

HANSARD 2 Q Column 77-78.

11 February 1975.

(1) 245

(2) 312 General

Charges under Riotous Assemblies Act X

*19 Mr C W EGIN asked the Minister of Police

PRESS
1975-1976

Whether the investigations of charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act against *Die Burger*, *The Argus* and *Oggendblad* in connection with a pro-Frelimo meeting organized in Durban have been completed, if so, with what result, if not, when is it expected that the investigations will be completed.

The MINISTER OF POLICE

Yes.

The cases against *Die Burger* and *The Argus* were referred to the senior public prosecutor, Cape Town, whose decision is not yet known.

The case against *Oggendblad* was laid before the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, who declined to prosecute.

white power south of the Limpopo one must place/the unforeseen

consequences of present actions, the macro implications of many micro

changes and the psychological impact of decolonization outside the

boundaries of the Republic. And one concludes that any number of plausible

hypotheses can be put forward regarding the shape of the future ranging

from fundamental change by 1984, through second-best solutions, to an

entrenched racial oligarchy leaving off the backs of impoverished blacks

far into the next century. All one can really do, I would suggest, is

try to clarify ones understanding of some of the forces at work, to

interpret some of the apparent trends, and to be ready, in the light

of new facts or further insights, to modify or abandon one's own

particular assessment. In such a context one can only regard with

considerable scepticism any analysis which suggests that a particular

future is inevitable. There are so many variables at work, interacting

in so many unpredictable ways, that one cannot but recall Alan Paton's

sharp gibe against an earlier predictor:

Keppie Jones, Keppie Jones

Let me ask you in sepulchral tones;

The night was so stark,

The dark was so dark;

How could you see when you threw the bones? 59

Similarly, with due acknowledgement, one might question those who see

reform just around the corner:

O'Dowd, O'Dowd

Let me ask you aloud;

The light was so bright,

The white was so white;

Were you not dazzled with your head in the cloud?

Being wise after the event will be easy; peering uncertainly into the
future is altogether a different matter.

School of Economics,

University of Cape Town.

1974.

HANSARD 2 Q. column 84

11 February 1975

Code of conduct of Newspaper Press Union

*29 Mr C W EGIN asked the Prime Minister

- (1) Whether he has held discussions with the Newspaper Press Union on its latest code of conduct, if so, with what result, if not,
- (2) whether he intends to hold such discussions, if not why not

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Prime Minister)

- (1) Yes—very brief preliminary discussions have already taken place, but owing to lack of time, no penetrating discussions could as yet be held
- (2) A further meeting will be arranged in the near future

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Flag dispute mars union launching

STAR 1/5/75

The representatives of two major newspapers refused to speak at a meeting called to launch a non-racial journalists' body last night after a dispute over the South African flag.

Black journalists objected to the flag being displayed in front of the stage because it was a "symbol of suppression."

After the meeting had voted to have the flag taken down, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, and Mr Cliff Scott, senior assistant editor of The Star, left the stage. Mr Hans Strydom, president of the South African Society of Journalists, also left.

Mr Scott and Mr Myburgh had been invited to talk on Press solidarity.

Mr Scott said the flag incident could be misconstrued by the public.

"As newspapermen we must maintain credibility with our readers. If two editors of major newspapers in this country make speeches after the flag has been removed, many of our readers, regrettably, are going to read the wrong meaning into it.

"In the end, what newspapers can do to change South Africa is more important than what this meeting can achieve."

Mr Myburgh said the

flag was not relevant to the purpose of the meeting. "It is a great pity this issue has arisen because it could have been a meaningful evening."

Other guest speakers, who delivered their addresses, were Mr Clive Emdon, chairman of the Southern Transvaal branch of the SASJ, and Mr Joe Tholoe, president of the Union of Black Journalists. The chairman was Mr Patrick Laurence.

The meeting voted to form the new organisation called the Union of South African Journalists. If there is support from the rest of the country, the new body will supersede the SASJ, which will deregister as a trade union.

Anti-SA claim angers black journalists

Daily Disp
15/5/75

245

JOHANNESBURG — The Union of Black Journalists has reacted strongly to allegations in Die Vaderland that it is anti-South African.

In a statement last night after its executive had called an emergency meeting, the union said it contemplated legal action against what it described as a defamatory remark by the columnist, Voorslag.

"We take the strongest exception to the allegation that we are anti-South African. We are, and will always remain, South African," the union said.

The union added that it was not interested in the relationship between Mr Leslie Sehume, former sports editor of the World newspaper, and his employers.

"We believe that the newspaper knows who to keep and who to dismiss. We condemned Mr Sehume for what he said when he claimed he

represented black sportsmen and fans"

The union said the columnist had come to the conclusion that it was anti-South African because its members had refused to participate in a meeting with white journalists under the South African flag.

Three-quarters of the white journalists at the meeting had also voted for the removal of the flag because it was unnecessary at a meeting of that nature, the union said. — DDC

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S.A. PRESSED 'MOST FREE' IN AFRICA

Mercury Correspondent
16/5/75
GENEVA — "In Black Africa today there is no Press freedom in any recognisable form. There is more Press freedom in South Africa than in all Black Africa put together."

That was the conclusion given to the International Press Institute's annual assembly in Zurich by its African director, Mr. Frank Barton, formerly a journalist in South Africa.

Unfortunately there was only one Black African journalist — a Nigerian — present. South African journalists had cabled their apologies at missing the meeting.

Mr. Barton said that when he last spoke to the IPI assembly five years ago in Hong Kong, the odds of African Press freedom were "no better than even money."

In the event, those odds had proved to be "much too generous," he said.

Mr. Barton's report is one of the most damning ever made about the Press in Black Africa.

"The unpalatable fact is — and this is something that sticks in the throat of every self-respecting African who will face it — that there is more Press freedom in South Africa than in the rest of Africa put together. Nobody should be surprised at this.

"Plenty of other colonial importations have long since departed from Africa and anyway there was a pretty scant supply of any sort of freedom during the colonial era.

"The cant and hypocrisy with which most African politicians talk about the Press is in the best traditions of the colonialists, whose rule was largely based upon these qualities

"The more things change, the more they stay the same. Perhaps the worst thing about this — certainly the thing that gets the gall of the many,

in any decent African journalists all over the continent — is that as the politicians grind the media deeper and deeper into the dust, while with-
out so much as batting an eyelid they will at the same time croak about

now free their media are," Mr. Barton said

"The complete picture of the media in Africa is too detailed to give here, but it varies only in its degree from the maniacal ranting of Idi Amin in Uganda, where editors are beaten or burnt to death, to the slap-happy — but very hard slap — military junta of Africa's largest nation, Nigeria, whose engaging bag of tricks for the media ranges from horse-whipping to stripping and head-shaving.

"But at least in Nigeria there is one freedom left the journalist — and a very real one it is, too. He is allowed to sue the Government when they beat him up.

"But it would be wrong to give a widespread impression of physical cruelty against Africa's journalists. Thuggery is on the whole reserved for those who step out of line, and more and more that is a rare event.

"Africa's newspapermen have accepted the situation. The fight for freedom, which was never much of a contest anyway, has been fought and lost."

COLOUR-BAR MOVE

(265)

17/5/75

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Newspaper Press Union has arranged a special general meeting in order to amend its constitution to allow Blacks to become members.

The NPU's secretary, Mr. P. G. Erasmus, revealed yesterday that a special meeting had been called to hear a recommendation from the executive council that the limitation on membership to "Europeans" and companies "whose board of directors is composed solely of Europeans" be scrapped.

Amendments to the constitution could only be passed by a general

meeting, he said, usually this was done at annual congresses. The last time a special meeting was called to amend the constitution was "several years" ago.

Mr. Erasmus said he could not give any details on the reason for the amendment or the apparent urgency with which it was being made.

The chairman of the NPU, Mr. D. P. de Villiers, said he would have to look into the case, and could not give the background immediately.

The Newspaper Press Union is composed of South African newspaper proprietors.

Press

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move on Black writers

19/5/73

Mercury Reporter

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Society of Journalists took a new step towards becoming a non-racial body when its annual congress in Durban at the weekend approved a resolution to investigate the opening of membership to all journalists.

It is understood to be the first trade union in the country to take this step.

The society is registered as a trade union in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, and as such is unable to take in African members.

After four hours of sometimes heated debate the congress accepted a resolution that the president and general secretary would investigate how to open membership to journalists of all races.

BALLOT

After the findings of the two-man commission have been put to a special congress of the society it will be decided whether to hold a national ballot among journalists for the proposed reconstitution of the society as an organisation for all races.

If members vote for reconstitution the society will be legally able to open its membership.

Commenting last night, Mr. Jonathan Hobday, the new president of the society, said he and the general secretary were likely to meet newspaper managements within a month to hold discussions expected to be "most important" in the investigation.

Checks

STAR 19/5/75
on

Press rights?

DURBAN — South Africa's journalists have decided to try to establish a professional standards body, along with newspaper editors.

At the Society of Journalists congress in Durban, it was also resolved to investigate steps to open the society's membership to journalists of all races.

At present only Whites, Coloureds and Indians have been allowed as members, because of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The society will negotiate with the newly formed Editors Conference to establish a professional standards committee.

ETHICS

The SASJ proposed that the objects of such a committee would be to act as "watchdog" in journalism.

They would cover newspaper ethics, advertising and public relations practices which encroach on editorial rights and responsibilities, management practices which might be regarded as diminishing the rights and autonomy of editors, State interference with the Press, and making representations to the Government on incursions into Press freedom.

The society also resolved to call on the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate "cartel conditions and exorbitant prices" in the newsprint industry which "was threatening the economic viability of newspapers".

—Sapa

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Press boss STAR 29/5/75 has eye on censor law

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr D P de Villiers, chairman of Nasionale Pers, disclosed last night that he was in a strong delegation of Afrikaans publishers, professors and writers who made a vain eleventh-hour attempt to have the draft of South Africa's new censorship legislation amended.

Speaking on "Censorship and Afrikaans literature" at the University of Stellenbosch, he said the three most important points of objection were:

- Abolition of the right of appeal to the courts

- Protection of members of the Appeal Board against insult, derision and belittlement.

- The omission of article 6 of the old law, which prescribed a more specific content for the wide terms "improper, indecent or offensive to public morals."

FAIT ACCOMPLI

"But now the law, with all these elements, is on the Statute Book," he said. "Is all now lost? I don't believe so."

Now the law was a fait accompli, its provisions must be looked at anew with an eye on the next phase — the application of the legislation — to find the best possible protection against misuse.

ADM
17/6/75

Miners get paper

Staff Reporter

THE MINING industry is setting up a newspaper for Black employees.

The paper, to be called Sun, will appear every two weeks and will be sold to Black mineworkers throughout the country at a cost of 2c an issue.

Sun is an extension of a monthly picture-sheet which the Chamber of Mines has been producing for 30 years.

The new newspaper represents an effort to improve communication with Black workers, a chamber spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday. It will present information on wages and conditions of employment, as well as relevant news.

① 210
② 211
③ 245

New Black magazine

245

Staff Reporter ^{ADM 7/5/75}

THE Union of Black Journalists has produced the first issue of a magazine — the UBJ Bulletin.

The Bulletin's editorial says it is an attempt to counter the "shocking imbalance" under which Whites control all the communications media reaching the country's Blacks.

The Bulletin is edited by Mr Mike Norton, a spe-

cialist reporter on Post newspaper, and compiled by Mr Sidney Matihaku, a sub-editor at The World.

The Bulletin devotes little attention to the internal affairs of the organisation which runs it, but covers a wide range of broad social and political news and commentary.

An article on Black malnutrition points out that protein deficiency causes permanent brain damage. "This means we are faced with the real

and horrifying possibility of the myth of racial inferiority becoming a bizarre reality," the Bulletin says.

It quotes the Coloured leader Mr Albie Pop, as saying, "If the Black struggle drags on long enough we will be liberating a nation of cabbages".

Another article, by a reporter on a national newspaper, criticises the newspaper for refusing to publish critical information on mine compound conditions.

BID TO STOP LUYT FROM TAKING OVER SAAN

LEADING financiers are planning a dramatic counter-bid to prevent fertiliser king Louis Luyt from taking over South African Associated Newspapers.

Their move to keep the opposition newspaper group out of what they see as Na-

tionalist hands is now almost certain to provoke in South Africa an unprecedented public battle for control of a company.

By late yesterday, Mr Luyt was still in Cape Town, where he is believed to be negotiating for the shares of SAAN's major shareholder — the Abe Bailey Trust, which controls 43 per cent

of the company's issued capital.

Mr Luyt is making his bid for the entire share capital of SAAN at a time when the company is facing economic and financial crisis problems caused by escalating costs.

SAAN owns the Sunday Express, the Sunday Times, the Rand Daily Mail, the Fin-

ancial Mail and the Cape Times. It also has a controlling interest in Eastern Province Newspapers (the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post) a large shareholding in the Pretoria News and a one third shareholding in the Natal Mercury.

The Express can today disclose that immediately after Mr Luyt announced his intention to bid for SAAN, a group of leading Johannesburg financiers had already pledged to raise the capital for a counter bid.

At the same time, Mr Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, which is backed by the powerful Crewe Trust has also made it clear that money could be raised to sponsor a takeover of SAAN by people other than Mr Luyt.

Any attempt by SAAN's other major shareholder, the Argus Group, to bid for the Bailey shares has been ruled out by the Government which has indicated they will block such a move by invoking the Monopolies Act.

The story of the Luyt bid was broken by Nasionale Pers' two morning newspapers, Die Burger and Beeld.

The stories emphasise Mr Luyt is operating on his own behalf and is not backed by any other party or group.

Nasionale Pers' managing director, Mr Dawid de Villiers was not available for comment on whether or not his group is backing Mr Luyt.

Speculation that Nasionale Pers may be involved has been created by the reaction of newspapers owned by its competitor in the Afrikaans newspaper market, Perskor.

Perskor's Johannesburg afternoon paper, Die Vaderland, this week carried a story claiming the newspaper world believes Mr Luyt enjoys behind-the-scenes backing of influential people.

It said newspapers were sceptical about his claims that he is engineering the takeover in his personal capacity.

Die Vaderland concludes: "It is a hazardous undertaking for any businessman to invest his money in a struggling industry."

"Mr Luyt must be aware of all the dangers. If, in spite of that, he is still prepared to spend millions of rands on such a gamble a person can well ask what his motive is."

It is believed Mr Luyt's opening offer to SAAN shareholders will be about R4 a share.

SAAN was quoted at 190c before news of Mr Luyt's offer but the shares have a nett value of 900c.

Vorster snubs SASJ over award

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Weekend Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, has declined to accept the Newsmaker of the Year award from the South African Society of Journalists, the body representing 800 members of the English-language Press.

A spokesman for his office confirmed yesterday that Mr Vorster had rejected the award a month ago in a letter to the immediate past president of the SASJ, Mr Hans Strydom.

The Prime Minister made it clear in his letter that he had done so for reasons he had given when approached informally on whether he would accept the award before it was made two months ago.

STRYDOM SILENT

Mr Vorster was to have received the award at the Society's annual banquet at Umhlanga on May 16, but he declined to attend.

Mr Strydom, when approached three weeks ago about the delay in presenting the award, declined to say anything about the matter.

Mr Strydom could not be reached today for comment on the Prime Minister's rejection of the award. He is understood to be on holiday in Rhodesia.

However, the new president of the SASJ, Mr John Hobday, said he was not aware of Mr Vorster's letter of refusal as the matter had been handled by Mr Strydom.

SASJ REGRETS

Naturally, I personally and the Society as a whole regret that Mr Vorster feels unable to accept the award.

Mr Hobday said the award was devised as a contribution by the people who wrote the news to the assessment of South Africa's public figures.

By his domination of the news columns through his efforts towards detente there was no other choice than Mr Vorster, and this was reflected in his unanimous choice by the society.

(265)

Editor of paper is fined

The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA. — The editor of the Herstigte Nasionale Party mouthpiece, Die Afrikaner, Mr. Beaumont Schoeman, was today fined R100 (or 10 days) for publishing false information about prisons.

Pretoria magistrate, Mr. W. J. van den Bergh convicted Schoeman and the company who publishes the newspaper, Stryders Bepoerk, under the Prisons Act for publishing an article on February 14 alleging that Black prisoners were to be put on stand-by to work on the gold mines.

Mr van den Bergh fined Stryders R100.

In the February 14 edition of Die Afrikaner an alleged Prisons Department circular which, it was claimed, was issued from headquarters in Pretoria, was quoted.

HEADLINE

Under the headline "Black prisoners to mines" the newspaper claimed that the circular instructed prisons to make plans for the employment in gold mines of Black prisoners who had been sentenced to less than one year's jail, or who had less than one year of their sentences to serve.

It was claimed there were two reasons for the steps — the boycott by Mozambique and Malawi miners was more serious than generally known and White miners might strike.

Die Afrikaner claimed that Black miners currently working would be pushed into the positions of the Whites in the event of a strike and Black prisoners would fill their places.

FOR GOOD

Obviously, Die Afrikaner alleged, the mine bosses wanted to push Whites out for good.

The magistrate said that Major C. Delpoort of the Prisons Department said no such circular was sent out to prisons and the article was completely false.

The magistrate said it had not been shown that reasonable steps had been taken to verify the truth of the information. The defence had led no evidence.

Press chief

on news

Cape Times 19/7/75 (245)

priorities

JOHANNESBURG.—The president of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr D P de Villiers, told South African editors last night that the SA press might well take a closer look at the suggestion that its involvement should be with the practical interests and affairs of the community rather than merely centred on political issues.

Addressing the inaugural dinner of a conference of South African editors, he said that the matter of the Press getting involved in the affairs of the community — whether it was a large, metropolitan one or a smaller suburban or provincial one — was a matter that was repeatedly emphasized.

"This involvement in the United States is in many respects a local one of a practical nature — pollution, scandal in the police administration, municipal problems — rather than one merely centred on political issues.

"The South African Press might well take a closer look at this guideline."

"In championing the rights, privileges, interests and freedoms of the public, often against real or potential encroachment by authorities, a free Press can hardly operate at full efficiency unless it enjoys the confidence of that public.

SELF-DISCIPLINE

"To that end it is necessary for the Press to be seen to be self-disciplined, fair and objective, to the length — in my opinion — of leaning over backwards where necessary to redress mistakes or inadvertent imbalances which may have occurred in the fulfilment of its arduous task.

"This is but to reiterate my belief that in bringing about last year's amendments to the Press Code and the constitution and rules of the Press Council, re-defining self-disciplinary principles and sharpening up domestic procedures, the South African Press has fortified, not weakened itself in the struggle for the maintenance of its substantial freedom and the healthy further growth of its organs.

your support on the self-disciplinary part, and you will further strengthen our hands for continuing the good fight, and you.

Mr De Villiers said that at times rather a healthy state of tension had developed between the government and at least sectors of the Press, involving explicit mention of the possibility of some curbing legislation.

SA PRESS

'SPLIT'

DENIED BY NPU CHIEF

19/7/75
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The belief that there was a marked difference of approach to the journalistic profession between journalists on Afrikaans-language newspapers and their English-speaking counterparts was, in his opinion, false, Mr D. P. de Villiers, president of the Newspaper Press Union, said here last night.

Speaking at the inaugural dinner of the Conference of South African Editors, he said that in the light of changing circumstances journalists who supported the Nationalist Government had more freedom of speech and comment than previously.

"It seems that tension because of reporting or comment can just as easily arise between the Government (or the Opposition) and an Afrikaner-Nationalist newspaper as it can towards the "English Press," he said.

Mr de Villiers said "At times a rather unhealthy state of tension has developed (let us hope that "flare up" is a sufficient description) between the Government and at least sectors of the Press, involving explicit mention of the possibility of some curbing legislation "unless the Press puts its own house in order."

"While dealing with these on their merits as best we could, those of us most directly concerned with Press interests, have seriously discussed among ourselves the question of what kind and degree of sympathy and support the Press could expect to enjoy from the general public in the unhappy event of strong-armed governmental action against the Press."

OBJECTIVE

"Suffice it to say we were not over-confident on this point — though, of course, we were absolutely united on the disastrous effects for South Africa which such action was bound to have."

Mr de Villiers said that in championing the rights, privileges, interests and freedoms of the public, often against real or potential encroachment by authorities, a free Press can hardly operate at full

where necessary to redress mistakes or inadvertent imbalances which may have occurred in the fulfilment of its arduous task. — Sapa.

efficiency unless it enjoys the confidence of that public.

"To that end it is necessary for the Press to be seen to be self-disciplined, fair and objective, to the length (in my opinion) of leaning over backwards

Pressing problems

FM 25/7/75

245

The struggle between *The Star* and the *RDM* highlights the problem of too many papers chasing too few readers. With TV looming, it's poor economics as well

"I wouldn't say it's a war," muses SAAN managing director Leicester Walton. "Rather call it part of a continuing competition"

Nevertheless, SAAN's decision to bring out the *Rand Daily Mail* later in the morning and Argus's move in producing *The Star* earlier in the day (for the country areas only) is an intensification of an old rivalry, as both newspaper groups gird up for the advent of TV and continue the struggle for circulation and revenue against soaring costs

With late *RDM* specials nestling side by side with the noon editions of *The Star* on newsvendors' pitches, and talk of "24-hour" dailies — hotly denied by Argus — the public is beginning to wonder when the day starts and ends

Just how far can the overlap extend?

