 1977).

The rotating window experiment is an example of the rejection of the positive knowledge of what is actually happening because the eyes tell us something else. The power of expectation is in fact greater than sight, sight is forcibly and reluctantly rejected. The resultant knowledge however does not affect our absolute faith in sight, we place the experience in the category of illusion. A window frame, made in perspective and fully, continually, rotated either clockwise or anti-clockwise, is viewed from a short distance by those who know exactly what it is doing, nevertheless it is seen to oscillate. The longest upright remains closest to the viewer, exactly as dictated by the laws of perspective, perspective we have seen in operation since childhood. People who were not brought up in civilised society would not have any trouble in seeing the frame go round and round.

A refinement to this experiment is the addition of a thick solid steel rod at right angles through the window frame. We know this is rotating with the frame and cannot accept it being capable of passing through the frame. The rod obligingly bends and straightens as the frame oscillates!

A normal face and a hollow mask, or mould of the face, both appear as normal. The probability of a hollow face is so low that it is almost impossible to see the mould correctly. Anyone looking at the mould will see it as normal, even though he
knows it is hollow. So we discover that intellectual knowledge of such perceptual situations does not always correct perceptual errors. "In other words, perceptual hypothesis-making is not under intellectual control" (Gombrich & Gregory, 1973). This 'by-passing of the intellect' is the chief element in the longevity of photography's credibility.

A normal face (left) and a hollow replica or mould (right). Both appear as normal faces. "The probability of hollow faces is so low that it is almost impossible to see the mould correctly" (Gombrich & Gregory, 1973).
Perceptual problems, problems with reality; 'seeing is believing', 'believing is seeing'; affect the photographer as well as the photographed and the viewer of the final image. Therefore it is with little reason that we expect (and believe) the photograph to be a representation of reality. Thus far these concepts have lent strength to the photograph. We ignore the Achilles heel.

Further complicating matters is the phenomena known as "the self-fulfilling prophesy" (saying it made it so). The prediction that something will happen may be instrumental in causing that something to happen (Condon, 1975). This is the horoscope writers salvation.

Photography is very vulnerable to human failing, being so dependent on human input. It is however the closest we can get to the ideal recording system, with one serious proviso. It raises the question as to whether the camera/photographer reality problem, together with the unjustified belief in camera credibility, falsifies the recorded events more effectively. Today's recorded events become tomorrow's history.

2.5 The Camera as Historian (A Powerful Plus for credibility).

"Get your facts right, remember your report is the first draft of history."
(Anon. Editor to Journalists).

"Photography is the historian of our time" (Gernsheim, 1960, vii).
History, according to universal belief, is objective. History has no axe to grind. Today's news photograph becomes tomorrow's recorded history. History, presumably deals, as does the journalist, with facts, 'truth', 'objectivity' and 'reality'. As noted in THE NATURE OF SEEING these terms are not easily defined. History, being comprised of what is contained in the print, electric and moving picture media, suffers from the same problems confronting the journalist. Thus it is that history is subjective. This is especially true with the recording of conflict. "When war comes, the first casualty is the truth" - Senator Hiram Johnson, 1917 (Knightley, 1975, title). "Truth," according to Oscar Wilde is, "rarely pure and never simple".

History is inevitably written by the victor, and is all too frequently merely an interpretation:

When you read a work of history, always listen for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or your historian is a dull dog. The facts are really not at all like fish on a fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean, and what the historian catches will depend partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use - these two factors being of course determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation

(Carr, 1978).

For example:

Writing about reportage of the Spanish War George Orwell stated:

Early in life I had noticed that no event was ever correctly reported in a newspaper. But in Spain, for the first time I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie

(Knightley, 1975, p191).
Most of the photographs which decorated the pages of the world's newspapers from the Spanish Civil war were faked and as much as 99% of the Abyssinian photographic coverage, Herbert Matthews has estimated, was staged by photographers kept away from the front

(Evans, 1981, p8).


Cockerell et al (1984, p179) attributed the following to Churchill, conversing with Stalin in Teheran, 1943 - "In war time the truth is so precious she must always be accompanied by a bodyguard of lies".

No historian can possibly be objective:

In order to build his case, a historian must select a minuscule number of facts from the limited facts that are known. If he does not have a theory how does he separate important facts from unimportant ones? This is why every book proves the author's thesis (Allen, 1971, p36).

Today's news photographs become tomorrow's documentary pictures. We place tremendous faith in the objectivity of the camera. "The photograph is a document? Some say yes, others no. Some say the photo is the authentic view. And some it is not" (Hardin, 1985).

One of the biggest problems is the virtual impossibility of achieving and maintaining objectivity in popular journalism. And, of course the subjectivity of the reading public:
Every photograph tends at any given moment of reading in any given context, towards one of these poles of meaning (symbolist/realist). The opposites between these two poles are as follows: photographer as seer vs photographer as witness, photography as expression vs photography as reportage, theories of imagination (and inner truth) vs. theories of empirical truth, affective value vs. informative value and finally metaphoric signification vs metonymic signification (Burgin, 1982).

Although film is technically the most exact medium yet invented for capturing a true image, in practice the reality it captures is often distorted . . .

what we see and hear has been filtered . . . this is especially important to bear in mind in evaluating the truth of documentary which can be used as convincing propaganda (Milsame, 1977, p156).

We always forget that a photograph is reality mediated. That the message has been filtered through the photographers conceptual mechanism.

It is obvious that a sensitive photographer cannot record such events (emotional) objectively, the deeper his compassion, the greater the impact of his pictures. Gernsheim states, "... [We] are affected according to the degree of sympathy of the photographer and his ability to communicate " (1962). 'Compassion' and 'sympathy' are impossible partners with 'objectivity'.

Those who handle the photographers work also have their own perception of reality:

The world that is seen photographically is one that is circumscribed by the personality and political orientation of the publication itself. The tremendous power of words can often change ambiguous meanings of a photograph.
The photograph as it stands alone, presents merely the possibility of meaning. Only by its embeddedness in a concrete discourse situation can the photograph yield a clear semantic outcome.

It would therefore be a mistake to identify liberal and 'concerned' documentary entirely with realism (Burgin, 1982).

In the medium of photography, just as in any other communicative utterance, "a statement cannot be made without filtering it through the interests of the maker" (APERTURE, 1982, No 89). "Documentary and reportage photography notwithstanding, with rare exceptions, something of the photographer is always present in the print" (Scharf, in Hill, 1979).

History, as documented by the motion picture, video or still camera is subject to the distortion of mediation as well as by the simple necessity of having to fit into a time-slot. As a news-cast or by virtue of the fact that the amount of film or tape is not unlimited. Condensation sometimes alters the truth:

The need to condense is inherent in a medium which is limited by time. The process of condensation, however, has the effect of eliminating the sort of nuance which is as important to historical accuracy as the action that IS included (Mander, 1978, p297).

If there is a problem with straight recording, it is magnified when adapted for the masses in the form of DOCUDRAMA. Which may not be intended to alter history but does; viewers' interpret them as factual. They believe, and what they believe is reality to them:
Docudramas represent themselves as true versions of historical events... Truth may be the first victim when television docudramas rewrite history...

...I think they should carry a disclaimer to the effect that the story is not totally true... But if there should be disclaimers for docudramas there should be many more for the news. As prominent San Francisco journalist Susan Halas once put it: 'There is no news, there's only media'


The 1930's in America saw labour upheavals, strikes and violence. Unlike earlier troubles of a similar nature the camera could now play its part, having become more adept at recording action. Both labour and management soon learned how powerful the photograph could be, they learned how to select images:

Pictures played a role in precipitation of the pro-labour legislation of the late 1930's, often depicting the American worker as the victim of brutal treatment. A glance through the labour photographs gives convincing evidence that workers were as apt to dispense violence as they were to receive it. The point however is, that the leaders were learning to select images! At both levels, labour and management there was increasing sophistication in this area. The technique remained efficient, for most Americans continued to adhere to a touching faith that 'photographs do not lie'

(Hunley, 1980).

"Photographic images become the visual counterpart to gossip and scandal at the same time as they are employed to work as news and record history" (Kozloff, 1979). Thus it is clear that images can be as saturated with innuendo and gossip as can the word.

The very human ability to justify almost anything is perhaps the only constant leading to an unrealised subjectivity. The more intensely a photographer feels about an issue the less objective he is able to be. And this subjectivity leads all too
frequently to distortion, the more dangerous because of the absolute belief in the
camera's 'objectivity'. Forgotten is the camera operators subjectivity. Such
subjectivity will colour the report as effectively as any other human subjectivity.
Eventually the report becomes recorded history.

An example of this was shown during a talk/slide show given by well know photo-
journalist, Struan Robertson, during the 1984 PHOTOVARSITY at the Port
Elizabeth Technikon. Showing examples and providing background Mr Robertson
explained how - when asked to illustrate a series on education in SA - White vis-a-
vis Black; vast sums for fewer recipients/less funding for vast numbers - he
photographed Black campuses on registration days and RAU during a recess. When
asked by John Paisley (President S A I P) whether this wasn't unfair reportage, Mr.
Robertson replied, "Certainly not ". And to him this was in no way slanted or
dishonest, the truth was simply being reinforced. Something virtually every
photographer worth his salt does constantly.

Nevertheless the bias is obvious; there is less distortion in this case than would have
been the case if the times of photography had been reversed; i.e. the Black
campuses during recess and White ones during registration, but then is there really
any difference between " being just a little bit pregnant and being pregnant? ".

Robertson himself later wrote :

... my friend John Brett Cohen ... hated to spoil a good story with the facts ... this is not unusual, I have known many photojournalists
and most of them seem to enjoy improving dull reality ... it comes with the territory

(Robertson, 1986, p115).
We can all easily see the "mote" in the eye of others but never the "beam" in our own.

Of his ethnographic films, Flaherty said - "Sometimes you have to lie. One often has to distort a thing to catch its true spirit" (Heider, 1976):

Flaherty created artifice to assert the truth - he convinced Samoan youth to undergo a tattooing ceremony which had nearly died out. He persuaded the Aran Islanders to recreate their hunt for basking sharks, a skill which they had not practiced for a generation or more. He had Eskimos build an igloo - set in a half-dome, twice life size (Ibid & POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY, October 1980, p89).

He got his Eskimo, Nanook to wear bear-skin trousers which were not worn by his tribe, the Inuit. Nanook was in fact made to meet popular "civilised" expectations, in fact so "little has been done to document the Inuit that, fundamentally, Flaherty has single handedly directed the way we look at these people" (p89). It looks as though the only recorded evidence is not evidence at all. The article illustrates "how Flaherty twisted the facts" (p89).

So authentic is the photographic image that it almost automatically becomes a piece of history. Not only those photographs taken by press photographers of newsworthy events, but almost any snapshot, especially when it appears in print:

... each issue of the better class magazine ... performs a certain function. It holds a mirror up to its time, small mirror perhaps but a singularly clear, brilliant and revealing one. It reflects a small segment of time (Patcevitch, I.S.V, Vogue International Inc.).
History has been coloured, distorted, even altered by man's need to portray his particular tribe, nation, race, religion in the best light. The camera is a prize indeed to history's manipulators. Its images have altered history.

Photographs can alter history while trying to record it.

Photographs such as the execution of a Vietcong suspect by Saigon Police Chief Ngugen Ngoc Loan - by Eddie Adams (Evans, 1981, p62) and of 9 year-old Phan Thi Kim Phuc (1972) with her little friends screaming in pain and fear from burning napalm, while GI's chat in the background (Evans, 1978, p8) did more damage to the South's cause than words or bombs could ever have done. Along with Malcolm Browne's photograph of the self-immolation of a Buddhist monk (Faber, 1978, p131) and Ronald Haeberle's photograph of the My Lai Massacre (Evans, 1978, p122) the camera changed the course of history. None of these photographs raised any queries as to authenticity so that awe-inspiring power of photography is closely related to the public's belief in its integrity, its credibility. My Lai generated huge controversy, it was the pictorial evidence which settled the matter, and lost America the war.

Epstein (1975, p232) claims that one of the most telling results of the Vietcong's psychological victory was the conversion of America's most influential newscaster, Walter Cronkite. Images converted him from pro to anti-war, he, with further images, changed public opinion. Many of these images, though genuine, were used out of context, their messages reversed, some even faked i.e. "... more often it [the media] was misled, skillfully and deliberately ... A much publicised photograph of a
'prisoner' being thrown from a US helicopter was in fact staged . . . " (Johnson, 1983, p363). The media was misled and used by its owners and controllers.

The course of history has been altered before without the aid of the camera, the camera just makes things easier. Political intrigue, propaganda and fabrication are not the prerogative of the camera but of human nature.

Strange how none of this appears to have affected the image. For over 60 years the photograph has been the corner-stone of propaganda. " Good propaganda, to be effective, as Hitler and Goebbels had learned from experience, needs more than words . . . " (Shirer, 1962).

Propaganda aside, photographers cannot operate without " improving " on reality. Writer Andre Brink, in a review of Roger Ballen's documentary of small South African towns entitled DORPS, writes: " . . . unflinchingly, his camera's eye stares at unrelenting reality ".

This is documentary and this description should be accurate, it unfortunately is not. Two separate photographs in DORPS show four identical articles on two very different walls in two different locations. Even to a damaged picture frame and necklace. " Dining room wall, Vanrhynsdorp 1984 " and " Entrance Hall, Komga 1983 " (Ballen 1985). The photograph, the most apparently innocuous and immaculate of all liars. Not the most suitable characteristic of perhaps the most important recorder of history.
As to why the photograph lies, is sometimes impossible to discover. Just as lack of motive, witnesses and other evidence renders the court impotent, so to does it render investigation useless. The photograph as historical record is acknowledged by some as fallible. Kozloff (1979) says, "the photograph exists as only a visual fragment, taken from a larger visual field . . ." Szarkowski warns that photographs are believed to be "irreductable surrogates" but are capable of "pretense" (in Green, 1984). Others like Spina (1982) have no reservations:

There is no question that photography can now stand on its own as the interpreter and recorder of our civilisation - the photograph, the true visual recorder of history.

At its best there can be no doubt as to the camera’s ability to record accurately. There is no other recorder that can even remotely come up to the camera’s level. But its credibility has been compromised by the media, individual photographers, and many others. Nevertheless the camera remains the very best and most accurate recording device known to mankind. " . . . reservations notwithstanding, the camera that is equipped with colour film represents the ultimate mimetic tool " (Eauclair, 1981).

We must remember that objectivity does not exist except perhaps in mathematics.
"The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given meaning by the words "... Is this image evidence of the holocaust, an Amin atrocity, a newly discovered tomb, the aftermath of violence or a typical SA prison yard? The propagandist is able to take his choice. Without a caption the image is worthless" (Berger, Mohr, 1982).
"To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed"

(Sontag, 1977, p2)

"Then we invented the camera and suddenly it became possible to see inside another's mind"

(LIFE, Fall 1988)

View-point, like point of view, can, and frequently does, result in two different TRUTHS.

PLATE 8
"It has been said that the camera does not lie, but the camera does lie. It is a notorious, compulsive, unashamed and mischievous liar..." James Russell Wiggins, Ex Editor, WASHINGTON POST

(Small, 1974, p288).

PLATE 9
3.1 An Overview of Themes

Photographs are entertaining, informing and memorializing,

but a peculiar treachery is bred into them, though this pejorative quality tends to be sponged away by their sheer currency (Kozloff, 1979).

Photography is universally defined as the taking of a likeness by means of the chemical action of light on sensitive film, using a mechanical apparatus. The name is derived from the ancient Greek for light and writing. Photos - light, graph - writing. Writing with light. The prefix Photo replaced Helio (sun) which meaning is not dissimilar.

Photography has a solid foundation in Science, being based on physics, mechanics and electronics.

Virtually anyone above the age of five years is aware of the ability of the camera to record accurately.

Over 20 billion snap-shots are taken each year, mostly for record-keeping (Tunstall, 1981), a visual diary of events, experiences and as proof of ‘having been there’ (Freeman, 1984).

The photograph, since its inception, has been acclaimed the greatest and only accurate recording device. Due chiefly to the elimination of human agency (sic).
Both the terms 'heliography', used by Samuel Morse and Fox Talbot's 'pencil of nature', implicitly dismissed the human operator . . . Morse described the daguerreotype in 1884 . . . " painted by nature's self with a minuteness of detail . . . they cannot be called copies of nature, but nature herself " (Burgin, 1982). Edgar Allan Poe excluded absolutely the human element when he wrote: " In truth the daguerreotype plate is infinitely more accurate than any painting by human hand " (Burgin, 1962). Tribute was also paid to the photographic image by Oliver Wendell Holmes who called it, " . . . a mirror with a memory " (Gernsheim, 1962).

The photographic image has a mystical quality, an inherent power that seems to prohibit rational and analytical thought concerning its actual construction. That is quite apart from its ability to force its message directly to the emotions, bypassing the intellect. It is so tremendously powerful that it effectively defies almost all queries as to its total validity. In all aspects it is inviolate.

According to Sontag (1977, p161) so powerful is the photographic image that we are reluctant to tear up or throw away a photograph of a loved one, especially someone dead or far away. " To do so is a ruthless gesture of rejection ". To this Barthes adds:

Photography's Referent is not the same as the referent of other systems of representation . . . Painting can feign reality without having seen it. Discourse combines signs which have referents, of course, but these referents can be and are most often 'chimeras', contrary to these imitations, in photography I can never deny that the thing has been there . . . The photograph is an emanation of the referent. From a real body, that was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me . . . The photograph of the missing being, as Sontag says, will touch me like the delayed rays of a star. A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze . . . (1981).
The photographic image is considered, then to be a mechanical idealisation of vision, so that human error is circumvented.

The invention of photography in the nineteenth century gave us the first and only medium in which "images were not subject to the omissions, distortions and the subjective difficulties that are inherent in all pictures in which draughtsmanship plays a part," says Jussim (1983). "The nineteenth century began by believing that what was reasonable was true, and it wound up believing that what it saw a photograph of was true" (Jussim, 1983, p10).

According to the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA the main factors which distinguish photography from the other graphic and fine arts are as follows:

1. Immediacy
2. Fine detail
3. Sense of authenticity

(Vol 14: Photography, the Art of -)

Virtually no literature on photography ignores the popular belief, the camera never lies. Pure photography is generally seen to be an exact science; it utilises a machine without bias.

It is almost universally assumed that photography is the visual presentation of information in its most precise form:
The camera does not lie... [sic]... we give the subconscious a look at the outside world on its own terms and we communicate with the conscious through the idiom of reason... the immediate is recorded now, it [the camera] has no thought of the future or hankering for the past, yet it is in the future that photography must bear witness for the past... it has the role of historian...

(Van Zyl & Tomaselli, 1977).

The power of the photograph is also due to its eye-witness endowment, and this power was extended to the photomechanical reproduction on the invention of the half-tone process, some 100 years ago. Without exaggeration this form of reproduction was described by **ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN** thus: "These are no fancy sketches. They are the actual life of the place reproduced upon paper" (Upton, 1985, p382).

Imagine what a difference it would have made had a camera produced visual evidence of instances and occurrences in the history of mankind: i.e. The Crusades, Joan of Arc, King Henry VIII, Christopher Columbus:

Should there have been a camera present at Golgotha during the crucifixion, had time been arrested, imagine the problem solving capabilities stemming therefrom

(Liebling, 1978).

Sontag (1977, p154) agrees, saying that the photograph is something directly stenciled off reality, like a footprint or a deathmask. "Having a photograph of Shakespeare would be like having a nail from the Cross" (p155).

George Bernard Shaw summed up the cameras ability, viz:
There is a terrible truthfulness about photography, the ordinary academician gets hold of a pretty model, paints her as well as he can, calls her Juliet and the picture is admired beyond measure. The photographer finds the same pretty girl, dresses her up and photographs her, calls her Juliet, but somehow it is no good, it is still Miss Wilkens the model. It is too true to be Juliet

(Gernheim, 1962, p76).

Mankind desperately require an utterly truthful and totally unquestionable, authenticated recording device. The camera at its best is just such a device, there is no disputing this. In 1859 Oliver Wendell Holmes produced a stereoscopic system to produce three dimensional photographic reproduction and pronounced such photography as a " leaf torn from the book of God’s recording angel " (Editors, 1973).

It took the camera of Edward Muybridge to prove to the world that the way artists portrayed running horses was totally incorrect. Along with modern high-speed, time-lapse and micro-photography we are able to see much we would have had to accept sight-unseen previously (Editors, 1973).

It takes a camera (time lapse technique) to show us exactly how a flower opens, and electronic flash combines with a camera to show how a humming bird’s wings move:

The photograph is unique, without it, it would be impossible to provide a visual representation of something itself not present. Without a picture it is difficult, if not impossible, to represent what is absent, especially if it is a completely novel object

(Peters, 1977).

The photograph as authentication: Without the mortuary tableau Che Guevara’s followers would not have believed he was dead. The press photograph depicted a dead Guevara (Evans, 1981, p7), on a stretcher surrounded by military personnel, an
officer pointing to the fatal bullet hole. "Likewise when the world thought that Mao
was dead he proved he was alive by being photographed swimming in the Yangste . . .
" Evans, 1978, p9):

The camera offers proof . . . we know that men have been on the
moon, that Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald . . . because
photographs have shown it to be so. The world failed to register the
full horror of the 1983 shooting down of a Korean passenger plane,
with the loss of all lives, because no photographs exist to prove that
it actually happened

(Freeman, 1984, p9).

Similarly the Allies had a tremendously difficult job convincing the world of Nazi
atrocities. Without the wealth of photographic evidence they would in all
probability not have succeeded:

The disastrous effect of Allied atrocity propaganda of the first world
was now fully realised. Horror stories . . . had appeared between
1914 and 1918 and had later turned out to be lies. What guarantee
had the reader in 1945 that the stories now about German
concentration camps were not equally false?

(Knightley, 1975, p329).

Ronald Monson, who was with the first troops to enter Belsen . . .
after his article appeared Monson found that a well-known British
prisoner-of-war would not give him an interview because the P O W
said, 'I don't want to talk to a correspondent who will write such
lying propaganda about the Germans'

(Knightley 1975, p329).

Once the photographic evidence had been produced there was no more argument.
THE LEGAL CAMERA

The photograph has gained respectability in the courts of law, where it has been an eye witness (obviously there have been occasions where bona fides have been queried) and its evidence has led to a conviction. One such example is quoted by Evans (1978). The London DAILY MIRROR ran a picture of an unknown soccer thug beating up a fan. Within hours of publication the MIRROR received numerous calls recalling a similar photograph some years prior:

The mirror made a search and found a remarkably similar picture by Peter Cook of the SUNDAY MIRROR showing the same youth pounding a trapped policemen during a Tottenham Chelsea match... the youth appeared in court. He said he was not guilty. Then he changed his plea. He was confronted with the DAILY MIRROR picture

(Evans, 1978, p244).

The NEW YORK TIMES carried in the space usually reserved for printed editorials a large photograph of the fetid, flea-infested hold of a tramp freighter, adrift on the South China Sea. The headlines told us what we already suspected, namely that the hapless hordes crammed into the hold were ‘boat people’ from Cambodia and Vietnam. The photograph told the story more starkly and pitilessly than a printed editorial, no matter how eloquent, could ever have done. Here before our own eyes was the squalor, the degradation and the sheer terror that even the best reporters from South East Asia had been unable to convey

(Bayrd, 1979, p7).

MIRROR IMAGE

Just as the mirror's image (despite defects, not the least its lateral inversion) is trusted, so too is the camera's image.
Shintoism reveres the mirror, "It shines without a selfish mind... it reflects everything as it truly is, not as we wish it to be." Echoed some 50 years later by Cornell Capa:

... through it [photography] we provide an accurate and believable mirror of the human condition - a mirror than mankind must finally face

(Curl, 1979).

Richard Avedon goes a step further when he states: "... photographs have a reality for me that people don't. It is through the photograph that I know them" (Freeman, 1984, p75).

Were we to come across the Loch Ness Monster or the Yeti the first thing we would do to obtain proof of our sighting would be to photograph it. Mere words or even sound recordings are virtually worthless:

The rhetorical strength of documentary is ingrained to reside in the unequivocal character of the camera's evidence, in an essential realism. ... Vision itself uncomplicated in the world it encounters is subjected to a mechanical idealism ... the camera serves to ideologically naturalise the eye of the observer ... The camera is an engine of fact, the generator of a duplicated world of fetishized appearances, independently of human practice

(Liebling, 1978).

The photograph has undoubtedly become the ideal, in fact the only, evidence to prove events. The camera is universally acknowledged as the most impartial recording device. It is, after all, used in areas demanding facsimile reproduction, truthful or accurate duplication of tone, line, form and shape. Medicine, science, physics, all make extensive use of photography. Law enforcement, intelligence agencies, security and government agencies, photo-mechanical reproduction and
printed circuitry rely upon the accuracy of photography. It is a creation of science, optics and mechanics, thus it must of necessity be impartial, accurate and truthful. Unlike the word it is not plastic and unlike painting it reproduces warts and all.

Thus frequently, seeing photographs of an occurrence is better than being there. The image becomes the confirming sense, sight. We see, we believe.

**THE CAMERA NEVER LIES?**

Almost everywhere in literature and in daily life the adage "The camera never lies" is likely to be encountered. There is perhaps more truth in this than the variation which states: "The photograph never lies".

Certainly a machine should be incapable of lying but the machine is not the only consideration in photography. The machine may not lie but the operator of that machine may wish it to do just that. And he is in total control. One may just as effectively claim that typewriters or typesetting machines never lie:

A camera is merely glass in a metal box, a mechanical eye. It is a powerful tool and can be used as sword, shield, magnifier, recorder, talisman... [eye witness or perjurer]...

(Hampton, 1982, p8).

However, it is also true that:

Photographs are an abstraction of reality. In front of the camera is a three-dimensional, wrap around, continuously changing scene in colour. Looking at a photograph we see a two-dimensional surface
carrying an unmoving pattern of light and dark tones or in the case of a colour photograph, colours that never exactly match the colours of the original scene - what is continually fascinating about photography is the virtually limitless variations that can emerge from a single scene, as you alter the photographic terms in which you interpret it

(Reynolds, 1983).

The moment the photographer establishes a vantage point from which to take a picture, he abandons the objective point of view:

In choosing a stance he performs a mental act of discrimination with reference to external reality as anyone might see it, and thereby he makes his first move towards interpretation. When he decides on his composition, lighting and determines the most meaningful moment at which to trip his shutter, he further exercises his faculty of selection. It might be said that the more he sees in his own way the more he departs from objectivity, since it represents conscious choice, exclusive with the photographer, of composition and other characteristics . . .

(Schuneman, 1972).

The very nature of the photograph is to pass off illusion as fact, the photograph of an object virtually becomes that object. The ancient belief that an image contains part of the imaged dies hard:

[Photography] takes a three-dimensional subject and turns it into a two-dimensional image. It reduces a multi-coloured landscape to black, white and a range of greys. It destroys all sense of scale, it destroys perspective. It freezes action so that the fastest racing car might appear to be standing still, and it reverses the procedure to give a blurred impression of speed in a subject moving at no more than a walking pace. What's more all the above examples are found in what might be termed 'ordinary' photography. When we enter the world of special effects anything and everything is possible

(Wade, 1983).

Without trying we can make a man who it sitting with the right leg over left, suddenly be sitting with his left leg over the right one, simply by flipping the negative in the enlarger.
The simple mistake of placing a negative emulsion-side up, instead of glossy-side up in the enlarger results in a laterally inverted picture. Teacher becomes left handed! However as incorrect as the final image is, it is more correct than a properly printed picture to the subject; as that is exactly how she sees herself in her mirror, in fact the only way she sees herself virtually all the time.

PLATE 10
Deliberate and very simple multi-exposure or printing can situate a subject in any environment the photographer desires, even to the extent of a city-scape constructed from a cardboard cut-out.

PLATE 11
3.2 The Camera Cannot Lie

(The basic hypothesis as to why the photograph is so credible):

The act of photography is concerned essentially with creating an illusion... it is not hard for a photographer to fill his picture with illusory truth

(Craven, 1982, p6).

On the surface this statement seems obviously true. The camera is a machine, just as the typewriter is a machine. Of course the typewriter cannot lie, but the person operating it can and sometimes does. The same is true of the camera. Photographers universally have a saying, "It's not the camera its the man behind the camera."

According to Muggeridge (1977, p30) not only can the camera lie, it always lies. Barbara Upton, according to Reynolds (1983), claims that the only thing a photograph cannot do is tell the truth. While Sontag (1977, p174) says that the photograph does not simply reproduce the real it recycles it.

Perhaps Evans (1978, Intro) is more correct when he states that the camera cannot lie, but can be an accessory to untruth. Although it appears that Green (1984) comes closest to the most accurate assessment when he maintains that it cannot lie nor tell the truth. It can only transform.
Whatever the case the fact remains, as McLuhan (in Key, 1973) says, "The claim that the camera cannot lie merely underlines the deceptions now practiced in its name." Perhaps the camera never lies except where money and ideology are concerned. Money and ideology are always in the equation somewhere.

Indeed although photography is almost always fairly truthful and accurate it is the most effective form of lying, because of its very authenticity. As Webster (1980, p231) says, "The need for demystification is urgent."

It is precisely the naïve belief in the honesty of the camera that has gained it its position of dominance in the area of trustworthiness and credibility. According to Freeman (1984, p86) the huge impact made by photography is due largely to the ways in which skilled photographers manipulate it.

According to Berger and Mohr (1982, p7) the photograph is the junction where the interests of four distinctly differing parties meet. The photographer, the photographed, the viewer and those who use the photograph. The motives of the parties are frequently contradictory. The contradictions both hide and increase the natural ambiguity of the image.

The only objective truth that photographs offer, according to Liebling (1978) is that someone or something (an automated camera) was somewhere and took a picture. "Everything else, everything beyond imprinting a trace is up for grabs." Hill (1979) claims it is impossible to prove anything conclusively other than a photograph is the result of the action of light on sensitive material.
Sontag (1977, p192) accepts John Szarkowski's claim that photography is a system of visual editing. Editing takes place during photography by framing and by limiting "depth of field" (to obscure certain areas with blur). It also takes place after the fact by "cropping", removal of certain elements by cutting them away. Light / shade too plays its part in highlighting and obscuring. All this facilitates and encourages subjectivity. W Eugene Smith (LIFE's greatest photographer) names "objectivity" as the first word he would remove from the folklore of photojournalism (Booth, 1983).

The camera generally records what is focussed on the ground-glass. Had we been there we would have seen this to be so. However, there is frequently a difference between ground-glass viewing and final result, especially if the exposure aperture is small. Viewing is usually done with the lens at its widest aperture (Limited depth-of-field), small aperture provides more overall detail and sharpness. These little differences are not seen as distortions, but they are. Despite being shown time and time again that photography is pure illusion, our belief persists. Misrepresentation, distortion and faking notwithstanding, the fact remains that a machine is incapable of deliberate duplicity as such - "Photography supplying such overwhelming quantities of finished data, that any disbelief is nipped by gratitude" (Eauclair, 1981).

The camera is however very capable of distortion. For example, wide angle (or fish eye) lens aberration. The fact is that the idea of the camera never lying had been translated into 'The photograph never lies'. This is totally untrue, there are many steps between pressing the shutter release and the final result in the media. The finished photograph is rarely exactly what the camera saw, especially in the case of
negative / positive systems. Much may be achieved in the darkrooms of both the photographer and the printing house.

The belief in the credibility of the photograph is beginning to fracture. All too frequently do we compare the different media interpretations of an event to which we were party and find them wanting.

SOUNDING BOARD

Since 1980 the first year intake of students at Technikon Natal, Photographic have provided a sounding board as to the state and nature of belief in photographic imagery as reportage.

This was done by means of an essay required to be submitted prior to any coaching on the subject. Students were asked to write their views concerning the following:

"The Camera Never Lies - Discuss"

Results from 1980, until (and including) 1985 indicated a general belief that indeed it seldom if ever lied.

The class of 1986 indicated a total reversal of this trend, See Table.

This trend has continued since (1987, 1988).
The years 1985/1986 (it must be remembered) witnessed a dramatic increase in foreign media disinformation. Resulting from the beginning of a long-term unrest situation in the country.

(One student, for example, with relatives in the US received a midnight telephone call asking if the family was safe. US media had them believing jets were strafing Durban / Pinetown environs)

The results indicate more a distrust of the usage of the photograph than the photograph itself.
First year students enrolled for the full-time diploma in photography are comprised of a cross-section of society. School leavers, through businessmen / women who have accumulated finances to insure against 3 years of non-earning, to university graduates altering career decisions. The only common denominator is that they are all matriculants. Up until 1985, the annual intake was 20 students, since 1986 and currently, it is 30. Information was gathered from the essays submitted and questions arising therefrom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>TRUST IN THE IMAGE</th>
<th>TRUST IN THE MEDIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-1985</td>
<td>1. Trust implicitly 90%</td>
<td>1. Trust Implicitly 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Trust conditionally 9%</td>
<td>2. Trust certain media 70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Distrust totally * 1%</td>
<td>3. Mistrust totally 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* generally distrustful of everything</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-</td>
<td>1. Trust implicitly 6%</td>
<td>1. Trust Implicitly 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Trust conditionally 84%</td>
<td>2. Trust certain media 74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Distrust totally 10%</td>
<td>3. Mistrust totally 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLATE/FIGURE 12
The more photographs we see the more easily our eyes accept photographic conventions. It becomes easier to forget that photography is a medium that creates its own reality. For example, no one will assume an earthquake has caused the apparent tumbling towards the camera of buildings photographed with a wide angle lens. Whenever the tendrils of doubt find their way into our minds we remember the positive aspects, the authenticating camera.

Photography only seriously comes into question in the context of propaganda, this much is obvious. However, propaganda frequently need not even be considered. There are so many ways in which the camera can be fooled.

Indeed an event or occurrence may be photographed in all good faith, yet that occurrence may itself be faked. Viz the PETERSBURG TIMES ran a photograph of a survivor being taken off a coast-guard vessel. The rescued party, not wishing to be photographed or to be confronted by media representatives, remained hidden aboard. A coast-guard officer, wrapped in a blanket, was assisted ashore. The press, understandably, mistook the officer for the victim. The photographs message was therefore obviously untrue (Gordon, 1984, p40) although it provided a truthful representation of the event as it saw it. It truthfully recorded a lie.

According to Wright Morris (Liebling, 1978):

Whilst in San Miguel Allande, Mexico, a funeral procession came into view. It moved to the somber beat of drums, the women in black, heads bowed, the men, hatless, their peasant faces masks of sorrow. A priest carried the crucified figure of Christ. The sight was deeply moving. As the procession approached the father corner a voice shouted through a megaphone, telling the mourners to do it over with more feeling. Had Morris gone about his business earlier he might still cherish this as an exceptional expression of man's elemental sorrow.
Thus apparently, reality need not be reality at all.

Mirrored reality is not necessarily mirrored actuality. This has always been acknowledged by philosophers.

Even in the halcyon days of photography's 'mirror of nature' homage, the astute remained unimpressed. For example, in 1854 Elizabeth Eastlake, wife of the director of the National Gallery of Art, London, said of 'the mirror of nature':

... far from holding up the mirror to nature, which is an assertion usually as triumphant as it is erroneous . . . it is subject to certain distortions and deficiencies, . . . the more perfect you render an imperfect machine the more its imperfections come to light . . . it is superfluous therefore to ask whether art has benefited, where nature, its only source and model has been but more accurately falsified

(Davis, 1983, p12).
Harmless manipulations which provide more interesting pictorial material can obviously ensure against boredom and aid editorial cohesion, but at the same time must nibble away at the credibility of the image. Can we be absolutely certain that Beaton's famous picture of the tiny child, swathed in bandages, which so influenced American opinion during World War II, was not a set-up? Or than Wong's picture of the baby on Shanghai's bombed railway station, which *LIFE* estimated had been seen by over 136 000 000 (14 Oct 1937) wasn't a fake? Japan claimed that it was (Gernsheim, 1962, p224 : Faber, 1972, p74).

**PLATE 13**
Rivers (1969, p141) cited an incident at a photojournalism clinic when a veteran press photographer advised students to always carry a broken tricycle in the trunk of the car, in case of a fatal accident involving a child. The trike, he said, would provide foreground interest.

Propaganda makes enormous use of the photograph. Starving black children scrabble in trash cans, scrambling for the photographer's coins. Open parks at lunch time, with black workers sprawled fast asleep are photographed with the caption: "They don't even bother to bury the dead" (Vary, 1979, p11).

Municipal workers digging drainage trenches become condemned political prisoners' digging their own graves;

... in the struggle to affect mass opinions, political motives and ideological distortion could count all the more on photographic images, precisely because of their documentary assumption (Kosloff, 1979).

Photography may or may not portray reality by capturing famous people at rare but opportune (or in-opportune) moments. Although Gerald Ford was the most athletic President in US history, "he was portrayed as a klutz because a photographer was always on hand when he happened to fall or bump his head" (Hardin, 1984).

TIME & NEWSWEEK coverage of El Salvador (1984), showed pictures whose cumulative effect depicted Salvadorans as irrational, violent people:

Imagine if the US was photographed in a way which showed only its enormous violence-crime problems. We would probably appear to be as irrational and violent as the Salvadorans were presented to us (Ritchin, 1984).
"One man's virtuous persuasion is another man's pernicious propaganda" (Editors, 1979, p97).

EXERCISE

A RED CROSS ambulance was parked in the grounds of the Hillcrest High School, its presence financial rather than medical. The staff were selling old clothes from the stock stored inside the vehicle.

The buyers were a group of very insistent African ladies, each determined to purchase the bargains. One photograph shows all heads looking down except one woman. Her mouth open in a scream, hands splayed in apparent supplication, forehead wrinkled and eyes screwed up.

Subjects were asked to look at the photograph and interpret the scene portrayed. Without exception the interpretations assumed some tragic incident (particularly as the picture was used soon after the Uitenhage deaths). A caption compounding this idea was added and readily accepted, obviously substantiating and validating personal interpretation.

A second caption explaining the true situation was subsequently accepted, again without reservation.
Mrs Daphne Nhlovo, of the Clothing Workers' Union voices her protest at police brutality as co-workers receive medical treatment after riot police broke up the peaceful protest vigil yesterday outside the Frame Group headquarters.

The above caption has grossly distorted the truth and should have read: 'A distraught mother watches in shock as her family received emergency medical treatment at the scene of yesterday's horror accident on the southern freeway.'

The preceding caption is again untrue although the photograph is completely genuine and unposed. The scene depicted is actually the purchase of old clothes from a RED CROSS ambulance during a fete at the Hillcrest High School.

The third caption is the only one giving the true facts, but why should anyone believe it? The strange thing is that should the caption position be reversed each is still believed in its turn.

PLATE 14

- 84 -
Only after the original exercise did it occur to me that a third caption would in all probability been equally acceptable.

The exercise demonstrates three basic points:

1. The photograph can mislead with or without a caption.
2. People will believe anything when provided with pictorial evidence.
3. Point 2 is particularly applicable when the source supplying the evidence is accepted as having no ulterior motive, or is reasonably reliable, or has no axe to grind.

When the caption coincides with their interpretation they are pleased. When it is at variance with their interpretation they are intrigued and entertained (as they are with an Escher drawing). Both are acceptable to the subject. Recent events, state-of-mind, personality and persuasion (political and social) all effect image interpretation.

Regarding the ambulance / Black woman: when shown the photograph without caption and requested to suggest the likely circumstances, it was noted that (apart from one or two patently ridiculous answers) either of the following were given:

(a) The aftermath of an accident, or
(b) Police brutality.

Prior to Uitenhage the percentage opting for (a) was overwhelming. Subsequent to Uitenhage (b) edged into predominance, waning again a few weeks later. Different groups reacted in predictable fashion - Arts students opting for (a), journalism
students opting for (b), and housewives for (a), Blacks generally selecting (a) as well.

Bias can be initiated long before the images are made and without any conscious attempt or even desire on the photographer's part. According to Schuneman (1972) the magazine provides the staff photographer with a researcher who prepares him so completely that he can't see anything but what he is expected to find. Most US publications will simply not use stories that are at odds with their policy or preconceptions (Allen, 1976, p72).

Vary in his book THE VICTIMS (Vary, 1979, p1) opens with a number of pictures depicting Black soldiers and atrocity photographs of mutilated Blacks, bodies piled high in the back of trucks. The captions tell us that the photographs were "smuggled at great risk out of Amin's Uganda." After setting the scene he says that the pictures are un-retouched and genuine; only they were not from Uganda but taken in the Belgium Congo some decades prior to the advent of Amin. If it is so easy to fool those well aware of photo-journalistic manipulation and the ages old adage "never let the truth interfere with a good story", then it is so much easier to mislead the uninitiated. It is no difficult thing to present evidence that fits in with the audiences pre-conceptions and beliefs. Everyone expected the very worst from Amin and wanted to believe the pictures.

Yet somehow the photographic image maintains its impact.

The power of the photograph, its ability to snatch a moment out of the continuum of time, is at the same time, a contributing cause to its negative attribute, its ability to
create illusion. A moment is snatched from an irreversible sequence. Although this sequence in real time is irreversible and inevitable, the meaning it gives the picture is not. A photograph may suggest that what is momentarily pictured has been that way for some time, or will be for some time. A moment has been stretched into infinity. Time has been tampered with, and time is a dimension in which we measure all change. We cannot assess change without a true concept of time. The very nature of the universe has been altered.

In a very similar manner space too may be altered or tampered with by photography. As time and space are inseparable the moment of exposure effects our visual statement as much as any other factor could.

Thanks to our interpretation of time/space and our individual ideological frame-of-reference we perceive things differently (frequently journalists and advertisers use this to make us believe they are saying something they have not specifically said). As we have seen, the picture can in effect become the symbol of something unrelated to it. For example; Alfred Stieglitz’s classic picture entitled The Steerage depicts a group of people who appear to be immigrants to a land of hope, they are in fact the very opposite, disillusioned settlers returning home (Nichols, 1981: Craven, 1982, p152).

Although photography comes the closest to the ideal reporter, the impartial eyewitness, historian, it is unfortunately essentially connected with the creation of illusion. Either expanding a moment into infinity or collapsing a span of time into a moment, both of which are obviously interference with time / space continuum. A distortion is not the truth, the eye and the mind can be easily fooled.
A MOMENT CAPTURED FROM THE CONTINUUM OF TIME

... the force of photographic images comes from their being material realities in their own right, richly informative deposits left in the wake of whatever emitted them... (Sontag, 1977, p180).

An absolutely genuine photograph

PLATE 15

- 88 -
THE INFALLIBLE IMAGE IS (AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN) AN ILLUSION:

Just how the photographic image ever managed to attain its (virtually) unassailable position and its aura of respectability is a mystery, despite the popular beliefs previously mentioned. For it is a fact that photography lied from, and including, the very first images ever made. Joseph Nicephone Niepce (1826) produced the world's first photograph, a barn as seen from his window (Pollack, 1977, p17). Sunlight is seen striking both the east and west sides of the building. Due to a necessarily long exposure of approximately seven hours. The man who first announced the invention of photography, Daguerre, photographed a Paris boulevard in 1839 and shows a street... "so constantly filled with a moving throng of pedestrians and carriages..." to be deserted except for a man having his boots cleaned (Ibid, p20). Hippolyte Bayard (1839) produced the first faked propaganda photograph, when he photographed himself as a corpse in a morgue, having supposedly drowned himself (Bernard, 1980). Even the earliest landscapes were not all authentic - John Dillwyn Llewelyn enhanced his picture with "a variety of birds and beasts - all stuffed" (MacDonald, 1979, p76, p78).

Not only were the early cameramen and sub-editors very busy with picture manipulation, the early technicians were not far behind. In 1851 the Reverend Levi Hill (New York) announced the perfection of a daguerreotype colour process. Daguereotypist Marcus A Root was dissatisfied with Hill's failure to release details of this breakthrough. Hill's explanation was that "invisible goblins" were plaguing him in the production of yellow. Root came to the conclusion that the examples Hill had so far produced were probably common daguerreotypes, carefully coloured by hand. Dried coloured powder was distinctly visible on the face and hair. A
decidedly disgusted Rood finally stated - "there appeared to have been deception in the matter, I shall meddle with it no further" (Waller, 1982, p22).

Montage and retouching had already reached state-of-the-art competency as early as the 1860's. The photographs of the executions of Emperor Maximillian of Mexico, 19 June 1867, and of generals Thomas and Lecomte, 18 March 1871, were "reconstructions" (Gernsheim, 1960, p48, p63).

During the Austrian / Russian conflict (1917 / 1919) a photograph showing Russian troops packed onto the roofs of railway carriages in full retreat, on their way back to their villages, was published in the London DAILY MIRROR under the heading 'Russian troops hasten to the front'. At the same time the NEW YORK TIMES published dispatches indicating the Russians were winning (Knightley, 1975, p144).

Both Freeman (1984, p115) and Schuneman (1972) indicate that in photography's early days editors were inclined to look upon the photograph as ART, a term still applied to it in many newspaper offices. It was used mainly to brighten up a page. The editor selected a picture and his art department 'tricked it up', the artist 'added' to the photograph, there were no bounds to the audacity of efforts to 'improve it'.

Obviously the camera lied from its very inception and has never ceased doing so, indeed modern technology has made faking, previously considered totally impossible, an everyday occurrence. A photograph may not lie only by commission but by omission, as was the case during the Crimean War. The government photographer, Fenton, had definite instructions to white-wash a badly bungled war.
(He photographed only the positive aspects. Prince Albert’s instruction was, "no dead bodies ", Fabian, 1985, p79).

Both Gernsheim (1962, p108) and Booth-Haworth (1981) mention Fenton’s work as the first war photographer. They suggest that his art training compelled him to compose and create his pictures. In one case all the cannon balls were in a central rut. In another they were sprinkled artistically across a track, the composition the more dramatic.

During the American Civil War, Alexander Gardner’s most poignant picture of Gettysburg, ‘Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter’ was a fake. The photograph shows a dead Southern soldier behind a rampant of boulders in a rocky outcrop known as ‘Devils Den’. There is no proof that the soldier was a sharp-shooter, he was more likely an infantryman. Moreover, he had been killed 40 yards from the rampart. Gardner and O’Sullivan had already taken three rather undistinguished photographs of the young soldier in the spot where he had fallen days before (Macdonald, 1979, p86).

The period of French history that included the Communards produced its share of faked photographs. Examples are the montaged photographs showing "The communards slaughtering blameless priests " with sword and gun. There are also a number of photographs depicting ‘dead’ children, ‘killed’ by the Communards, Even Barnardo of the Children's Home fame, was not beyond utilising this credibility of the camera. He was one of the first to enlist photography in a social crusade, setting up a photo-unit in 1874. A London court judged him guilty of ‘artistic fiction’ in that
he apparently tore clothing and added layers of grime when having his waifs photographed for his before and after records and publicity (Macdonald, 1979, p87).