Walton says SAAN has been considering the idea of a 10h00 edition for a long time "We want to get the people who don't buy morning papers. We've no target — we just want to catch up on the afternoon papers"

Argus chairman Layton Slater, on the other hand, points out that the country *Star* is not a special edition "We're just trying to get *The Star* the same day to outlying areas. All we've done is what *Die Vadersland* did last year — go out and cover the platteland"

At present, it would take a major upheaval to enable both papers to stretch their deadlines any further. Newspaper publishers are restricted under a SA Press Association (Sapa) agreement, by

Argus' Slater, SAAN's Walton
the rivalry continues

Financial Mail July 25 1975

which the *RDM* can't put papers on the streets before midnight or later than noon and *The Star* can't sell after midnight or before noon. To change this would require the agreement of three-quarters of Sapa members. This means that SAAN and Argus would have to agree, and also get the support of one or more of the Afrikaans newspaper groups.

Under the rules, however, there's nothing to stop either paper being left on sale after the production deadline. Thus, the *RDM* is on the stands later than noon.

"We have no intention of doing this," says Slater. Not surprising. Last night's evening paper would look a bit daft beside today's morning. But then, are many people going to buy this morning's paper when tonight's is available?

As Walton says, SAAN has no specific goal, other than to increase circulation, which the *RDM* has lost this year. "We'll review the position every couple of weeks," he reports. Presumably, if the special's not successful, it'll be dropped.

Walton does make the point, however, that selling in the city is a lot cheaper than in the platteland. "Building up circulation in fringe areas costs a lot of money, it's less of a drain close in."

Whatever the papers do, it's going to cost money. And whether they can afford it in today's climate is questionable.

"I was saying in 1968," recalls Slater, "that the newspaper business was overtraded. The same was true of Britain and the US and they solved it in one way — rationalisation of plant, equipment and expertise, without infringing on editorial freedoms."

Today in the US, he says, only four cities have more than two daily papers. The other cities have two at the most, with the majority either owned by the same company, or by separate companies using the same plant and facilities.

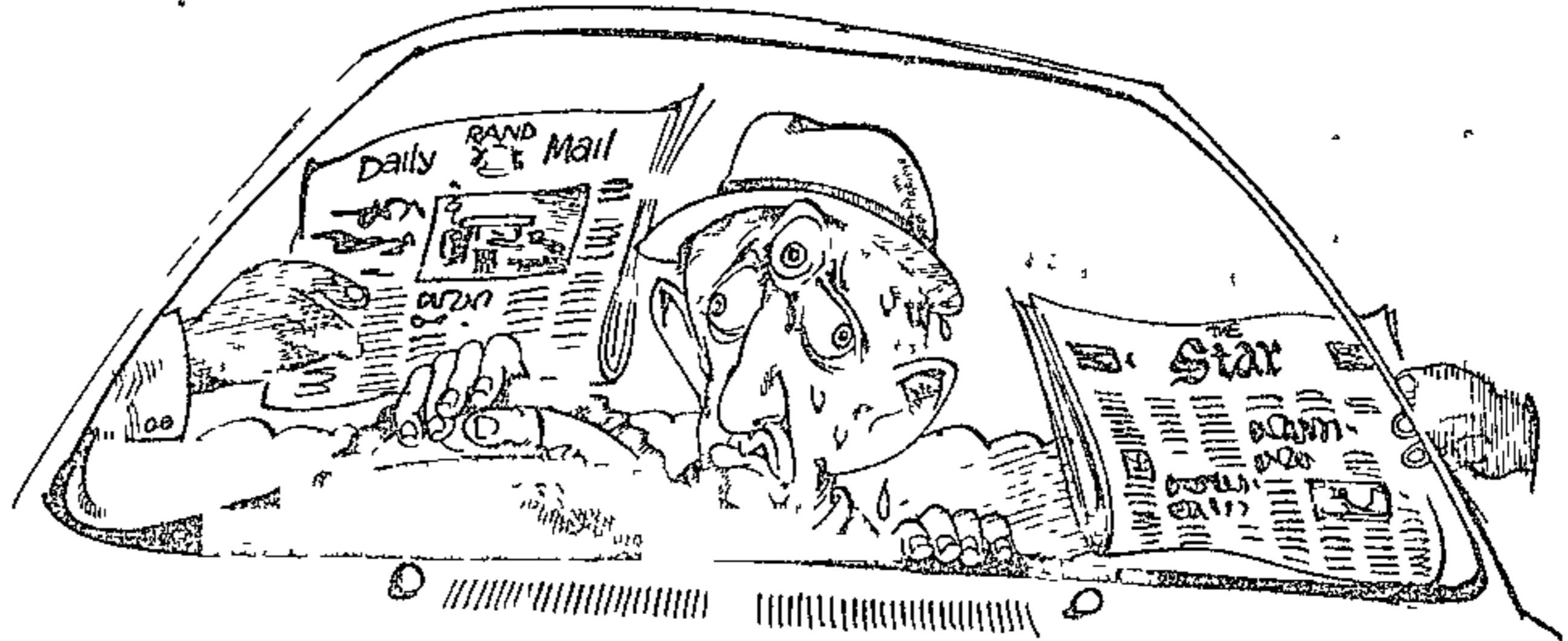
In looking at the UK, he avers, it's wrong to use Fleet Street as a comparison. "That's where the nationals are. But in SA there are no national dailies — only provincials. And in all UK provincial cities — except Glasgow — there are no more than two daily papers."

And, Slater adds, no doubt as a back-stiffener for Argus shareholders, of the top six provincials five — the *Evening Chronicle* (Newcastle), *Evening Mail* (Birmingham), *Evening News* (Manchester), *Liverpool Echo* and the *Yorkshire Evening Post* (Leeds) — are afternoon papers.

But the real point he is making is that, by contrast, in the Pretoria/Johannesburg area there are eight daily newspapers aimed chiefly at White readers: *Oggenblad*, *Hoofstad* and the *Pretoria News* in Pretoria, and the *RDM*, *The Star*, *Die Vaderland*, *Die Transvaler* and *Beeld* in Johannesburg. Yet the White population of the Pretoria-Vaal Triangle

is only 1,3m. Of this, Afrikaans is the home language of 721 000 and 574 000 are English-speaking. By contrast the Black market has only one newspaper — *The World* — aimed directly at it.

So if the White market isn't overtraded, what is? And to make matters worse, according to Dawid de Villiers, MD of Nasionale Pers, price increases have provoked consumer resistance. In the Transvaal in particular, readers who used to take four daily papers a day at 7c a copy have cut their purchases to two (at 10c).



De Villiers admits that *Beeld* (launched last September) is making far heavier weather of getting out of the red than the planners expected. Its penetration has been held up by various factors including an improvement in the quality and presentation of its rival, *Die Transvaler*, and by the fact that it is proving difficult to get Transvaalers to become avid readers of morning newspapers (something which the performance of the *RDM*, trailing some 40 000 copies — on last December's ABC figures — behind *The Star*, appears to confirm).

In the great Transvaal melting pot, Slater cites figures to show that — overtrading or not — Argus is best placed to feel confident about the future, in spite of the general opinion that TV will hit afternoon papers harder than most. The combined circulations of Argus' two *The Star*, *The World* and *Pretoria News* have the edge on all the others put together.

True, the *RDM* has lost ground this year, but Walton explains that this is mainly due to lower production due to teething troubles with SAAN's ultra-modern Metro Goss presses, capable of high speed colour runs.

The presses have now settled in — and the struggle to regain lost ground intensifies. Thus, the *RDM* specials, and other future projects from the SAAN planners. "We've got our projects too," grins Slater. "We're in competition, there'll be no half-measures."

But, with newsprint costs up 41% on last year and other running costs increasing at around 20% pa, is it a battle that anyone can win? The US and UK are strewn with the victims of circulation struggles amid relentless cost increases

The story there is plain — amalgamate, rationalise or go to the wall.

Both Argus and SAAN had the opportunity to rationalise production during the stormy courtship of the late Sixties and early Seventies. A true merger failed when government stepped in and Argus had to drop its option to buy a controlling interest in SAAN. "The journalists wrecked it," maintains Slater.

In 1972, in an alternative plan to rationalise and print both group's publications under one roof (ostensibly at Argus), Argus bought a 32% stake in SAAN, but

this also fell through. Main stumbling block then, and one which has remained ever since, was that Argus and SAAN chose different colour printing methods.

Argus remained fundamentally a letterpress operation, with offset presses for colour pre-print. SAAN wanted to go into run-of-paper colour and invested in its Goss Metro offset-litho presses.

In 1970, however, agreement was possible. Today both sides appear to have wandered too far along their own widely differing paths. Says Walton: "We've gone too far, until Argus decides it's not worthwhile going on re-equipping with letterpress."

Retorts Slater: "What has editorial use of colour done for papers — other than cost the earth?"

There is some rationalisation in the industry, but obviously not enough. *Die Vaderland* and *Die Transvaler*, for instance, are printed out of one works, as are *Oggenblad* and *Hoofstad*.

The outlook for all looks pretty bleak. Despite Argus's stake in SAAN (and SAAN's 9% of Argus) Slater says it's an all-out fight. "It's obvious," he insists. "They still believe that second-runner publications will get to number one position in the marketplace. I can't allow that." Then why retain 32% of SAAN? Why not sell? "We are in the newspaper business and it still makes sense to retain our holding in the other major English-language group," he ripostes.

Meanwhile the spectre of TV, no matter what doubts there are about the quality of programmes, looms less than six months away, with the added blow to publishers of commercial television only two years after that.

R208 000 SAAN half year loss

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Sun Express 27/1/75

Financial Editor
EARLY indications that the newspaper industry was gripped in the pincers of a severe cost squeeze is born out by the half-yearly results from South African Associated Newspapers. The results for the six

months ended June are certainly worse than expected or hinted at by the chairman, Mr I. G. MacPherson, at the AGM in May.

During the review period, the group had a profit turn-around of more than R1-million through a loss of R208 000 against a profit of R 889 000 in the corresponding 1974 period. For the full 1974 year, the taxed profit, before extraordinary items was R2,46-m. The tax bill was reduced to R142 000 from R603 000 and a lower provision for minorities was necessary. In a rather scant interim report, the trading loss is put at R5 000 against a profit of R1,58-million previously.

In view of the poor results, the board has decided to pass the interim dividend which last year was 18c. The total paid for 1974 was 40c.

Eight major reasons are given for the poor performance.

Operating costs increased by 23 per cent resulting in a marginal operating profit.

Interest charges were well above those of last year.

INCREASE

Advertising revenue did not show anything like the growth of last year.

There was a substantial increase in direct distribution costs of R801 000.

About R1,5-million of the cost increases is attributable to newsprint. This alone is equivalent to the drop in operating profit. The average cost during the period of newsprint was R248 a ton compared with R170 a ton in 1974.

The rise in costs due to the change to litho printing.

Salaries, wages, and staff benefits rose by 12,5 per cent. The increase would have been bigger but no provision has been made for the annual staff bonus.

Depreciation charges are above those for 1974.

Mr MacPherson believes, however, that because of the increase in advertising rates at the Sunday Times, Sunday Express and Rand Daily Mail, revenue for the second half should be higher. As a result

“... it is, however, possible that the Group's profit after tax for the latter half of the year could match that earned in the corresponding period last year.” Should this be achieved, a dividend will be paid although it will be less than the total of 40c paid last year.

Wiley wants 'independent newspaper'

ARGUS 30/7/75

IN a 25-minute attack on the English-language Press, Mr John Wiley, United Party MP for Simonstown, last night called on English-speaking people to 'put their hands in their pockets and bring about an independent newspaper in South Africa.'

Speaking at a United Party report-back meeting at the Fish Hoek Civic Centre, attended by 120 people, Mr Wiley repeated allegations he made in Parliament last October that a 'calculated and diabolical plot' had been 'masterminded and hatched' by a section of the English Press to bring the United Party into disrepute, and create a new liberal front in South Africa.

Referring to the creation of the Progressive Reform Party at the weekend, he said: 'The merger between the two leftist liberal groups has indicated the necessity for English-speaking people to put their hands in their pockets and bring about an independent newspaper in South Africa.'

GAVE WARNING

Mr Wiley said in past years he had found it necessary to warn the public of South Africa about what the Press was hoping to achieve. In 1972 he said that Progressive Pressmen believed the United Party had to be broken.

In 1973 the Sunday Times created a pattern which other newspapers followed, and again he had warned the public. 'They were using a skilful, shocking technique of derogatory remarks about certain United Party representatives — to drive certain U.P. public representatives right outside of public life.'

HANSARD QUOTES

Mr Wiley quoted several Sunday Times articles and reports supporting a 'new verligte orientation' or praising the 'Young Turks.' He also quoted at length from the Hansard report of his speech in Parliament last October on the Press.

He said that more than 50 percent of shares in The Argus Group were controlled by Anglo-American, and that The Argus had the largest single share owning in South African Association



John Wiley, MP

to break up the United Party and force a liberal front,' he said.

He went on: 'The merger is the direct result of the influence exercised by Mr Harry Oppenheimer through the Press to bring about a realignment of political forces in South Africa.'

Mr Wiley also quoted from the Hansard report of his speech and from the report of the Press Commission, tabled in Parliament about 10 years ago, in referring to Mr Stanley Uys, political editor of the Sunday Times. He claimed the Cape Times had run a campaign to bring the United Party into disrepute.

In dealing with U.P. policies at the end of an 80-minute speech, Mr Wiley referred to the party as 'a moderate conservative party' and said it had a role to play in South Africa by present-

ing 'the path of moderation.'

'Although the United Party's fortunes are at a low ebb at the moment, the people of South Africa are a moderate, conservative crowd.' They would return to the UP in time of need, as they had in the past.

QUESTIONS

At question time, Mr Neil Ross, Cape Peninsula director of the Progressive Reform Party, asked Mr Wiley why 'he did not have the courage' in referring to Mr Uys to speak outside of the Hansard reports 'and face the consequences of a court case.' Mr Wiley said the question was why 'very few if any English-language newspapers did not report extensively what I said.'

Mr Ross asked whether his leader (Sir de Villiers Graaff) had not reprimanded him for his speech in Parliament against the Press. 'No,' Mr Wiley replied. 'What he said was that he did not necessarily agree with all my conclusions.'

At the end of the meeting the chairman, Mr O M J. van den Heever, chairman of the U.P. Karoo Regional Council, said a motion of confidence in Mr Wiley and Mr Chris Visser, MPC for Simonstown, had been passed unanimously.

Representatives of the Progressive Reform Party and the Democratic Party asked him to put the motion to the vote, but he ruled that it had been passed unanimously because it was the only motion.

(News by Brian Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Anglo-American therefore controlled the major portion of the English Press.

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, had been 'in the forefront of moves

SHARP FALL IN PRESS PROFITS

Natal Mercury 30/7/75

JOHANNESBURG. — Taxed profit of Argus Printing and Publishing Company for the six months ended June 30, 1975, was at R819 000, one-third of the comparable figure for last year. Earnings a share slumped to 57,6c but the interim dividend of 70c has been maintained.

Warnings that the group was going through a difficult period had been given by Mr. L. E. A. Slater in his chairman's statement and at last month's annual meeting when he reassured shareholders that the dividend would be maintained.

The S.A. Associated Newspapers' interim results published last Saturday recorded a trading loss of R5 000 for the half-year to June against a profit of R1,6m last year and an attributable taxed loss of R208 000, compared with a profit of R839 000 for the first half of 1974.

Argus trading profit slumped from R4m to R1,2m with an attributable taxed profit down to R819 000, compared with R2,7m profit, according to the interim report for the half year to June 1975.

Both SAAN and Argus expect a recovery during the current six months period.

The SAAN report says taxed profit could match the corresponding period of last year. Argus estimated that trading profit will be marginally lower but investment income will reflect the passed SAAN dividend and the reduced final from CNA.

The Argus statement adds that unless there is a substantial drop in the country's present economic levels, the taxed profit for the year should cover total dividends one and a half

times. Reasons for the drop in profit are:—

- Delays in adjusting advertisement tariffs in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Tariffs for the Star, the Argus, Weekend Argus, World and Weekend World have now been increased.

- The big increase in the price of newsprint.

- Continuing inflationary boosts to salaries, wages and other costs.

- Slackening in overall economic activity and the resultant impact on advertising. Advertising revenue nevertheless rose 10 percent, with a 3,7 percent in volume, thus maintaining the group's share of the market.

- Circulations fell with the increase in newspaper selling prices. Although all group publications maintained their leading positions, the Star and the Argus increased their shares of their markets.

The statement says that the policy objective of consolidating the group's competitive position for 1976 had been achieved. This is one reason why profit expectations for the current half of the year are favourable. — (Sapa).

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Gloomy Press news

SAAN has passed its interim dividend (18c last time) and shown an attributable loss of R208 000 (R889 000 profit), Argus has repeated its interim at 70c but this is uncovered by earnings of only 58c (192c).

These first-half 1975 results from SA's dominant English language newspaper groups tie in neatly with the "Pressing Problems" outlined by the *FM* last week in its discussion of the industry ahead of the miasma of TV.

They also underline what Ian MacPherson, of SAAN, and Layton Slater, of Argus, told shareholders at their last AGM's. Both then warned of steep rises in newsprint costs, which have turned out to be a prime factor in the poor performances of both companies so far this year.

Distribution costs have also soared, as have wages, salaries, and (expensive) overtime working because of undermanned production departments

Other costs have also risen, notably that of money — with both companies committed in one way or another to fairly heavy outlays and financing sizeable stocks — while in the background the rather dull level of economic activity has checked the rate of increase in advertising.

Circulations too, have suffered from the increase in cover prices

All of which adds up to a good case for the average investor to avoid newspaper shares, despite the encouraging noises from both chairmen about the second half of the year.



SAAN's Walton ... better second F.M 1/8/75 half? ① 245 ② 194

SAAN expects its second six months to produce profits of around those of the same period a year ago which, allowing for the first half-year loss, suggests earnings of between R1,1m and R1,3m, or 60c to 70c a share

Since the chairman also stresses the need for an improved ploughback, it's unlikely that the final will be more than last year's 22c. At 290c, the prospective yield would then be 7,6%

Argus also looks for better things in its second six months, with a maintained final to repeat 150c, but this time covered only 1,5 times by earnings of 225c, given no substantial changes in the economic scene

At 1 500c the prospective yield is thus 10%, a third more than that offered by SAAN. (Argus owns 32% of SAAN, which holds 9% of Argus)

There could thus be some appeal, for some perhaps, in Argus on income grounds. But those looking further ahead are unlikely to see either share having any really positive attractions

Don Wilkinson

PAPER FOR BLACK MINERS

To improve communication between the 350 000 Black miners and employees of the mining industry, and the Chamber of Mines, a fortnightly newspaper will shortly be launched "It will be a bright tabloid making bold use of pictures, and written in English," a Chamber of Mines spokesman said

A White journalist, Mr Michael Irwin, has been appointed editor, and his staff will include three Black reporters who will travel widely to pick up items of interest, mainly on the goldfields

The new paper will replace a monthly pictorial magazine for Black mineworkers which has been in existence for many years "Our aim is to provide a bridge between mining employers and their Black employees to ensure that the workers are kept informed on developments and changes, to improve their *esprit-de-corps*, and to provide entertainment," said the spokesman

SA DIGEST 15/8/75
P 5

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FM. 15/8/75 (245)

NEWSPAPERS
Fewer sales

245
27/1974

Poor circulation performances over the first six months of the year — attributed largely to cover price increases — have created little immediate concern in the newspaper industry, if comments are to be taken at face value

Indeed, the further explanation offered — that the general state of the economy is reflected in reduced advertising revenue — and the belief that circulation losses will be quickly recovered, is supported by both advertisers and advertising agencies.

Evidence of such a recovery can be seen in the steady growth of average monthly sales for most publications during the January-June period. The largest seller *The Sunday Times*, grew consistently (with a great leap in April due to the Fox Street saga), from 466 595 in January to 509 450 in June. Rival *Rapport* began with 450 000, but increased this to 501 571 by June.

By far the best performer was *World*, which increased sales by 16,8% — helped by the introduction of a morning

Financial Mail August 15 1975

SALES DOWN

	Sales average Jan-June 1975 '000s	Change on July-Dec 1974 %	Change on Jan-June 1974 %
DAILIES			
Star	181	-1,2	-5,1
RDM	132	-7,0	-8,8
World	116	+16,8	+11,6
Argus	112	-2,7	-4,7
Daily News	95	-7,0	-8,1
Natal Mercury	67	-9,1	-11,6
Cape Times	67	-7,6	-11,3
Vaderland	66	-9,6	-9,2
Burger	65	-2,2	-1,8
Transvaler	50	-4,2	-4,3
Beeld	33	n/a	n/a
Volksblad	31	-10,0	-15,4
E P Herald	29	-3,7	-3,5
Pretoria News	27	-5,0	-11,5
Daily Dispatch	26	-6,6	-2,5
Evening Post	26	-1,2	-1,0
Hoofstad	22	-6,3	-8,4
Natal Witness	18	+0,4	-1,5
Oosterlig	13	+1,4	+2,4
Oggenblad	8	-19,2	-14,2
The Friend	7	-1,2	-5,6
Diamond Fields Advertiser	7	+1,6	-3,1
WEEKLIES			
Sunday Times	491	-4,1	+1,7
Rapport	479	-3,4	-4,4
W/E World	188	+3,0	+2,9
Sunday Express	175	-6,1	-9,1
Sunday Tribune	160	-5,3	-7,8
W/E Argus	144	+0,6	-2,4
W/E Star	125	-2,7	-8,3
W/E Cape Times	102	-0,5	-3,9
Cape Herald	80	-7,8	-8,4
W/E Burger	77	+2,7	+2,3
Ilanga (bi-weekly)	71	-5,0	+8,7
Post	59	-19,7	-19,2
W/E Evening Post	49	+1,1	-0,1
W/E Daily News	42	-8,1	-14,8
W/E Transvaler	41	-12,3	-18,5
To The Point	32	+1,4	+4,4
W/E Vaderland	28	-10,7	-20,6
W/E Volksblad	26	-8,8	-16,4
Financial Mail	21	-0,6	-0,8
W/E Pretoria News	15	-11,1	-22,3
W/E Hoofstad	7	-11,0	-26,1
PERIODICALS			
Fair Lady	150	+2,3	-1,0
RHODESIA			
Sunday Mail	94	+5,1	+9,2
Rhodesia Herald	80	+7,6	+12,8
Chronicle	33	+10,8	+13,7
Sunday News	27	+6,7	+9,9
Umtali Post	3	-0,3	+0,5

Audited figures for periodicals will not be released by the NPU until next week but specialist magazines, such as *Your Family and Living and Loving* are expected to show substantial gains. Another figure not yet released is that for the *Financial Gazette*, which is believed among the agencies to have lost substantial sales.

With commercial TV only two years away, newspapermen have cause for anxiety. A 22% drop in newsprint demand for the second half (though coinciding with the better news of a 2% drop in price) may well augur future trends though any suggestion that this heralds rationalisation plans is firmly dismissed for the moment.

To suggestions that rationalisation may be on the cards, particularly in severely overtraded areas as the Reef, both SAAN and Argus react firmly. Increased circulation remains a major priority.

Argus MD Liff Hewitt was emphatic, however, when asked what the future held for the notably poorer weekend editions published by the group's provincial dailies.

Asked whether Argus would consider discontinuing these publications, he replied that that stage "has not yet been reached".

edition. Manager John Marquard dismisses the view that this increase was less than expected or needed for viability (there have been suggestions in the industry that the "round-the-clock" operation would be justified only on a 40% increase).

Beeld, though way below Nasionale Pers's optimistic projections, grew steadily during the six-month period (from 23 147 to 37 948). *Die Transvaler* remained fairly comfortably ahead (ending the six-month period with sales of 53 648). However Afrikaanse Pers must be concerned at the inroads *Beeld* is making in Pretoria, where *Oggenblad* recorded the worst performance of all dailies with a 19,2% drop.

① 245

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Nat Press

STAR 11/9/78

ROW GROWS

Political Correspondent

The simmering row between Government spokesmen and the Nationalist Press has flared into the open following a weekend speech by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr Raubenheimer.

Nationalist newspapers have reacted angrily to Mr Raubenheimer's speech at an Afrikaans language function in Maritzburg, in which he criticised Afrikaans writers and Press.

There has been particularly strong reaction to his allegation that they were using Afrikaans in a way which could lead to the destruction of the people's language, traditions, religion and morals.

His allegation that Afrikaans newspapers had pushed ideals of "language, nation and country"

into the background in favour of sensation, circulation and profits also drew sharp reaction.

The Pretoria-based Nationalist newspaper Oggendblad expressed disappointment today at Mr Raubenheimer's "generalisations" and manner of attack, while conceding his right to criticise the Press.

The editorial referred to his "one-sided" account of the recent meeting of Afrikaans writers at Broederstroom. It claimed this was not aimed at reducing the existing tension between writers and politicians, but promoted estrangement.

"DEMOLITION"

The Transvaler said in an editorial today that Mr Raubenheimer's remarks did not sound like criticism, but like demolition and suspicion-making.

The newspaper's columnist, Joan Kruger, described the speech as "typical 1938 style" and crossed swords directly with Mr Raubenheimer.

The Sunday newspaper, Rapport, said the Deputy Minister's speech was itself a fine example of how Afrikaans could be misused, by people who wanted to narrow it down to the mouthpiece of their political ideas.

Daily Dispatch 2/9/73

Kruger hints at press discipline

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JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, said last night that if the Newspaper Press Union was incapable of disciplining its members "it would be better for me to rely on a proper Act to discipline the press."

In an interview on SABC TV news Mr Kruger was asked whether the concession granted by his department last week in allowing newspapers to publish pictures of prisoners would possibly be withdrawn as a result of newspapers break-

ing the embargo on publication of pictures.

"The thing I am wondering about is whether the Press Union has enough influence to keep the newspapers from excesses in photography," he said.

"I'm interested to see what action the Press Union is going to take against defaulting members. I am also interested to see what effect it is going to have because if the Press Union are not capable, as it appears to me they're not capable, of disciplining their members, then obviously it would be better for me to rely on a proper Act to discipline the press as far as

this is concerned."

He said he was surprised to see how "absolutely emotional" the competition between newspapers was

According to press reports the Press Union had requested newspapers not to publish anything before the date which he had set down, he said.

"Of course they didn't adhere to this. This does of course raise the question of discipline."

Mr Kruger said the various attorneys-general would decide whether to prosecute daily newspapers who last week jumped the gun in publishing pictures of prisoners — SAPA.

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Cape Times Correspondent
DURBAN. — A motion calling for an investigation into the functioning of South Africa's daily press was passed unanimously by the United Party's Natal congress yesterday.

The motion was debated immediately after a four-hour closed session during which, it is understood, the press in general came under discussion.

And in a second motion, also unanimously approved amid roars of approval, the congress censured "irresponsible elements" in the press for damaging Black-White relationship — "by engendering feelings of hostility"

Moving the first motion the MP for Amanzimtoti, Mr George Bartlett said, "We of the UP accept that a free and independent press is an essential part of a free democratic society"

He believed that such a society could exist only if it had a press which was "free and independent and which enjoyed the confidence of the public

UP calls for probe into SA press

Cape Times
6/9/75

which is the protector of that society".

The UP was "not afraid of the truth", he said, "all we ask is that the citizens and voters be told the truth in an unbiased manner"

He was supported by the UP's Berea divisional chairman, Mr J Mallin, who accused daily papers of not observing the codes of press ethics as strictly as in the past.

Most news presentation was "slanted or tainted, sometimes clumsily but usually skillfully" so that without people becoming aware of it they were being "influenced".

The element being introduced was "blatant

anti-UP propaganda", Mr Mallin said.

He suggested that the investigation into the daily press be handled by the newspapers themselves

The congress resolved that such an investigation refer in particular to the "presentation of objective news" and to the "separation of news reports from subjective comments"

It also asked that all editorials and articles bear the name of the author.

In condemning the press for damaging race relations Mrs Doris Smith of the party's Mid-Illovo branch said that while the parliamentary speeches of the UP leaders were rarely given prominence, the utterances of Black leaders, "however irresponsible", were

Whenever Black leaders "poned their mouths" they were given publicity. All this tended to create tensions between Whites and Blacks

It was the duty of the press to cut out sensationalism and to report without bias

She was backed by Mrs M Stainback, wife of Natal's MEC in charge of the parks board, who said pressmen would, "when the crunch comes, suffer the same fate as other Whites; the attackers will not differentiate", she said.

SUNDAY TIMES (EXTRA) 7/9/75

Curry makes amazing attack

By HOWARD LAWRENCE

LABOUR PARTY deputy leader, Mr David Curry, who is also the executive member for local government in the CRC, made a remarkable attack on the press during the party's CRC caucus on Thursday on the eve of the current CRC session.

Faced with widespread press criticism of the party's vacillating attitudes during the past five years, Mr Curry accused the press of waging a deliberate campaign to destroy the Labour Party and discredit its leadership.

Only one newspaper, according to Mr Curry — a daily newspaper which did not criticize the Labour Party or its leadership — was "objective".

Referring to the SUNDAY TIMES, Mr Curry accused me of being an "agent" of the Bureau of State Security. "How else could he have obtained a passport to go to America last year?" asked Mr Curry.

Mr Curry's reference to me as a "BOSS" agent comes only two days after the party's leader, Mr Sonny Leon, has been granted an "unconditional" passport to travel to any country in the world, except the Communist countries.

It comes, too, only a week after one of the Labour Party's CRC Councillors, Mr Lofly Adams, has returned from a United States Government sponsored trip to America and a private tour of Europe.

Mr Curry himself, as well as Mr Allan Hendrickse, Labour CRC executive member for education, have also undertaken tours of America at the United States Government's expense.

Mr Curry made his attack on the press when caucus members tried to raise the subject of a SUNDAY TIMES report

last week which said that Mr George Fortuin, executive CRC member for rural areas and Coloured Settlements would appear in the Worcester Magistrates Court to answer a petition by the mother of his illegitimate son for increased maintenance.

It is widely known that Mr Curry has campaigned extensively for support to make a bid for Mr Leon's position as party leader and executive chairman of the CRC. An open attempt by Mr Curry to stage a "palace revolt" was defeated during the party's National Executive Committee meeting at Uitenhage some months ago.

I was told after the caucus meeting that members were "upset" by Mr Curry's attacks on the press. They said "he should be the first to admit that if it had not been for press support, the Labour Party would not have made the progress it has made."

These members see the attack on the press as a "clever" move by Mr Curry to avoid a caucus debate on what the Labour Party intends to do in the budget and no-confidence debates. They say this matter was not discussed at the caucus meeting nor were caucus members given an opportunity to voice their views on the matter.

"The executive decided to wait and see what the Federal Party would do before deciding on their own course of action," I was told.

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(245)

Kruger and Cape Times 9/9/75 picture date

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Minister of Justice, Prisons and Police, Mr Kruger, has admitted that he changed the publication date of photographs of prisoners from September 1 to August 31 after a request by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport.

Addressing the annual congress of the central youth executive of the National Party in the Free State on Saturday, the Minister said that in agreeing to the request by Rapport, he most certainly did not think in terms of "scoops".

When it had been decided to grant the temporary concession to newspapers to publish the photographs of prisoners, he had told his department to "put a date on it".

"DID NOT LOOK"

"I did not even look at the date, to tell the truth. They (the department) decided on September 1, and the letter left me on August 18. In the letter it was stated that the concession would be granted on condition that it was first checked out with the police."

The Minister said Rapport had telephoned him and said: "Sir, are you aware that September 1 falls on a Monday?" — something of which he had never thought

"My department merely said: Let us start from the beginning of the month."

He then told Rapport he was not aware of that Rapport then told him that it meant that his actual publication dates would be September 1 and September 7 — one for daily newspapers and one for Sunday newspapers.

"And you can think for yourself that I did not intend to have two dates."

He then said no, but added that it was not an unreasonable view, and that he wanted the two dates as near each other as possible.

"But now the daily press does not appear on Sunday and the Sunday press does not publish on a Monday. So you must have two dates, but you want them as close to each other as possible."

He had then brought the two dates together. The Sunday newspapers could then publish on Sunday, followed the next day by the daily press.

"I did not know they wanted to cut each other's throats. How could I know how these people felt?"

He had done it honestly.

"I derived no benefit whatever from it. I am not a director of the press and I am not a shareholder. I know nothing about these people. I have simply acted as an ordinary person." — Sapa

Cape Times 10/9/75

Minister backed

① 312 → (245)
② 745
131255

JOHANNESBURG — In determining the date when photographs of prisoners might be published by newspapers the Minister of Justice, of Police and Prisons Mr J T Kruger, had acted within his powers and prerogative, the president of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, Mr D P de Villiers, said in a statement issued here last night on behalf of the NPU.

The statement said that the NPU accepted that the Minister had acted without intention of favouring any section of the press to the disadvantage of another

It added that the delegation had informed the Minister that the NPU would make further investigations into the mat-

ter and would have a meeting with the conference of (newspaper) editors today

The statement said that the delegation had had a discussion with the Minister, the Commissioner of Police, General G Prinsloo and two senior officers of the Department of Prisons, General Du Preez and Colonel Steytler, as a result of the publication by certain newspapers of photographs of prisoners prior to the date determined in the exemption by the Minister

"The discussion was thorough and friendly and was based on the complete acceptance by the Newspaper Press Union of the Minister's prerogative to determine the date as well

as that he acted within the authority of his powers and without intention of favouring any section of the press to the disadvantage of another," the statement said

"The delegation furthermore has told the Minister that the Newspaper Press Union is investigating the matter further in the light of what has occurred as well as the discussions and that the NPU will have a meeting about it with the conference of editors (of newspapers) tomorrow."

Luyt in bid for news papers

Nov 23/10/75

The Johannesburg millionaire Mr Lou Luyt will make an offer for the entire issued share capital of South African Associated Newspapers.

SAAN shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were suspended this afternoon, at the request of the newspaper group, after their price had risen from 190c at the start to 305c and later stood at 250c.

If Mr Luyt's offer is accepted he will be in total control of the group which owns the Sunday Times, the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express, the Financial Mail and the Cape Times and which has a major interest in the Eastern Province Herald.

In a statement to The Star today Mr Luyt said he was formulating his offer, and expected it to be ready within 10 days. The offer would be made in his personal capacity.

NO COMMENT

He refused to expand on his statement or to reveal any details of the offer. It had been in contact with the controlling shareholders of SAAN.

The managing director of SAAN, Mr Leicester Walton, was in Port Elizabeth today for a board meeting of Eastern Province Newspapers. He refused to come to the phone and sent a message saying he had no comment.

The Abe Bailey Estate controls one of the biggest blocks of shares in SAAN

To Page 3. Col 5

Newspapers bid by Luyt

From Page 1

but the chairman of the estate's administrators, Mr G K Lindsay, refused to be drawn on the offer.

He said many factors, apart from the financial aspect, would have to be considered in the event of an offer being received

APPROACHES

The chairman of the Southern Transvaal branch of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr Clive Emdon, said it was an anxious time for journalists at SAAN.

He said some very senior management people in the group had been approached and had claimed to know nothing about the offer Mr Emdon works for the Rand Daily Mail

A meeting of the representative association of SAAN journalists, the SAAN editorial chapel, is scheduled at which the Luyt offer may be discussed.

Two of SAAN's editors, Mr Tertius Myburgh of

the Sunday Times and Mr A Sparks of the Sunday Express refused to comment and said they did not have sufficient information. Mr Raymond Louw of the Rand Daily Mail was not available for comment.

Mr C L C Hewitt, managing director of the Argus group, which controls about 31 percent of SAAN shares, also refused to comment

SECRECY

There is information available on whether Mr Luyt approached major shareholders in SAAN before deciding to make his offer.

Strict secrecy was maintained until today.

The stock market was taken by surprise by the bid but immediate reaction was widespread doubt that the bid would succeed

The issued shares of SAAN total 1 938 800 — so Mr Luyt would need to gain nearly a million to win a majority.

Argus Printing and Publishing Company alone holds 633 965. And the Baily Trust directly owns an additional 50 400, plus 400 000 with Union Rhodesian Mining and Finance, plus 31 876 via nominees.

Thus, these two interests combined could hold the key to the bid.

A V Lindbergh has 125 466 shares and Robinson & Company, proprietors of the Natal Mercury, have nearly 100 000.

Standard Bank nominees own more than 90 000 shares.

● Attempts have been made to takeover SAAN before. An offer by the Argus group some years ago was rejected on Government insistence and a subsequent bid by interests in the Eastern Cape was rejected. There were also rumours of a Perskor bid

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Cape Times 24/10/75 (1) 245 (2) 195

Luyt bid for SAAN

By the Financial Editor

FERTILIZER tycoon Mr Louis Luyt is making a cash bid for the entire share capital of South African Associated Newspapers.

News of the bid appeared first yesterday, in the Johannesburg pro-Government Afrikaans newspaper Beeld and in the Burger.

In a brief announcement Mr Luyt said he was in the process of formulating an offer which should be finalized within the next 10 days.

Mr Luyt's move to buy SAAN, one of the country's major newspaper groups, has rocked the business world and astonished brokers were yesterday groping for SAAN balance sheets to try to gauge what the share is worth.

Before the bid SAAN shares ruled at 190c but yesterday, before the listing was suspended on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange at the request of SAAN, they jumped to 250c.

SAAN has an issued capital of 1.938 800 shares and the current pre-bid price of 190c is about the low for the year. At the

beginning of 1975 they stood at 380c and the high since 1974 was 685c.

The key shareholding in SAAN are the Argus Printing and Publishing Company's 32 percent and the Abe Bailey Estate and Trust and Associates, which control roughly the same amount of shares.

The voting of these two shareholders will be critical. As I see it, either could effectively block the bid. It seems highly likely that Mr Luyt's overtures could flush other bidders into the market. Stockbrokers are speculating that a dramatic takeover battle may soon be under way.

SAAN owns the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Times, the Sunda Express, the Financial Mail and the Cape Times. It has controlling interest in Eastern Province Newspapers (Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post) and a large shareholding in the Pretoria News and a one-third shareholding in the Natal Mercury.

Our Johannesburg correspondent writes:

"Market reaction yesterday to Mr Luyt's intention to bid for SAAN was that

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Luyt in bid for SAAN

From page 1

he had no chance. The investment manager of a big insurance company said he was sure there would be counterbids if Mr Luyt offered anywhere below 500c a share.

"The attitude of the Bailey trustees will be the crucial factor

"If, as has been suggested in Hollard Street, Mr Luyt intends offering 400c a share in cash, it is unlikely the trustees will be persuaded to sell

"But the crucial factor in the Bailey trustees' attitude — apart from the obvious sentimental attachment to the holding — is that SAAN shares have a net worth of at least 900c.

"If Mr Luyt bids at a 40 percent discount to net worth — say 540c a share — the test for the Bailey trustees will be whether then to regard the SAAN holding as anything more than an investment

"On pure investment considerations a cash offer of 540c should be accepted. The newspaper industry is going through a testing time and there are no signs, in the short term, of picking up.

"The Argus Group would probably not be able to exercise its pre-emptive option on the Bailey holding for fear of attracting the same Government disfavour which spiked its previous bid for control of SAAN.

"But Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London, has suggested that money could be raised to sponsor a takeover of SAAN by more suitable people than the Argus or Mr Luyt.

"And there are suggestions in the market that there are others waiting in the wings with competitive bids if the Bailey trusts do want to sell."

- Luyt's full statement;
- SAAN, Argus and Bailey Trust reaction;
- Donald Woods's statement;
- London reaction.

'Luyt should give written guarantee'

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SAAN N.R.

Mr Louis Luyt should give written guarantees that he will not serve any political party or the Government if he does succeed in buying SA Associated Newspapers, said the acting head of the Rhodes University's department of journalism

Dr Les Switzer was commenting on Mr Luyt's intention, announced yesterday, to make an offer to buy SAAN.

The group owns the Sunday Times, the Rand Daily Mail, the Financial Mail, the Sunday Express, and the Cape Times

It also has a major interest in the Eastern Province Herald.

FEARS VOICED

At a meeting of SAAN editorial staff in Johannesburg yesterday fears were voiced of the possible takeover by Mr Luyt or by National Party interests

Mr Clive Emdon, who chaired the meeting, said it could spell the end of a major sector of the English-language Press. He said the SAAN newspapers were opposed to the threat of a totalitarian state

The meeting elected three representatives to meet the SAAN chairman, Mr I G MacPherson, and managing director Mr L H Walton, to ask them about the state of the company and their attitude to Mr Luyt's offer

The representatives were also asked to establish with Syfrets, trustees for the Abe Bailey Trust, a major shareholder in SAAN, whether the trust is a seller and what

criteria they would look for in a buyer

They were also asked to canvass Mr Luyt's views on editorial policy and what he envisaged if he took over the company

In a telephone interview, Dr Switzer said Press freedom could be served by as wide a variety as possible of news and views.

"In particular, I would hope that Mr Luyt will issue written guarantees

in at least three areas of concern to all interested in the future of a free Press in South Africa

● "That he has no intention now or in the future of acting on behalf of special interest groups representing any political party or the Government

"In view of the Prime Minister's move some years ago to block the Argus company's attempt to take over SAAN, I am of course, interested in

what the Government's reaction will be to Mr Luyt's plan to make an offer,

● "That he will not interfere either directly or indirectly with the editorial, comment and opinion, and news policies of SAAN publications;

● "That he will avoid any attempt to influence the employment and promotion of editorial staff working for these publications"

Money alone can't buy SAAN group

How good a chance has Mr Louis Luyt got of actually taking over South African Associated Newspapers?

Only days ago anyone who knows anything about the South African Press would have answered "None whatsoever"

But now that answer must be qualified — and the qualifications spring from the fact that Mr Luyt feels it worth his while to make an offer for the entire issued share capital of the group

The complications of taking over one of South Africa's major Press groups found expression yesterday in a statement by Mr G K Lindsay, chairman of the administrators of the Abe Bailey estate, a large shareholder in SAAN

In considering any offers for SAAN's shares, he said, factors apart from the financial aspect would

have to be considered. In other words, money alone is not enough

The reason lies in the nature of newspapers. They are more than just money-making business undertakings, they are entities with traditions, identities and fiercely maintained attitudes

Louis Luyt is an Afrikaner, and that means there is automatic suspicion of his motives in bidding for SAAN

This suspicion does not spring from racial prejudice. Certain Afrikaners — like Rene de Villiers, former editor of The Star, and Tertius Myburgh, present editor of the Sunday Times — have always found a warm home in the upper echelons of the English Press

They are Afrikaners who share the liberal tradition and approach of English newspapers

If Mr Luyt's verligtheid is allied to political Afri-

kaner nationalism, then there are those who will fight to the end to make sure his hands are never placed on the levers of power in SAAN

The question will also be asked "Why is Louis Luyt making his bid now?"