Publishers of early broadsheets frequently reused woodcuts originally depicting flood devastation to illustrate earthquakes or other disasters (Gombrich, 1982, p144). Apparently the thinking was that once you had seen one disaster you'd seen them all.

COMPOSOGRAVHS

The public has long been aware of the manipulation possible when reproducing photographs. The NEW YORK EVENING GRAPHIC devised the 'composograph' - cut out and paste over montage - sometimes admitting this in tiny print beneath the picture.

Perhaps the most infamous was the composograph of a courtroom scene from the society divorce case, Rhinelander vs Rhinelander. During the case, photographers were expelled from the court. The editor and assistant art director set up a fake courtroom at the newspaper. A chorus girl substituted for Mrs Rhinelander, a number of actors played the parts of real individuals involved, the faces of the actual participants pasted over later. Twenty separate photographs were used (Kobre, 1980, p17).
A widely published and highly acclaimed technical photograph by Kamal was proven to be a fake (Hopkins, 1984, p122).

It depicted high-speed photography of a bullet cutting a playing card in two. Kamal had glued all the elements to a sheet of glass and confounded the issue with involved technical data. As Hopkins pointed out:

1. There was a lack of shock-wave patterns.
2. All the card particles were on a single plane.
3. There were no rifling marks on the bullet,
4. The background too well exposed for high-speed exposure.
5. Other transparencies had been seen and remembered, identical fragments, bullet and situation, with different backgrounds.
A similar incident occurred in the early 1950's when a composite photograph was made of Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland and Earl Browder, a communist leader, apparently in friendly conversation. Publication and circulation of this photograph resulted in the election defeat of the Senator. This led to a subsequent congressional investigation (Rothstein, 1978, p22).

THE MOVING IMAGE

The earliest documentary films were infected with fakery, claims Barnouw (1977). The battle of Santiago Bay was filmed partially on the tabletop, complete with cigarette smoke and cardboard ships. Volcanic eruptions such as Mount Vesuvius (1905) were faked.

Williamson's 'attack on a Chinese Mission Station' was shot in his backyard. And one of the earliest movie newsreels, that of a Boer attack on a Red Cross tent, was filmed on Hampstead Heath (Knightley, 1975, p148).

So pronounced was the fakery that a film distribution company, the WARWICK TRADING CO, in its catalogue of July / August 1902 stated that its films were not made on Hampstead Heath, or in somebody's back garden (Elizabeth Stroebel - Primitive Propaganda - The Boer War).

Muggeridge (1977, p64) gives a number of examples of faked documentary films. The newsreel showing Hitler doing a weird little dance of triumph on hearing of France's fall was achieved by the simple device of removing a few frames from a film of Hitler walking.
Vary (1979, p49) illustrates how a Swedish TV team faked an anti-colonialism film, bribing locals blacks to act as dead bodies:

Fabricated films were instruments of blatant propaganda . . . Lords Roberts and Kitchener were 'shown' signing the Vereeniging peace treaty, when in fact they had nothing to do with the signing. 

(Bensusan, 1966, p56).

CROPPING

Should a still photograph be cropped in a specific way the truth may be altered totally, without addition of other visual material. An example quoted by Evans (1978, p226) shows two similar photographs, one cropped tighter at the base than the other. The cropped picture shows three people merely walking along with sacks thrown over their shoulders, the uncropped one depicts what was cut off the picture, the ankle rings and leg chains linking the three. The same basic picture but two utterly different meanings.

Frequently cropping is undertaken simply due to the limited space available and extraneous expanse removed or squashed to permit a larger display of the pertinent visual information. The LONDON DAILY MAIL ran a photograph during the Brixton riots (1982), entitled "Anger and Authority: Face to Face, but still miles apart." The photograph depicted a Black youth shouting into the face of a police officer. TIME OUT magazine ran the picture with another policeman in the background visible between them. It was claimed that moving the principals closer together created a deceptive image. The paper claimed that the full sense of the
original picture was retained. Closing up the two principles marginally did not alter its meaning, there was no intention to mislead. The reason for the cropping was dictated by availability of space, the picture had to fit a certain space only. The MAIL was ruled out of order, (British Press Council, Press Release No S8413/1406: 14 April 1982).

Senator McCarthy's witch-hunt resulted in a spectacular cropping which was a deliberate attempt to mislead. In an effort to compromise the then secretary of the Army, Robert Stevens. McCarthy had a photograph of the secretary, Pvt D Schine (a discredited ex McCarthy aid) and a policeman escorting Schine, cropped to exclude the policeman. The resultant image depicted Schine and Stevens in apparently amicable association (Editors, 1979, p114).

THE AIRBRUSH:

An official White House photograph showing Ronald Reagan discussing policy with three Contra leaders was found by the WASHINGTON POST to have been manipulated. An unexpurgated version shows "the blank space filled by the same Ollie North the President claimed not have met officially" (Jaubert, 1988). Cutting and Covering. Alexander Dubcek disappeared from a group photograph when he fell from grace (De Fleur et al, 1971, p412). Montage. The special issue of LIFE 1976 fused two news pictures to show an assassination attempt in San Francisco on President Ford..." Since little else moved in that fraction of a second, the two photographs made a perfect fit." (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, Jan 1987, p26).
Evans (1978, p283) shows three examples of similar nature used in the British Press - combining two photographs into one.

One of the foremost photographic magazines in the French language, PHOTO (No. 179, 1982) ran an article under the title: "Sophia Loren Lescroquerie Du Photo Montage." Illustrating the construction of a montage which was sold and accepted by the media as a genuine record of Ms Loren behind bars in an Italian jail.

Kappa Photo Agency purchased the photograph from a young unknown photographer, a picture that had proven impossible to get even by the most aggressive paparazzi. This picture grossed over 50 million lire, used by almost every newspaper and news magazine the world over. Subsequent judicial enquiry pronounced it a swindle (lescroquerie): "Ce'es malhonnête d'insulter las conscience professionnelle de toute une profession".

The photograph of Ms Loren was a still taken during the filming of a motion picture some two years previously, with a grille superimposed over her features.

Most faking remains undetected, those uncovered, difficult to prove; the onus being on the complainant. Despite this, numerous instances have been, as was Ms Loren's case, proven in a court of law. At the moment of writing Ms Gina Lollabrigida has instituted proceedings against the Italian magazine NOVELLA 2000, which has on its cover a nude photograph it claims is Ms Lollobrigida. She claims that the photograph is a fake that only vaguely resembles her. That weeks issue was banned by the local magistrate, pending the hearing of the action. He said that the
Photograph was probably of another woman and the ban necessary to protect the star's credibility (NATAL MERCURY, Durban, 8 May 1986, p8).

PHOTO CALLS

Many of the world's great news photographs have been the result of a photocall, more crudely known as a set-up.

The flag raising on Iwo Jima was just such a situation:

Joe Rosenthal arrived three hours too late for the original flag, a tiny stars and stripes. A larger flag was brought and this second flag raising became the most published photograph in history (Fabian, 1985, p264).

For many reasons, not the least safety and financial, are photo-calls a regular occurrence. Muggeridge (1977, p125) quotes a Saigon media bureau chief:

It is considered standard operating procedure for troops to fire their weapons for the benefit of cameramen. If our cameramen had to wait until a fire fight . . . we'd have much less footage and perhaps cameramen (Muggeridge, 1977, p125).

Executions have been delayed for the camera:

. . . in Nigeria . . . just as the command to fire was to be given, one of the cameramen shouted 'cut', his battery had gone dead and needed to be replaced . . . working again, he shouted 'action', and bang, bang, the prisoner fell to the ground . . . (Muggeridge, 1977, 64).
Other executions have been advanced in time. During the filming of *AFRICA ADDIO*, the film crew's visas were due to expire. An execution was put forward some eight hours to facilitate filming, the sequence was never shown (Source must remain unrevealed).

The world famous Pulitzer prize winning photograph, of the bayoneting of Biharis at the conclusion of the Bangladesh war, was a result of an invitation to record murder. (Fabian, 1985, p38 : Evans, 1978, Intro).

Nothing appears sacrosanct, Vary (1979) illustrates how many holocaust photographs were faked.

**THE SET-UP** (as distinct from Photo-call)

Enoch Powell was due to exit a building at any second. *DAILY MIRROR* photographer KENT GAVIN asked a nearby black man, a West Indian immigrant, to rush up and shake the man's hand when he exited. This he did, wearing a huge grin, until realising just who he was so happily greeting. Too late, the event was recorded (Gavin, 1978, p121). Fortunately publication was prevented on demand by the man involved.
THE TRUE PICTURE WITH ALTERED CAPTION

A photograph of an American tank dragging the corpse of a Viet Cong soldier to a burial site was used with varying captions. Some indicating evidence of American disrespect for enemy war dead or vicious torture programmes. Others, recognising the necessity of putting distance between oneself and a day old corpse, used it simply as anti-war propaganda.

RENT A CROWD

The number of cameras were also the attraction for the unemployed Iranians who posed in front of the US Embassy in Teheran ... behind the cameras, invisible to newspaper readers and TV Viewers, stood professional rabble-rousers who were aiding the cameraman ...

(Fabian, 1985, p38).

THE BLATANT LIE

US media reported 10 000 killed and 600 000 homeless in Southern Lebanon, following the Israeli invasion.

It also showed President Reagan agonising over a photograph of an armless infant, and apparent victim of Israeli aggression. Forster in an article entitled ‘The Media’s Most Disgraceful Hour’, wrote:
South Lebanon's entire population was 100,000 less than the number reported to be homeless, and the 10,000 dead could be conscientiously counted in the low hundreds. . . . as for the picture that tore Mr. Reagan's heart out, some days later UPI admitted that its news caption was erroneous (Forster, 1984, p116).

Some problems will always be unavoidable, much is taken in good faith and almost all news photography is of something already over. Imagine the deadly boring news visuals without improvement. Every set-up or instruction from the photographer must lead to a manipulated image, some editors forbid this, others encourage it. Both could lead to the demise of photojournalism, the latter leading to mistrust, the former to frightening boredom.

Without manipulation the truth or fact sometimes cannot be illustrated with sufficient impact.

For example, when cleaners have already tidied up the mess caused by vandals, it is impossible to create a sense of disgust in the minds of the audience. To accurately reconstruct such vandalism is not intended to falsify; neither does it. Nor would this example quoted by Porter (However it is the "thin end of the wedge"):  

The DAILY STAR's solution to the vexed problem of showing exactly how hot it was, was to dispatch a photographer with instructions to cook an egg on the bonnet of a taxi and immortalise the sizzling result with a camera . . . The trick may have worked in the Sahara but was altogether a failure in Manchester.  

The photographer resorted to a plastic egg and "thoroughly convincing proof of the heatwave was duly published" (Porter, 1984, p17).
The truth has not been altered in any real way, it has in fact been substantiated. However, anyone viewing such reconstructions by the men from the media and subsequently seeing the photograph/ text will feel differently.

According to John Berger we are surrounded by photographic images which constitute a global system of misinformation. "The system known as publicity ... the camera does not lie even when it is used to quote a lie. And so, this makes the lie appear more truthful" (Berger & Mohr, 1982, p97).

Even if there is no lie there is ambiguity which is hidden by the words explaining the photograph, these words "explain, less or more truthfully, the pictured events" (Berger & Mohr, 1982, p128).

Generally advertising, commercial, fashion, portrait and industrial photographers must improve on what is before the camera. While Press, documentary and reportage photographers must try to debase this subject matter.
The same negative: Different pictures. The Photograph on the left represents exactly what the camera recorded. RIGHT, a manipulated print which is what the camera really should have seen. Manipulation has thus rendered the subject more accurately and truthfully.

PLATE 17
The camera reproduced exactly what it saw. The photograph is nevertheless a lie.
Robert Capa's photograph, 'moment of death', is probably one of the most famous and certainly most discussed photographs ever taken. Slightly blurred it depicts a soldier, head turned away from the camera, arms thrown out, back arched, apparently leaping a mound of earth. The curious thing about it is that it does not tell anything as a picture. It is an essentially ambiguous image. Its caption made it - "A Spanish soldier the instant he is dropped by a bullet through the head . . .". It could have been captioned "A Spanish Soldier stumbles during intensive training . . .". There is no evidence of a head shot, in fact, according to David Seymour, Capa didn't even take the picture (Knightley, 1975, p209). According to others there were repeat shots of the same soldier.

Whelan (1986) in his recent biography of Robert Capa revealed that he was an invention, a figment of the imagination of a couple deported from Nazi Germany. Broke and desperate, André Friedman and Gerda Taro created a talented American photographer, cast in the mould of a Hemingway hero; a simple but effective marketing technique. However, according to Whelan, it went deeper, André could now become the persona he had invented, and this he did. Whelan reproduces the original 'Spanish Soldier' picture spread from VU magazine, depicting two different soldiers falling on the same spot, yet there is no hint in either photograph of another body. In fact a third photograph shows three soldiers on the lip of the same trench, so obviously posed that two do not even have their fingers on the triggers of their guns. Whelan dismisses criticism with the words :
In the end ... Capa's photograph is a great and powerful image ... for the pictures greatness ultimately lies in its symbolic implications, not in its literal accuracy as a report on the death of a particular man (Whelan, 1986).

Struan Robertson's review of the Whelan book carries the following words:

From the biography it is evident that Andre always had a problem with reality. Like my friend John Brett Cohen, he hated to spoil a good story with the facts ... This is not unusual, I have known many photojournalists and most of them seem to enjoy improving dull reality ... It goes with the territory (Robertson, 1986, p115).

Nevertheless, Capa, who was not Capa, produced hundreds of accurate and 'truthful' photographs, being one of the greatest combat photographers the world has known.

INCORRECT TIME-FRAME

The Challenger tragedy, where seven astronauts, including the school teacher Christa McAuliffe were killed, produced front page news for a number of days. "As the space shuttle exploded, the faces of the onlookers went blank. " Yet the pictures used in many newspapers and magazines depicted the very expressive faces of Christa's parents and sister:

The most expressive photos of the family were taken immediately after the launch. Christa's mother looked fearful and sad from the moment of lift off. Her sister was highly agitated from the start, smiling and crying (for joy, I presume) as the shuttle cleared the tower (Pollock, 1986).
It was interesting to note that many newspapers and magazines ran pictures from this time frame, pre-explosion, incorrectly labelling their expressions as their reactions to the explosion. The picture is thus at best a half-truth.

THE THIRD EFFECT

A photographs meaning changes according to the context in which it is seen

(Sontag, 1977, p106).

More exactly, if one photograph of dramatic value is selectively juxtaposed with a second photograph a third and entirely different value may be formed in the viewer's mind

(Scheuer, 1975, p39).

This phenomenon, known as the Third Effect, (a term originating with LIFE executive editor, Wilson Hicks) is so effective because it has an affinity with the way we think. The effect is super-additive:

By juxtaposing two pictures their individual effects are combined and enhanced by the viewers interpretative and evaluative thinking, a third effect can result

(Evans, 1978, p237).

Thus an entirely different meaning can be brought to a photograph, unthought of by photographer, subject or even editor.
OPTICAL DISTORTION

With or without culpability a camera can distort the truth. By using a lens of specific focal length a scene can be compressed or expanded: A wide angle lens expands any view it records, near elements are disproportionately enlarged while distant elements are reduced in size. Photographing a mini-minor with a wide angle lens can produce a false view of it, it can look like a stretch-limo. Whilst a stretch-limo photographed with a telephoto lens can be so compressed as to seem squat and short. Indeed photography can make thin people appear fat and fat people appear thin. Every portrait photographer knows this within a week of practice. A portrait photographer who does not, will not survive in his profession.

Even where there is absolutely no intention of distortion misunderstanding could lead to errors. Gryzwacz - Gray (1986, p39) relates an experience with the new electronic equipment used for reproduction in magazines and newspapers, the Chromacom (or combiscope). A story concerning a swimming pool dyed red by pranksters appeared in a newspaper with water clear and sparkling blue, because the print-shop felt there was an exposure problem and corrected the colour.

PHOTOGRAPHERS PRECONCEPTION

Sontag (1977, p6) suggests that some photographers are never satisfied until they get the right look on film - the precise expression that reflects their own notion about poverty, dignity. Photographers, she claims, are always imposing standards on their subjects. With some thought most photographers will agree.
Take for example Dorothea Lange’s classic photograph of the migrant mother, taken in the 1930’s for the Farm Security Administration (Gernsheim, 1971, p259). The face, expression, shows a certain nobility in adversity, courage under privation, was that exactly how the woman was, or was it a case of control and arrangement, until the result was what Dorothea Lange considered nobility and courage should be like pictorially.

Harold Evans gives a good example of expectation colouring documentation:

There is a set of pictures of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, meeting for a hand-over ceremony, which faithfully records their mutual animosity. One photographer finally and momentarily coaxed the smiles he had expected at the event; and that was the picture which went round the world (Harold Evans, 1978, Intro).

ANTICIPATING AN INCIDENT

The pressure is always on the photographer to produce pictures more interesting, more noticeable than the opposition can produce, competition is tremendous. In doing this the photographer inevitably adds something of himself to the picture. For example, Bert Hardy’s famous photograph, taken during the Korean conflict, of the peasant getting a share of a GI’s water ration was set-up. The picture entitled "GI sharing his last drops of water with a dying peasant", was used in PICTURE POST. Hardy said:
Everyone was walking past but I had the idea and asked a GI to give the old man some water for the sake of a picture. He said he would if I was quick and if we used my water ration ... "

(Evans, 1978, Intro).

PROPAGANDA

Operation Himmler, August 1939, according to Shirer (1962, p518) concerned the staging of an attack on the German radio station at Gleiwitz near the Polish border. It was used as a propaganda exercise to justify Germany's attack on Poland.

Heydrich arranged for 12 or more condemned criminals to be dressed in Polish uniforms and killed on the grounds of the radio station. Evidence of a Polish attack, retaliation thus justified. The NEW YORK TIMES reported it in the 1 September 1939 issue.

Obviously some manipulations are less serious than others, but even the smallest is the thin end of the wedge. Looking at it from a slightly different angle - "manipulation of the press photograph is like changing quotes " (Tom Hardin - director photography Louisville, Ky, COURIER - JOURNAL AND TIMES).

SIMPLE SEEING (Reader / Viewer / Listeners Interpretation)

Virtually everyone in South Africa, and indeed the world, saw on their television screens the incredible scenes of the Brussels soccer violence, involving Liverpool and Juventus fans in early 1985. The footage showed a Juventus supporter
repeatedly firing a handgun into a Liverpool crowd at point blank range. There is no way that he could have missed injuring or killing numbers of people in the arena crowd. Yet we heard no reports of gunshot wounds whatsoever. But we saw the carnage and believed the man was attempting to kill or maim. We assumed that the reports were incorrect, our eyes giving the true picture. According to later reports the gun was only a starter's pistol firing blanks, the visuals giving us at best a half-truth, at worst the most damaging of lies, switching the blame from Liverpool supporters to the innocents (NATAL WITNESS, 14 June 1985, p12).

Shulman (1975, p264) presents Muggeridge's claim that the camera is the villain, the enemy. Those accustomed to working with it know how capable it is of deception. Yet it is accepted as having some sort of objective truth. Since the camera dominates the scene more and more, so the possibility of deception grows.

Reasons for this deception seem to multiply daily and range from the 14 year old boy who sold the TORONTO STAR a copied photograph of a twister because he wanted the money for a bicycle (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, November 1985) to the pages of PRAVDA AND ISVETSIA where it is claimed that South Africa and Israel co-operated in the production of the AIDS virus to eliminate the black race.

3.3 **Functions of the Photograph**

Every photograph has two functions or levels of meaning. The first is the denotative - I am a photograph, evidence, this is how it was, provided courtesy of a scientific instrument. The recording made independent of human failing. The second is
connotative - the hidden meaning, the subtle suggestion. So powerful is the
denotative aspect that we fail to notice the connotative message. Which is
subliminal, noted subconsciously. Burgin (1982) submits that the denotative aspect
generates a mythical aura of neutrality. He claims that the two levels are literal and
ideological and the instant we obscure the ideological content the literal meaning
returns. Just as we cannot focus simultaneously on the windshield of our car and the
landscape beyond it, neither can we grasp simultaneously the literal and ideological
motivation. These are caught in a constant ‘turnstile’.

A point illustrated by Rubin’s vase illustration, 1915 (Stroebel et al, 1980, p135). The
two profiles, facing each other in silhouette, their outlines producing a vase
shape between them. Thus we are in effect physiologically prevented from being
able to properly assess the situation.

Barthes puts it slightly differently when he says that a photograph can never be
distinguished from its referent (that which it represents). The photograph is always
invisible, the referent adheres and this makes it very difficult to focus on
photography. He adds that whilst showing an impression of one object or event the
photograph can represent a feeling about an entirely different experience. In other
words while it signifies one thing it symbolises another.
For 50 million years eyes have been believed explicitly, 50 years is simply insufficient time in which to overcome this genetic belief. We have not yet learned all the codes of the photographic language, a language far more subtle, clever and cunning than we can ever begin to visualise.

While the verbal lie is as old as man's ability to speak, the visual lie is something that still runs counter to most peoples beliefs. The stage magician earns his livelihood, Shulman (1975, p258) points out, because the audience stubbornly clings to the belief that the eye cannot be fooled. Mander (1978, p248) elaborates when he states that the basis of the success of camouflage - illusion is that humans will believe what they see.

3.4 The Photographer :

The photographer cannot envisage life with an indifferent eye -
Robert Frank

(Daval, 1983, p196).

The best photographers are definitely not snap-shooters, button pushers or mindless automations. They are the very opposite.

They do not take photographs, they make photographs. Survival in so competitive a profession is guaranteed only to the best, the most creative. NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER (July 1985) carried a short story concerning a photographer - Mary Ann Carter : Sprinting alongside a motorcade, carrying a loaded camera bag
and being jostled by other photographers, she was able to provide her demanding publication with an excellent shot of an ex-hostage. This may seem unexceptional except for the fact that she was eight and a half months pregnant. This seems to illustrate the determination and drive governing so many photographers. Many will do virtually anything for a scoop picture.

The desire to lead news bulletins, Muggeridge (1977, p63) claims, drives photographers to extremes. For example the TV footage of the two VOPOS (East German policeman) jumping from the newly completed Berlin Wall into the West was photographed three times before their performance was considered visually satisfying.

In 1972 chief photographer of a local morning paper, James Hutton, was faced with a serious problem. A staff photographer, in an obvious bid for the top job, began an all out quest for front page pictures. Stopping at virtually nothing to achieve a series of these - many of the photographs were manipulated images - and Mr Hutton objected, informing the news editor, when the photographer indicated no intention of ceasing this practice. One photograph in particular was very suspect, that of a surfer in the water looking up at her surfboard, which was high above her head (In all, seven such manipulations were discovered by Mr Hutton).

The news editor called for the negative on Mr Hutton's insistence, and the photographer produced a negative, a single frame. It appeared to be genuine. Mr Hutton however was suspicious as no photographer cuts 35mm negatives into single frames. He therefore called for the negatives on either side, knowing that should (as it appeared the only option) the photograph in question be the result of a double
exposure on a single negative, (easily possible with a Nikon) the exposures on either side would carry less density. This was in fact the case and was later admitted. (Electronic imagery has no negative that can be checked).

A subsequent manipulation showed two aircraft apparently landing 'piggyback' at Virginia Airport, publication would have resulted in an official aviation enquiry and was potentially very damaging to photojournalism, fortunately publication was denied.

When talking to Mr Hulton he made it clear that he had no objection to photographic manipulations such as montage, providing that such manipulation was acknowledged somewhere in the caption. No such acknowledgement compromises the credibility of the photographic image, along with all concerned, including photojournalism itself.

When covering the 1972 Pietermaritzburg to Durban Dusi Canoe Marathon, the writer detected a photographic manipulation when a photograph showed a reporter diving into the river to 'rescue' a spectator. At that point the river was approximately 3.5 feet wide, any dive would have had to be along the river, not across it, and would have had to be very carefully planned and executed. All totally unnecessary when a simple reach from the safety of the bank would have sufficed. (This will be verified by most of Durban's press photographers of the time, many still with their respective newspapers).

Scharf in the forward to Hill (1979) states that there can be no such thing as a 'straight photograph'.

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The editors of *TIME/LIFE* (1973, p96) comment: "as far as people and events are concerned, there is no such thing as an objective photograph". The fact that photographs are used to persuade brings them into the shadowy borderland - the concerned photographer will soon find himself making as many moral judgments as an aesthetic photographer. Arnold Newman goes further when he says, "we don't take pictures with cameras, we take them with our hearts and minds" (Booth, 1983).

There being no such thing as an objective photograph, it follows quite naturally that the objective photographer is a myth. The camera invariably adds stature to the man who is the reporter, just as a gun can to many people. This phenomena may be observed when a pedestrian becomes a motorist.

**SIGHT, DIRECT OR THROUGH THE REPRODUCED IMAGE, IS IMMATERIAL**

It has been found that mental images have many of the same physical components as open-eyed perceptions. "It has been shown that when a person imagines running, small but measurable amounts of contractions actually take place in the muscles associated with running" (Mander, 1978, p225). This is one of the reasons for an image of something held in the mind frequently being more 'real' than the original.

Once the image is inside our heads it is generally irrelevant whether it was due to photographic means or normal unmediated or unaided sight. The image goes to work as an image, something seen.
TRUST IN ILLUSTRATION DUE TO EDUCATION
(The third of the five hypothesised reasons)

We have been taught to believe in illustrations from our earliest formative years. This trust in illustration has been developed since childhood, stemming from a faith in both parent and teacher. Who through the ages presented accurate pictures depicting objects and events which could be verified or positively identified. Even if the child had never seen an elephant or could quite obviously not conceive of such an animal, he/she can nevertheless immediately recognise an elephant in the flesh, thanks to the pictorial illustration shown to him/her previously (Vary, 1979, p7).

Belief so deeply ingrained and learned trust since earliest formative years, constantly reinforced, must surely prevail despite adversity?

The belief in the image has been ingrained in the mind of man. Since time immemorial mankind has made and learned from pictures, they are indispensable to humanity and;

they have been produced by every civilization, even the most backward . . . pictures are man's most successful teachers, this is true for the oldest paintings of animals and hunters on the walls of prehistoric caves and it is still true of the photograph of today (Arnheim, 1974).

The question arises as to whether or not we see more clearly with a manipulated image.
The honest answer to this question should obviously be a resounding NO. But, indicative of the complexities involved in perception, it is nevertheless a fact that sometimes we must lie to tell the absolute truth: The lens phenomenon of converging verticals is accepted by all as such. No one will assume, when looking at a photograph of a tall building, that it is, as portrayed, narrower at the top and wider at the base. When printing such a photograph care must be taken against "over-correction" of these converging verticals. If a tall building was printed so that its sides are absolutely parallel to each other and parallel with the mount or page sides, the building will appear to flare out quite radically at the top. This is due to the brain 'expanding' the top, as it knows of the 'converging verticals' phenomenon and automatically corrects for it (in accordance with its constancy function). Therefore to ensure that the sides appear absolutely parallel, they must be printed with a slight convergence. The print must lie to appear absolutely honest.

This is by no means an isolated example, its recurrence is frequent. Should a simple item such as a bottle of Coca Cola be photographed in the best manner possible, the liquid will appear to resemble a dark treacle or motor oil. This would be a lie. For the liquid to appear as it really is it must be diluted with water, so to tell the 'truth' it is necessary to lie.

We are subconsciously inclined to condone faked photography, after all "the whole of our perception is really false, for it does not copy reality, but symbolises it. Only when the falsehood is manifest do we call it an illusion" (Gombrich & Gregory, 1973 - the Baffled Brain - Colin Blackemore). Most people are fully aware of trick photography, photographic manipulation and man-made altered images. They tend
however to compartmentalise this awareness, they place it in the category of illusion and harmless fun. News, documentary and journalistic photography is placed into another category or compartment, the twain never to meet being the assumption. This stems from a trust in the purveyors of the news rather than the news itself (The fourth hypothesis).

Trick photography has never been a secretive affair, this promotes the belief that there is nothing to hide. People enjoy being fooled, they love illusion (Escher's drawings are universally popular). Francis Bacon wrote:

> A mixture of lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of mens' minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations . . . and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor, shrunken things, full of melancholy

(Turner, 1952).

Agar adds to this observation with the following: "everything is affected by the mist of deception which we continually breathe, the trouble is that we prefer to breathe that mist" (Ibid). Manipulation of the truth is nothing new, it is the theme of many novels and movies. We tend to feel it is the stuff books are made of and assume that is exactly where it stays. Unfortunately, it does not. The film UNDER FIRE (Orion Films - Nick Nolte, Gene Hackman and Joanna Cassidy) had as its theme the photographs of a dead rebel leader, used to prove him still alive. (The opposite was true in the case of Che Guvera).
"Waterfall" - Escher (1960)

PLATE 19

- 120 -
Did the photographer help things along a little by arranging the components? This question also occurred to John le Carre who wrote the forward to McCullins book. McCullin's answer was "NO".

PLATE 20
In a real life situation the DAILY TELEGRAPH, (London, 19 November 1984), carried a fake photograph of former Libyan Prime Minister (Abdel Hamed Bakoush), the photograph had been used in the Mid East Press in a successful ploy to trick Libya into admitting its complicity in terror. The movie CAPRICORN I (from the novel of the same title by Bernard L Ross, Futura, London, 1978) illustrates how a Mars landing by three astronauts can be made in an Arizona desert; international media coverage proving its authenticity. We see daily obviously manipulated images, we applaud them and place them into the category of entertainment, tacitly admitting that this could only happen in the movies. Indeed we enthuse over examples of cinema-photographic special effects. The stature of the photographic image, strangely, is enhanced.

Photography is as multifaceted as individual vision. After all photographic images are produced by individuals and interpreted by individuals:

Photography is . . . whatever you choose to make it: an occasional pastime, and entertaining hobby, a serious pursuit, a lifelong passion. . . . THE ONLY THING THAT A PHOTOGRAPH CAN'T DO IS TELL THE 'TRUTH', because there is no single unalterable meaning to a scene . . . An exposé of third world hardship can be seen as a quaint view of native life, depending on your point of view. Upbringing, interpretation, the attitude of the photographer and of the viewer all colour the images possibly significance (Reynolds, 1983).

Human sight is highly selective, add to this the system of visual editing, which is photography, and we have a very selective and highly modified sight by proxy. Into this melting pot is thrown the word which should clarify the image, but in fact rarely does.
The world should metaphrase, instead it metamorphasises.

The powers invested in the camera are wide and somehow insidious. Certain responses are inevitable and guaranteed when one photographer (from snapper to professional) really admires another's work. One question is: "What camera did you shoot that with?" This question indicates real deep-seated belief in the machine's ability to produce good photographs. It is as stupid as asking the hostess what make of stove she used in which to cook the meal - Defy or General Electric.

Seeing is believing whether the seeing is direct sight, surrogate sight, sight-by-proxy, dreams or even imagination. Even "believing is seeing" is relevant only to correct interpretation - eventually everything comes back to "Seeing being believing:"

The photograph can lie by telling the truth, or by lying. Its credibility gives it a capacity for good or evil unapproachable by other visual means

(Dondis, 1984).

Without photography our publications would be dull indeed. Neither would they be anymore truthful, nor as believable.
Mrs Madonsela was unavailable so a neighbour was used, a surrogate houseowner. A half-truth is the result.

A ‘drought’ photograph taken on an area of semi-dried mud just after the same flood which caused the house above to crack.
4.1 The Word: Journalism

"There is no news, there's only media" (Mander, 1978).

In this bridging Chapter, journalism is reviewed briefly as a prelude to considering photojournalism.

Journalism has been described as "history written on the run". Today's journalism is tomorrow's history. It should therefore deal only in facts and accuracy and should supply, as Tracey maintains, "full access to the day's intelligence" (1978, p24).

However, much militates against accuracy. As Epstein says:

The problem in journalism is that journalists are often caught in a dilemma, they can either serve as faithful messengers for subterranean interests or they can recast the message . . . [this] increases the risk of further distortion (1975, p16).

Epstein goes on to say that journalists are rarely, if ever in a position to establish the truth about an issue for themselves, they must take much in good faith.

Cheque-book journalism or corruption by cash, does not help to keep journalism honest, truthful and accurate. Money has played a part from earliest times, 'suppression fees' were paid to newspapers to keep items quiet (Fox, 1981, p34).

During the American Civil War, Confederate money suborned many British journalists (Knightley, 1975, p34). More recently the London Sunday Telegraph had a pre-trial contract with Peter Bessell, chief prosecution witness.
in the trial of Jeremy Thorpe. This effectively destroyed Bessell's credibility at the trial (Robertson, 1983, p71).

The idea that 'balance is boring' is prevalent - too objective an approach must show both sides and inevitably dilutes impact. Stance indicates conviction (Tresidder, 1984). Hurlburt, in Schuneman (1972), claims that, "an absolutely equalised view... between one side and the other... is the dullest kind of journalism we can imagine."

False stories and claims are made with impunity, the publication making apologies, thus avoiding prosecution. According to de Borchgrave & Moss, "It is the initial shock that shapes peoples minds not what's said afterwards" (1980, p343).

YELLOW JOURNALISM: This aspect of journalism has done it the most harm. After the American Civil War so much of what was written proved to have been lies that Henry Adams (an American journalist in London) was moved to write:

> People have become so accustomed to the idea of disbelieving everything that is stated in the American papers that all confidence in us is destroyed

(Knightley, 1975, p22).

For example, Atlanta was reported captured a week before the battle for the town took place. Generals listed as killed lived on to die of old age and battles were reported when there was no action at all. Brilliant eye-witness accounts of battles were written by Junius Browne of the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, all entirely imaginary (Knightley, 1975, p26).
William Randolph Hearst used the American Spanish War to build circulation in his war with Pulitzer, and with such total disregard to the facts that it was said that there was "... a factory out there for faking war news" (Knightley, 1975, p56).

According to FORTUNE magazine the Allies were "fed a tissue of half-truths, edited information . . . poisoned statistics, doped stories, rumours and rumours of rumours" (Knightley, 1975, p219), during World War I.

The Intelligence Agencies of all countries use the press as a means of manipulation:

The CIA have used the mass media to disseminate lies . . . it was discovered that they would plant stories in small overseas newspapers, which would be picked up by foreign news services and then by Reuters, which would forward them, in good faith, to the US (Morrison, 1978).

The KGB has an entire department whose sole occupation is to manipulate the media. "Organised deceit, playing as it does a central role in Soviet foreign policy" (Freemantle, 1982).

Not only are the national agencies adept at media manipulation, so to are most administrations. Washington particularly is notorious for the 'leaking' of dis- and information. Recently the WALL STREET JOURNAL carried articles on Reagan's intention to 'teach the mercurial Libyan leader another lesson'. According to TIME (13 October 1986):

Misleading Gaddafi was one thing, but what troubled Washington's press corps was the idea that it had been duped as well . . . All media, all Americans, are vulnerable because they must trust the government to some extent. In the light of the disinformation drive the nation might be better served if the post-Watergate FBI plumbers gave lie-detector tests to the loose talkers before, rather than after they blabber to reporters. (p32).
... a survey of a year in which Fleet Street newspapers from the most self-regarded to the seediest excelled themselves in their lack of concern for such simple matters as truth

(Porter, 1984, p6).

Fleet Street arrived at the end of 1983 never having served its public so badly. Newspapers had tried to entertain, to compete with one another, to propagate their own political convictions and to persuade those with whom they disagreed. And when there was no other obvious reason journalists continued to lie simply out of habit.

(Porter, 1984, p142).

One of the best known Fleet Street newsmen, the late Nicholas Tomalin wrote:

Although the gathering of newspaper information almost invariably involves guile, subterfuge, humiliation, lying, cheating and a healthy amount of straightforward criminality, none of this may ever be revealed ... I think the cheating and subterfuge used in getting a story is - in my own case at least - a fully morally justifiable sin.

(Tomalin, 1975, p93).

Porter refers to H L Mencken's essay, THE SYNTHESIS OF NEWS,

... we reported ... [an imaginary incident] ... 'a mad dog had run amok and bitten twenty children'. Such reports gained credibility in the eyes of his editor because the accounts in rival newspapers agreed with him on such basic details as names, ages ... 

It is still true today that Fleet Street editors and their staff seek confirmation of their own papers accuracy by looking at their rivals

(Porter,1984,p3).

Mencken (H L, the famous American journalist, circa 1900) recalls that his faking enjoyed a dangerous recrudescence when he became managing editor on the BALTIMORE EVENING HERALD:

'My master-piece of all time was a synthetic dispatch printed in 1905,' ... Mencken and his news editor decided that theirs would be the first paper to carry a detailed account of the great naval battle between Russia and Japan.
Mencken read all he could find on the subject and,

\[\text{put together an authoritative picture . . . with incredible nerve he}
\]
\[\text{declared that the day was Japan's . . . he was proved accurate in all}
\]
\[\text{but the smallest detail : his account was even confirmed by a}
\]
\[\text{Japanese naval historian writing 30 years later.}
\]
(Porter, 1984, p4).

Once, whether by clever propaganda or by its actions, the BBC was considered to be the symbol of balance and objectivity. Recently however this image has been shattered. Under the headline - "BBC humiliated in R2,5m Libel Action" a story described,

\[\text{the most humiliating climb-down in history . . . BBC television}
\]
\[\text{yesterday apologised in the Higher Court for linking two}
\]
\[\text{Conservative M.P's to Nazi movements . . . Council for the MP's told}
\]
\[\text{the court that the BBC had employed 'methods worthy of Dr}
\]
\[\text{Goebbels' to tailor evidence against them to suit PANORAMA's}
\]
\[\text{predetermined line' . . . the BBC tried to settle the issue out of court}
\]
\[\text{late Friday for anything we wanted - to sweep it under the carpet.}
\]
(NATAL MERCURY, 22 October 1986, p6).

Conservative chairman Mr Norman Tebbit,

\[\text{. . . blasted the BBC over its TV coverage of the American bombing}
\]
\[\text{raid on Libya last April. He accused it of putting out a mixture of}
\]
\[\text{news, views, speculation, error - and even propaganda - for Libya's}
\]
\[\text{Col Gaddafi . . .}
\]
(SUNDAY TIMES, 2 November 1986).

Hardly surprising then, the following statement in the London DAILY TELEGRAPH: "The public standing of the British Press is at its lowest ebb for 50 years" (NATAL MERCURY, 15 January 1988).
4.2 Scoop Mentality

The 'scoop' mentality is probably the greatest culprit in journalism's fall from grace:

"There are scoops and scoops", said R A Farquharson of the 
TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL, "but the trend which has put the 
emphasis on being first, right or wrong, has been, I think, the most 
dangerous single road to irresponsible newspaper work".  
(Rivers, 1969, p138).

On 28 September 1980 the WASHINGTON POST, probably America's most 
credible newspaper, ran a story which was to win a Pulitzer. Written by Janet 
Cooke, entitled JIMMY'S WORLD, it concerned an eight-year-old heroin addict. It 
was also a total fabrication. The repercussions were tremendous.

A number of foreign journalists face a multiple murder charge for allegedly paying a 
guerrilla group to ambush a Phillipine army patrol. They wanted a scoop (NATAL 
MERCURY, 26 May 1988, p11).

The THAMES TELEVISION documentary 'Death on the Rock', concerning the 
SAS killing of three IRA bombers on Gibraltar, was referred to as 'bogus' and 'disgraceful'. The main 'eye-witness' was paid by a THAMES 'fixer' to make his 
'phony version'. He lied when he claimed one of the soldiers put his boot on Sean Savage's chest and shot him at point-blank range. He was not an eye-witness, 
arriving after the 'incident was ended' (SUNDAY TIMES, 25 September 1988, p10). THAMES was caught up in the 'scoop' quest.

So detrimental is this behaviour to journalism that the President of the American National Press Photographer's Association was moved to write in an editorial:
We are challenged on many fronts - as journalists our credibility is at an all time low . . .

Our audience has grown up, they are more astute in their observations, they increasingly question not only our reporting but our motivations . . . it is more important to have the story correct than to have it first . . . we need to question and define our motivation. Is it to inform the public and aid the victim or is it to gain stature for ourselves and a Pulitzer

(NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, September 1984).

4.3 Hoaxes

Frequently hoaxes are perpetrated purely for fun, but when people realise their gullibility, and how susceptible they are to a well executed journalistic hoax, they begin to realise the possibilities.

An example is the faked photograph of the Concorde SST landing at the Reading (Pa, USA) airport. Thousands turned out to witness the never-to-be take-off. "The airport parking lot had one of its most profitable days in a long time", chortled the EAGLE TIMES (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, July 1985, p8/9).

According to the SUNDAY TRIBUNE:

Natal is abuzz with the dramatic tale of how a 10 year old Kloof girl was snatched from a busy Hong Kong street and sold to slavery . . . the parents were informed by the local police that a search would serve no purpose . . . the girl had probably been sold and sent to Saudi Arabia or Taiwan . . . In the past few weeks more than 20 people - many of them were adamant that their informants knew the family concerned - have, independently related vivid details . . .

(14 October 1984).
Enquiries made to the SA Consul General, the British Ambassador, high ranking police officers and other sources in Hong Kong failed to confirm the incident.

Heinz Braun made history when he effected the most dramatic escape ever from East Germany. Driving an army staff car, 'fitted' with three dummies in Soviet uniforms, to freedom. It was, like the Hitler Diaries, a hoax (DAILY NEWS, 6 August 1986).

Reasons for fake stories are almost as numerous as those who perpetrate them.

July 1988 HENGEL/ANGLING: "Giant barbel attacks angler".

According to the SUNDAY TIMES (16 July 1988) the hoax fooled even the most astute anglers who contacted the magazine to ascertain where the attack took place in order to try their luck.
It has been mooted that the "feeding frenzy" of the US media, as witnessed in the case of US Presidential hopefuls (Hart, Quayle etc.) has prevented many more suitable candidates from standing. Trial by the media is not necessarily a fair assessment of guilt.

Journalists should be the eyes, ears and curiosity of the public. Complete and accurate information is essential to the democratic process. Problems arise when the full and complete picture is withheld, due either to governmental or editorial censorship. Unfortunately dependence upon journalistic objectivity "has led to a fallacious concept of the world by many citizens" (Lyle, 1968, xi). He goes on to say that while "the truth shall make man free, it is almost impossible to agree to whose truth it is that provides the key in most controversies" (Lyle, 1968, xii).

It is in the interests of 'truth' and accuracy that the photographic image should play a part. Indeed photojournalism has the major role in this, the VISUAL age.
CHAPTER 5
PHOTOJOURNALISM

The meeting place of the photograph and word

"Detente - the long road ahead"

Finding such a picture would not be impossible, given time, but time is exactly the commodity a press man doesn't have.

As was the case with Bert Hardy's GI and Korean peasant, time was discounted and the picture managed, with the aid of the writer's wife and her maid. Yet again the camera's story told less than the TRUTH.

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CHAPTER 5

PHOTOJOURNALISM:

5.1 The Meeting Place of the Photograph and Word

The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given meaning by the words. And the words, which by themselves remain at a level of generalisation, are given specific authenticity by the irrefutability of the photograph (Berger & Mohr, 1982, p92).

Journalism also uses the picture to circumvent analysis, for its immediacy overcomes the inclination to question the written word. Yet while nothing seems provable without photographic evidence, the photograph is, according to Sontag (1977), "mute, it speaks only through its caption". The word and image are inextricably intertwined, with the word frequently the dominating party:

There can be no evidence, photographic or otherwise, of an event until the event itself has been named and characterised. And it is never photographic evidence which can construct - more properly, identify - events: the contribution of photography always follows the naming of the event (Sontag, 1977, p19).

She goes on to say that "Photographs cannot create a moral position, they can reinforce one - and can help build a nascent one" (Sontag, 1977, p17).
Or in Evans' words: "We believe what we see, and only what we believe can become a public issue" (Evans, 1981, p8).

The marriage of word and image, in fact goes beyond a mere intertwining, or a complimenting of each other. The relationship is a sort of synergism, where one cannot operate without the other, and where the whole is more than the sum of the parts.

The myths surrounding the photograph are exceedingly powerful; they tend to prove that the picture is more imperative than the written word. It impresses meaning at one stroke, without analysing or diluting, it speaks directly to the heart, bypassing the intellect, frequently transcending barriers of language.

Lewis Hine summed up the situation admirably when he said: "If I could tell the story with words I wouldn't need to lug a camera" (Editors, 1973, p56).

We see, therefore we believe; we believe because the myth is all pervasive, the camera cannot lie, photography is a modern miracle.

Jacob Riis discovered and demonstrated this for all time when, in New York in 1888, he wrote about the sweatshops and slums and nobody believed they were as bad as he said. He had to teach himself to use a camera and invent documentary photography to prove his point. It is one of the central contributions of photojournalism that it goes beyond the limits of imagination. "It makes the unbelievable believable" (Evans, 1981, p8).
One of the problems is that, "the photograph exists as only a visual fragment, taken from a larger visual field . . ." (Kozloff, 1979).

According to Alan Sekula (Burgin, 1982) the photograph is really only an incomplete utterance, a message that depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability. Despite all other considerations the scene the camera sees may have been a set-up. It will show what it saw, but what it saw may be untrue, unreal and unlikely.

Nevertheless photojournalism has a long history of honesty and of social service.

It has been claimed that had Germany used photography as did the USA during the Great Depression, National Socialism would never have gained ground and Hitlerism would not have occurred. Or at least the Holocaust averted: "If we had been in the position to print pictures of the extermination of the Jews . . . millions would have been saved" (Fabian, 1985, p31).

President Franklin D Roosevelt created the Resettlement Administration, later renamed Farm Security Administration which, (led by Roy Stryker) produced photographs that changed the face of America (Condon, 1975). People such as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Margaret Bourke-White and Arthur Rothstein shook America out of its lethargy with their pictures of drought devastated Oklahoma and dispossessed sharecroppers. Words, by themselves, could never have had such an effect.
5.2 Written Language vs Visual Language

"Language", claims Condon (1975), is a "calculated risk". Language can be misleading and deceptive, unable to elicit instantaneous response as can the image. What is known of an event depends upon how it is organised for our perception. Frequently we misread or mishear; and frequently we are misled by both the visual and the written language. Most frequently we never know of the deception.

Sense and truth can be, and often are, distorted in translation, whereas pictures are assumed to be closer to being a universal language, understood by many regardless of colour, race, status, creed, persuasion, nationality or religion. Words have suffered since antiquity; political language, legal language, with which we are all familiar, can be the languages of deception. And so too can journalese.