Share prices are down and SAAN is caught in a vicious cost squeeze, but that should now make newspapers unattractive investments

Therefore it will be asked: are political motives involved?

On the other hand it is unlikely Mr Luyt is going into his takeover bid without preparation

Presumably he has spoken to the major shareholders, to Argus, to the Bailey estate, to the Bailey Trust and to the Robinson interests

Presumably too, he feels there is a chance that they will not reject his offer.

MARKS

LIVEL RESULT

Bailey trust holds key to

bid for SAAN

RDM. 24/10/75

By HAMISH FRASER

Deputy Financial Editor

THE R30-million Abe Bailey trusts and estates hold the key to the success of Mr Louis Luyt's impending bid for control of South African Associated Newspaper.

Mr Luyt, fertiliser king and former beer baron, has notified the board of SAAN — owner of the Rand Daily Mail and other leading newspapers — that he will submit an offer for the entire shareholding of SAAN in the next 10 days.

The success of Mr Luyt's bid will depend on the five trustees of the Bailey family trusts which own 835 000 SAAN shares — 43 per cent of the issued capital of the company.

The other large shareholder is the Argus group — also a newspaper publishing company — which owns 634 000 shares, which is equivalent to 32 per cent of the capital of SAAN.

It is doubtful whether the Argus group would want to sell its strategic stake in its biggest competitor, and this turns the spotlight on the attitude of the Bailey trustees.

They, like just about everybody involved in the deal, are saying nothing.

But if, as market talk suggests, Mr Luyt intends offering R4 a share in cash it is unlikely that the trustees will be persuaded to sell. SAAN was quoted at

190c before its suspension on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday but the shares have a net worth of 900c a share.

Mr G. K. Landsay, the chairman of the administrators of the Bailey estate said no offer for SAAN shares had been received. He said many other factors apart from the financial aspect, would have to be considered in the event of the offer being received.

Mr Hans Middelman, another Bailey administrator, who has recently been buying SAAN shares for himself, said nothing could be done until the value of Mr Luyt's bid was known.

Mr C. L. C. Hewitt managing director of the Argus group refused to comment, as did Mr L. H. Walton, managing director of SAAN.

Mr Laurence Gandar, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail said: "If, as has been suggested, Mr Luyt regards this purely as a business venture, then my advice to him is to stick to fertilisers which he knows. His sortie into the beer market should have taught him to steer clear of spheres which he does not know."

Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London said yesterday: "If SAAN is now in the market, its present proprietors have a moral obligation to let non-nationalist, non-Argus newspaper people have first option. Raising the money would not be a major problem."

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Phone the 'Mail' 28-1500,
171 Main Street, Johannes-
burg, Box 1138 Telex
87 044.

RAND
Daily Mail

24/10/75
Luyt's

bid

IT SEEMS CURIOUS that a shrewd and successful businessman should seek to take over one of the great newspaper empires in South Africa, the South African Associated Newspapers group, at a time when economic recession and spiralling, inflation-fueled costs are making desperate men of newspaper owners in South Africa and, indeed, throughout the world.

And the event becomes even more curious when that man turns out to be Mr Louis Luyt, who made his fortune with Triomf fertilisers.

Mr Luyt has claimed that he is acting in his personal capacity, so dissociating the board of Triomf with its bevy of National Party politicians from his action. But, wealthy though he is, he will need the financial support of others, and being a Nationalist supporter he is bound to gather people of like persuasion around him.

Interfere

The Nationalist newspaper that broke the story yesterday suggested that he would not interfere with the policies of the papers. He would conduct SAAN's affairs like Lord Thomson, the British newspaper baron who controls his vast empire by scrutinising the accounts and leaving the papers' diverse policies to the editors he employs.

Mr Luyt has not given any indication himself of how he would conduct affairs, but if this is indeed his view—and we accept this as probable because other aspects of the Nationalist paper's story turned out to be accurate—it is patent nonsense in the intense political climate

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anti-survivalist Nationalism of this country.

A Nationalist, no matter how verlig, finds it impossible to resist the authority of the party when the heat is turned on. It would take much sterner stuff than even the self-made Mr Luyt is made of to fail to respond to the demands of the party.

Indeed, Mr Luyt has already shown his colours in regard to Nationalist policy. He is an enthusiastic sponsor of the Committee for Fairness in Sport which has set itself the task of white-washing sports apartheid overseas.

If Mr Luyt succeeds, we believe that the powerful voices of Main Street, Johannesburg, Burg Street, Cape Town, and possibly Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth, as well, will be muted to become faint English echoes of the Nationalist-run Afrikaans Press.

In effect, this will mean that the last dream of Nationalist Afrikanerdom — to control its own English newspapers to sow its propaganda among the English—will have been realised.

And a devastating blow will have been dealt to the cause of Press and public freedom in South Africa and a wide range of public expression stilled. And freedom's last bastion, the newspapers of the Argus group and the few remaining independents, will have become highly exposed and vulnerable to final assault.

—THE EDITOR.

Cape Times 25/10/75

Papers 'sceptical' about Luyt offer

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(2) 245

Cape Times Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A local Nationalist newspaper writes that the newspaper world believes Mr Louis Luyt enjoys behind-the-scenes backing of influential people in his bid to take control of South African Associated Newspapers

It said newspapers were sceptical about Mr Luyt's declaration that he was busy with the takeover plans in his personal capacity

It did not want to indicate that Mr Luyt did not have extraordinary business acumen — "he has already given proof of his business power over and over" — however, it was plain as a pikestaff that the successful management and control of a newspaper group in the first place required the backing of a wide management field with specialized knowledge and experience of the newspaper industry

"Such people" the Vaderland said, "are harder to obtain than SAAN shares"

Moreover, if the possibly detrimental effect of television on the newspaper industry were to be taken into account, "it is a hazardous undertaking at this stage for any business man to invest his money in a struggling industry"

"Mr Luyt must be aware of all the dangers. If, in spite of that, he is still prepared to spend millions of rands on such a gamble, a person can well ask what his motive is," says the Vaderland

The Nationalist morning paper, the Beeld said it

was a very expensive undertaking to distribute a newspaper. To fulfil its function to its community, a newspaper also had to be profitable

Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Newspapers and Mr Luyt

"A newspaper has two sides to it. It is a business like any other and has to pay, in the material sense, to live.

"But it is much more than a business. It is an institution. It reflects and it influences the life of the whole community . . .

"It may make power or profit its first motive, or it may conceive of itself as fulfilling a higher and more exacting function."

—C. P. SCOTT

MR LOUIS LUYT, a business man with a successful record in the fertiliser field, has declared his intention to make a cash offer for the entire shareholding of South African Associated Newspapers, proprietors of the SUNDAY TIMES and other leading publications. The terms of his offer are not yet known so it is impossible to evaluate the financial aspects of the proposition.

But any move related to the ownership of a major publishing house cannot and should not be seen as just another business deal. Newspapers cannot, of course, claim exemption from the economic forces that dictate the course of all business activity. Yet they are different. They are not paint factories or ball-bearing manufacturers. They are institutions that play a vital role in society itself, informing the public and assisting the community to form its opinions on the issues of the day.

Objectivity

The newspapers of SAAN have always striven to be true to that "higher and more exacting function" mentioned by C. P. Scott, one of the world's great editors. And its present owners—whatever their business record in an unfavourable publishing climate—have conducted the company's affairs without themselves seeking to promote any sectional or political interest or any cause other than that most precious ingredient in a free society: Editorial freedom.

This high-minded course has not been without its problems for both proprietors and journalists (it is in the nature of newspapering that there should be occasional healthy conflict of opinion). But in the end there has always been unanimity of opinion on one fundamental issue: The constant search for objectivity and a mutual

appreciation of the value of editorial independence to the preservation of free opinion in South Africa.

Mr Luyt says he is making his "business-only" offer in his personal capacity and in a statement published today he professes a commitment to editorial independence in terms of a yet-to-be-published editorial "manifesto".

He is a colourful personality and a business man of undoubted ability in certain fields. But there is nothing in his record to suggest that his past experience has exposed him to the high traditions and responsibilities of an independent Press. His well-publicised activities outside of business also indicate clearly his vigorous commitment to the political policies of one particular party. It would surely be too much to expect that he could forever resist allowing these firmly held views to intrude on the affairs of newspapers which may or may not come under his control.

It would be a tragedy if the voices of SAAN's newspapers—inconsistent, sometimes abrasive and not infrequently unpopular, but always vigorous and committed to the public interest—were to become muted or distorted. The cause of free expression, diversity of opinion and meaningful debate in South Africa would suffer a grievous blow.

Awesome

It is these factors that the shareholders of SAAN and others who value freedom of opinion in South Africa should consider in the days ahead. Their responsibility is awesome.

Meanwhile, the SUNDAY TIMES, as at similar moments in the past, will observe developments with its customary fortitude.

~~Sun~~ Sunday Times

26/10/75

Graaff link in Luyt bid

SUN. TIMES 26/10/75

SUNDAY TIMES

Reporters

SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF, leader of the Opposition, has emerged as a mystery link in Mr Louis Luyt's multi-million rand bid for control of South African Associated Newspapers

Mr Luyt, the millionaire fertiliser magnate, claims his bid has no political motivations. But Sir De Villiers accompanied him when he met the trustees of the Bailey Trust in Cape Town on Friday.

The Bailey estate, with certain associates, controls 43 per cent of SAAN's shares. The take-over bid cannot succeed unless Mr Luyt can persuade the Bailey interests to sell their shareholding.

Mr Luyt said yesterday that he had an "amicable" meeting with the trustees. "They have not said yes or no."

Last night Sir De Villiers Graaff declined to comment on Mr Luyt's bid for the SAAN group.

Mr Luyt said yesterday that he has American and European partners in his bid for control of SAAN, writes Stephen Mulholland.

SAAN owns the SUNDAY TIMES, the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday



Mr Louis Luyt "no political motive."

Express, the Cape Times and the Financial Mail. It also has interests in Eastern Province Newspapers and the Natal Mercury.

In a statement issued yesterday Mr Luyt said he would deposit "several million rands" in a Johannesburg bank this week as a sign of his sincerity.

Mr Luyt is known to support the Nationalist Party, and has been instrumental in building the political and business careers of the former Springbok rugby captain, Dawie de Villiers, now the Nationalist MP for Johannesburg West.

But in his statement Mr Luyt said that neither of the Afrikaans Press groups, Perskor and Nasionale Pers, or "any political

party" had any involvement whatever in his bid.

He said he was interested only in "objective" reporting, and added that if his bid succeeded he would ask editors to sign a manifesto with which he did not believe they could disagree.

His overseas partners would not hold more than 25 per cent of the equity of SAAN.

Mr Luyt has also met Mr L. E. Slater, chairman of the Argus Group which owns 32 per cent of SAAN.

Mr Luyt said that Mr Slater told him that the Argus company "would not make the running" in any change of ownership of SAAN shares.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, stated this week that he would not permit a merger between Argus and SAAN.

Mr Luyt's statement reads.

"The offer through my advisers will be made some time this week. There is no, categorically no, Perskor, Nasionale Pers or any political party involvement.

"As a business man I would never buy in a bull market. I buy when the shares are down. However, if my bid is unsuccessful and there is a counter-bid-

● To Page 2

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Foreign cash helps Luyt in Press bid

● From Page 1

der who goes much higher he can have it with pleasure.

"I have based my bid on a business analysis I believe money can be made out of this venture, even though there are bad times ahead for SAAN, such as higher production costs, the effect of devaluation and other factors

"I will not be a political

voice for any particular party All I want is objective reporting—both the good and the bad

"Obviously newspapers by tradition serve the public as a means of communication. But they must be run properly I know newspapermen are a breed on their own Good journalists are not plentiful Without them no newspaper can succeed . I want to succeed

"It is a business venture, and if I am successful I will put a lot of money into it

"With that in mind I find the current hysteria within SAAN difficult to understand As far as I am concerned good journalists in SAAN have nothing to worry about.

"However, if my bid is successful, I will be formulating a manifesto which I have no doubt will be acceptable to everyone in SAAN.

"Now, I would like to settle the rumours regarding partners in fact, I have two partners from overseas One, a major European publisher and the other a very substantial publisher in anyone's terms from the United States

"Their joint shareholding will not exceed 25 per cent.

Deposit

"This week I will deposit in a bank in Johannesburg a very substantial sum of money in the order of several million rands to prove my sincerity in this business venture"

In discussion Mr Luyt told me that he believed in the editorial freedom of editors, but that he would, if his bid succeeded, require "objectivity" from all editorial employees in their reporting and comment

"Once you have chosen an editor you must stick by him," said Mr Luyt

He added that he considered his bid for SAAN a long-term venture. He predicted two to three "hard years" ahead for the company, and said that anyone outbidding him would probably lose money in the deal.

In answer to a question, Mr Luyt said it would not be proper for him to com-

ment on the business performance of SAAN.

"Let me just say this," he said, "one becomes inclined to misjudge one's own performance when the going is good and some people have fallen into a mood of good times

"When things change they find it difficult to alter their styles overnight. I am in the rough and tumble business of fertilizers where we fight price controls — imposed by the Government — and I am always ready for bad times."

● See leading article, Page 20.

ERANLE OPLEUK

Bekommerd oor motiewe

DIT sal 'n tragedie wees indien die stemme van die Saan-koerante deur 'n oorname van mnr. Louis Luyt stilgemaak of verdraai sou word, sê die Sunday Times vandag in 'n hoofartikel.

Hy is een van die koerante in die Saan-groep wat regstreeks geraak sal word indien mnr. Luyt se oornamplan slaag.

Die ander Sondagkoerant tweede grootste opposisie in die groep, die Sunday Express, sê hy het 'n sterk vermoede dat mnr. Luyt net die front is van meer „sins-têre organisasies wat baie graag wil toeslaan en die tweede grootste opposisie-per-

Twee groepe wil met teenbod kom

TWEE groepe het blykbaar planne om teenaanbiede te maak vir die SAAN-koerantgroep, volgens berigte vandag in Engelstalige Sondagkoerante.

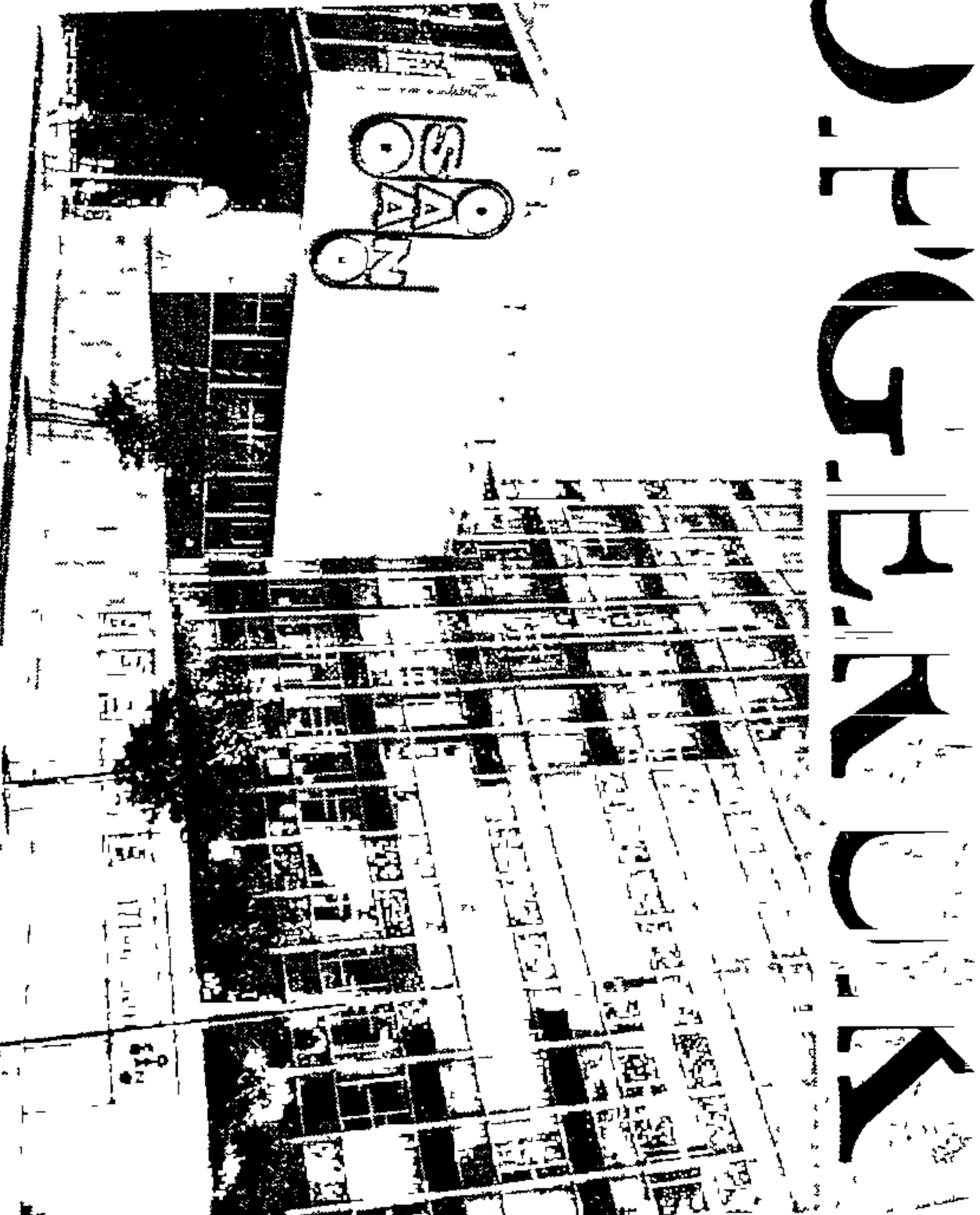
Die Sunday Express berig dat 'n groep van Johannesburg se voorste finansiers hulself verbind het om die kapitaal te vind vir 'n teenaanbod. Hulle het dit gedoen kort nadat mnr. Luyt sy voorneme bekend gemaak het om SAAN te probeer koop. Die Express is een van die koerante wat deur 'n oornamegeraak sal word. Geen verdere besonderhede oor die groep finansiers word gegee nie.

in die samelewing. Die koerant verwys na mnr. Luyt se verbintenisse met „een besondere party" en twyfel of hy „vir altyd die versoeking sal weerstaan om sy sensuïes te laat geld by die koerante wat onder sy beheer kan kom".

Die Sunday Express skryf hy is veral bekommerd oor mnr. Luyt se motiewe. „Is dit suwer 'n saketransaksie? Indien wel, kon mnr. Luyt moeilik 'n slechter tyd daarvoor gekies het."

Volgens die Sunday Express is sy vermoede dat mnr. Luyt politieke motiewe het. Hy spreek die hoop uit dat die Bailey-trustees en elke ander Saan-aandeelhouer mnr. Luyt se aanbod van die hand sal wys.

Ut die gelede van die Engelstalige dagbladsprekers was daar vandeeweek heelwat snedige aanmerkings op mnr. Luyt. Die Rand Daily Mail het mense in nuusberigte aangehaal wat mnr. Luyt aanraai om hom by kunstmatige aanreën „sy neus uit die Saan-groep te hou" omdat die redakteurs „sy advies nie nodig het nie". Die Mail sê in 'n hoofarti-



Die hoofkantoor van SA Associated Newspapers in Johannesburg.

kel op sy voorblad indien die oornam plaasvind, sal „vryheid se laaste bastion" hoogskwetsbaar gelaat word.

Die Daily News van Durban het gepraat van die stem van meningsverskil wat verminder sal word en bygevoeg. „Net die Argus-koerante, 'n paar kleiner entiteite en 'n handvol dapper politiek, akademici en kerkmense sal oorbly om hul stem te verhoor en veral die greue van die stemlose nie-blankes rugbaarte maak."

In Argus-koerante is geen hoofartikelkommentaar gelewer nie, maar The Star en die Pretoria News het Vrydag woordeliks dieselfde ding gesê. Indien mnr. Luyt se verligtheid verwant is aan

politieke Afrikaner-nasionalisme, dan is daar diegene wat tot die einde toe sal veg om te verseker dat hy sy hande noot op die ratte van die SAAN-groep kry nie."

Die Daily Dispatch van Oos-Londen het geskryf: „Dis nie nou die tyd vir amateurs om te besluit dat hulle die lot van die pers moet bepaal nie."

seun van wyle mnr. Abe Bailey, mnr. Hans Middelman, mnr. R. G. Welsh en mnr. D. A. St. C. Hennessey.

Mnr. Bailey het voorheen die me-blanke koerant Post besit, wat deur die Argus-groep oorgeneem is. Hy boer nou by Muldersdrift aan die Wes-Rand.

Daar word gesê dat hy geen groot liefde vir die Argus-groep het nie en dat sy verhoudinge met die Engelse

26/10/75

net mnr. Lindsay is by magte om te praat oor die administrateurs se houding oor die oornam-aanbod

Mnr. Hennessey, afgetrede Sybret's Trust-man, het gesê hy weet net wat hy in die koerante gelees het oor die saak. „Ek hoop in elk geval om 'n rustige naweek te hê."

Die Argus-groep se posisie in die saak is ook baie belangrik. Hierdie groep het sowat twee jaar gelede baie hard geprobeer om die Saan-groep oor te neem, maar die Regering het dit verhinder omdat dit op 'n monopolie sou neerkom indien die Saan-koerante ook in die Argus-stal sou kom.

Die Argus-groep het nie-nietemin sowat 30 persent van Saan se aandele verkry. Maar tot dusver het Argus sigbaar min gedoen om sy invloed in die Saan-groep te laat geld. Dis bekend dat die twee groepe min liefde vir mekaar het.