Key advances an interesting view:

The real motive behind the evolutionary development of language could just as well been to develop a system of symbols based upon deceptive rather than truthful information ... In both plant and animal worlds deceptive communicative behaviour is not at all unusual, deception in fact, may be the norm (Key, 1973).

Quite regularly we are informed that the photograph has its own language, is beyond speech ... is a universal and independent language or sign system.

We tend to lose sight of the fact that the visual language is exactly that, a language. And as such it varies from culture to culture:

The photographic metaphor functions the same way as in language.
The picture can become the symbol of something unrelated to it (Langford, 1982, p326).
No two people will take exactly the same photograph of an event and although a good photograph will seem to have the last word, it is rarely definitive. Sometimes the mere fact that an observer with a camera is present alters the events themselves

(Langford, 1982, p325).

The theory of the photo as an analogue of reality has been abandoned - we know that it is necessary to be trained to recognise the photographic image

(Burgin, 1982, p35).

Or as Gombrich explains:

Interpreting images is an important skill that must be learned by all who have to deal with this medium of communication: the intelligence officer, the surveyor or archaeologist who studies aerial photographs ... the physician who reads X-ray films

(Gombrich, 1982, p146).

The codes of the medium must be learned before it can be properly understood;

... photography imitates the characteristics of human vision, with the notable and all-important distinction that it represents the world as flat rather than three dimensional. The recording made of a message about an original must be understood to be as much a coding of a message about an original as that used by any other graphic process. The difference is simply that photographic coding is subliminal, conveying what amounts to an optical illusion which we learn to accept as a surrogate of reality

(Jussim, 1983, p299).

And with all our learning we can be misdirected or misled, because the image and the object are never one and the same thing.

The manner in which different cultures read, differs. Western eyes are used to reading from left to right. A sequence of drawings, as in comic-strips is read in the same way. Whereas a Hebrew, for example, would read both text and comic from right to left. In the case of the simple comic-strip, relying on pictures alone, the
punch-line would be read first and the message lost. The eye scanning a photograph
scans as the viewer reads, perhaps resulting in a different interpretation, as was the
case with the comic-strip. Designers of graphic symbols and logos take this into
account. For example, and arrow on the right-hand side, facing upwards would have
a far more positive effect than the same arrow on the left facing downwards
(perhaps the result of the Roman games thumbs down). Aesthetics and composition
are the grammar of the visual arts and vary from culture to culture, and from time to
time. Yet for all this the visual image remains more accessible than an unlearned
foreign language.

*LIFE* magazine made the mistake of catering exclusively to Americans, "without the
slightest realisation that its communicative powers were dependent upon American
ideals and visual conventions" (Green, 1984). The fundamental error was the fact
that like any colloquial language, photography could be readily understood in
certain districts but perhaps misinterpreted in others, even though the language
basics may remain similar.

Metaphor is not confined to language and neither is innuendo. In photography,
however, they can be used to a greater degree, because the detection of either,
especially innuendo, is difficult. The law frequently cannot define the effects of
these elements in photography with any precision, thus a pictorial representation of
a scene is safer to publish than a verbal description. Master propagandist,
Heartfield, is quoted by Freeman (1984, p87) as saying, he aimed "... to say in
pictures what would have been banned by the censor if we had said it in words".
Freeman illustrates this idea with a picture of Lauren Hutton, her face distorted into a mask of rage, quite out of context with her public image, saying:

... imagine what a writer would have to say in order to convey the same effect, remember that, just as the photograph does not qualify or compromise in its extremely unflattering view, the words would have to be just as brutal. Even if an editor could think of a good reason to say what the picture shows, no-one would dare print the description for fear of a libel suit ...

(Freeman, 1984, p88).

The interpretation of photographs is so subjective that libel is very hard to prove in the case of a photograph. This is also due to the fact that all pictures have at least two aspects; one is the actual news value and the other is the connotative or ideological aspect. News pictures represent themselves as visual transcripts of reality, they witness the actuality of events by appearing to represent the event as it happened.

Reporters, depending on their point-of-view, can write virtually anything (and it is frequently conceded that they do). At the same time it is the general belief that the camera records an event with honesty, unable in fact to do otherwise.

However, there is no such thing as an objective photograph because:

both WORDS and PICTURES stand for, but do not replicate or duplicate 'concrete events'. We cannot receive ANY information about originals without the intervention of a channel and a code. Therefore we are inevitably manipulated by the characteristics of media

(Jussim, 1983, p308).

Charles Dodgson had the following dialogue take place between Alice and Humpty Dumpty in Alice in Wonderland:
'When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.'

'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things.'

'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master, that's all.'

(Condon, 1975).

5.3 Turpitude of the Word

Persons we trusted have all too frequently proved their verbal dishonesty, i.e.,

President Nixon's Press Secretary excused his false reports by saying that they were inoperative . . . surely it was the Vietnam war and later Watergate that influenced semantics of the past decade, either would have been sufficient to lead to a massive distrust of words . . .

(Condon, 1975).

At each stage of this [Vietnam war] escalation, the United States tried either flatly to deny what it was doing . . . behind a torrent of questionable statics, a bewildering range of euphemisms, and a vocabulary of specially created words that debased the English language

(Knightley, 1975, p381).

A bad debt is now a "non-performing asset", bankruptcy is "the inability to pay the interest on an unpayable debt". Add to this the monumental cover-ups revealed almost weekly by investigative journalists and other bodies - Muldergate, the Rainbow Warrior, Chernobyl - and even the most gullible must be becoming a little distrustful of the word. Should any faith in words remain after all this, United Nations rhetoric must surely have obliterated it utterly.
"Malice in Blunderland"

"'What is truth?' said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer"
- Francis Bacon, Essays.

PLATE 24
Anyone can justify anything with rhetoric; the quota system in force at white institutions of learning is racial but the barring of two white students from Medunsa is not. Full sanctions against all South Africans are called for by an Archbishop elect but partial curbs in retaliation are referred to by him as "utterly immoral" (DAILY NEWS, Durban, 8 August 1986).

In 1918 Lenin said:

> We must and shall transform the press into an instrument for the economic re-education of the masses... Freedom is a lie so long as the best printing works and largest stocks of paper are in capitalist hands

(Smith, 1980).

Communication, under these circumstances becomes the mouthpiece of vested interests. "There is no fury like vested interest masquerading as a moral principle" (Anon.). And no louder mouth nor more noticeable expression of injured innocence.

**PRINTED REPRESENTATION OF WORD AND PHOTOGRAPH**

"Dots for the eye - photograph; dots for the ear - telegraph" (McLuhan, 1964, p190).

The vital difference between the printed word and the printed photograph, although both are printed in the same manner onto the same surface by the same machine and represent something not actually there, is that the word represents something very obviously other than itself, while the photograph works with imagery exactly as
does the eye. Further, the word is obviously subject to syntax and semantics, whereas the fact that the photograph is as effectively governed by the same considerations, is ignored.

The wheat must be separated from the chaff in the case of words but, apparently, not in the case of photographs. Kozloff put these thoughts very succinctly when he wrote:

"Printed words, by common agreement, are signs which allude to matters other than themselves ... photographs are very slight objects whose status does not palpably intrude into the information they yield"  
(Kozloff, 1979).

5.4 **A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words**

The turpitude of the word is all pervasive and emerges at the most unsuspecting occasions, it may be found in even the well known saying; "A picture is worth a thousand words" (Chinese Proverb), which is alas, an example of semantic culpability. Quite apart from not being a proverb it is not even Chinese. According to research by Michael Hiley (1985) it was made up by Fred R Barnard, writing in PRINTERS INK (1927), he called his saying a Chinese Proverb in order to "make people take it seriously." The word is simply too easy to fake.

But if words can be tricky, so to can photography:

"You can use photography for as many purposes as you can use language: to create poetry or pornography, to convey human sympathy or a cruel joke, to describe accurately or to deceive"  
(Reynolds, 1983).
However this is apparently a difficult concept to grasp, despite increasing sophistication of the audience.

The sooner we realise that the media are manipulated and manipulate their audiences the better will be our chances to become masters of our own destiny:

Real war has become information war. It is being fought by subtle electric informational media - under cold conditions, and constantly. The cold war is the real front - a surround - involving everybody - all the time - everywhere


The media, guilty of spreading the semantic confusion generated by those in a newsworthy category, are not innocent of semantic distortion themselves; everyone has an axe to grind, including management and ownership, editors, sub-editors, reporters, photographers and, of course, typesetters and sources.

Slowly we learn to mistrust our ears, "white man speaks with forked tongue" (American Indian, anon.) For example, and quite apart from lying speech, we see a man across the valley chopping down a tree. His axe bites, apparently soundlessly, as he disengages the axe, raising it for a second blow, we hear the whump of metal on wood. Seeing becomes before words, the child looks and recognises long before it learns to speak;

... a good photograph [makes] the object speak, it induces us, vaguely, to think. And further, even this risks being perceived as dangerous ... ultimately photography is subversive, not when it frightens, repels or even stigmatizes, but when it is pensive, when it thinks

(Barthes, 1981).
There is far more to the photographic image than meets the eye. It can get away, quite literally, with murder. Especially in terms of description. Words, although frequently fraudulent, are at least controllable. "Laws prohibit wire-tapping by the police but not covert surveillance... How unregulated is the trade of visual images" (Kozloff, 1979).

However, the power of the word is frequently unrecognised: to appreciate the tremendous power of the word over the image, all one has to do is to watch a television newscast and analyse commentary/image combinations with Freeman's following words in mind:

> Photography, which works at an immediate sensory level, is not an instrument for debate and argument and while it can simplify beautifully, is more likely to be misleading if it accompanies a story that needs direction

(Freeman, 1984, p86).

Visual material of the 1968 Czechoslovakian invasion depicted Russian troops and tanks receiving abuse from sullen, fist-waving crowds. People sitting in front of tanks, blood spattered statues, bullet-ridden buildings and dead bodies in doorways. Commentary described the fierceness of Czech resistance. A few months later viewers of the BBC2 programme EUROPA saw how the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia had been shown in Russia. The imagery remained unaltered, but the commentary had been reversed, gesticulating and fist-waving crowds were now evidence of the Czech people enthusiastically greeting the advance. The bullet-spattered buildings and dead bodies were evidence of the existence of subversive Czech elements who were put down by "loyalist Czechs" and "peace-loving" Russian troops (Shulman, 1975, p261).
"Television is not simply a 'visual news'. In fact it is mostly a matter of 'talking heads' with the spoken word as the dominant mode of communication" (Webster, 1980, p157). Viewers are lulled into a sense of false security, in that the visual material, while appearing to be dominant, is virtually unnecessary in conveying a story, the words do that despite the images.

Rivers concurs:

... however paradoxical it may seem, the only immediate answer to most of the problems of television news lies not in pictures but in words ... words must be corrective (Rivers, 1969, p143).

According to Barthes in Morgan & Welton (1986, p56), the image formerly made the text clear, but today text loads the image.

We have seen how misleading words or language can be. Photographs too can confuse and pervert the 'truth'. Together they can become the masters of deception.

For example, Shulman recalls amateur film-maker Peter Watkins' footage on the Hungarian uprising:

I found myself riveted by this extraordinary example of documentary filming ... the violence, the agony, the despair and the courage of those involved ... the rough camera work ... the chaotic shots of fighting ... it could only have been made on the spot ... I asked Watkins how he had managed to be in Budapest in 1956. '... It wasn't made in Budapest. It was shot in Canterbury ... not far from Canterbury Cathedral' ... (Shulman, 1975, p256).
Shulman showed the footage to two colleagues at Granada Television, both very experienced film men. Both wanted to know how Watkins got into Budapest. Granada refused to show the footage; especially with the admission, "... if we show a film like that no one will believe our newsreels ...". Shulman goes on to say: "While the verbal lie is as old as man's ability to speak ... the visual lie ... runs counter to most people's conception of the natural order of things" (1975, p257).

However, it remains a fact that the greatest threat to photojournalism's honesty is the word:

> It is easy for photographers who are immersed in the production of visual images to forget the power of words ... the most evocative picture can be reduced to ridicule by a short caption (Calder, 1980, p205).

Photographs are markedly difficult to translate. Visual language is infinitely more complicated than written language. Words fix interpretations and can radically shift previous meanings. The photographic image is not the final result, the text or commentary which enhances, supplements and substantiates it is.

All communication is political (not only in the party-political sense). The communicator or originator has something to gain. The word is not the only medium to be politicised: "All photography today comes under the gaze of a piercing political eye" (Calder, 1980, p146). The only imaginable non-political being is a totally self-sufficient hermit. Images cumulatively help shape people's ideas. "The self-declared 'unpolitical' photograph is seen as political precisely in its apolitical posturing" (Calder, 1980, p146).
all communication depends upon a relationship between communicators. A relationship is a social phenomenon, and since communication effects relationships it creates or rests upon, communication is not only social but political; it works for or against, within or beyond, any particular organisation of social relationships. Even disavowal of political intent are political communications when these occur inside (as they inevitably do) an already political milieu whose persistence is thereby facilitated (Nichols, 1981).

Todays mass media are the cultural arm of the industrial order from which they spring and so are in all ways political (Tuchman, 1980, p156).

Photojournalism, handmaiden to the media has become scullion to the manipulators.
"This medium [TV] is bound to deceive. Even if you put the truth into it it comes out a deception"

Malcolm Muggeridge (in Shulman, 1975, p256).

PLATE 25
CHAPTER 6

THE MEDIA

The Vehicle and Environment for the Photograph

"The medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1967).
"The meaning is the use" (Sontag, 1977, p106).

6.1 The Media

The media, ideally, fill a number of functions the chief of these is the provision of a comprehensive, truthful and intelligent account of the day's important events, in a context giving meaning. They should clarify the goals and values of society, and protect citizens from abuse, providing a forum for discussion, exchange of comment and criticism. They should, indeed, be the watchdog of officialdom: a fourth estate, the fourth branch of government. At very least they should provide full access to the day's intelligence.

Unfortunately, it is rare that the media fully attain these ideals. The tail somehow has continued to wag the (watch)dog.

Friction, tension and conflict between government and media are endemic in true democracies. Free-flow of information is frequently at variance with good government. Government has certain responsibilities, whereas the media frequently
have no formal responsibility towards any public institution (apart from constraints laid down by law - libel, contempt of court etc.). It is an unfortunate fact that the more powerful the media grow, and multinational conglomerates ensure this growth, the more they become, "a power without responsibility" - which Baldwin labeled the British press in the House of Lords, 17 March 1931 (Steyn, 1982, p20). Baldwin was making use of Rudyard Kipling's (himself a journalist) famous saying which continued, "... the prerogative of the harlot through the ages".

Hence the watchdog nature of the media is somewhat suspect.

The media, to some extent, rely upon public support while building up their defences. Like most institutions relying on such support their chief tool is the slogan. 'Fourth Estate', 'Watchdog' and 'Press Freedom' are examples. According to the Steyn Report (1982) the media employ these slogans in an attempt to "place itself [sic] on such a level of importance . . . as to make it [sic] untouchable " (p1188).

According to Dyer (1982):

> The press in general professes to be the watchdog of the man or woman in the street, but such a claim fits uncomfortably with the hidden economic power of the advertiser and large diversified conglomerate. Can the press really serve two masters with such different interests?

Key (1973, p76) says that the answer is in the negative:

> Mass communication media must serve the motives - both hidden and apparent - of the controlling power structure within any society.
In the West these powers are generally multi-faceted corporations. And according to an anonymous seventeenth century British journalist: "Corporations cannot commit treason, nor be outlawed, nor excommunicated, for they have no souls" (Dyer, 1982). This claim of having "no souls" applies particularly to the camera and photography in general.

The media are in the profit business and profit is the first step towards power. The division between persuasion and coercion is thin. All aspects of the media learn from the others, hence the propaganda man in the USSR would do well on Madison Avenue and vice versa. According to Packard (1961, p6); "The stuff with which [they] work is the fabric of men's minds".

Years prior to the Vietnam war Vance Packard wrote, "The use of mass psychoanalysis to guide campaigns for persuasion has become the basis of a multimillion-dollar industry" (Packard, 1961, p3):

> All media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical, and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched ...

(McLuhan, 1967, p41).

McLuhan (ibid, p41) goes on to say that the media, by altering the environment, evoke in us unique ratios of sense perceptions. The extension of any one sense alters the way we think and act - the way we perceive the world. When these ratios change, men change.

These views may be considered by some to be extreme but they are becoming more and more prevalent.
There is mounting concern in some quarters. The threat to credibility is taken very seriously by the National Press Photographers Association (US). Its official magazine NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER printed the following in a message from the President:

Never has there been such widespread questioning of the credibility of the press. Today's photographers must be constantly on guard to make sure that they are treating their subject with objectivity and honesty... But when the public witness the media fighting each other during a press conference... invading the privacy of a grief-stricken individual, or realizes that a simple weather picture was set up, no wonder researchers have found that the public has widespread 'disdain' for journalists... [setups] damage the credibility of the newspaper and the photographer

(News Photographer, September 1985, p11).

According to Curran (1978, p227) a recent opinion poll conducted in the United Kingdom showed that only 2% of the public place their trust in journalists. Photographers are also journalists.

Circulation fall-off is indicated by the following readership table (SA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any English Daily</td>
<td>46,1</td>
<td>39,4</td>
<td>36,7</td>
<td>36,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Afrikaans Daily</td>
<td>44,0</td>
<td>34,2</td>
<td>30,2</td>
<td>27,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Daily</td>
<td>70,0</td>
<td>61,8</td>
<td>57,7</td>
<td>56,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Brown, 1986, p61)

PLATE/FIGURE 26

- 155 -
Amongst the media's favourite quotes, the following by President Thomas Jefferson must rank as the foremost:

Were it left to me to decide which we should have, a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter

This statement must be seen in context. It was made at a time which is known to historians as the "Dark Ages" of American Journalism, when newspapers concerned themselves with little beyond promoting factional interests and denouncing their political foes, one such faction represented Jefferson's views (Encyclopaedia International, Vol 13). He also said: "The most truthful part of a newspaper is the advertisements" (Small, 1974, p288).

The fact that at the time advertisers were offering guaranteed cures for cancer tells us much concerning the depth of his mistrust of the press.

This statement concerning advertisements vis-a-vis the newspaper and the following, must surely vie for the position of the least published quotations:

Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put in that polluted vehicle . . .

[Jefferson] (Tuchman, 1980, p166).

All communication has a reason and the reason all too frequently appears to be to coercion or manipulation.

The power of the media is vast, it is simply too powerful and persuasive a tool (or weapon) to remain unclaimed and unused, and it never is.
The tremendous reach of the media is not always realised. Even when speaking in terms of millions this is not really grasped. The following from PHOTOGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION is necessary to convey this graphically; especially when realised that LOOK was not the largest publication:

Every two weeks we get out an issue of LOOK but before the issue is bound, five freight cars back into the Donnelley plant in Chicago loaded with nothing but the wire from which the three staples for these magazines are made. That gives you some idea of how big this whole operation has become

(Schuneman, 1972).

This was in the 1960's, LOOK was smaller than LIFE, and only one of several general interest magazines.

Much depends upon who really controls the media, and here, as in the Machiavellian corridors of power (world wide) we will probably never know all the facts:

So you see . . . that the world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes

Benjamin Disraeli
(Allen, 1971, p97).

Domination of the media paves the way to control of power by news monopoly and very often propaganda is the name of the media game, in their attempt to fulfill the role of Disraelis' "different personages".
So as Barker has suggested:

In the majority of countries it seems the media are under some sort of control. The controllers, the extent of their control and their motives vary considerably. Government control, to the extent that it is used in the USSR is normally purely for the purposes of propaganda. Control by 'economic interest groups', such as advertising, is for profit . . .

(1973, p14).

The media in many states, including most of Africa, tends to be "used as the Presidents' personal public address system to the local elite" (Tunstall, 1981).

It is true that the general belief is that no small group could successfully, in a democracy, plot to dominate social and technological processes that have taken millennia to evolve, such as radio, TV and the mass media generally. If they somehow could (and here conspiracy theories abound) they would surely still wish to maintain credibility? But with the degree of research into psychology, motivation and behaviour the media could become (there are many that maintain already have become) a sort of dream factory, as the cinema undoubtably is. The masses could be thoroughly and irrevocably confused between fact and fantasy, readily and unquestioningly believing media versions of reality.

According to Mander (1978, p158) the media in America are already dominated by a small clique:

In 1974 the top 100 [corporations] accounted for 55% of all advertising in the media [in the TV networks this percentage is 83]. Since virtually all the media in America depend upon advertising for survival it ought to be obvious that these 100 corporations, themselves dominated by a handful of wealthy people, can largely determine which magazines, newspapers, radio and TV stations can continue to exist and which cannot.
Money makes the media world go round. According to Thomas Jefferson: "I surely believe that banks are more dangerous than standing armies" (Allen, 1971).

Economic power can buy the power to transmit attitudes and opinions. "Wealth gives the power of access to the mass media" (Webster, 1980, p112). Curran concurs: "control lies in the hands of those with enough financial muscle to shape or disdain market forces" (1978, p88).

With money control can be gained over the media. With media control public opinion can be controlled. With control of this opinion, politics can be controlled. Political control gives control of the nation. And, according to Allen (1971, p76), this is precisely what the Rockefeller's have achieved.

The Rockefeller organisation controls major newspapers, magazines, radio, TV networks and the most powerful companies in the book publishing business. The NEW YORK TIMES is the most important publication under the Rockefeller's control. The Chase Manhattan Bank owns a controlling percentage of ABC and, via the Council of Foreign Relations, they also control NBC, CBS, RCA and the Advertising Council.

Also included in the empire are FORTUNE, TIME and much of MGM (Allen, 1976, p68). Tunstall (1981, p140) says:

America gained control over Latin American media during the war. . . the Rockefeller office provided 'canned' editorials . . . by the end of the war . . . 75% of the news of the world reaching Latin America originated from Washington where it was tightly controlled . . . by the Rockefeller Office and State Department.
Similarly in Britain three publishers control two thirds of the daily and Sunday newspapers (Hunley, 1980).

Curran and Seaton banish the view most of us held concerning the British media:

The view that the British press is one of the great instruments of liberty, an independent fourth estate, the vital defender of public interests ... is, a ... theory produced to justify those who created the press and whose interests it serves ... as the power of the media has grown it has become less accountable ... a power without responsibility


This coincides with the view held by Cockerel et al:

Facts are the raw material of democracy ... British people are governed by a system which does all it can to deny them the facts ... that democracy is a sham ...

(1984, p8).

6.2 South African Media

According to the McAlvany Intelligence Advisor, which is extremely well informed as to behind-the-scenes activity in South Africa:

Most of the SA press ... [English Language] ... is owned by Anglo American, which is controlled by Harry Oppenheimer ... this concentration of media power in the hands of Liberals is typical across the entire Western world ... and explains why it is so easy for the Soviets to orchestrate the world press

(McAlvany, 1986, p6).
A disclosure on 11 May 1978 in THE CITIZEN stated that:

90% of the English language newspapers in South Africa are controlled by Mr Harry Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation. Mr John Wiley, MP for Simonstown, drew this matter to the attention of the Government in Parliament on 25 October 1974 ... and in February 1978

(Vary, 1979, p51).

The Argus Group has now acquired the NATAL MERCURY and although it has been categorically stated that the editorial departments of both newspapers will remain unaffected, this is most unlikely. At this stage, though, the MERCURY does seem to have been unaffected. When the MERCURY is 'converted' the percentage control of the English language press will rise well above 90%.

For all practical purposes, we are of the view that SAAN is a 'captive' of the ARGUS GROUP ... there is only one press group dominating the English-language press in the country.

(Steyn, 1982, p1262).

There is only one English-language daily newspaper opposing the 'liberal left' and that is the CITIZEN. All the English-language newspapers, without exception, fought tooth and nail to destroy the credibility of the CITIZEN during its infant days. Branding it a government mouthpiece - which of course it is - any government permitting a total anti-front in the printed media to a large group would not be fit to govern, if only due to crass stupidity.

The NATAL WITNESS refers to itself as 'independent', but it too is a mouthpiece for the PFP.
Tunstall (1981, p103) claims:

The English-language press in South Africa is a commercial cartel... they control both the main national news agency and the entire press distribution system, and they discriminate against the Afrikaans press. This cartel is directly controlled by the Johannesburg gold industry.

The picture becomes bleaker when one realises that:

Just a handful of Anglo-American news and news film agencies select the images for the whole world's perception of international political reality

--- (Tunstall, 1981).

6.3 Freedom of the Press

This means different things to different people viz:

1. The right of the proprietor to publish everything.
2. The freedom of the editor to in- or exclude whatever he wishes - the right to publish only that which he wishes.
3. Freedom of the individual to use the press i.e. the right to reply to criticism. This conflicts directly with 2.
4. The freedom to publish a newspaper (In South Africa that would mean outbidding Anglo-American - in the US, Chase Manhattan).

Tracey (1978, p24) observes that press freedom was designed to provide a certain kind of service to society, it retained no freedom to please itself.
It has also been mooted that freedom of the press is only guaranteed to those who own the press (Liebling, 1978):

The libertarian definition of press freedom, [is based on] freedom from restraint which is essential to enable proprietors, editors and journalists to advance the public interest by publishing the facts and opinions without which a democratic electorate cannot make responsible judgments


However, monopolies, government and financial pressures inhibit this freedom:

The notion that 'anyone' is free to start a newspaper in the commercial market has been an illusion since the industrialisation of the press

(ibid, p298).

. . . The economic transformation of the press has called into question many of the most cherished assumptions of the liberal theory of a free press


This freedom is frequently at odds with freedom of expression:

One important distinction to be made between freedom of expression and freedom of the press: The former is an aspect of individual liberty and the latter is a prerogative exercised by an industry. What becomes of the individual's freedom to express a reply . . . if the editor of a local newspaper monopoly exerts the freedom of the press to deny that individual any space . . . ?

(Robertson, 1983, p63).

EDITORSHIP - Lack of Freedom

Not even is the editor of a newspaper a free agent. He cannot publish whatever he desires. Cudlipp (1980, p177) quotes Henry Luce - TIME INC:
I want good editors with independent minds. I like to see independent thinking. If its going the wrong way I'll straighten them out fast enough.

There are many journalists devoted to accuracy and truth and many have been displaced due to their beliefs. Even the foremost editors cannot escape the power of the media moguls.

Tom Hopkinson, of PICTURE POST, was fired for refusing to suppress a story, with photographic evidence, of South Korean brutality (Knightley, 1975, p346).

Harold Evans, of SUNDAY TIMES fame was disposed of for refusing to toe management lines. Donald Telford, editor of the SUNDAY OBSERVER, is constantly at loggerheads with OBSERVER owner Rawlins (Young, 1984, p23: DAILY NEWS, 18 October 1984).

The removal of Anthony Heard, 16 years editor of the CAPE TIMES, to be replaced by a successor who "would have the same guarantees of editorial independence enjoyed by his predecessors", is the latest in a very long line of removed editors and shattered editorial independence (SUNDAY TIMES, 9 August 1987).

Indeed, the control of communication is far beyond mere editorship, it is a boardroom matter. "The editor is no longer the top man in any viable newspaper. That is an old concept" - Lord Thompson (Wintour, 1872, p24).
It must sometimes be acknowledged that the fault frequently lies with someone other than the ordinary reporter, editor or the editorial staff. Although policy is sometimes confounded by those down the line (there are many ways of bedeviling reports, occasionally, if not continually). Thus to maintain that, "the only information you can trust in a newspaper is the date, and even that is, with some papers, suspect", is not to be considered as ridiculous as it might at first appear. And neither is the old newsman's saying: "Never let the facts interfere with a good story", a figment of an over active imagination.
NEWS (and its creation)

Mrs. Johnson, your son's death was a tragedy! Was he a victim of police brutality, and do you think the cops are covering up?

The cops had nothing to do with it! He was hit by a bus! Let the dead rest!

Yeah, yeah... Look, if this was a white boy, would they murder him just for painting graffiti?!

Now you know why I don't want to live in New York City!

Will the police get away with this?

No way, man! Let's get those mothers!

I told you we'd get some action! Sometimes a good newsman has to do more than report a story—he has to create it! This is your "on-the-spot" reporter, Brash Bluster, reporting to you live from the riot scene!

Hey—we have to get moving! I'm covering a funeral in Harlem!

This is a quiet, dignified funeral. There's nothing wild going on!

I'll take care of that! Give me a couple of minutes!

As dusk gathers, television cameramen and reporters move into the streets looking - literally looking - for trouble, and the crowds begin to play up to them

(Rivers, 1969, p42).

PLATE 27
News is created and manufactured", claims Curran (1978, p177). Webster (1980, p235) agrees: "news must always be unnatural . . . reporters create news by going out and finding it ". Steyn (1982, p1027) says, "News is what newspaper men make it ". He continues, " . . . newspapers sin more through what they don't publish rather than what is published " (1982, p1026). Which Lyle (1968, xii), sums up as, "If an event is not in the news, it isn't news . . . ".

Frequently the news remains unproven until verified by photography. As we know a photographic image can have its meaning altered with a simple caption. Thus it is that the photograph may 'verify' a truth, half-truth or lie. In news therefore, it is the word (or the word journalist) which decides what news is, and only then does photography play a part, albeit a major one.

For example, when the artist Fredric Remington telegraphed William Randolph Hearst from Cuba:

EVERYTHING IS QUIET. THERE IS NO TROUBLE HERE. THERE WILL BE NO WAR. I WISH TO RETURN. Hearst replied, PLEASE REMAIN. YOU FURNISH PICTURES. I WILL FURNISH WAR

(Knightly, 1975, p55).

Examples of the media creating news, altering news and thus history, are plentiful: It is a matter of historical fact that the Tet offensive during the Vietnam war proved to be an overwhelming victory for the American/South Vietnamese axis, but with the aid of photography the media "single handedly turned this significant victory into a
demoralising defeat..." (Steyn, 1982, p1303). Indeed the media, besides their own manipulations, are used by many diverse people, agencies, authorities and groups, in manipulatory exercises.

For example the OSS, the forerunner of the CIA:

Included so many men connected with the media... Richard Helms... was a UP correspondent... became a director of the CIA... [he] regarded media activities as part of the forward strategy of American diplomacy...

It is impossible to know just how widespread or just how dirty all the American governmental dirty tricks are. One view is that they are everywhere subverting free media


It is thus probably no coincidence that American strength in the areas of commerce, the military, diplomacy and the media are closely linked:

The American media exporting not only reflects but also strengthens United States commercial, military and diplomatic influence around the world


Herbert Schiller, in MASS COMMUNICATION & AMERICAN EMPIRE, minces no words when he states that:

American television exploits are part of an attempt by the American military industrial complex to subjugate the world

The British government (like all governments in a position to do so) used the media for its own ends during the Falklands' crisis:

... some British newspapers were fed with fake stories and disinformation, apparently in the hope of confusing their Argentinian readers

(Robertson, 1983, p103).

Reporters too are just as likely to create news when no news exists. Janet Cooke's "Jimmy's World" (WASHINGTON POST, September 1980) was the story of an 8 year old heroin addict which won Janet Cooke the Pulitzer Prize. It was a fake and the prize withdrawn, much to the embarrassment of the WASHINGTON POST, Ms Cooke's employers.

Preceding "Jimmy's World" by almost a decade was an article by Terry Baron. Dealing with the same subject, namely drug addiction, Mr Baron's article (the basic authenticity remains unquestioned) carried two pictures taken by Mike Duff. One of a bearded man: "squatting on his haunches, his eyes blank, a young dagga smoker inhales deeply on a 'joint' ". And the second, depicting a woman's face whilst she is "tripping on LSD" (NATAL MERCURY, Durban, April 12 & 13 1972).

Subsequent police investigation and court proceedings, instituted to determine the sources from where Mr Baron obtained his information, led to a sworn affidavit by Mr Duff; that the man, an acquaintance, and not a dagga smoker, was photographed (not in the house indicated in the article) smoking a plain cigarette in a parking garage. The woman too, was not a drug user and she was not on an LSD trip (NATAL MERCURY, Durban, 20 April 1972).
Mr Baron received all the limelight, whilst Mr Duff's revelation, startling as it was, was virtually ignored:

In Chicago in 1961 a local station owned by Columbia Broadcasting System, transmitted a programme purporting to show a marijuana party taking place in a student's room... it was found that the party had been deliberately set up for the benefit of the stations TV cameras

(Schulman, 1975, p266).

In yet another instance, the opening scene of "Hunger in America", a CBS documentary, showed an extremely thin, malformed baby dying during attempted resuscitation. Commentary: "This baby is dying of starvation. He is an American. Now he is dead." In fact the baby was from well-off parents, prematurely born due to an auto-accident (Epstein, 1974, p21).

The manufacture of news and the use of visual images to sustain the manufacturing process stemming from attempts to impose social conditions, is misguided. For mischievous purposes, deliberate or through lack of knowledge, such manufacture of news is dangerous. The SUNDAY EXPRESS, London (4 November 1985) carried an editorial on the clamp-down on TV cameras and camera crews:

Might [P W Botha] ... not actually be right when he says the very presence of TV cameras inflame unrest? ... that rioters will always create more havoc when they know they are being watched by millions? ... TV cameras could be making news instead of just reporting it.

The camera cannot do both; either it makes news or reports it objectively (or as near so as humanly possible). To liken the camera to a mirror image in order to prove objectivity is invalid and nearsighted. The OBJECTIVE CAMERA is a contradiction in terms.
"TV is a gigantic magnifying glass which focuses and concentrates the spark of violence and conjures it into a fire" (Johnson, the SPECTATOR, as reported in the SUNDAY TIMES, 10 November 1985). In the same article, Younghusband, NEWSWEEK, countered this with the following:

A truly free press is a mirror of the society in which it works. If the mirror reflects ugliness you can smash it . . . but the ugliness remains.

However, just as the camera is influenced by the man behind it, so the man holding the mirror can influence its reflection, quite apart from the mirror’s inherent property of inverting the image from left to right. -Journalists are human and have viewpoints which, like anyone else, they hope to present. These are, as surface blemishes of the mirror, transferred to the image.

Epstein (1975, p226) says:

Network executives . . . describe their news service as a ‘mirror of society’. . . [It] operates much more like a search-light, which seeks out preselected targets in the dark, highlighting certain aspects of them and neglecting others.

In fact the camera is a weapon of war, a very effective weapon. This was fully realised only after ‘Vietnam’. Subsequently, the Americans, British and French neutralised its potency respectively, in Grenada, the Falklands and Chad (the Israelis are doing so at the moment of writing). For example, during the Falklands war:
even the word ‘censored’ was censored (Cockerell et al, 1984, p172) 
... film of the fighting only reached the screens 23 days later, 3 days 
longer than it had taken the TIMES correspondent in the Crimea to 
have his dispatches on the charge of the Light Brigade published in 
London (p162). [However] video cassettes of the cup-final reached 
the task-force ships within 48 hours (p161). ... ‘failure of the 
Vulcan bombing raid on Port Stanley ... ’ was changed to, ‘It 
appears the attacks have been successful’ ... (p172).

Both advertising and the media have their own councils (in most countries) to 
maintain standards of honesty and integrity." Quite apart from this the laws of libel, 
slander, the legal profession and various consumer and governmental agencies play 
their part as watchdogs of the media. It is a fact though, that advertising has the 
more respected and effective watch-dog.

The plight of formal religion today is obvious to most. The church is loosing 
membership. This is due to many reasons, amongst which are the church’s apparent 
quest for wealth and power and its equal concern for the physical and the spiritual 
man, with the result that it no longer sees itself to be politically impartial. An 
impartial organisation has no axe to grind, the opposite must be true of a partial 
one; it becomes suspect, however innocent it may be. Thus it needs no mental 
gymnastics to note the parallel between the Church and the media. The lesson is 
plain to see, and must be heeded if photojournalism is to remain the powerful force 
it presently is, (as once the church was). American advertising found itself in a 
similar position when after the civil war total freedom of control resulted in untrue 
claims and hence mistrust. It was a case of clean up or put up.

The question arises as to who manipulates the media. Or who the media 
manipulates. The most insightful answer is given by US columnist Kelvin Phillips, in 
Allen (1976, p76): "What we have is not [a democracy but a] MEDIACracy ".

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6.5 **The Electronic Image**

(The threat to credibility grows)

The electronic age is escalating the threats to credibility. The computer's ability to radically alter the image, rendering such alterations absolutely undetectable (Paisley, 1984, p28), is becoming well known. The manufacturers of this equipment, being so proud of their achievements, never fail to expound these virtues.

The computer has brought image manipulation to state-of-the-art excellence. The modern equivalent of Deloroche's statement, "From today painting is dead ", is; "The retouching brush is dead, long live the digitizer pen."

Image areas to be altered or retouched are picked out on a monitor screen by the digitizer pen, the digital image data is drawn from other areas of the photograph and transferred to the required area. The retouching is constantly observed and controlled on the monitor screen. Manipulation does not erase the original stored data and the operator can at any time compare the retouched and unretouched images. The manipulation is undetectable and encompasses the removal or addition of any object within the photograph. Stored data from other photographs may also be utilised:

The range of possibilities for electronic image systems to alter our perception of news has grown enormously ... because of these new systems it is almost impossible to believe in the authenticity of the photograph ... no way of testing the truth of a photograph ... there is no negative ... that can be viewed. Not even the photographer can be certain that what is printed is accurate in every detail. Now computers can assemble seamless photographic representation of
unreality - events that never happened, vistas that don't exist. When an electronically altered image can seem, for example, to unite public figures who have never in fact met, how will photojournalism sustain the popular trust that its images document actual events (Gryzwacz-Gray, 1986, p39).

A recent report in NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER (July 1988, p21) states that the new technology will compound current problems into bigger ethical problems than anything we know today. Many devices are like double-edged swords - "They can be used to improve the quality of our work or they can destroy its integrity".

6.6 Bias and Slant in Local Media

News can be biased even if news-readers, producers or anchor-men are not, "just as a roulette wheel mounted on a tilted table tends to favour some numbers, no matter how fair the croupier might be" (Epstein, 1975, p200).

There is absolutely no doubt that, almost without exception, all newspapers have an inbuilt slant, and generally those with the most lean berate all the media with which they disagree. Editorials, couched in terms similar to the following, from an editorial in the DAILY NEWS, Durban, (4 July 1986), appear with reliable certainty: "The SABC should not be surprised if ordinary people gain the impression that in certain respects it is little better than a propaganda arm of the Government." Whereas the government, and many individuals believe the Argus Group to be the propaganda arm of the PFP, not without cause as this dissertation will attempt to clarify. That newspapers should not be impartial is not in the least strange, all communication is political.
It behoves us to take special note of any communication technique, for communication, affecting as it does, the relationship it creates or rests upon is not only social it is also political. All communication has a reason and generally that reason is to benefit the communicator in some way. Take for example simple interpersonal communication, one hopes when one communicates, to impress, influence, inform, educate to one's own beliefs, make friends, secure aid, favours, help. Politics is all pervasive - personal, an integral part of communication thus automatically carrying political overtones.

In the normal course of events we are unlikely to realise fully just how slanted our own media is. Frequently the SABC is attacked by the print media for its pro-Government bias. For example, an editorial in the DAILY NEWS (8 May 1987) stated:

> The power of propaganda was convincingly demonstrated by the result of this week's general election. There can be no doubt that tens of thousands of voters were influenced by one-sided television coverage ... innuendo and half truths ... Dr Goebbels would have been proud of SABC's efforts ... 

In another editorial (13 May 1986) the DAILY NEWS stated:

> ... in daily reports, analyses and commentaries of every kind this newspaper, for one, is trying to present as balanced a picture as possible for its readers.

The SUNDAY TRIBUNE (the sister newspaper to the DAILY NEWS) on 28 February 1988, carried a note on the 'press clamp', followed by the claim:
This newspaper, however, will continue to provide the most balanced information that it can.

Immediately beneath this boxed text, attached to it was another boxed quote (See Appendix 7):

There are some statements that no one ever thinks of believing however often they are made - Chesterton.

A closer look at the DAILY NEWS results in the discovery of a very deliberate policy. Selection of the DAILY NEWS in particular, was purely a matter of convenience. This newspaper is in no way any more or less slanted than the rest of the country's print media. The DAILY NEWS is, however, a microcosm of some aspects of the English language press.

Newsworthy events, such as the burning of new free school books by black pupils and other indefensible acts (not perpetrated by the authorities) are seldom, if ever, reported by the DAILY NEWS.

Most stories featuring the police and security forces in a good light are ignored by the DAILY NEWS. For example, a

frail-looking ... policewoman constable Magdalena Dietrickson, 22, who ... disarmed a knifeman with a swift kick ... 'I did not want to shoot him' ... (NATAL MERCURY, 4 February 1987, p1).

A story concerning the security forces saving a man from necklacing (NATAL MERCURY, 7 October 1986); together with an interesting occurance, a train driver
stopping his train to rescue a necklace victim (NATAL MERCURY, 20 August 1986) were all ignored by the DAILY NEWS.

The NATAL MERCURY (12 May 1986) carried a story about the funeral of a boy shot on Berea Station on May Day after a UDF rally: "An impi fired shots at a hearse and women ...". Whereas the DAILY NEWS, by innuendo, suggested that the police were to blame by stating only that: "shots were fired at the funeral ..." (12 May 1986) (See Appendix 6).

The DAILY NEWS (12 October 1987) supplied an edited version of the news when it reported:

Three killed, nine hurt ... mobs on the rampage ... ran amok ... police arrested 15 people ... the killers, groups of holiday picnickers ... an unidentified black man was also stabbed ... six other people were stabbed ... by a mob.

It was again the NATAL MERCURY (12 October 1987) which supplied the details ignored by the DAILY NEWS:

Two whites were killed and eight people injured in outbreaks of public violence between black and white ... at the weekend ... 'I saw about 15 blacks, walking towards us with arms linked ... we both stepped off the pavement in order to go around them. At the same time I was ahead of Ledge [58 years old] and after passing the crowd, who were singing, I turned around to see if Ledge was alright. As I turned I saw him fall down ... I was hit from behind ...'.

The DAILY NEWS uses violence against black children as a stick to beat the authorities, they must therefore be victims, not perpetrators of violence.
The NATAL MERCURY (23 October 1987) carried a front page photograph with large headlines and lead story treatment for a story concerning a young Indian businessman. Who, while carrying his infant daughter, nevertheless beat off five black attackers, killing one and wounding another. This story was ignored by the DAILY NEWS, despite its uniqueness and human-interest aspects. Understandable only if one appreciates the delicate balance keeping the UDF viable. This most surprising alliance between Indian and black would suffer should Indian on black violence be published. (A smaller incident sparked the blood-letting of the 1940's).

In a page one story, the DAILY NEWS (7 December 1987) told of the capture and stabbing of a 15 year-old black 'child', seen tampering with a motor vehicle on North Beach (then a "white" beach). The owner fatally stabbing the child, leaving him to die on the road as he drove off. By failing to identify the killer as black, the inevitable interpretation is white on black violence. There is absolutely nothing racist about a full identification. Race is considered by American law-enforcement agencies as vitally important, even the degree of racial mix is categorised.

Regarding PW Botha's visit to Soweto (early 1985). The SABC TV 1 news, showed large friendly crowds around the helicopter and entourage. (This could possibly have been arranged for the purposes of TV filming).

The DAILY NEWS, however, depicted emptiness, except for pressmen. This photograph was missing from the DAILY NEWS Library files, but another similar photograph was found. This one had the following on the reverse: "11-6-79. The Prime Minister surrounded by pressmen after his arrival in Soweto by helicopter today". "11-6-80. PW Botha arrives in Soweto". "TRIBUNE 29-6-80 - PW Botha
in Soweto . . . since then he has pulled back". (The same photograph was used to illustrate two separate occurrences, a year apart).

Mr Botha's Sebokeng visit in June 1987 was handled in a similar manner. The DAILY NEWS photograph was very carefully cropped, showing only a small section of the stadium. The text proliferated with diminutives: " . . . aroused some wild excitement among relatively small groups of residents . . . a few hundred young children filled a small section of the grandstand".

Having inevitably suffered, due to the very apparent differences between its reportage and that of the SABC, the Crossroads visit was treated a little more circumspectly - thousands were reduced to hundreds: " . . . hundreds lined the route" (DAILY NEWS, 27 April 1988). The NATAL MERCURY (27 April 1988) reported that "thousands lined the route", whereas SABC TV (27 April 1988, 6 and 8pm news) produced footage of the thousands.

Evidence of slant is everpresent: The Lesotho bus hijack drama during the Pope's visit is a good example. The DAILY NEWS (15 September 1988) under the pessimistic headline (despite an extraordinarily successful rescue) "Nun's Chilling Tale", it was suggested, by innuendo, that the SAP started the shooting. Which " . . . came soon after the security forces trained a searchlight on the bus". Whilst mentioning a 'French-Canadian' nun, the newspapers failed to classify the hijackers. The nun is quoted as saying:

I feel no bitterness towards them, they only wanted peace in Lesotho . . . they spoke gently with us . . . even had pills to treat people . . . they said they would only kill us if they didn't get what they wanted.
The NATAL MERCURY (15 September 1988, p1) however told a different story, under a less pessimistic headline "Rescued". The hijackers "... started the shooting", claimed a rescued hostage (SABC TV1, 15 September 1988, 6pm news). The NATAL MERCURY (17 September 1988, p1) tells how the 'French-Canadian' nun pointed out the remaining hijacker (sheltering amongst the hostages) to the task force. Thus placing a very different interpretation on her sympathies. The SUNDAY TIMES (18 September 1988) also differed from the DAILY NEWS regarding the claim of 'gentle speech' "... the hijackers screamed, 'This is a hijack - you are all going to die'". (People, with good reason, are more inclined to believe the moving image but it should be born in mind that it too can be manipulated.)

So determined is the DAILY NEWS to attack the authorities that it frequently insults its readers intelligence. For example, alongside an artists impression of the new nine-storey building to house the Receiver of Revenue's offices, was the text - "Durban's Receiver of Revenue ... is to move into a multi-storey skyscraper" (DAILY NEWS, 9 August 1988). (See Appendix 3).

The sad fact is that behaviour of this nature eventually destroys the viability of the press in its most important function - watchdog of social justice. It casts doubt on all concerned, journalists, printers, photographers, PHOTOGRAPHS.

The DAILY NEWS fails in a newspaper's principal obligation "... to give its readers the fullest possible story ..." (Robertson, 1983, p71). It fails to "provide full access to the day's intelligence ..." (Tracey, 1978, p24). It proves the adage
that "press freedom belongs only to those who own one". It claims the right to super-censorship, whilst accusing everyone else of the same. (See Appendix 4).

Finally McLuhan's claim that, "All media work us over completely" (1967, p41) is substantiated.

6.7 Examples of Overseas Media Bias

An unfortunate by-product of the over-zealous foreign press has been the tendency to play up to the camera... many unrest incidents are started or aggravated because of the presence of the camera

(DAILY NEWS, Durban, 11 September 1985).