Op kantlyn

Die Eerste Minister, mnr. John Vorster, het vandeeweek bevestig dat die Regering se standpunt oor 'n moontlike oornam van Saan dieselfde gebly het en dat Argus dus nie toegelaat sal word om die groep oor te neem nie.

Die kommentaar van mnr. L. E. A. Slater, voorsitter van die Argus-groep, was vandeeweek insiggewend. Hy het aan RAPPORT gesê: „Ek verkies om op die kantlyn te bly sit en niks te sê nie." Dit kan moontlik vertolk word dat die Argus ook nie in die pad van 'n oornam sal staan nie.

Die geldelike verknoorsing waarin Saan hom bevind, word grootliks gewy aan swak bestuur. Daar word beweer dat die groep oorlaai is met mense wat nie almal produktief gebruik kan word nie.

Groot uitgawes word te maklik aangegaan, word gesê 'n Gebrek aan rasionalisasie in die groep word as verdere faktor genoem.

Sukses van Luyt is in vyf se hande

DIE slentel tot 'n suksesvolle oornam deur mnr. Louis Luyt van die Saan-groep is in die hande van vyf mense. Hulle is die vyf administrateurs van die Abe Bailey-trust.

Mnr. Luyt het Vrydag in Kaapstad met die voorsitter van die administrateurs, mnr. G. K. Lindsay, gewese hoofbestuurder van die Ou Mutual, gesels.

Teenoor RAPPORT het mnr. Lindsay gesê dat nie net geld oorweeg sal word wanneer mnr. Luyt sy aanbod maak nie. „Ander faktore soos politieke oorweginge en wat met die personeel sal gebeur, sal onder meer deur ons in ag geneem word."

Die ander vier administrateurs

SAAN-KO

twee Rapport 26/10/75 vennote

Deur WILLEM LAUBSCHER

TWEE oorsese uitgewers, een van Amerika en een van Europa, is mnr. Louis Luyt se vennote in sy bod om die Engelse koerantgroep Saan oor te neem. Die aanbod word hierdie week formeel gedoen.

Net om te wys hy is ernstig, gaan mnr. Luyt dié week 'n paar miljoen rand in die bank sit, het hy gister aan RAP-PORT gesê.

Dit blyk ook dat mnr. Luyt al 'n hele tydjie met sy planne besig is, en 'n mens kan met veiligheid aanvaar dat hy reeds 'n goeie klompie Saan-aandeel gekoop het.

Dit lyk ook of gissings dat sy aanbod in die omgewing van 400c per aandeel sal wees, taamlik na aan die kol is.

Wie die twee oorsese vennote is, wou mnr. Luyt nie bekend maak nie. Al wat hy wou sê, is dat albei manne van formaat is.

Die twee saam sal nie meer as 'n kwart van die aandeel besit nie, wat mnr. Luyt steeds die onbetwiste baas van die groep sal maak as sy aanbod slaag.

In sy onderhoud gister het mnr. Luyt 'n hele klompie tergende vrae beantwoord wat sedert die bekendmaking van sy voorgenome aanbod oor die hele land gevra is. Wat wil 'n kunsmis-koning dan nou met 'n koerantgroep maak? Wat weet hy op stuk van sake van die ingewikkelde koerantbedryf af? Het hy ooit soveel geld? is gevra.

En van Engelse koerantkant is hy pront-uit aangesê om sy neus uit hul sake te hou.

Vasbeslote

Maar die gewese rugbyslot het hom hoegenaamd nie laat afskrik nie. Trouens, dit lyk of die histerie in die Engelse pers hom net meer vasbeslote gemaak het om die knoop deur te hak.

En volgens alle aanduidinge lyk sy kans goed. Trouens, 'n mens kan aanvaar dat hy deeglik huiswerk gedoen het. 'n Mens kan ook aanvaar dat hy klaar 'n hele klompie aandeel opgekoop het voordat hy verlede week amptelik met die transaksie begin en met die Argus-groep en die mense van die Abe Bailey-Trust, die grootste blokhouders van Saan-aandeel, begin gesels het.

Hy was juis Vrydag in Kaapstad weer met die trustmanne besig (Berig op bl 6).

Mnr. Luyt wil uteraard in hierdie stadium nie sy volle hand kaarte op die tafel plaas nie, maar aan sy hele houding is dit duidelik dat sy voorlopige gesprekke nie onvrugbaar was nie.

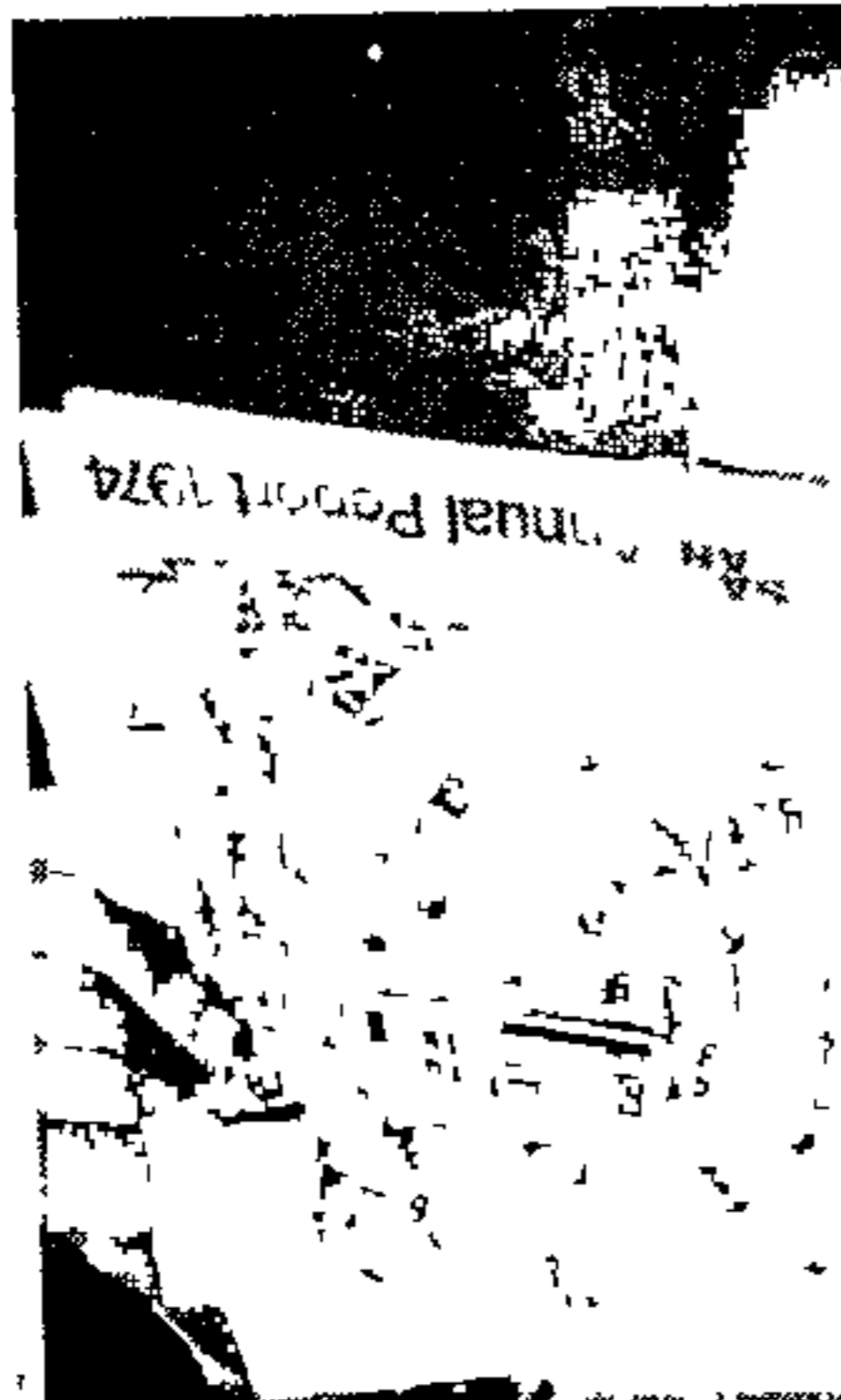
Die Saan-groep, wat onder meer die Sunday Times, die Sunday Express en die Rand Daily Mail uitgee, en ook die Cape Times in Kaapstad en die twee Engelse koerante

in Port Elizabeth besit, is as sakeproposisie nou reg vir 'n oornam. Dit gaan nie te goed met sy sake nie. Vir die halfjaar tot Junie is 'n verlies van sowat R250 000 gemaak en is die dividend oorgeslaan.

Die prys van sy aandeel op die Johannesburgse Effektebeurs het derhalwe gedaal tot 190c stuk. Voordat dit Donderdag, ná die nuus oor die voorgenome bod, op versoek van Saan opgeskort is, was daar 'n skielike opflikkering en het die prys digby 300c gedraai.

Gissinge dat mnr. Luyt se

* VERVOLG OP BL. 21 *



LEKKER agteroor in 'n diep stoel in sy studeerkamer sit mnr. Louis Luyt na Saan se jongste jaarverslag en kyk — en na die Afrikaanse kant boonop! Mnr. Luyt maak vandeeweek 'n aanbod vir die volle uitgereikte aandeelhouing van die Engelse koerantgroep. Dit sal hom en sy twee oorsese vennote sowat R8 miljoen kos as sy bod slaag.

Hierdie manne word Rapport 26/10/75 almal genoem

WIE is die Amerikaner en die Europeër wat mnr. Louis Luyt wil help om die Engelse koerant-groep Saan oor te neem? Kenners van oorsese koerantgroepe wat gister gevra is om daarvoor te bespiegel, noem veral drie moontlike name.

Die heel eerste is dié van mnr. James McGoff, Amerikaanse eienaar van sowat vyftig provinsiale koerante, wat vroeër vanjaar in die land was.

En wat die „Europeër“ betref, word veral gepraat van mnr. Hubert Jassen, Nederlandse uitgewer van die tydskrif To The Point, wat nou in Johannesburg woon. Maar ook die naam van mnr. Axel Springer, groot koerantbaas van Wes-Duitsland, word as

Hy het reeds aandeel

* VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN *

aanbod in die omgewing van 400c per aandeel kan wees, lyk, hoewel liberaal, baie na aan die kol. Dit sal dan beteken dat mnr. Luyt en sy twee vennote nagenoeg R8 miljoen sal moet stoot vir die volle aandeelhouing, aangesien daar altesame sowat 1,9 miljoen aandeel uitgereik is.

Hiervan is nagenoeg 64 persent in die hande van trusts en instellings, met die ander 36 persent onder die publiek versprei.

In sy verklaring gister sê mnr. Luyt dat hy sy aanbod suiwer as sakeman doen en dat geen van die Afrikaanse

persgroepe of 'n politieke party agter hom sit nie. „As sakeman sal ek nooit aandeel in 'n bulmark koop nie. Ek koop wanneer dit laag is. Dus, as daar 'n teenbod kom wat baie hoër is as my aanbod, kan hy dit met plezier kry.”

Die geskarrel in die Engelse pers en onder joernaliste van Saan kan mnr. Luyt nie begryp nie. Hy sê hy weet koerantmanne is 'n besondere nasse. Maar goeie joernaliste is skaars, en sonder hulle kan geen koerant suksesvol wees nie. As sy bod slaag, wil hy sy koerante suksesvol laat wees. Daarom hoef geen goeie joernalis by Saan enige vrese te hê nie.

Op die basis dat elke goeie koerant objektief moet rapporteer oor alle soorte nuus, die goeie of die slegte, sal hy 'n manifest vir sy joernaliste opstel en hy twyfel of engeen by Saan dit onaanvaarbaar sal vind.

Gevra of die uitlek van sy voorgenome aanbod nie dalk sy kans op sukses sal benadeel nie, het mnr. Luyt gesê nee, wat. Trouens, agterna gesien meen hy dit is miskien goed so, want nou kan daar nie in die donker gekonkel word met teenaanbiedinge nie.

Elke man wat nou 'n teenbod oorweeg, sal sy dinge in die ope moet doen en sy kaarte (en sy geld) op die tafel sit.

Hulle word genoem

* VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN *

R17 miljoen vir die koerant aangebied.

Mnr. Jassen was hoof van die Elseviers Weekblad in Nederland voordat hy en die hoofredakteur, mnr. Martin Duyzings, Suid-Afrika toe gekom het om die tydskrif To The Point in Johannesburg te begin.



Cont

'n geringe moontlikheid genoem.

Mnr. McGoff was in Augustus in Suid-Afrika. Voor sy koms het hy aan koerantmanne gesê dat hy na sy plaas naby Hoedspruit gaan en ook sy belange in Babalegi en in Johannesburg sal besoek. Hy het ook gepraat van 'n drukkery wat hy in Johannesburg wil oprig om uiteindelik To the Point te druk.

Mnr. McGoff is 'n man

wat hom, soos mnr. Luyt, van onder af opgewerk het. Hy is 'n kennis van dr. Connie Mulder. Toe dr. Mulder sowat vier maande gelede in Amerika was, het hy glo geprobeer om te reël dat dr. Mulder pres. Ford ontmoet, maar dit het nie geslaag nie.

Mnr. McGoff was onlangs voorbladnuus toe hy geprobeer het om die Washington Star te koop. Hy het sowat

* VERVOLG OP BL. 21 *

Rapport

26-10-75

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Luyt het

Mnr. Jassen word as 'n multi-miljoener beskryf. Sy vrou kom ook uit 'n baie welgestelde gesin wat 'n winkelgroep vir vroueklere beheer.

Mnr. Jassen was gister in Antwerpen in Belgie. Hy wou geen kommentaar lewer op die moontlikheid dat hy by die oornáme betrokke is nie.

Mnr. Springer was een van die oorsese gaste by die inhuldiging van die staatspresident, dr. Nic Diederichs. Hy is hoof van die groot Springer-organisasie in Duitsland en is iemand wat voortdurend nuwe beleggings in die perswese doen.

Sy seun en enigste erfgenaam werk in die organisasie en het onder die skuilnaam Sven Simon groot bekendheid verwerf as sportfotograaf, onder meer met sy dekking van die Olimpiese Spele in München in 1972.

(Mnr. Luyt was toevallig in 1972 ook by die Olimpiese Spele.)

Nog 'n man wat verlangs genoem word, is mnr. John S. Swift van Chicago. Hy is betrokke by die drukkersbedryf en was na bewering onlangs in Suid-Afrika. In Julie het 'n koerantman hom genader oor 'n bewering dat hy 'n groot belegging in Suid-Afrika sou oorweeg. Mnr. Swift wou die bewering nie bevestig of ontken nie.

OCTOBER 28 1975

Louis Luyt and SAAN

IT would be surprising if there were not wide concern at the newspaper takeover bid by Mr. Louis Luyt. It is a business transaction but it is also more than this since newspapers are more than ordinary businesses. While they have the proper objective of making money for their shareholders — indeed to be strong and effective they must make money — they are special and essential institutions in a democracy. For they are the suppliers of information to the public and without an informed people there can be no informed government. A newspaper which is free to say what it likes (within limits of the law and the dictates of public decency) has become an indispensable instrument of popular education and popular government. As a famous newspaper editor once said 'A free press has ever been and ever will remain alike the bulwark and sure sign of public liberty.'

Thus the sale of a group of newspapers cannot be likened to a transfer of interests in an ordinary business concern. And in South Africa there are special circumstances that make the Luyt bid for South African Associated Newspapers of considerable moment in South African affairs. While the fertiliser magnate may have no motives other than financial ones, the effects of his initiative, if successful, could be highly important politically and socially as well.

South Africa has been ruled by a single political party for 27 years — a party which has practised policies disliked by a great number of the country's inhabitants and almost the entire outside world. It has been vigorously opposed in all these years by South Africa's English-language Press, of which SAAN is a sizeable and significant part. The National Party Government is today under great internal and external pressure to change its policies and direction and there are few sensible things it does today that have not been urged upon it in earlier days by the English-language Press, among others. The role of this Press, discounted by some people who see only that the Nationalists have remained in power in spite of much Press opposition, has been a vital one in South African affairs. And it has been a vital one not only because it has persistently brought official policies under public examination but because in this country where the majority of citizens are effectively voiceless it has spoken up for the deprived, for the underdog, for the depressed and the oppressed.

Independence

SAAN has played a conspicuous role in opposing apartheid and voicing the discontent of the masses. It has attracted harsh Government criticism and with other English-language papers it has feared the day when Nationalist threats might be translated into direct curbs on its freedom.

In this kind of situation there is a clear reason for anxiety that a man to whom Nationalist sympathies are attributed and who is aided by foreign sponsors (including an American with right-wing views and a known antipathy to South Africa's English-language newspapers) should take over control of the SAAN papers, with their deep roots in South African journalism and known independence of political thought and direction.

Mr Luyt may, able man that he is, instinctively comprehend the meaning of newspaper independence, its hallowed relationship with the democratic way of life. He may perceive where the country's true interests lie. Who knows? But South Africans who value our tried and tested newspaper traditions would prefer that they are held fast in hands that are tried and tested.

Luyt on attitude to independence

Cape Times 28/10/75

(1) 195 (2) 245 (245)

JOHANNESBURG — At his press conference last night Mr Luyt was closely questioned on his attitude to editors and editorial independence. He said that newspapers under his control would report truthfully and objectively.

George Palmer, editor, Financial Mail: "Truth isn't that simple, objectivity isn't that simple, and opinions are an element in the situation"

Luyt: "My attitude could be that of an owner and yours as an editor so we could differ perhaps over what I regard as truth and objectivity"

Palmer: "If we did, whose will would prevail, yours or mine?"

Luyt: "I wouldn't like to cross swords with you but since I am putting in the money, I have a problem answering this"

Mr Palmer said that under present SAAN management, an editor's decision on editorial was final and he asked whether Mr Luyt would try to alter that

Luyt: "I don't think a proprietor should intervene. Once he has appointed his editor and once he's talked this through and the editor is willing to work for him I don't think the proprietor should intervene"

Mr Luyt was asked whether in the case of disagreement he would change the editor. He replied "Hopefully not. Like I said, I am not going to be the spokesman for any party or what have you." Asked whether he believed that SAAN newspapers were not objective, Mr Luyt replied "I didn't say that I don't know what SAAN's objectives are. I only know what my objectives are"

John Imrie, Rand Daily Mail: "Do you detect anything wrong in the reporting?"

Luyt: "Oh hell yes I do. I didn't like the Anneline Kriel report."

Palmer: "Would you suppress that if you had been the proprietor would you have fired the editor?"

Luyt: "No I was kidding, I was playing the fool"

Kevin Stocks, the Star: "What are your politics?"

Luyt: "I'm a great liberal. No I'm not a member of any political party. I haven't voted for three elections."

John Imrie: "Are you inclined by sentiment — you are on record once as saying you're a Nationalist"

TO THE FORE

Luyt: "Yes, I agree with a lot of the Nationalist policy. I disagree with some but disagree a lot more with some of the other party policies. I do agree with some of their policies, too — and this I think will come to the fore"



Mr Luyt

I may agree with the very solid support for the Rand Daily Mail on an objective, say, an anti-Government campaign, I don't think one should solicit the type of reports you do get sometimes, which doesn't augur well for our country"

Asked whether or not he thought that newspapers were more than a business and had a duty to the community and at times had to follow unpopular policies which might lead to a drop in earnings, Mr Luyt replied,

"You have some shareholders in SAAN who live off the income from SAAN. Do you want to tell those guys — those people — that they should give it up because you as a journalist would like to follow your philosophies or political whatever you want to call it? You must remember that even as a newspaperman you work for the shareholders who certainly want money for what they put in. Otherwise you can forget about it. No-one will go into this business. Everybody is in the business for money"

Asked if about choosing

between taking an unpopular stance in the national interest — as the Rand Daily Mail had done on occasions — or choosing to make profit, Mr Luyt said

"What you're saying to me is that the editors are allowed a stance but I'm not. If I think it's in the interest of the country to move a bit more right then I think that should also prevail"

Asked what his reaction would be if the sale of SAAN was conditional on non-interference in the papers' political policies, Mr Luyt said he could not accept this if it meant losing R10-million or R20-million a year. "I will sign things I can do, not things I can't do"

Mr Luyt said he would welcome further partners in SAAN and would "honestly be so happy" if he got United Party and "even Progressive members to buy into this — I don't mind that at all"

SINKING SHIP

Questioned about the right-wing views of his two foreign partners in his take-over bid, Mr Luyt said "Who will put money into a sinking ship? Only a group with a bit of backbone will do it"

Mr Palmer said that far from SAAN being a sinking ship, he personally thought SAAN would earn a profit of R1 500 000 this year

Mr Luyt "That will be great."

Asked whether if his bid failed he would, together with his international partners, launch another English-language press group, Mr Luyt said "That is the second alternative. We must first look at this. First. That is the second one. That bridge we will cross when we get to it"

Palmer: "Would you be prepared to continue in a situation where you are broadly pro-Nationalist and the editorial policy of all the newspapers in the group is anti?"

Luyt: "If it's right that they should be anti, then I'll support them — if they're right"

Amplifying this, Mr Luyt said that if for instance an editor wanted to say anything about Mr Horwood's policies he would not object if the editor thought that was correct. He went on

"You are at the wrong end of the stick here. You are trying to make me defend my views on the Nationalist Party. I'm not going to try and defend them. What stand are you defending in fact by asking me all these questions?"