During the week ending Sunday 11 September (Durban unrest situation) some overseas TV crews and news teams were instructed to ignore all but those scenes showing the forces of law and order in the worst possible light.

The instructions to record only the negative aspects of the unrest situation by certain overseas media teams was supplied by reliable sources within the media. (These sources cannot be revealed. The writer finds himself in the same position as the media and more recently the SA Government). However subsequent screenings have provided proof of these allegations:

According to one senior official closely involved with the foreign press, only last week a TV journalist was caught paying black youngsters in Diepkloof to burn their school books [for filming purposes]. In an incident verified by an American diplomat, a US camera team paid a black family to have their shack demolished at Crossroads... In the Western Cape a camera crew which missed earlier action, asked a crowd of blacks to re-enact a stone throwing scene

(DAILY NEWS, Durban, 11 September 1985).
Political exploitation is a ‘no-holds barred’ exercise for the foreign media: For example TIME refers to Pretoria’s reasonable assumption that sanctions against South Africa, the economic giant of Africa, would hurt neighbouring states, as "a form of official blackmail" and, "in a blackmail ploy, Pretoria threatens its neighbours" (Stengel, 1984). This is as reasonable as chastising an unarmed man for permitting his attackers to be hurt by their own bullets ricocheting from the walls behind him. With the removal of the hysteria the ploy becomes obvious, manipulation blatant, and as part of the plot the image should suffer, it, after all, COMPLIMENTED the word.

South Africa has long been the world’s whipping boy, and for years the ideal subject for distorted reportage, the media has a ready made experimental laboratory, trying out new slants on the old favourites such as the inevitable municipal trench diggers, workers siestas, kids in trash-bins, all with suitable commentary, all justifiable, due of course to statutory apartheid (sic).

The one dubious advantage South Africa gains from this obvious international conspiracy, is a ring-side seat to witness media modus operandi.

6.8 Legal Proof

Proof of deliberate falsification on the part of press personnel is difficult to acquire, especially in unrest situations. When a conviction is attained in an impartial court, of an independent judiciary, extreme bias is positively proven:
... staff reporter Juliette Saunders was convicted and fined ... in the Port Elizabeth magistrate's court yesterday for publishing untruths about police action ... created a false impression that police had acted without provocation ... 'if papers publish every rumour... becomes only an instrument in the hands of people wishing to manipulate it ...'

(MERCURY, Durban, 16 April 1986, p8).

The NATAL WITNESS (Thursday, 26 September 1974), carried a report on page one concerning the pro-Frelimo rally held at Curry's Fountain, Durban. This report was by the reporter sent to cover the event, it was totally at variance with the facts as the photographer saw them. The report need not necessarily have been deliberately falsified, it could have been a case of BELIEVING IS SEEING.

In any event, 'reality' and 'truth' have such a variety of interpretations that legal proof is inherently difficult.

6.9 Summary of Reasons for 'Inaccuracies'

Reasons vary, all the odds are against any press report being 100% accurate. According to some press people the SA press has added problems of bias: Mr William Sanderson-Meyer, news editor of the SUNDAY TRIBUNE, said decades of neglect of staff training and low journalist's salaries meant that only 'politically committed' people remained in the profession. Reporters had become "a pool of ideologically rigid, illiterate youngsters, he said " (NATAL MERCURY, 11 August 1986). The charge of treason and arson brought against former journalist, Marion Monica Sparg seems to bear this out (NATAL MERCURY, 16 August 1986).
The commander of the terrorist group captured in May 1988, De Lange, was formally a journalist on the RAND DAILY MAIL (DAILY NEWS, 13 May 1988, p1).

Subjectivity in journalism is on the increase, according to Brian Pottinger (SUNDAY TIMES, 11 October 1987, "Radical Tyranny - Is This Going To Be The Next Threat To SA Press Freedom?") adding that we note today a,

chilling sense of pre-determination and what can only be described as an abdication of a journalist's cardinal responsibility... the conversion of the journalist into the fully fledged propagandist...

Apart from politics, book publishers require up to two years to bring out a volume, whereas "the average daily newspaper staff publishes the equivalent of a sizable book everyday" (Rivers, 1969, p132).

EGO BUILDING

You're Watergate babies. Do anything for a flashy story. Do anything to make it big (Weinraub, 1985).

This mentality is behind the quest for the scoop. The scoop is the ultimate reward, and can lead to international recognition. It is the primary motivational force behind investigative reporting. All too frequently the truth is bent in the quest for journalistic 'excellence'. For example, the SUNDAY TRIBUNE (17 August 1986) carried a photograph with a caption that read:
Two of the 11 horses which had to be put down after they collapsed in agony from food poisoning. The horse on the right is Tessa Dawson's filly.

This photograph was a fake as the horses photographed were not the horses concerned. According to the veterinary surgeon attending (Dr RH Katzwinkel) the matter has been taken up with the SA Media Council.

From the SUNDAY TRIBUNE (17 August 1986):
The information was supplied by Mr Ian Steven of the SABC who was subjected to a diatribe on visiting the stables after the TRIBUNE picture/caption had appeared.

The information from Mr Steven was verified by the doctor in a letter dated 18 November, stating the following:

Yes the picture was taken without permission and the caption was incorrect. We have taken the matter up with the media council.

EMPIRE BUILDING - both by the media themselves and by 'sources', who use the media for their own purposes.

The NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC magazine announced in its December 1971 issue the discovery of the "ethnological find of the century", a stone age tribe living in caves in the Philippine jungle.

The National Geographical Society featured the tribe in a TV programme in January 1972. Subsequent to 1971, mention of the tribe can be found in encyclopedias and reference books.

When President Marcos fled the Philippines in 1986 the area was opened and it was discovered to be a hoax perpetrated by the Marcos minister for tribal minorities, Manuel Elizalde:
One of the would-be Tasaday Tribe said the Minister forced the residents to sit virtually naked in caves. Armed guards employed by the Minister kept out strangers . . . Elizalde created the hoax for publicity to advance his political ambitions - the Associated Press (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, June 1986, p9).

DISINFORMATION

Examples abound: Most of what overseas people know of South Africa is gained by the media. For example, a MARKINOR Gallup Poll in October 1986, indicated that "most people in Great Britain have a grossly distorted view of conditions in South Africa . . ." (DAILY NEWS, 28 October 1986, p2). Thus it may be seen that the media distorts. The question arises as to why this should be so, who benefits from such practices? (certainly not media credibility).

GENUINE MISTAKES

Despite obvious care mistakes still occur, due to the pressures under which the media operates. Also, of course, the number of hands through which a news report and photographs pass. Even where the photograph remains totally unaltered in any way: i.e. The Santa Barbara NEWS PRESS ran a picture showing a police officer looking disconsolately out to sea, with a female officer giving him a hug of consolation. The caption was to read: "Sheriff's deputy Wendy Barrus attempts to comfort deputy Chuck Cooley, who helped pull a Santa Barbara couple from beneath an ocean cliff landslide ". However, it was printed thus: " . . . sheriff's deputy Wendy Barrus seeks solace from deputy Chuck Cooley ". This switching of
roles led to complaints such as: "... women should not be deputies because they cannot handle the pressures of the job" (Hardin, 1985, p29).

PROPAGANDA (Empire Building)

Charles Lynch, a Canadian accredited from 1914-1918 to the British army for Reuters wrote:

"It's humiliating to look back at what we wrote during the war. It was crap... we were a propaganda arm for our government...
(Knightley, 1975, p333).

"It is, on balance a good day for the British and French", described the bloodiest defeat ever suffered by the British - the Somme, July 1916 (p100). Despite this waywardness, the image has apparently suffered little, if any, credibility loss.

This summary provides sufficient reason for us to appreciate the icebergian proportions of the problems militating against media accuracy. The huge wealth and power involved may sometimes benefit the underdog, but that appears to be purely incidental to the power building intent.
SKIRTING THE ISSUE

Visitors day at St Albertino's School for young girls provided a wide range of interesting activities, sufficient to satisfy most tastes. Even our rather blase', news-hardened photographer found something of appeal. This young teacher, so immersed in academia, overlooked the replacing of her skirt after a severe ink spill.

Her subject - speed learning and memory training.
We see this type of manipulation daily. We accept it at face value, or we laugh at the audacity of the journalists' belief that we will swallow his line. But still regard this type of manipulation (innocent) as inevitable and easily achieved. While believing, quite implicitly, that no reporter/photographer would ever attempt to manipulate hard news:

The mass media . . . are used as propaganda machines - either for the government, the proprietors . . .

(Baker, 1973, p14).

Be assured, the man-in-the-street, as Gim agrees, never wins.

PLATE 30
Under the heading "When seeing isn't believing!", LIFE carried an article on image manipulation.

PLATE 31
Using an electronic image processing system, Tom Bentowski of LIFE, created a composite photograph of Yaser Arafat, Yitzhak Shamir and Ronald Reagan. Stating that, "a photograph that represents an actual situation can never be manipulated in good conscience" (LIFE, Fall, 1988, p160).

In 1984, Bentowski, then at TIME, erased a walkie-talkie antenna from the chin of fallen Olympian runner Mary Decker. He says, "Even now, I have qualms about it" (p160) : an example of the 'trust me' syndrome - the innocent question, "What have we to hide?" To keep perspective, readers should note that Mr Bentkowski's erstwhile colleagues at TIME printed (and still print) 'inaccuracies'. An example being the 4 August 1986 issue's statement that all Durban's beaches are denied to blacks (p5). The same issue claiming, "fair and accurate reporting from South Africa" (p3).

Thus LIFE's exposé of journalistic methodology, far from indicating honesty and morality, is a typical media ploy designed to camouflage bedrock deception.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The media are "... serving 'the people' some of the time, political interests most of the time and themselves all of the time..."

(Tracey, 1978, p246).

7.1 **Summing up Motives**

Summing up motives for subversion of the photo-message presents a very formidable array of RAISON D'ETRE, viz:

a) **Political persuasion** - the 'selling' of ideas and concepts;

b) **Financial persuasion** - the profit motive together with the purchase of power;

c) **Jokes** - such as 'April Fool' stories and other hoaxes;

d) **Circulation** - profit and power;

e) **Revenge** - personal and group;

f) **Personal aggrandisement** - for reporters, editors, sources and owners;

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g) **Keeping a job** - news must be found or manufactured;

h) **Genuine mistake** - from printing errors to misinterpretation;

i) **Deliberate dis-information** - political or financial motivation;

j) **Laziness** - information taken at face value without verification;

k) **Ideological aspects** - political, religious;

l) **Ego** - Scoop mentality;

m) **The simple "joy" of lying**;

n) **Empire building** - power brokerage.

The histories of photography and the manipulated image have run in tandem. Trick photography, propaganda, bias, subjective photographs, photographers and writers, composites, montages. Deliberate usage of the media by both media and non-media groups and individuals, connotative aspects of the photograph, ambition, stage-managed HAPPENINGS, selective interpretation, the HEISENBERG principle and human error, have all supplied nails for the coffin-lid of photographic credibility.
According to Ades (1976):

Manipulation of the photograph is as old as photography itself. Double exposures, 'spirit photographs' (sometimes an unexpected result when an old collodion plate was imperfectly cleaned and the previous image dimly appeared on the picture), double printing and composites are all enthusiastically discussed in popular nineteenth century books on 'photographic amusement' and trick photography.

Yet against all these odds, the image has thus far retained both its health and vitality. It simply won't even play dead. As Alice would say, 'curiouser and curiouser' (Charles L Dodgson - ALICE IN WONDERLAND).

There is, undoubtedly, a quite irrational willingness on the part of most of us to willingly suspend our disbelief when viewing photographic images. Apart from this there are five major factors which result in our faith and belief in the photographic image:

1. The primacy of the sense of sight: of the five senses we learn to suspect all four other than sight. Never sight, our major distance and survival sense. Despite proof of its fallibility, SEEING IS BELIEVING.

2. The 'Camera never lies' syndrome. Eye-witness evidence via an objective, scientific recording device. Vision by proxy, surrogate seeing.

3. Western upbringing which embodies trust in parent, teacher, tutor, etc., each using graphic illustration as an educational tool.
4. Belief in institutions and key figures. Credence is given to material offered regardless of content.

5. The 'put-it-into-writing' syndrome. Lies are never committed to writing (sic).

Regarding 1: Hardly a day goes by without our being reminded of the plasticity of the word.

We have therefore little faith in one of the two distance senses, hearing; our ears LIE to us. We must retain a belief in the remaining sense, an organism such as man cannot survive without a trust in a survival sense:

We expect things not to change unless we have evidence to the contrary, without this confidence in the stability of the world around us we would find it difficult to survive. Our senses could not cope with the task of mapping the environment afresh every moment (Gombrich, 1979).

2. The camera is a machine, it cannot lie (sic).

Science and Mechanics have no axe to grind - they are objective sciences. Machines produce the exposed film, other machines produce the finished photo-print. The human input is not recognised except perhaps in the menial capacity of CHAUFFEUR to the machinery. The person BEHIND THE CAMERA is virtually ignored except in photographic circles.
It appears that photography is charmed. In Levy's book on the British Press Council (Levy, 1967), of the some 600 assorted complaints only three claimed faked photography. And in each of these instances the actual photograph remains blameless. It is the written word which does the distorting, (Cases 1966/80-1 : 1966/108-1) in the form of stories or captions.

**UNTouched BY HUMAN HAND**, is operative here.

The camera's honesty is reinforced by science and medicine; forensics, X-ray, photographic record, pathology, research and training. Further, photographic processes are used to faithfully render precise detail in all photomechanical reproduction methods - documentation, record and crime detection, even printed circuitry in electrical engineering and micro-electronics.

**3. Photograph** and graphic imagery, as used in teaching and learning processes, has been proven to us (by parent, teacher, mentor, tutor, religious instructor and friends) to be absolutely reliable. Especially over our impressionable and formative years. Imagery therefore assumes the mantle of respectability, honesty and objectivity. The media is a teacher - many of us learn most of what we know from some form of the media. The university of the masses.

**4. An example** of belief in institutions would be an average Westerner's belief in news conveyed by The TIMES of London over that contained in PRAVDA (despite PRAVDA being Russian for TRUTH).
5. Is simply a belief in documentation, which presupposes the belief that no-one would ever commit a lie to BLACK AND WHITE.

Key claims: "Without the human bias towards belief, the media could not exist . . . all media are in a position to exploit this belief" (1973, p249).

There is a very well known human trait that permits us to believe, against all logic, that which we desire to believe. For example: we may generally hold weather forecasting in contempt, having found them all too frequently inaccurate (due to our remembering the inaccuracies and forgetting the accuracies). But if we desire sunshine on a particular day we readily believe the forecast should it promise clear skies for that day. According to Schwarz (1969, p103), "No matter how clear the evidence is, people can always find an interpretation that will allow them to cling to what they want to believe ".

But perhaps the most important of all the elements lending power and credibility to the photo-image is the obvious fact that the camera is the ultimate recording device.

On the positive side it would appear to be impossible to destroy the CREDIBILITY of the photographic image, short of a constant parade of EXPOSED fakes (and no section of the media will destroy the goose that lays the golden egg, until it has all the eggs). Something becoming increasingly difficult, thanks to modern manipulative processes. We may no longer control the process, the process may now control its erstwhile controllers.
In the mind of the public photography is the result of unerring science, whereas semantics the result of erring humanity. "It will take generations to let go of our genetically coded tendency to soak up all images as though they were 100% real" (Mander, 1978, p248).

The survey using the ambulance/old clothes sale, illustrates the point that virtually the entire audience will accept anything as fact provided there is photographic EVIDENCE and the presenter neutral.

As evidenced in the book THE PRESS COUNCIL (Levy, 1967), the photograph itself appears as the injured party in any claims of faking. The WORD is the villain of the piece. It is apparently inconceivable that the icon could itself be the guilty party. The caption writer misled. In the survey on media credibility the conclusion indicates a trust in the photographic image above other considerations, such as the presenter and the particular vehicle carrying the photograph.

Frequently is the printed word-message, and indeed the messenger, suspect. Seldom is this the case with the pictorial message. The reasons for this we have seen and they are essentially valid and strong. However there is undoubtedly an element of mystique surrounding the pictorial image, a very lucky side-affect.

At first we see language as the vehicle for all sorts of lies, untruths and pernicious propaganda. Virtually anything may be justified with the word. WORDS, we have discovered, ARE CHEAP.
However, we should not overlook the fact that photography too is a language, with its metaphor functioning just as metaphor functions in language.

Photography should thus be co-accused in any perjury hearing, its crimes the more serious because of its position of trust and privilege. As yet, and in the foreseeable future, it seems that the recalcitrant photographic image does not even have a police docket. A truly remarkable achievement;

... images conveyed by the media have, over the past 30 years, become so sophisticated and persuasive that they now organise our experiences and understanding in a crucially significant way
(Dyer, 1982).

The future of photojournalism rests on the lasting credibility of the photograph, its acceptance by the general public as being a truthful and unbiased representation of the world as seen through the camera. With the camera's reputation as an incorruptible and truthful recording device remaining unsullied. The camera's image must remain sacrosanct in the public's collective mind, for photojournalism to remain the force it presently is.

Modern technology may be the last straw that breaks the back of image credibility:

Now computers can assemble ... events that never happened, vistas that don't exist ... how will photo-journalism sustain the popular trust that its images document actual events
(Gryzwacz-Gray, 1986, p39).

Credibility is a delicate thing and every time a journalist or photojournalist is caught out overstepping the mark, yet another little piece of the credibility of the photographic image is nibbled away. The fact that there is absolutely no fool-proof,
fail-safe method of weeding out the faked image, the chances are all against this credibility lasting. The fact that it has, and is still lasting, says much for the power of the image. Thus far its life appears charmed. But, as the boy who cried WOLF discovered, the end comes suddenly, without warning.

This study has attempted to illustrate just how widely the image is manipulated. Together with the manipulation of the word. The mass media can be little other than manipulative, its business is to persuade. Mankind's trust in the mass media, 'The University of the Masses', has been misplaced. All elements of the media are biased.

7.2 Bias

That teacher, (the University of the masses), is more or less biased.

The reporter is biased:

The overwhelming number of people who go into the creative ... and ... news side of television tend by their instinct to be liberally orientated ... social scientists argue that news is largely predetermined by newsmen's economic and social class

(Epstein, 1974, p200).

The editor is biased:

The mass media catch the society in a magnified and concentrated form, the editor who bemuses himself with the notion he is unbiased can only contribute to the confusion ... any decision to disseminate or not to disseminate news is in itself a partisan act

The media owners are biased:

Jeanne Harmon... tells in SUCH IS LIFE how headlines [in Time-Life] were suddenly altered to convey meanings never intended and how she and fellow reporters were subjected to pressures to ignore some stories and pursue others (Allen, 1976, p72).

According to Allen (1976, p72) the NY TIMES slogan, "All the news fit to print", should read: "All the news that fits". This applies to all newspapers, and purveyors of news.

On NETWORK (SABC TV1, 14 February 1987) viewers learned of major US networks refusal to air authentic material damaging to the ANC, including Mrs. Mandela's necklace call. Such material not being "in line with network S.A. policy". Conclusive proof of the major network's propaganda role.

Readers are biased:

An impressive body of psychological literature attests to the existence of a remarkable phenomenon called perceptual selection, which means that witnesses to an event perceive it - quite sincerely so - the way they want to perceive it...

(Small, 1974, p214).

Like the legal and medical profession the media protects their own. The suppression or ridiculing of information regarding subliminal persuasion is just one example. Knowledge is power, without knowledge mankind is at a disadvantage.
We must be aware that what we have seen of media faking, manipulation, sublimation and fraud is but the smallest tip of the biggest iceberg.

"Future historians will surely see us has having created in the media a Frankenstein monster which no one knows how to control or direct" (Muggeridge, 1977, p23). The problems inherent in the interpretation of reality militate against proving media manipulation; particularly the interpretation of the photographic image. We must (or should) re-interpret the already mediated message. Indeed, Shakespeare was accurate when he had Macbeth observe, 'mine eyes are made the fools o' the other senses.' It is the unconditional belief in our eyes that is now serving the media more than the average citizen.
Key claims that "the real motive behind the... development of language [was possibly]... to develop a system... based upon deception rather than truthful information" (1973). Many individuals too have mastered this technique. Such individuals use, and are used, by the media. For example, Archbishop Tutu's vociferous Sanctions Campaign in the US (denied at home until given the lie by US footage) and his call for full sanctions, whilst describing possible partial curbs by S.A. to belligerent neighbours as "utterly immortal" (DAILY NEWS 8 August, 1986), epitomises media modus operandi.

Just as the question arises concerning the media's ability to maintain credibility in view of the constant use of the half-truth and deliberate lie, so too is this addressed to the modern church and government.

It would appear that the church, government and media deal in the same commodities - wealth, coercion and power. The question arises as to who controls these agencies; and have they all decided that credibility has served its purpose and is now expendable. However, of all these only the media have to account to no one.

7.3. Epilogue

"...Most people simply say that they make up their own minds - a very necessary illusion media must perpetuate in order to succeed in making up their minds for them" (Key, 1972).
The question arises as to whether the mass media can be reformed. Many sources consider reform unlikely.

Mander (1978, p47), thinks, as does McLuhan, that the ideology lies in the technology itself. "The medium is the message".

Mander elaborates: to speak of television as 'neutral' and therefore subject to change is as absurd as speaking of the reform of a technology such as guns "... it cannot possibly yield to reform. Its problems are inherent in the technology itself to the same extent that violence is inherent in guns". (1978, p354).

Malcolm Muggeridge paints an even gloomier picture:

> It is a truism to say that the media in general ... are incomparably the greatest single influence in our society today ... this influence is largely exerted irresponsibly, arbitrarily and without reference to any moral or intellectual ... qualities whatsoever. Furthermore ... what we still call Western Civilisation is fast disintegrating ... the media are playing a major role in the process by carrying out, albeit for the most part unconsciously, a mighty brainwashing operation, whereby all traditional standards and values are being denigrated to a point of disappearing ...

(Muggeridge, 1977, p23).

The most dangerous of all the mediums is television. Disguised as an entertainer, it goes about its business with a ruthlessness that is frightening. Shulman labels it "The Ravenous Eye":

> Television has, because of the ease with which it can be censored, delayed and faked ... come to play a central role in the propaganda struggle in every modern war

(Shulman, 1975, p266).
Perhaps the most astonishing phenomenon in TV since its rapid
development has been the refusal of important people to take it
seriously . . . The ravenous eye, subtly preying on values,
surreptitiously absorbing institutions, steadily shifting foundations
and traditions, can no longer be made to go away. Posterity will
certainly shake its head and marvel that we cared and did so little
about it . . .

(Shulman, 1975, p14).

He added that it may be that the broad reaches of the American public have
become so inured to falsity in wide areas of the advertising and mass entertainment
media that they are incapable of discrimination (p18). Thus echoing Vance Packard

Shulman states that where TV exists on a wide scale, it ranks in children's lives as
the fifth factor - alongside home, neighbourhood, school and church in determining
what values they will ultimately have and how they will eventually exercise them: "
Jesuits could confidently claim that if they had a child for his first 7 years they would
have the man for the rest of his life" (Shulman, 1975, p28).

These factors have, more than simply aided and abetted by the photographic image,
resulted in the creation of an unstoppable monster of which we have lost control:

The networks, in particular . . . are probably now beyond the check
of any institution in our society . . . They may be so powerful that
they're beyond the check of anyone' - Nicholas Johnson, Federal
Communications Commission

(Epstein, 1974, p6).

US President Jimmy Carter's rise from an unknown to the highest position in the
Western World, in so short a time (and considering his abysmal performance in
office) dramatically indicates hidden powers. Powers well beyond the awareness of
the average man. According to many sources (including Vance Packard, 1978) the people-shapers are hard at work, and the media are theirs.

Efforts have obviously been made to clean up the media. Such an example was the conviction of a number of journalists in the 1960's and 1970's by US courts for failure to divulge 'sources' (Lapping, 1980, p9). So minimal was the effect that "it could be likened to missionaries persuading a cannibal tribe to eat only fishermen on Fridays".

The greatest ally of the mass media is ignorance of its intentions and aims. It is hoped that this study will help towards the elimination of such ignorance.

"Only knowledge can enable us to stand against the intermediate seductive phase of limitless deception practiced by . . . the masters of Deceit." (Schwartz, 1969, p101).

We have seen how the American concept of 'balance is boring' has been adopted by the so-called 'free' press. The idea of giving all sides of an issue, according to this theory, lessens conviction. This runs counter to the ideals of democracy, which the media claims to serve. The following description of democracy is perhaps the best to be found:

What most distinguishes a democratic from an authoritarian or totalitarian legislature is not the final product, what laws are made in either institution, but what procedures are followed. Above all, democratic procedure requires, as do the judicial and scientific procedures, that all sides of an issue be heard. From this basic procedural requirement stem the essential democratic liberties of speech, publication, assembly and association.

(Ebenstein, 1973, p144).
Thus when media representatives admit to not giving both sides, they admit to anti-democratic behaviour. **But it is not what they admit that is most important. It is what they do not admit that is the crux of the matter.**

Freedom of the press or absolute freedom of expression, in the classic libertarianist context is, we know from the evidence available, a purely utopian ideal. The media represents "power without responsibility" (Curran & Seaton, 1981). Monopoly media need not rely upon credibility to the extent a free media would.

To consider for a single moment that the individual (or group of individuals) could have any real leverage with the masters of the mass media is as patently ridiculous as the puppet claiming control of its puppeteer.

Consideration should be given to the lengths to which the puppeteer goes in order to produce the illusion of the puppet's self-animation. Further, pretense would become obsolete should the audience all be puppets; credibility, under such conditions redundant.

Nothing is better organised, qualified, situated or equipped to conspire and conceal than the media. Nothing has greater motive and **nothing is more manipulative.**

The key factors in any power play are the media. We are either manipulators of, or are manipulated by, the media.
For photojournalism to retain its rightful and desired place in the scheme of things it is absolutely essential that it maintains its credibility. This is the responsibility of all of us, as everyone of us is affected by photojournalism.

However it has become clear that the continuance of the believability of the media image is less important to the media than would have been expected. That this credibility is being sacrificed for long-term gain in mind manipulation is apparent.

It is thus essential that we all realise:

The inherent fascination of the photograph [is due to] its duality as truthteller and storyteller [and that] storytelling fills the timeless need to create fables

(Editor, APERTURE, FALL 1988, p1).

The camera, like the typewriter, does not deliberately intend to lie, but this assumption cannot be extended to its product. The typed page frequently lies. So too does the cameras product. The photographic lie is far more dangerous because of its documentary/historical tradition and its obvious denotative aspect. To avoid disinformation (and worse) mankind must, as Mander (1978, p248) says, develop a" sense of sensory cynicism " regarding media images. Without such a defence mechanism we will continue to be manipulated by the media, such manipulation escalating with the advancement of technology and media monopoly.

Given time, the basic reasons for believing the photographic image must become redundant. The question arises, considering media power and control, as to whether we will be given the time.
APPENDIX 1

HOW IT IS DONE

Portfolios
DAVID TURNLEY: CANON PHOTO ESSAYIST AWARD

South Africa work by David Turnley praised

PHOTOGRAPHS with a difference drew judges to David Turnley's socially-biting view of South Africa. Magnum's Bruno Barbey, who asked early in the newspaper portfolio judging, "Where is the social commentary?" found it in the Canon Photo Essayist category. Competing against two other essays from South Africa in the final judging round, Turnley's stood out from the rest.

Turnley, a staff photographer with the Detroit Free Press, had focused on apartheid itself, while his fellow photographers had concentrated on the graphic violence resulting from apartheid. One of Turnley's photographs, for instance, captures the haunting image of a black woman, on her knees in the foreground, scrubbing the floor while her white employer stands imperiously behind, talking on the telephone.

South Africa continued

News Photographer June 1986

-210-
Reply to NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER

... Your June 1986 issue carried an article on David Turnley, ... 'the haunting image of a black woman, on her knees in the foreground, scrubbing the floor while her white employer stands imperiously behind, talking on the telephone'. This is in legal terminology, 'leading the witness', it is also a distortion. The young man doesn't appear imperious, he seems, if anything, uneasy, the lady is not scrubbing but brushing, probably a stubborn spot the vacuum cleaner couldn't remove. Don't Americans sometimes go onto their hands and knees under similar circumstances? Should the young man not have a relatively inexpensive vacuum he can hardly be imperious, rather impecunious. Further the young man may not even be her employer, he could be resident in an establishment offering cleaning services. Finally what must he do should the phone ring on such an occasion?

The photograph showing the police baton charge could have been taken anywhere (except India where the police use live ammunition) recently too, except for the uniforms, including liberal Denmark.

The most representative photograph of Mrs Mandela would be with a tyre and a box of matches, symbolising her famous public claim, 'With our little boxes of matches and tyres we will...'. Indeed her methods produce far, far more spectacular imagery...
APPENDIX 2

... The only thing that a photograph can't do is tell the truth...
(Reynolds, 1983).

In Peter Magubane's book, JUNE 16 (1986), there are a number of blatantly false entries. For example:

Under the title, "Anger begins to rise in Soweto", a crowd-scene spread over two pages shows 16 of the 22 visible faces grinning broadly. A picture illustrating the caption, "When tear-gas, thrown by police explodes inside a bus, the windows become escape routes", shows a man more likely to be leaping for the window than out of it. This interpretation is the more likely, due to the total absence of broken glass or tear-gas smoke. The face of a very close passer-by covered with a huge grin.

An immaculately clean newspaper covers an apparently dead arm, the headline fortuitously easy to read; "This I Believe By A South African. What Would You Die For?" Under the caption, "On the march... a man and his loot", is a picture of three armed policemen with a fourth carrying a number of cartons. Looting in front of witnesses and a hostile press is most unlikely.
APPENDIX 3

HALF TRUTH BY OBSCURING VERBIAGE

TIME (13 June 1988, p72) illustrates typical techniques of deceptive reportage in an article by Margaret Hornblower concerning a Zulu group playing in a 1 000 seater on Broadway (SARAFINA, about The Children of Apartheid). The writer softens up readership with tales of the cast's religious fervour and video taped funerals back home.

The article is basically about homesickness, for the "green hills of Zululand", and contrasts with home. Which is "... shacks and overcrowded high schools ... sprawling neglected settlements separated from the prosperity of white South Africa ". "Chickens that ... play on the ground at home" are compared with "their [US] rooms filled with VCR's, Japanese cameras and fluffy stuffed animals ".

A daughter phones home almost daily, running up telephone bills of $3 967,78 in two months. Those blunted by the rhetoric and histrionics will of course fail to question why the R9 525 was not used to alleviate the suffering of a "poverty stricken" family back home who still manage to maintain their telephones and video cameras. Rational thought on the part of the audience is least desired by the media.

DELIBERATE LIE (News Manufacture)

In July/August 1988 the media the world over reported an incident where Basil D'Oliveira was allegedly subjected to racial insults and thrown out of an 'all-white'
bar at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Simonstown. The London Sunday Mail (31 July 1988) headlined the story by Jonathon Margolis, one of its 'senior reporters': "A Cricketing Legend finds its not so nice to be back where he belongs ".

A Sunday Times news team discovered the story to be a fake. Mr D'Oliveira's 'long-time' friend, Salem Musson, who was with him at the time said: "The . . . reporter never even went into the bar. He waited outside on the pavement ". He added:

The reporter has 'manufactured' the story because 'nothing sensational' had happened during the trip [Paid for by the Mail] and he needed a 'good' story to justify his presence (Sunday Times, 7 August 1988, p3).

UNTRUTH DUE TO IGNORANCE

With reference to the Helderberg crash (Flight SA294 - Taiwan to Mauritius, November 1987):

The stories, such as the one which appeared in a Sunday Newspaper about fishermen seeing the aircraft 'enveloped in smoke on the horizon seconds before it burst into flames' and the like started appearing. It is hard enough to see an aircraft flying at 35 000 feet in daylight immediately overhead, but to see one 'enveloped in smoke' at night 'on the horizon' . . . How for instance, can an aircraft flying around Mach 0,80 be enveloped in smoke? (World Airnews, January 1988, 'Flarepath').
The *DAILY NEWS* has an obvious policy of avoiding the mention of race in black crime. Which by itself is plausible and indicative of the lack of vindictiveness concerning race. However, its INEVITABLE mention of race, should the crime be committed by other groups, discounts any pretense of commendable behaviour. For example, even in police reports identification seems unimportant:

Two 16 year-old youths and a 22 year-old man ... allegations of raping a young white Transvaal visitor ... Police are looking for four others ...  
(31 August 1988, p1).

Three armed men ... escaped with R5 000 ... an Indian woman was robbed ... Police said ... three men ...  
(11 October 1988).

Such examples over any five-week period would fill pages.

The very opposite occurs when other groups are the perpetrators of criminal acts:

The Magistrate told the white man ...  
(1 September 1988).

A 16 year-old white youth ... steal ...  
(21 September 1988).

An older white boy ... severely injured a 6 year-old ...  
(16 August 1988).

An Indian man ... two white men ... porn ...  
(15 August 1988).

Three Japanese men ... robbery ...  
(15 August 1988).
A Polish father ... severely beat up his son (17 September 1988).

... police ... questioned a white woman ... (17 September 1988).

A 19 year-old coloured youth had been ... arrested (16 September 1988).

Police ... arrested two coloured men ... (23 September 1988).

A 20 year-old coloured man who raped an ... Indian woman ... (21 September 1988).

It should be noted here that these examples cover only 38 days.

**DAILY NEWS** suppression of black crime and violence in its reportage is necessary to keep the Indaba a viable option. So rigid is this policy adhered to by the **DAILY NEWS**, that the infrequent deviation is obviously a camouflage ploy.

For example, a very peculiar phenomenon occurred over a four to five week period beginning 5 March 1988. For this limited period the **DAILY NEWS** and the **NATAL MERCURY** suddenly, radically and simultaneously reversed roles. The **NATAL MERCURY** (generally mentioning ‘black’ and frequently excluding ‘white’ in crime reports) now studiously avoided any mention of race in reports of black crime. The **DAILY NEWS**, absolutely out of character, suddenly never failed to mention ‘black’. This dramatic reversal of roles gains perspective only when it is noted that it occurred four weeks after a survey on the media by **INDEPENDENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE**. This survey indicated that only 14% of the population considered newspapers credible (**SABC TV1**, 3 February 1988, 6 and 8 pm news).
Four weeks would have provided sufficient time in which to organise a boardroom meeting, devise a ploy and instruct editors, country-wide. An operation "Red Herring" is the only viable explanation. But whatever the reason, the exercise proves conclusively just how manipulated and manipulative the print media really is. It should be noted here that the survey results were not published in any form in the daily press. The results were thus censored - something the DAILY NEWS claims to view with abhorrence.

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The DAILY NEWS (Argus Group) created the myth of the innocent black child, victim of police brutality. Until the events surrounding Stompie Seipei annihilated such fraud. Undismayed, the DAILY NEWS simply created another myth on the ashes of the last. It is a fact that many viciously gruesome 'unrest' deeds were perpetrated by black juveniles. (Quite possibly by this same young 'hero'; this aspect ignored by the DAILY NEWS, running, as it does, counter to its carefully concealed aims.)
SUNDAY TIMES (28 December 1986, p1):

Mr Schubert... I saw this group of terrorists sitting under the tree...
As I ran towards them [with a bolt-action rifle] I saw their AK 47's... and they ran off leaving all their equipment...

DAILY NEWS (29 December 1986, p8):

Schubert found 5 armed insurgents... described the escaped fugitive as "extremely professional and having a lot of nerve" (sic).

SUNDAY TIMES (8 November 1987, p3):

At one stage it seemed that the crowd would clash with police...
That was when Mrs Mandela intervened and quietly and diplomatically conferred with the police officer in charge... the officer promised that his men would act with restraint.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE (8 November 1987, p1):

... The airport crowd appeared disciplined and well organised, shortly after his [Mbeki's] arrival there were violent scenes when police with dogs, baton-charged part of the chanting, singing crowds... there was also a highly-charged confrontation between Mrs Winnie Mandela... and police.
**TYPICAL DAILY NEWS REPORTS OF BLACK CRIME**

### Neighbour shoots burglar after stab threat

**Daily News Reporter**

A BURGLAR was shot dead in a house in Osprey Road, Yellowwood Park, yesterday by a neighbour who was investigating after finding the kitchen window of the house broken. Two other men fled from the house while a fourth man was caught by the police.

A spokesman at Durban's C.R. Swart Square police headquarters said Mr Leslie Charles Steel had rushed home after his wife telephoned him to say that there were five "suspicious-looking men in the area.

He found the kitchen window of the home of Mr D.R. McLeod had been broken and he entered the house to investigate, the police spokesman said.

He found five men busy packing goods into suitcases. Three of the men ran off, but Mr Steel managed to chase the other two into the bathroom. When one of them threatened him with a knife he fired two shots killing the man.

The other man escaped from the bathroom but he jumped straight into the hands of police outside.

Nothing was taken from the home.

### Suspects in court

**Daily News Reporter**

TWO 16-year-old youths and a 22-year-old man appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday on allegations of raping a young white Transvaal visitor near Addington Hospital last week.

No charges were put to them and they were not asked to plead when they appeared.

They were remanded in custody to September 20 for further investigations.

Police are looking for four others who were involved in the alleged rape of the 20-year-old girl.

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**Highway News Reporter**

A PINETOWN woman had three would-be robbers on the hop this week when she foiled an attempt to steal an R18 000 payroll.

Mrs Caroline de Swardt had picked up the payroll money for her husband's business — Natal Steel Windows — on Friday and was driving back to the factory at Albert Road in Westmead.

At the stop street from Circle in to Westmead Roads she pulled up behind a car which was blocking the road. Three men ran to her car, which was fortunately locked and had the windows closed, and began banging on it.

"I didn't realise they had slashed my back tyres as well," said Mrs de Swardt. "I swerved to get around the work, which I did. But by then it was too late to start searching the area."

They said there was no point in opening a docket.

"But I would like to warn people in the area to be careful if they've been picking up cash."

"I've told the women at the bank and they are warning people as well."

### Gang holds three at gunpoint

**Crime Reporter**

A PANEL beater, his wife and a spray painter were tied with ropes and gagged and then robbed at gunpoint in Durban yesterday.

Police said four men entered Durban Panel Beaters in Sydney Road just after 5.30pm. One had a gun and the others had knives.

Victims Mr Ronald Chapman (45) and Mr Arthur Rose (40) were forced into an office. The robbers demanded the safe keys. When they could not find them they tied both men with ropes.

### Tearoom hit-and-rob ordeal

**Daily News, Tuesday, September 6, 1988**

A BELLAIR, Durban, shopkeeper, Mr Jack Lawson (64), owner of Western Supply Store, was hit over the head and robbed of R300 at his tearoom last night.

A police spokesman said today that he was alone in the store when he was confronted by three men, one of whom struck him on the head and grabbed R300 before they fled.

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**Daily News, Thursday, October 6, 1988**

A 78-YEAR-OLD South Coast man spent three hours locked in a bathroom after two armed men confronted him at his home in Trafalgar near Margate yesterday.

Police said Mr Archibald Percy was alone at home when he was held up at gunpoint. The robbers forced him into the bathroom then ransacked the house and took a rifle and left.

A neighbour's domestic servant heard Mr Percy's calls for help and went to his aid.

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**Mum and baby injured in stoning**

**Crime Reporter**

AN Indian woman and her 18-month-old baby were injured when a group stoned vehicles on the 425 near Westville too, was held at gunpoint. The gang tied her as well.

They kept on demanding cash and grabbed Mr Chapman's wallet and found only R2. They took R5 from Mrs Champman's purse and then stole radios and speakers from cars that were in the workshop," said Mrs Reynoldson.

Police appealed to anyone with information to contact the investigating officer, Detective Warrant Officer Dave Smith, at 322322 (extension 474). Meanwhile, four Indian men were ar-
TYPICAL DAILY NEWS REPORTS OF CRIME
OTHER THAN BLACK

NATAL MURDER: MEN RELEASED
Crime Reporter
TWO white men arrested yesterday at a Cape Town hotel and flown to Durban have been questioned and released. Police thought they had made a major breakthrough into the killing of Durban accountant Mr Nessa Pillai, who was found battered to death on the North Coast a fortnight ago.
A police spokesman said the men, were questioned by detectives but have since been released.

DISCO NIGHT ENDED IN RAPE, COURT TOLD
Crime Reporter
A 20-year-old coloured man who raped a woman after a night out at a disco was jailed for an effective four years by a Durban Regional Court magistrate yesterday.
Ivan de Bruin, pleaded not guilty to the charge of raping an Indian woman when he appeared before Mr T.D. Reed.
Evidence was that de Bruin's friend offered to take the woman home after a disco at the Club Lipstick.
De Bruin, who was a passenger in the car, assaulted her.

THE DAILY NEWS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1988

Youth shot
Daily News Reporter
A 15-YEAR-OLD white youth, who allegedly tried to steal a motorbike was wounded in the shoulder last night by Ladysmith resident, Mr Jacobus van Wyk of Sparks Road.
Mr van Wyk fired two warning shots. The youth dropped a bike he was wheeling and ran. Mr van Wyk then fired twice in his direction.

Disco night ended in rape, court told
Daily News Reporter
A 20-year-old coloured man who raped a woman after a night out at a disco was jailed for an effective four years by a Durban Regional Court magistrate yesterday.
Ivan de Bruin, pleaded not guilty to the charge of raping an Indian woman when he appeared before Mr T.D. Reed.
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De Bruin, who was a passenger in the car, assaulted her.

THE DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1988

DAILY NEWS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1988

Dad found guilty of beating up son
Daily News Reporter
A POLISH father who severely beat up his son because he was doing badly at a pre-school was yesterday convicted in the Durban murder trial of his son.

DRUGS ROW LEADS TO GUN KILLING
Crime Reporter
A MAN was shot dead and another wounded after they were allegedly involved in an argument with two other men over drugs in the Point area last night.
Police later arrested two coloured men and have taken possession of a 9mm pistol.
Major Charl du Toit, police public relations officer for Port Natal, said Mr Mark Marais and a friend Mr Mark Anthony Whittle were with two women friends at the Evaleigh block of flats in Pickering Street last night.
They were approached by two coloured men and it is alleged they had an argument over payment for drugs.

EAST LONDON: Police have arrested a 28-year-old white man in connection with a series of alleged obscene phone calls made to Mrs Elsabe Gerber, wife of EP rugby star centre Danie Gerber.
SHOTS were allegedly fired at mourners and at the hearse of Mr James Ntuli during his funeral yesterday.

According to a relative the shooting took place near the Umlazi cinema.

Mr Ntuli, a member of the Umlazi Youth League, was shot on May Day from a passing train at Berea station. His brother, Mr Thami Ntuli, said the attack took place a few kilometres from the service venue, the Umlazi Cinema.

An impi 'wielding sticks and guns fired at the mourners and at the hearse' he said. The hearse had to be hidden in the township.

Later yesterday, three buses carrying mourners were seen leaving the township under police escort. Mr Ntuli, an Umlazi youth member, was shot at the Berea Road station by an unknown person in a passing train.

The Mercury's Johannesburg correspondent reports that Alexandra township, near the plush suburb of Sandton, was still under siege yesterday by combined units of the SADF and police. A spokesman for the police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said the operation, which had been mounted to combat increasing lawlessness in the township, would continue indefinitely.

Combined units of the SADF and police made a pre-dawn raid on the Walmer black township, near Port Elizabeth, arresting 35 people.

Police said all 35 detentions in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act were related to unrest.

About 400 residents of the black Oudtshoorn township of Bhongolethu were held for questioning after a mob of about 60 youths stoned the vehicle.

The report in this week's Sunday Tribune revealing the contents of an internal SABC memorandum merely confirms to viewers and listeners something they have suspected all along. Material that is "too negative" or "too sensitive" is simply not broadcast. So powerful is political interference that in one instance a Cabinet Minister insisted on being interviewed in the studio to replace the original report. The SABC says it expects its news staff to give a factual, reliable service. Clearly they do not.
"The truth will out", the two boxed messages, illustrated below appeared on the front page of the SUNDAY TRIBUNE (28 February 1988).

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, FEBRUARY 28, 1988

PRESS CLAMP

SEVERE restrictions have been placed on newspapers. These make it increasingly difficult to report on unrest-related matters. This newspaper, however, will continue to provide the most balanced information that it can.

QUOTE

THERE are some statements that no one ever thinks of believing however often they are made. — Chesterton
Reporters, depending on their point-of-view, can write virtually anything, and it is frequently conceded that they do.

A joke currently doing the rounds puts this issue into the proverbial nut-shell:

President PW Botha's hat blows off whilst he and Bishop Tutu are in a boat in the middle of Zoo Lake. Bishop Tutu walks several yards across the water to retrieve it. Next day the SABC runs the story: "Tutu can't swim"

(SUNDAY STAR, 15 September 1985).

Reporters do write virtually anything:

YES, we do have a lot of bans in South Africa. But a writer in the Yorkshire Evening Post has stretched the facts unbelievably. The Post journalist assures readers that T-shirts are banned here and that anyone caught wearing one can get 10 years' imprisonment — regardless of what slogan is on it.

One Yorkshireman was so startled by this "news" that he sent the newspaper cutting to his son, Pinetown businessman Mr Malcolm Turner, and asked whether it were true.

In the cutting, columnist Colette Cassin wrote, among other things: "They're banned in South Africa..." She went on: "In South Africa, wearing a T-shirt, regardless of slogan, can get you 10 years' imprisonment..."

That caused some merriment in Durban. Mr Turner told The Daily News: "South Africa has enough publicity without having this sort of rubbish on Yorkshire on top of it."

"My father is quite often asked whether this or false..."
A parking lot, a TULSA TRIBUNE reporter holds an umbrella provided by photographer Dave Kraus to produce a weather photo during a rain storm. The caption did not identify the situation as a set-up when the photo appeared in The TRIBUNE.

The result was considerable controversy about misrepresentation after the picture won in the national clip contest (NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER, Sept 1985).

Despite the fact that there was no attempt to misrepresented the facts, the editor / management of the TULSA TRIBUNE felt the necessity, in the interests of maintaining photographic credibility, to issue the following statement:

Photographers will no longer cause to happen, re-create, or in any way control activity in a photograph. "The only influence a photographer may have is an admonition to the subject to ignore the camera . . ."

Credibility may not be further eroded by subsequent photographs (if the photographers take any notice of the admonition) but pictures will be boring in the extreme.
An Overjoyed welcome after the very first day of school

Rover in fact took absolutely no notice of this momentous occasion. But with the addition of jam, the dog cooperated fully and the picture was made.

The camera recorded exactly what it saw, but what it saw was not the TRUTH.
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<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worth</td>
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