DIFFERENT

Palmer: "I think we are really basically defending the right of the editors to shape the political policies of their newspapers without proprietorial intervention or interference of any kind. At the present time the proprietors are non-Nationalists. If you come into the proprietor's seat you will come in, as you said, as a Nationalist supporter. The position would then clearly be different from the position as it is today"

Luyt: "Let me say straight now I hope to have on my board members of different parties. And I believe the board should make decisions on how we are going to run this, not be dictatorial powers of myself or anybody. As a matter of fact I cannot disclose their names but I have spoken to many influential men of different standing, different parties, in this city already"

In response to further questions on his views on newspaper policies, he said "I would certainly like the Rand Daily Mail, for instance, to become a bit more right"

Hamish Fraser, Business Mail: "Politically or financially?"

Luyt: (to laughter) "Both"

Palmer: "Don't you feel the political stance of a paper determines its financial support?"

Luyt: "I think that it's been proven that too far right or too far left never makes money. And whilst

Nat attitude switch may follow Luyt takeover bid

The Argus Correspondent 28/10/75

PRETORIA. — A major reversal in Nationalist attitudes to foreign involvement in the South African English-language Press is being anticipated as the country watches the Luyt takeover bid for South African Associated Newspapers.

It is reliably learnt that the Government has always had an objection to foreign interests having a majority shareholding in the South African Press, but it has not taken up an official attitude to foreign interests having a minority shareholding.

The Government is expected to stand aside and do nothing to prevent Mr John McGoff of the United States and Mr Axel Springer of West Germany from together taking up 25 percent of the shareholding in SAAN if Mr Luyt's offer succeeds.

But a former editor of the Star, Mr Rene de Villiers, the South African Progressive Reform MP for Parktown, recalled today that Nationalist propagandists at the time of the Press Commission in the 1960s complained bitterly of foreign influences on the English Press.

NO COMMENT

The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Dr C. P. Mulder, who is a director in the Perskor group, said he did not wish to express an opinion.

A former editor of the Nationalist newspaper, Die Vaderland, Senator A. M. van Schoor, said he preferred to watch the whole takeover bid from the sidelines without commenting.

Approached on the issue of a large foreign shareholding in the English-language Press, Mr de Villiers said today that Nationalists at the time of the Van Zyl Press Commission had been 'quite hysterical' about the supposed foreign influences on the English-language Press.

SCEPTICAL

'One will be very interested in Nationalist reaction now, when circumstances are different and there is a possibility of overseas money coming into the English Press,' he said.

Mr de Villiers was sceptical of the chances of a new English-language newspaper succeeding if

Mr Luyt carried out his intention of doing so should his takeover bid fail.

Meanwhile, the Government's attitude to the possibility of a large overseas stake in a major opinion-forming vehicle such as SAAN is being awaited against the background of moves in recent years to eliminate foreign influences from South Africa.

This has been seen in its hostility to overseas Church grants for political purposes, it acts in cutting off overseas funds from Nusas and the Christian Institute and in its pressure on banks and insurance companies to reduce the extent of their foreign shareholdings.

The difference in the case of the Luyt takeover bid, however, is that Mr Louis Luyt himself, as well as McGoff and Springer, would exert a more conservative influence on the English language Press, which would be generally welcomed in Nationalist circles.

Argus and Bailey Trust to consider Luyt bid

28/10/75

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Argus Group, the Abe Bailey Trust and the Abe Bailey Estate will 'consider' Mr Louis Luyt's offer for their shares in South African Associated Newspapers.

However, Mr Clive Corder, chairman of the Bailey Trust, pointed out one did not sell a newspaper group like a piece of furniture or a horse and cart.

Mr L. E. A. Slater, chairman of the Argus Group, said the board of the group would consider the offer, but declined to say anything more.

DEADLINE

The Argus Board is due to meet at the end of November which would be after Mr Luyt's 30-day deadline for acceptance of his offer. Mr Slater would not say whether a special meeting would be called. Mr G. K. Lindsay, chairman of the administrators of the Abe Bailey Estate, said the trustees would meet as soon as possible to consider the offer by Mr Luyt.

The Abe Bailey Estate together with the Abe Bailey Trust is believed to control about 34 percent of the shares in South African Associated Newspapers.

Other trusts of the Estate are Mr J. R. A. (Jim) Bailey, Mr H. W. Middelman, Mr R. G. Welsh and Mr D. A. St C. Hennessy.

CONSIDERATION

Mr Corder said in purely business terms Mr Luyt's offer of R4,50 a share was 'worthy of consideration'.

However other factors would also have to be considered and, after consulting his fellow trustees, he would want to work in collaboration with the major shareholders, the Abe Bailey Estate and the Argus Group.

In reply to a question, Mr Corder said that Mr Luyt's statement that he supported more of the poli-

cies of the National Party than those of some other political parties would have a bearing on his thinking.

'I would not necessarily say a great bearing,' he added.

Asked about the participation of overseas publishers in Mr Luyt's offer, Mr Corder said, 'Frankly I don't think the Government will allow that sort of thing.'

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Cape Times
28/10/75

Luyt will offer R9m SAAN

Cape Times 28/10/75

Mr Louis Luyt will today offer the major shareholders of South African Associated Newspapers 450c a share. Mr Luyt's

The shares were trading at 100c before Mr Luyt's intentions were known although speculative buying hours before their suspension on Thursday took the shares to 200c. Mr Luyt said at a press conference in Johannesburg last night that the offer would initially be made to the major shareholder, the Bailey Trusts and Estates and the Argus Group who between them own 68 percent of the shares.

If either of the major shareholders accepted the offer would be extended to minority shareholders. Mr Luyt said he had pitched his price on a realistic assessment of SAAN's net worth which he estimated at R18m or about 650c a share — and on the potential earning capacity of the group.

Mr Luyt said: "In the consideration of 450c, quite an amount had been included for goodwill, mustered in SAAN's long transition." He expected no profits from SAAN this year or in 1976, a contention which was disputed by Mr George Palmer of the Financial Mail who attended the conference.

Mr Luyt confirmed that his overseas partners were the McGoff group from America and the Springer group from West Germany. In a statement Mr Luyt said his partners and himself accept the fact that more money will have to be injected into SAAN over the next three years, which means an erosion of the net asset value of the group as was the position at December 31, 1974.

Mr Luyt emphasized that he did not set much store by SAAN's claim of net assets of more than 900c a share.

SITTING DUCK

He said he was interested in SAAN because it was a "sitting duck" and he believed that with

this means that Mr Luyt is looking for profits of R2,250,000 by 1977 — the year in which he believes his management will be able to turn SAAN around.

"You can't expect to turn a company around in only one year," Mr Luyt said.

It was also announced yesterday that Hill, Samuel had withdrawn from the takeover bid.

Hill, Samuel confirmed that it had been consulted by Mr Luyt but said it had on a previous occasion held a brief for the owners of the Daily Dispatch and had decided it could not now act for any other party concerned in a bid for control of SAAN.

LUYT CONFIDENT

Mr Luyt, who says he has been working on the bid for eight months, is confident that he will succeed.

Mr Luyt said that if either of the major SAAN shareholders accepted his offer he would extend it to all shareholders in SAAN but the takeover bid was conditional on his getting 51 percent control of SAAN.

Under close questioning at his press conference he conceded that he found more he liked in Nationalist policy than in the policies of other parties, though he disagreed with some aspects of it — and he felt the Rand Daily Mail to be more right-wing.

Although he said he did not want to interfere with editorial policies, he left no doubt that he would do so if necessary.

He also disclosed that Dr Frans Cronje, a SAAN director and national treasurer of the United Party, had been instrumental in introducing him to the Bailey trustees through Sir De Villiers Graaff, who was not financially involved in the takeover bid.

"I wish he would take some shares," Mr Luyt said.

PRESS DIFFER SHARPLY ON

ARGUS 29/10/75

LUYT BID 245

AFRIKAANS- and English-language newspapers have differed sharply in their views on Mr Louis Luyt's bid to take over South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), but politicians have been cautious in their comments.

The Rand Daily Mail, in front-page editorial said if Mr Luyt succeeded his takeover bid a 'devastating blow will have been dealt to the cause of press and public freedom

in South Africa and a wide range of public expression stilled'

It added 'And freedom's last bastion, the newspapers of The Argus group and the few remain-

ing independents, will have become highly exposed and vulnerable to final assault'

NAT SYMPATHISER

The Cape Times. 'As a declared Nationalist sympathiser, Mr Luyt would be hard-pressed, as a proprietor, to withstand pressure to tone down his newspapers' editorial policies'

It adds 'Indeed, at this early stage he has found it necessary to state that he considers a SAAN paper to be too 'left,' and leaves little doubt that he would do something pretty fundamental about that. This is not a very auspicious start for an apolitical proprietor'

The Sunday Times said it would be too much to expect Mr Luyt 'forever to resist,' allowing his firmly held views on politics to intrude on the affairs of newspapers which may or may not come under his control

TRAGEDY

It would be a tragedy if the voices of SAAN's newspaper were to become muted or distorted.

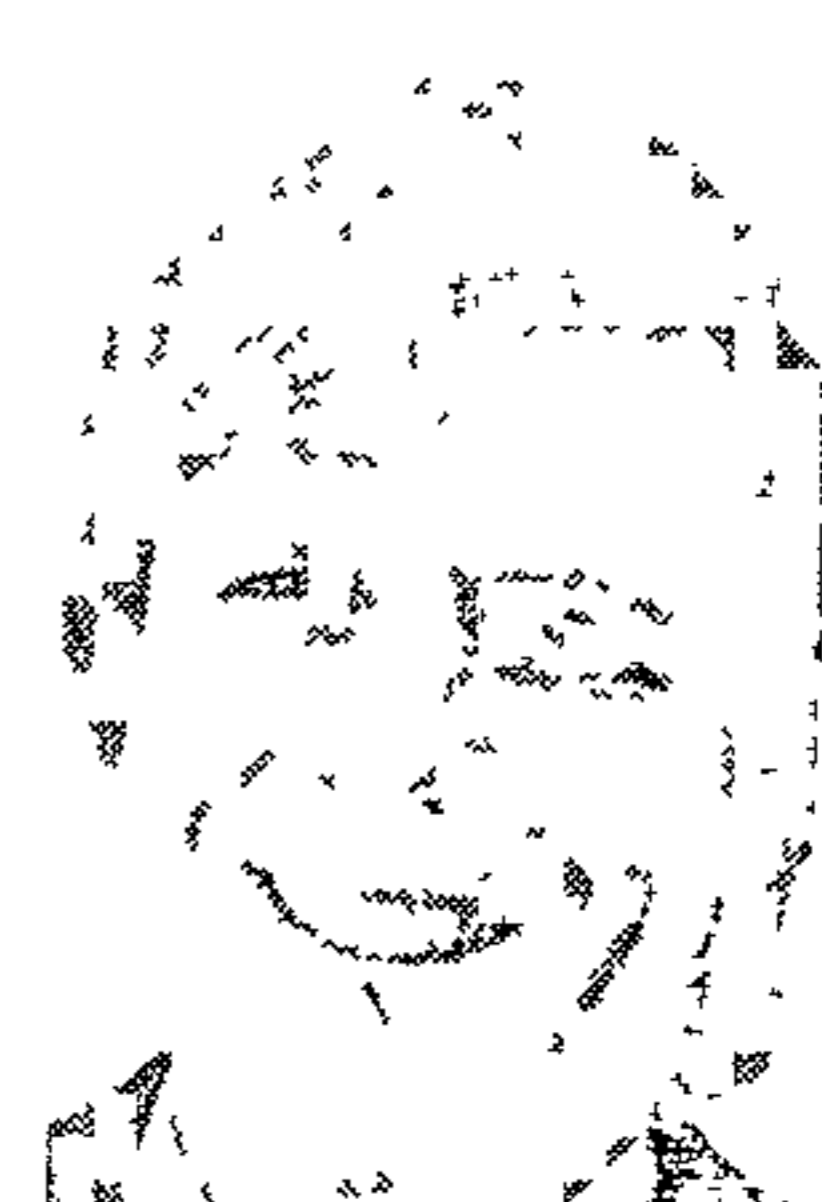
The Daily News in Durban described Mr Luyt's



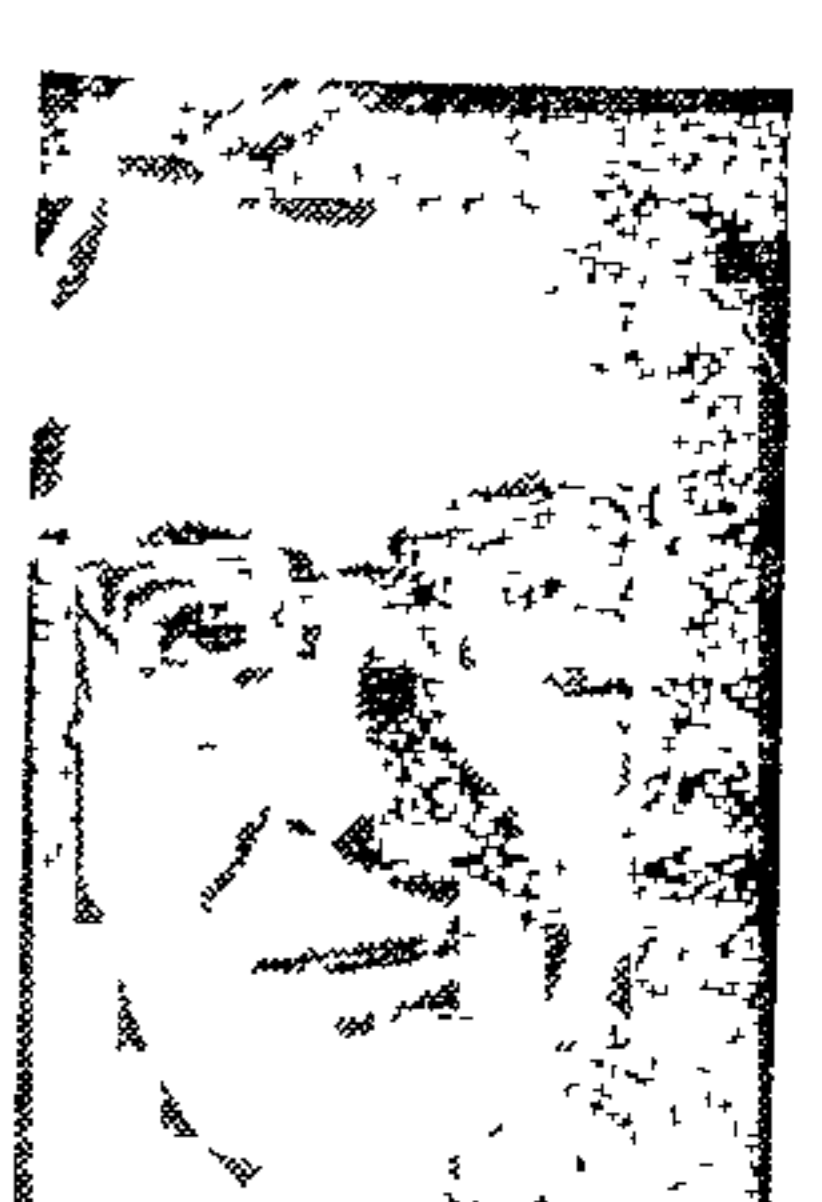
SIR de Villiers Graaff
... no comment.



DR Frans Cronje
a SAAN director.



DR A Boraine
threat to Press freedom.



MR Donald Woods...
a counter-offer?

bid for SAAN as a 'very odd thing indeed.'

It went on: 'There can be only one conclusion, and that is political motivation. Mr Luyt has side-stepped politics in the past and he has a reputation for moderation, but he is a Nationalist.'

RESISTANCE

The Star said there were two good reasons why the shareholders in SAAN should resist Mr Luyt's offer.

From his own statements he was evidently unable to comprehend the mores of South Africa's English-language newspapers and the desirability of having independent editors

Selling SAAN to Mr Luyt will be selling out to the National Party. The Star added that there was no reason why the party should not start an English-language newspaper.

DIE VADERLAND

Die Vaderland (Johannesburg) said Mr Luyt's takeover bid has shaken the English Press world to its foundations, particularly since SAAN was ripe for a takeover.

The English newspaper denounced the bid as an attempt by the National Party to take over the English Press, it said, and to make it look more suspicious they even dragged in the discredited United Party.

Die Transvaler (Johannesburg) said English Press reaction had shown that suspicion had immediately been created about Mr Luyt's moves.

The newspaper said it objected to suspicion-mongering by this section of the Press which constantly went about with the story that it was the only truly free Press in South Africa and that it had a monopoly over the

thinking of English-speaking people.

POLITICIANS

Politicians have been cautious in their reactions

The only reaction from the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, so far has been that the Argus group will not be allowed to obtain a majority share holding in SAAN, as the Government was against a virtual monopoly in the English-language newspaper field

Sir de Villiers Graaff had no comment, but Mr Luyt disclosed that Dr Frans Cronje, director of SAAN and national treasurer of the United Party, had been instrumental in introducing him to the Abe Bailey trustees through Sir de Villiers, who was not financially involved in the takeover bid

PRP VIEW

The Progressive Reform Party has appealed to

SAAN shareholder to see Mr Luyt's bid as a 'grave threat to Press freedom and to reject it out of hand'

Dr Alex Boraine, MP, was also strongly critical of the roles played in the bid by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff

In a statement yesterday the PRP appealed in the 'strongest terms' to the present shareholders not to take up the bid.

Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch (East London), said that if the share of SAAN are for sale then the Daily Dispatch 'would be interested'

Mr Wood's thinking is that if a counter-offer were made it might come not just from the Dispatch alone as in co-operation with other independent newspaper interests and some senior SAAN editorial and management people

U.S. publisher delighted

The Argus Bureau WASHINGTON. — Mr John McGoff, the ultra-conservative Michigan publisher who has been Dr Connie Mulder's chief supporter in the United States, confirmed tonight that he had 'initiated contacts' with Mr Louis Luyt with a view to participating in the takeover of South African Associated Newspapers.

Mr McGoff said he had no advance knowledge of the takeover bid but was strongly interested in participation, primarily for financial reasons but also for political purposes.

'I was delighted to learn of it,' he said. Mr McGoff, a self-made multi-millionaire, controls

a burgeoning empire of American newspapers and has been bitterly criticised in the U.S. for forcing them to publish signed editorials expressing his own conservative views.

PREROGATIVE

He confirmed he made a practice of sending his editorial comments — written on pink slips of paper — to his editors with mandatory instructions to publish them.

Mr McGoff defended this practice as the right of an owner and publisher. 'That is my prerogative as a publisher,' he said.

'If any man owns a newspaper or controls it, he has that prerogative. I do not dictate editorial

policy. I do not intrude on the work of my editors. But I have the right to express my views in my newspapers.'

CONTROL

Asked specifically whether he would wish to exert the same kind of control over the newspapers in South Africa, Mr McGoff said: 'It's only proper that a publisher should do so.'

Asked whether he would plan to turn the Rand Daily Mail into a supporter of National Party or Government policies, especially in view of its international reputation as a liberal mouthpiece which had won honours and awards abroad, he said:

'I don't really know that much about the Rand Daily Mail. I don't know about any awards it has won. A good newspaper is one which has a balanced and objective view, whether on international affairs or national politics or community matters.

'A good newspaper should not be an organ of any one person or one viewpoint. From what I have seen of the English-language newspapers in South Africa, they have not provided a balanced view. I don't think they have fairly presented your country to the world.

'I believe in an objective newspaper. Far left or far right is wrong.

'My interests in SAAN are basically financial but

Cape Times 30/10/75 PM 'amused' at piety 245

HEIDELBERG — The Prime Minister Mr Vorster, said last night that he found amusing the pious attitude adopted by certain English-language newspaper editors in respect of the proposed take-over bid by Mr Louis Luyt of the South African Associated Newspapers group.

The Prime Minister, who was speaking in a report-back meeting to his constituency in which Heidelberg falls, said the outcome of Mr Luyt's bid did not affect him one way or another. He could therefore look at the actions of the editors in a detached and objective way.

Immediately after Mr Luyt had announced his bid to gain control of the SAAN group, the cry had gone out that Mr Luyt had at one stage said he was a Nationalist. "What is wrong with Mr Luyt as a Nationalist wanting to take control of an English-language newspaper? May a Nationalist not buy an English-language newspaper if he has the money to do so?"

The editors concerned had said that it was not only the fact Mr Luyt was

a Nationalist that concerned them, but also that should he take over, their freedom would be jeopardized.

The Prime Minister said that if the editor had his freedom to write what he liked, then surely his political correspondents, for example, had a similar right.

If any one of these political correspondents should write that he believed the only solution to South Africa's problems lay in the policy of the Nationalist Party he would no longer remain a political correspondent of that newspaper.

For that matter if one of the editors themselves should suddenly decide to exercise his freedom and declare that the only correct solution for South Africa's problems was that contained in National Party policy, he too would not long remain an editor.

One editor who had seen fit to praise the fact that South Africa was to become a Republic was soon pensioned off.

"Why bluff ourselves? The press knows and every intelligent person

knows it is a fact that people on these newspapers are free to write anything they please providing it is anti-Government and as left as possible."

The Prime Minister said he was just as interested as anyone else to see what the next episode in this venture would reveal. — Sapa

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SAAN needs ²⁴⁵ moderation—Luyt

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr

Louis Luyt said yesterday that he had got interested in South African Associated Newspapers because some of its publications needed moderating.

"I got interested in SAAN because I want to moderate its views," he said.

"If you are in the export market, as I am and you have newspapers wrecking South Africa's image overseas, you realize how much damage one-sided reporting can do."

In a wide-ranging interview, a sometimes fiery Mr Luyt said he had no comment on denials from the Springer publishing group in West Germany that they were involved as partners in his SAAN venture.

The impression, however, was that he was now less certain of their commitment.

The McGoff connection could also founder for political reasons. But Mr Luyt was unconcerned at the prospect of the foreign partners pulling out.

"My bid will not be affected at all. I deposited R6m in my bank today and raising the rest would be no problem," Mr Luyt said.

He had the support of a substantial trust — "which is not an Afrikaans trust, by the way" — which had played a key role in his manoeuvring and would be an important partner if he got control.

Mr Luyt would not name the trust but said a representative had played the third-party role in his dealings with the Springer and McGoff groups.

Other points made by Mr Luyt were:

- He had telephoned the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, on Tuesday and established that there would be no Government objection to foreign shareholdings in South African newspapers provided they did not hold control.

- His bid to the Bailey trustees was for 34 per cent of SAAN.

- He did not think a counter-bid was probable and reiterated his belief that anyone paying over R5 a share would be "committing economic suicide".

- He would not be able to match a "political" counter-bid.

He believed that the Sunday Times was an excellent publication — commercially and editorially — but believed that the Financial Mail was sometimes too critical politically, and that the Rand Daily Mail needed to be moderated to make it a better newspaper editorially and commercially.

He was particularly critical of the Rand Daily Mail's editorial comment since he launched his bid.

Mr Luyt said he had no intention of playing a dominant role in SAAN if he got control.

Triomf, his fertilizer company, had an annual turnover of between R300m and R400m.

"Can you see me getting heavily involved in SAAN, which has a turnover of only a tenth of that? I even wonder if I would go on the board."

He would aim to put SAAN's profits on a better footing by 1977.

The company was not well managed, "I would put in some highly-paid salesmen, and sell the product".

Bid for SAAN

is 'doomed'

Cape Times 31/10/75

(ZCF)

'Extremes won't succeed'

From HAMISH FRAZER,
Deputy Financial Editor, Rand Daily Mail

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Louis Luyt's bid of 450c a share for South African Associated Newspapers is doomed to fail on two counts.

Firstly, SAAN, notwithstanding the gloomy outlook for this year and next, is worth more.

And secondly, the pre-emptive agreements between SAAN's major shareholders will prevent Mr Luyt getting the 51 percent he needs for control and without which he will withdraw his offer.

On earnings consideration alone, Mr Luyt's bid is attractive. Minority shareholders — if ever the offer gets to them — will jump at the opportunity to get out for 450c in cash. The proceeds could easily be reinvested in companies whose prospects are brighter than SAAN's.

But controlling shareholders, taking a longer view, are hardly likely to be impressed by an offer of 450c a share.

They will appreciate that anyone getting control of SAAN for R9m is getting the company ridiculously cheaply.

SAAN's interest in the Pretoria News, for instance, is worth between R3m and R4m, depending what multiple one puts on its earnings.

The Pretoria News is a profitable enterprise, and dominates the market which it serves.

Lord Thomson, the British newspaper magnate, has been known to put a multiple of 25 times on newspapers which have market domination. But even on a conservative estimate of 10 times earnings, the Pretoria News is worth considerably more than the book value last shown in SAAN's 1973 accounts of R1 088 000.

Similarly, the 34 percent SAAN owns in the Natal Mercury, on any earnings multiple, is

worth more than the R1 925 000 shown in the same accounts. And SAAN's stake in the Argus Group is worth more than R1m even at current depressed prices.

By offering R9m for SAAN, Mr Luyt or any acquirer could recoup up to R6m without seriously disrupting the revenue sources in anything but a bad year.

These are considerations which the controlling shareholders are sure to consider in assessing the merits of the offer. Certainly they are being considered by others who may be interested in a counter-bid.

The pre-emptive agreements are more complex. The Argus Group presumably knows that it could not buy and hold SAAN shares if they were offered them by the Bailey Trust and Estates.

But there is nothing I can see to prevent the Argus Group exercising its pre-emptive option and placing the shares in hands it regards as more suitable than Mr Luyt's.

The Argus Group could then not be accused of controlling SAAN if the Bailey shares were placed with an institution in a single block. But who said the Bailey trustees were sellers anyway?

JOHANNESBURG — The fertilizer millionaire, Mr Louis Luyt, said in a television interview last night that he did not believe any extreme would succeed in South Africa.

Mr Luyt was being interviewed by John Bishop in the SABC TV programme "Profile", discussing his takeover bid for South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN).

Mistake

Mr Bishop asked Mr Luyt what he thought was wrong with the SAAN group — with its newspaper reporting and attitude to news.

"I don't believe in revolutionary change. I believe in evolutionary change. That is where I think some of the newspapers have made, perhaps, a mistake," Mr Luyt replied.

Asked how confident he was that his bid would succeed, Mr Luyt said "on financial convictions, I would say 90 percent sure".

Mr Bishop quoted from a newspaper article, asking Mr Luyt whether he had "a vigorous commitment to the policies of a political party".

"No I made it quite clear that I will not be aligned with any political party whatsoever".

Springer

confirms

Cape Times 31/10/75

rejection

(245)

Own Correspondent

BONN. — West Germany's giant Axel Springer publishing group confirmed yesterday that it had turned down an offer to participate in a venture to take over SAAR. Mr. Ernest Kramer, managing director of the concern's publishing division, told me by telephone from Berlin. The offer had been rejected last night for economic reasons.

He said the decision had been taken by the publishing magnate himself.

Luyt to get US cash

Cape Times
1/11/75

245

NEW YORK. — Mr John McGoff, the American newspaper publisher friend of South African Information Minister, Dr Connie Mulder, admitted yesterday that he is putting his money behind the Louis Luyt takeover bid of the South African Associated Newspapers group.

He said agreement was reached last Sunday when Mr Jan Alberts, managing director of To The Point magazine, visited him at home in East Lansing, Michigan. Mr Alberts returned to South Africa with his support assured, but the degree of his involvement had still to be settled.

There had been suggestions that Mr Alberts returned with the best part of R6 million in his pocket, which Mr Luyt deposited in his bank on Thursday.

Mr McGoff said he understood it would be a matter of five or ten days before the deal solidified. He hoped for a top-level meeting here as soon as possible. — Reuter

Too hastily to contemplate

2-11-75

CUT-φ

MY FORECAST is that the Bailey trustees will reject Mr Louis Luyt's bid for South African Associated Newspapers.

I sincerely hope I am right because — to quote one of Mr Vorster's famous phrases — the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

Even before Mr Luyt made his offer I would not have considered him to be the right kind of person to control SAAN. His performance since making the offer has done nothing to alter my original view.

Mr Luyt's credibility has taken a severe knock. On a question of fact he has made a statement which was promptly shown to be incorrect.

On questions of policy and attitude he has constantly shifted his ground.

Mr Luyt disclosed firmly and precisely that one of his partners was the Axel Springer group in West Germany.

Breathtaking claim

This claim, in the light of later disclosures, is breathtaking. Surely Mr Luyt would have had the sense to realise that, if his claim was not true, it would be promptly denied by McGoff and Springer.

That is precisely what Springer has done. Springer has denied he is a partner of Mr Luyt.

Since Mr Luyt is unable to produce any documentary evidence — not even a letter, let alone a deed of partnership — to substantiate his claim, one must conclude that Springer is right and Mr Luyt is wrong about the so-called partnership deal.

For Mr Luyt to make a misstatement on such an elementary, easily ascertainable question of fact indicates a degree of vagueness and irresponsibility which ill becomes a man who seeks to control a vast newspaper empire.

Poorly informed

Mr Luyt's dealings with Dr Frans Cronje do not show him in the best light either.

According to Mr Luyt, he approached Dr Cronje because he thought he was chairman of the Bailey trustees. Dr Cronje, on the other hand, says Mr Luyt approached him for the purpose of buying Nedsual's portfolio of SAAN shares.

Quite apart from the apparent conflict about the approach, what is remarkable is that Mr Luyt, who is prepared to invest millions in a newspaper venture, should be so poorly informed as not to be aware of the identity of the chairman of the Bailey trustees.

The comic touch to this bizarre side show was provided by Sir de Villiers Graaff.

Courteous and charming as ever, he took Mr Louis Luyt, an avowed Nationalist, to the Bailey trustees to assist him in making a bid for SAAN. Out of Africa, always something new.

In explaining his motives for wanting to control SAAN Mr Luyt has also been less than frank.

He began by saying his interest was financial and not political, and that he would not support a political party.

He has since shifted his ground. He now admitted that he will interfere with the political attitudes of the newspaper.

If he were boss he would "moderate their views". He would certainly meddle with editorial independence.

He really gave the game away in his television interview on Thursday. "I don't believe in revolutionary change," he said. "I believe in evolutionary change. That is where I think some of the papers have made a mistake."

Destroy independence

The proposition that some SAAN papers are encouraging revolutionary change in South Africa is the staggering assessment made by the man who now proposes to take them over.

Joel Mervis, distinguished former editor of the Sunday Times. He believes the Bailey trustees will reject Louis Luyt's offer for South African Associated Newspapers and says there are other interested financiers who endorse SAAN's tradition of editorial independence. . . .

Sunday Tribune, November 2 1975

The assessment is far-fetched, and typical of the hostile Nationalist attitude to the English language Press. It leaves one in no doubt of what Mr Luyt would do to SAAN's papers if they fell into his control.

He would turn the place upside-down and effectively destroy SAAN's independence. The voices of SAAN's newspapers, which speak up for all manner of people, would be silenced.

In effect, newsprint would become another commodity — like fertiliser.

All these factors will have been noted by the Bailey trustees, and I cannot seriously believe they would want to hand SAAN over to a man with such comprehensive disqualifications as those possessed by Mr Luyt.

On the prowl

On the assumption that the trustees will reject Mr Luyt's offer, we come to the 64-dollar question: What is to be done about SAAN to protect it from further takeover threats?

No one can doubt any longer that SAAN is vulnerable. The Argus Company would have taken it over in 1968 had not Mr Vorster stopped the merger.

Now Mr Luyt is in the field. When his offer is rejected — as I hope it will be — it may not be long before someone else is on the prowl.

Responsibility would therefore seem to rest on the Bailey trustees to re-organise SAAN's shareholding so that it becomes immune against takeover threats.

Such a step is vital and essential. Rejecting Mr Luyt is not enough. Something more must be done, first to reassure the public about the stability of SAAN, and second to provide SAAN's employees with a sense of purpose and security.

Respect for liberty

SAAN's employees are placed in an impossible position if they do not know from one day to another where their next employer is coming from.

I am sure Mr Luyt's bid, and all the horrors which that entails, will bring home forcibly to the Bailey trustees the need for a full reappraisal of SAAN's affairs.

From my personal knowledge of them I know they are keenly aware of their responsibility to ensure that SAAN remains in the right hands.

The difficulties do not seem to be insuperable. Mr Luyt is not the only man with money. There are other financiers who happen to endorse SAAN's tradition of editorial independence and who share its attitude of racial tolerance and respect for liberty.

Those are the people who should be encouraged to share control of South African Associated Newspapers.

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Mr Luyt is not the man for SAAN

LAST WEEK this newspaper expressed its profound misgivings over Mr Louis Luyt's apparent desire to cast himself in the mould of a South African Beaverbrook. His subsequent performance, during which this fertiliser king and his views have been thoroughly aired, has only served to confirm our view.

Mr Luyt — a likeable self-made man — has revealed himself as a profit-motivated entrepreneur. But there has been nothing in his utterances on the role of the Press to persuade us that he would be the right proprietor of the SUNDAY TIMES and its associated newspapers. He has been at some pains to stress that he regards the takeover bid as purely a business deal, but his protests have not obscured his curious views on newspaper "objectivity" and he has left no doubt in anyone's mind that he would — when he saw fit — intervene to curb editorial independence.

Neither is Mr Luyt's image or the purity of his aims helped by the United Party's strange role in the affair or his overseas connections whose views on the Press can only give rise to the gravest disquiet. His American partner, Mr John McGoff, who has on more than one occasion professed himself to be "astonished" at the degree of editorial independence enjoyed by the South African Press, is a highly conservative voice from East Lansing, Michigan, whose views should be restricted to his own home ground.

Mr Luyt and his associates — all

it now seems to need is Mr Marais Steyn's finger somewhere in this Press pie! — have also left one in little doubt that they would like to hitch the SAAN newspapers to some peculiar political view of their own.

At the same time they obviously fail to comprehend that by thus hobbling a number of influential newspapers they will severely damage the health of the South African Press as a whole. That health has been greatly improved in recent years by the way in which — after decades as the slavish voice of the Nationalist Party — the Afrikaans Press has begun to detach itself from the views of the Cabinet Ministers on its boards.

Contrary to the hoary and long-discredited "Hoggenheimer" canard, this pattern, now gingerly adopted by our Afrikaans colleagues, has always been followed at SAAN, whose board respects the principle that editors and editors alone are responsible for the editorial policy of their newspapers.

In his statements this week Mr Luyt has revealed that he does not fully comprehend this first and basic tenet of editorial freedom, that he does not understand how newspapers should and must work and that he would not fully respect that what amounts to a national institution is only tampered with at grave risk to the nation's health.

Mr Luyt is not the man to be entrusted with this institution or the newspapers which guard it.

245

NOW GRAAFF

LINKS ARMS

JUN. TIMES 2/11/75 (245)

By STANLEY UYS and FLEUR DE VILLIERS

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, Sir De Villiers Graaff, is associating himself with the Nationalist fertiliser millionaire, Mr Louis Luyt, in his take-over bid for South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN).

In a surprise statement yesterday Sir De Villiers said Graaff's Investment Nominees, which controls many of the Graaff family's investments, was willing to participate to a "substantial extent", provided Mr Luyt's offer to the Bailey trustees was accented and this led to a further offer to all minority shareholders in SAAN.

Mr Luyt confirmed last night that he had invited Sir De Villiers to join him.

He had also agreed that Sir De Villiers could nominate a representative to the board and have a say in editorial policy.

Mr G. K. Lindsay, chairman of the Abe Bailey Estate, said late yesterday that Sir De Villiers' statement was a new development which would be given careful consideration.

Sir De Villiers' statement caused a sensation in political circles yesterday. His move is certain to introduce a wholly new element into party politics

**10 days
that
shook
SAAN**

in South Africa.

Mr Luyt said Sir De Villiers belonged to the United Party and "I am a moderate Nationalist". But he foresaw no difficulty in working with Sir De Villiers, "because we have the same ideas".

Commenting on Sir De

Villiers' move, Mr Harry Schwarz, chairman of the National Executive of the Progressive Reform Party said: "The intervention of the Leader of the Opposition, clearly, is meant to lend political respectability to Mr Luyt's takeover."

"I find it incredible that Sir De Villiers should lend himself to this sort of thing. The United Party must be pretty desperate to do something like this."

"This is part of the move towards coalition, because if the bid is successful this could be part of the dowry for the marriage."

"I hope the bid will fail for the sake of the freedom of the Press, but irrespective of the outcome, I doubt whether opposition voters will ever forget the endeavours by the Opposition leader to hand over a section of one English Press to Nationalist ideology!"

Not overnight

Mr Luyt would not disclose when he had extended the invitation to Sir De Villiers but said: "These things don't happen overnight"

Cont

The strange friends of Mr Luyt

SUNDAY TIMES
Reporter

AS MR LOUIS LUYT'S SAAN take-over bid moved towards a climax this weekend — with the dramatic last-minute entry of the Graaff interests — there were powerful pointers towards a mysterious link between his bid and Dr Connie Mulder's Department of Information.

It is unlikely that Dr Mulder is directly involved in the business transaction, but it now appears that almost everyone else connected with this offer has some kind of association with his department.

Some observers say that Mr Luyt is merely putting into operation a plan drawn up by "the Ad Astra connection".

Ad Astra is the building in central Pretoria, which houses the Department of Information.

Among the pointers cited are:

● The disclosure yesterday that Mr J. van Zyl Alberts, managing director of To The Point magazine, secured Mr John McGoff,

the American publishing millionaire, as Mr Luyt's overseas partner in the bid. Mr Van Zyl Alberts has close links with Dr Eschel Rhoadie, who was editor of To The Point before his controversial appointment as Secretary for Information.

● Mr McGoff, an ardent right-winger, is a close friend of Dr Mulder. Jointly they own a farm in the Eastern Transvaal.

● Mr Luyt has a close connection with the newly-formed Foreign Affairs Association — he is one of its major sponsors and trustees — which is regarded by many as a front for the department.

● Mr Donald de Kieffer, the Washington lawyer who is also the department's paid lobbyist in the American capital, emerged this week as a man who has close ties with Mr McGoff, and was well informed of the bid early in the week.

● Mr Luyt is also the main backer behind the Committee for Fairness in Sport, the anti-boycott association which places large and expensive advertisements in overseas newspapers. The committee appears to have informal links with the Department of Information

He had invited Sir De Villiers because he wanted to dispel any belief that he wanted to turn SAAN Newspapers into Nationalist organs.

In his statement, Sir De Villiers indicated that he accepted Mr Luyt's bonafides.

Sir De Villiers said: "Our interests are not investing in SAAN in order to connive at a departure from this fundamental philosophy, nor would the other parties to the offer have invited us if this had been their intention."

Sir De Villiers refused to comment on Mr Luyt's proposal to submit a "manifesto" to SAAN editors for them to sign if he acquired control of SAAN publications.

Directors

Graaff's Investment Nominees has three directors — Sir De Villiers, Mr John du Preez and Mr Richard Knight. Sir De Villiers refused to disclose how much money Graaff's Investment Nominees would be prepared to put into the takeover bid.

Sir De Villiers said in his statement that this offer had been made after careful consideration of the important issues involved, including the financial vulnerability of SAAN and the possible encroachment on Press freedom to which its publications could therefore become exposed.

He added: "I have consistently stated my strongly-held views on Press freedom, and on the parallel one of the rights and duties of loyal Opposition for many years.

"Our interests are not investing in SAAN in order to connive at a depart-

● Continued on
PAGE 2

Div backs Luyt

JUN. TIMES 2/11/75 (245)

Continued from
PAGE 1

ure from this fundamental philosophy, nor would the other parties to the offer have invited us if this had been their intention.

"While a free Press is sometimes excessively equated with the concept of unlimited editorial independence, I do not question the need to entrust editors with the widest authority in the conduct of their newspapers.

"Such authority is not, however, inconsistent with the right of shareholders to demand an adequate degree of editorial competence including a due re-

gard by editors for the fact that the survival of Press freedom depends on the continued financial viability of the companies that own the newspapers concerned.

"Nor do I believe that freedom of comment need be inconsistent with high standards of objectivity and accuracy in the presentation of news, or that fearless exposure of wrong need conflict with the duty to help maintain public order and the national security.

"South Africa has entered an era where rapid and fundamental change is not only inevitable but is essential to our peaceful survival as a civilised State.

"The organs of public information and opinion have a vital role to play in this process. With the exception of those who may confuse irresponsible licence with freedom, and extremism with vigorous opposition, they must be guaranteed the necessary backing of strong finance, and good management.

"I hope this statement will dispose of irresponsible rumour and speculation and more particularly of the misconception that the 'English trust' report-

ed to be Mr Luyt's intermediaries in his approach to overseas participants was in anyway identified with Graaff's Trust, or Graaff's Investment Nominees."

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive-Reform MP, said: "None of the high-sounding phrases about Press freedom used by Sir De Villiers Graaff to explain away his unbelievable alliance with a self-confessed supporter of the Nationalist Government can disguise the fact that the leader of the so called Opposition is prepared to do a deal with a supporter of the Government that, he was elected to fight against"

Mrs Suzman said that, if ever there was a sell-out, this was it. "It also should spell the doom of Sir De Villiers Graaff and his compliant party

"One can only hope that he will be frustrated in his contemptible attempt to manipulate a vital part of the English-language Press in South Africa"

Mr Japie Basson, leader of the United Party in the Transvaal, said "I am completely confident that Sir De Villiers Graaff will act only in the best interests of South Africa and the United Party"

'Delighted' editors welcome rejection of Luyt's bid

REACTING to news of the rejection of Mr Louis Luyt's bid for SAAN, the editor of the Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, said that while it was not unexpected he welcomed confirmation that the Bailey Estate would not sell to Mr Luyt and that the Argus group was also not interested.

"To that should be added the statement of my chairman, Mr John Robinson, that the Natal Mercury, with a 5,2 per cent holding in SAAN, is also not interested in selling to Mr Luyt, Sir De Villiers Graaff, or anyone else who is not traditionally involved in the English-speaking section of the South African newspaper industry.

"With the combined holdings of the Bailey interests, the Angus company and the Mercury amounting to 72,9 per cent the announcement means that control of SAAN will remain substantially where it is.

"For that all fair-minded people will be thankful," said Mr McMillan.

"I welcome the announcement, not only because it confirms that the voices of the group's newspapers — as unacceptable as they might be to some — will not be muted but because it is further evidence that those who direct affairs at Main Street are uncompromisingly committed to maintaining freedom of speech through a free press."

Mr A H Heard, editor of the Cape Times, said:

"I am delighted that an offer which would have disposed of SAAN to a declared Nationalist supporter has been declined. The result could have been bizarre, in view of SAAN newspapers' record in defence of the opposition standpoint in South

Africa. It would have created the same ideological confusion as would a Harry Oppenheimer takeover of, say, the Burger."

Mr George Palmer, editor of the Financial Mail. "All who understand and value the role of the free and independent press in South Africa will welcome this decision.

"Those who own, manage or edit newspapers carry a heavy responsibility. They should be enabled at all times to follow the dictates of conscience and conviction free from political, business or other interests," Mr Palmer added.

Mr Raymond Louw, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said he was delighted the Bailey trustees had rejected Mr Luyt's offer "It could not have been an easy decision for them, but obviously consideration of the public service performed by newspapers must have been uppermost in their thoughts

"They acted in accordance with the spirit and wishes of the founder of the Rand Daily Mail, Sir Abe Bailey

"The press, as a whole, in this country has had a narrow shave. One lesson that seems to have emerged is that no single press group in this country can regard itself as an island unaffected by the fortunes of the

others"

Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London. "All who value genuine press freedom owe the administrators of the Bailey estate a great debt of gratitude, and they also owe it to themselves and the country to consider how best SAAN can be secured against future attempts at take-over by elements not in sympathy with SAAN's editors"

Progressive Reform Party leaders were relieved at the news and the party leader, Mr Colin Eghn, called for Sir De Villiers' resignation.

"There cannot be an effective opposition as long as leaders in an opposition party play along with the Nationalists" he said "In the light of yet another debacle he owes it to the country to resign"

Mr Harry Schwarz, chairman of the party's federal executive, said "It seems as if the English press

will be able to maintain its freedom and independence. How sad it is to see what has happened to the UP in less than a year.

"This endeavour to assist in the handing over of control of a major section of the English press to Nationalist sympathizers will never be forgotten by opposition voters"

Mrs Helen Suzman, the veteran MP for Houghton, said that Sir De Villiers was smarting under the attacks over the years — attacks which had been well-deserved in view of his poor leadership and bad decisions.

"No doubt he hoped an English press more favourably disposed towards him would halt the decay in his party's fortunes. It is clear that his thoughts were centred on opposition to the PRP than to the Government he was elected to fight against"

LUYT MAY RAISE BID TO R12-m

3/11/75

The Argus Political Correspondent

THE battle for control of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) may continue today with the fertiliser millionaire Mr Louis Luyt possibly stepping up his offer for Bailey interest shares to R6 a share, or a total of R12-million.

There are also strong rumours of attempts to bring about a consortium of people mainly sympathetic to the Progressive Reform Party who could try to buy SAAN shares.

The administrators of the Bailey interests announced last night that they had rejected Mr Luyt's offer of R4,50 a share, but gave no reason for the decision.

FOR CITY?

Today it was understood that Mr Luyt may be coming to Cape Town later today to see the Bailey administrators again and to make a substantially higher offer — possibly R6,00 a share.

This could not be confirmed today. Mr Luyt's secretary at his office in Johannesburg said he was in a conference and could not be disturbed.

The possibility of a new trust to buy a large block of shares from the Bailey interests is also being mentioned.

The Rand Daily Mail is seen as hinting at this today in an editorial which states 'SAAN must be protected against the grabbers, whether politically or business motivated'.

A joint statement by Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mr Luyt points out that SAAN remains 'vulnerable'.

There is also a chance of Mr Luyt and his partners trying to obtain a minority shareholding in SAAN.

In a statement issued in America, newspaper magnate, Mr John McGoff, said he intended to speak to Mr Luyt about this.

Today Sir de Villiers said he was 'not so sure' that it was all over.

There was speculation in the Nationalist Press today that the visit by the SAAN chairman, Mr I. G. Macpherson, to Cape Town at the weekend to see the chairman of the Abe Bailey Estate, Mr H. K. Lindsay, was concerned with a counter-bid coming from supporters of the Progressive Reform Party.

Mr Lindsay confirmed that Mr Macpherson had visited him yesterday.

The name of Mr Max Borkum, a prominent stockbroker and leading figure in the PRP, as well as that of Mr Gordon Weddell, PRP MP for Johannesburg North, have been repeatedly mentioned as being involved in the moured bid.

The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg re-

(Continued on Page 2, col 10)

Luyt may raise his bid

(Continued from Page 1)

ported today that no comment could be obtained from these sources.

Mr Borkum said: 'No comment' and Mr Waddell, who was on the point of departure for Australia, said: 'We do not comment on Press speculation.'

ROW

Meanwhile, Sir de Villiers's involvement in the bid has led to a furious political row between the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party.

PRP leaders have been sharply critical of Sir de Villiers, Mr Colin Eglin has called for his resignation and in the Bryanston provincial by-election the PRP is preparing to push all-out the suggestion that Sir de Villiers's move strengthens the suggestion that there are moves for coalition between the U.P. and the National Party.

'BLOCKING'

Sir de Villiers has said firmly his involvement in the Luyt take-over bid was designed 'to ensure that the SAAN group could not fall into the hands of one political party.'

'I believe I had obtained guarantees from Mr Luyt which would ensure that, if he were in control of SAAN, we would have a blocking vote, which would prevent SAAN being taken over by any single political party,' Sir de Villiers said.

SHARES

SAAN shares were traded at 290c on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange this morning. This is 50c above the price ruling immediately before their suspension and 100c above their price before Mr Luyt offered the Bailey interests R4,50 for each of the SAAN shares.

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The Argus

NOVEMBER 3 1975

245

The bid that failed

ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE who do not usually concern themselves much with the Press or with Press freedom have found their interest caught up during the past week or so by the bid for control of South African Associated Newspapers by the fertiliser millionaire, Mr Louis Luyt, supported by the arch-conservative American publisher Mr John McGoff and, finally and dramatically on Saturday, by the United Party Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff. In the event, the key Bailey interests in SAAN have turned down an offer for their shares which, judged by ruling stock exchange prices, was fairly generous, and the Argus Group has made it clear that it also will not sell. So, on the original terms anyway, the deal is off.

There has been widespread relief at this, relief that is by no means confined to journalists on SAAN newspapers, or to politicians who share the views frequently expressed by these papers.

The reason for this goes to the heart of the role that newspapers play, or should play, in society. That is that they should be objective in their reporting of current events, and fair and fearless in their comment and that there should be as wide a range of opinion on important affairs always available to the public as possible. As things stand, the SAAN newspapers demonstrate by their editorial comment that they enjoy this freedom to a great extent, and that their owners accept this concept.

But overt party political control, or control of the newspaper group in the general interests of a particular political party, or parties, would limit this seriously, and finally destroy it. Mr Luyt's stated political preferences suggest that such a new owner could have an attitude rather different from the present one.

So the conclusion must be that SAAN is better off as it is now, with owners who have a long, traditional regard for the Press freedom. But that is not the end of the story.

The Bailey interests have made it clear that they are not swayed only by commercial reasons in dealing with their shares in the company. As the chairman of the Bailey Trust, Mr Clive Corder, put it when Mr Luyt first made his offer for their shares, 'one does not sell a newspaper group like a piece of furniture or a horse and cart'. But nonetheless, for various reasons, the group remains commercially just as it did at the beginning of Mr Luyt's bid for control, in his words, still a 'sitting duck'. While this continues, however high its editorial ideals and however devoutly its directors support the fine principles they have espoused till now, the future of the group remains in some doubt against possible renewed efforts to take over control.

Cape Times 3/11/75 (245)

By TOM COPELAND

Political Correspondent

MR LOUIS LUYT'S take-over bid for South African Associated Newspapers was last night rejected by the company's two major shareholders — the Bailey interests and the Argus Group.

The decision, announced at midnight, ends ten days of tension and uncertainty in business, newspaper and political circles surrounding the planned multi-million rand deal.

The administrator of the Bailey Estate in a statement: "After very careful consideration the administrators of the estate of the late Sir Abe Bailey and associates have decided to decline the offer made by Mr Louis

Luyt to acquire their shareholdings in South African Associated Newspapers Limited."

The chairman of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Mr L E A Slater, said in a statement issued simultaneously: "If Mr Luyt made a similar bid for the Argus Company holdings in SAAN, it would be rejected."

R9 million

Mr Luyt offered R4,50 a share, a bid which if successful would have amounted to R9m. for the total shareholding of the company.

Together the Bailey and associated interests and the Argus Group control 74,2 percent of SAAN shareholding. If the Bailey interests had accepted the offer, Mr Luyt would have extended it to the Argus Group and to all shareholders.

SAAN will apply to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange today for its shares, in which dealings were suspended while the Luyt offer was being considered, to be relisted.

The take-over bid took a sensational turn at the weekend with the announcement that the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, was prepared to participate to a "substantial extent" if the Bailey interests agreed to sell.

Graaff

Mr Luyt later confirmed that he had invited Sir De Villiers to join him and that he had agreed to the United Party leader's condition that the Graaff interest would be entitled to representation on the board and a say in decisions affecting editorial policy.

Reacting to the Bailey Trustees' decision, Mr Luyt and Sir De Villiers said in a joint statement that SAAN remained "vulnerable".

And they called on the SAAN board to publish a long-term projection of profits and dividends estimates.

Their full statement read: "To decline an offer well over twice the market value of the shares without giving reasons and without any suggestion that a counter-bid was made is a step which could not have been taken without consultation with the board of SAAN.

"The board therefore

Continued on page 2

Luyt bid fails

Continued from page 1

gives it to the outside shareholders to publish a projection of their estimates of profits and dividends for SAAN for the next few years.

"On the figures at present available the outlook for both outside shareholders, that is about 21 percent of the shareholders, and the employees of SAAN, seems grim indeed and SAAN remains as vulnerable as ever.

"The intervention of certain Graaff interests at the invitation of Mr Luyt was largely motivated by a desire to guarantee press freedom on the best sense of the term, and to ensure that the group would not be taken over by any one political party.

"The offer has been declined. No doubt other offers will be made by other parties.

"It is to be hoped that these issues will not be lost sight of when subsequent bids by other parties who may have other motives are made."

Though Sir De Villiers said his offer to participate had no political significance, it was immediately seen in political circles as being highly significant.

Describing the move as "a political sell-out", the leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Colin Eglon, said the Graaff announcement would shock anyone who believed in opposition to the Nationalists.

Statement

The Nationalist newspaper Rapport reported yesterday under the headline "Luyt, Div now partners" that Mr Luyt's American associate, Mr John McGoff, had "very close" ties with the Minister of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, as well as senior officials in his department.

Sir De Villiers's full statement read:

"Graaff's Investment Nominees, on behalf of certain of the Graaff family interests, will be prepared to participate to a substantial extent if the present offer to the Bailey interest leads to a further offer to all minority shareholders in SAAN.

"Essential features of this offer are that the Graaff interest will be entitled to representation on the SAAN board and that any decision affecting the editorial policy of its newspapers or any further change of control of the sale of any newspaper must be by unanimous decision of the board.

"This offer had been made after careful consid-

the rights and duties of loyal opposition for many years.

"Our interests are not investing in SAAN in order to connive at a departure from this fundamental philosophy, nor would the other parties to the offer have invited us if this had been their intention.

"While a free press is sometimes excessively equated with the concept of unlimited editorial independence. I do not question the need to entrust editors with the widest authority in the conduct of their newspapers.

"Such authority is not, however, inconsistent with the right of shareholders to demand an adequate degree of editorial competence, including a due regard by editors for the fact that the survival of press freedom depends on the continued financial viability of the companies that own the newspapers concerned.

"Nor do I believe that freedom of comment need be inconsistent with high standards of objectivity and accuracy in the presentation of news, or that fearless exposure of wrong need conflict with the duty to help maintain public order and the national security.

Licence

"South Africa has entered an era where rapid and fundamental change is not only inevitable but is essential to our peaceful survival as a civilized state.

"The organs of public information and opinion have a vital role to play in this process. With the exception of those who may confuse irresponsible licence with freedom, and extremism with vigorous opposition, they must be guaranteed the necessary backing of strong finance and good management.

"I hope this statement will dispose of irresponsible rumour and speculation and more particularly of the misconception that the 'English trust' reported to be Mr Luyt's intermediaries in his approach to overseas participants was in any way identified with Graaff's Trust, or Graaff's Investment Nominees."

'Comic touch'

When he announced his take-over bid at a press conference, Mr Luyt revealed that he found more he liked in Nationalist policy than in the policies of other parties. This gave rise to fears that he would convert the SAAN publications into pro-Government organs or that he would sell off some of the newspapers.

Mr Joel Mervis, the former editor of the Sunday Times, described the possibility of the Luyt takeover as "too ghastly to contemplate" in an article covering most of the editorial page of the Sunday Tribune.

He described the role of Sir De Villiers Graaff as providing a "comic touch" by taking an avowed Nationalist to meet the Bailey interests.

The Sunday Times stated: "In his statements this week Mr Luyt has revealed that he does not understand how newspapers should and must work and that he would not fully respect that what amounts to a national institution is only tampered with at grave risk to the nation's health."

Desperate

The Sunday Express, which changed its editorial for late editions after Sir De Villiers's statement declaring his interest in the bid, said this act was either a sign of great confidence that the offer would succeed, or else a "final, desperate bid to use his influence in the open on the Bailey trustees to sell to Mr Luyt".

Both Mr Luyt and Sir De Villiers were unacceptable proprietors to the newspapermen at SAAN. The prospect of Sir De Villiers would mean formal ties with a political party which would be like Nationalist newspapers which had Cabinet ministers on their boards of directors.

Rapport expressed guarded support for independent opposition newspapers and was critical for those who wanted to see every opposition voice ignored.

Differences

"Such people do not understand, or do not want to understand, that without public differences of opinion on questions which affect our continued survival, there is little chance of those problems ever being properly solved."

It went on in an editorial: "The role which the English-language press has played in this regard should never be underestimated, not even by its worst enemies."

issues involved, including notably the financial vulnerability of SAAN and the possible encroachment on press freedom to which its publications could therefore become exposed. I have consistently stated by press freedom, and on the parallel one of said he "of want to interfere" with editorial policies, he left no doubt that he would do so if necessary. Mr Luyt's take-over bid, and the Graaff involvement, drew sharp protest from the Sunday Express and the Sunday Tribune yesterday.

Second

Luyt bid

Cape Times 4/11/75

245

rejected

By TOM COPELAND, Political Correspondent

THE BAILEY INTERESTS last night turned down another bid — this time of R6,00 a share — by Mr Louis Luyt for their shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers.

At the same time Mr G K Lindsay, chairman of the administrators of the Bailey Estate — the largest SAAN shareholder — announced that "it was not the present intention of the administrators to consider any further offers."

The decision was taken only hours after Mr Luyt submitted his dramatic new offer, which, if accepted, would have involved a R12 million takeover.

The fertilizer millionaire had given the administrators seven days to decide on the new offer.

It followed the weekend rejection by the Bailey interests of Mr Luyt's earlier bid of R4,50 a share. As in their rejection of Mr Luyt's initial offer, the administrators gave no reason for their decision.

Mr Lindsay issued the following statement last night:

"The administrators of the estate of the late Sir Abe Bailey and their associates have received a further offer from Mr Louis Luyt to purchase their shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers, Ltd.

"This offer has been declined and it is not the present intention of the administrators to consider any further offers."

Asked if he had any comment to make on the letter which Mr Luyt had addressed to him personally and which had been published, Mr Lind-

say said he had written to Mr Luyt informing him that he did not accept the statements contained in Mr Luyt's letter.

Mr L E A Slater, chairman of the Argus Company, said: "The Argus Company shares in SAAN are not for sale."

And Mr John Robinson, of Robinson and Company, proprietors of the Natal Mercury, also said last night that his company's 5,2 percent shareholding in SAAN was not for sale.

Mr Luyt's new offer was made in a letter delivered yesterday by special messenger to Mr Lindsay.

In the letter, Mr Luyt referred to discussions which he, Sir De Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, and a Mr Blair of Hill Samuel merchant bank had had with Mr Lindsay with a view to obtaining the Bailey-controlled shareholding.

Mr Luyt said that during these discussions Mr Lindsay had "unequivocally informed us that your considerations will be purely on financial grounds".

Mr Lindsay, said Mr
To page 2

Second Luyt bid refused

From page 1

Luyt had indicated that, if prepared to sell, he would require certain conditions to be met, and that "no political influence would dictate your decision in this matter"

Mr Luyt said in the letter that to present to Mr Lindsay "a case where no political influence would be in a position to dictate editorial and further policies." Sir De Villiers Graaff had been invited to participate.

The letter continues: "In your own words, as publicly reported, you admitted that this turn of events put a different light on the situation and had to be considered carefully

"Since his (Sir De Villiers's) statement was only released on Saturday night, I must conclude that the Bailey trustees, the Argus Group and the SAAN Board of Directors became involved only on Sunday."

Mr Luyt said that in view of Mr Lindsay's declared considerations, "I must therefore accept that my offer was financially not attractive enough and was rejected on these grounds.

"I have prepared a new offer, substantially higher, which I tender for your consideration"

The letter concluded by saying that its contents would be released to the press.

SAAN shares yesterday shot up to a closing price of 370c on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange — a leap of 120c from the 250c at which they closed when suspended on October 23

The shares opened at 290c after an 11-day suspension due to the Louis Luyt take-over bid

A total of 2800 shares changed hands in eight deals, but there was no indication of who was buying or selling the shares

The demand for the shares caused speculation that Mr Luyt and his associates were buying in a bid to win a sizeable minority stake in the Group.

There was no reaction yesterday from the SAAN board to the call by Mr

Luyt and Sir De Villiers for the publication of a long-term projection of SAAN profits and dividend statements.

The SAAN chairman, Mr I G MacPherson, said no board meeting was immediately scheduled. He declined to comment further

Mr MacPherson, who visited Cape Town at the weekend to meet Mr Lindsay, also said "no comment" on the reasons for his trip. However, there was speculation yesterday that his visit may have been concerned with a counter-bid for SAAN coming from a consortium of Progressive Reform Party supporters

SPECULATION

Mr MacPherson also declined to comment on press speculation that there might be an attempt to reorganize SAAN shareholdings, possibly by forming a new trust to buy a large block of shares from the Bailey Trust and Estate.

Sir De Villiers yesterday described interpretations that his move had been another step in the direction of coalition with the National Party as "absolute nonsense"

Sir De Villiers said his involvement in the Luyt takeover bid had been designed "to ensure that the SAAN group could not fall into the hands of one political party

"I believed I had obtained guarantees from Mr Luyt which would ensure that, if he were in control of SAAN, he would have a blocking vote, which would prevent SAAN being taken over by any single political party," Sir De Villiers said

His involvement would also prevent the takeover from affecting editorial freedom, the sale of any newspaper out of the SAAN group or another takeover

Questioned on the United Party's feeling of English press reporting of United Party affairs, he said: "There is a strong feeling in the UP camp that certain organs in the

SAAN group completely lack objectivity and that there has been a slanting of news and of selection of news."

The PRP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, called on Sir De Villiers to resign as Opposition leader and said that the political implications of his involvement were of the utmost importance for opposition in South Africa

Sir De Villiers, he said, had given his personal and financial backing to a

Nationalist business man at a time when the English press was under constant pressure from the Nationalist Government.

Welcoming the Bailey Trust's decision, Mr Harry Schwarz, chairman of the Progressive Reform Party's executive, said it was clear that Mr Luyt could not have increased his offer for purely business reasons.

"People appear to be prepared to pay a high price to obtain control of a major section of the English Press," he said.

As the dust settles

Financial Mail

7/11/75

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In the wake of Louis Luyt there are still more questions than answers — not to mention bridges that need rebuilding

Asked how he felt after the Bailey administrators summarily rejected his second bid of R6 Louis Luyt jauntily replied "Quite a lot wealthier."

However a public failure is never easy to face. And to rub it in, it was made

quite clear that a higher offer for SAAN shares — from Luyt or anyone else for that matter — would not be welcomed for the time being

So there the matter rests, except for a host of nagging questions and unresolved

issues. The main one still is who, if any one, is ultimately behind Luyt? Is there a Van Zyl Alberts-Jussens-McGoff-Rhodie-Mulder connection? Is he, in fact, only a front man (though he may himself not have realised it) for a sinister

GRAAFF'S GREEN HERITAGE

If you stand on the slopes of the Tygerberg and look to left or right, you will see the source of the Graaff family fortune. Vast tracts of Paarden Eiland, Milnerton, Blouberg Strand, Bellville all formed part of Sir David Pieter de Vilhiers Graaff's estate. As a major beneficiary and heir to the baronetcy, it has made his son, Div, one of the wealthiest men to sit in Parliament.

On his death in 1931, Sir David left £200 000, free of tax and duty, for the continuity of the hereditary title "with due regard to the honour and dignity attaching to such title." The income would be re-invested or paid, at the discretion of the trustees, to the holder of the baronetcy. On top of this, assets taken over by the administrators of Sir David's estate were valued at £587 000.

That was in the depths of the Depression, and long before the urban sprawl of Cape Town forged north into the Graaff estates. Over the years, pieces of the northern areas have been sold off at prices bearing no relationship to 1931 values. The market value of the enormous landholdings still administered by the Graaffs makes

pre-war valuations look like peanuts. A minute fraction — the Milnerton Racecourse — is alone worth some R2,5m.

The vehicle for administering this



Div ... seeking a publishing pasture

empire is Graaff's Trust. Its board may not number more than six directors. In terms of his father's will, Div must sit on it and so must a director of Syfrets Trust. Sir David further directed that, at its discretion, the board shall "in any matter of business consult the Standard Bank or Syfrets Trust."

Sir David was a man of strong opinions. His will advises that his sons study the principles of SA law, "the acquisition of which knowledge will, I am confident, stand them in good stead in their general business dealings." He recommended "strongly" that they "devote their time and attention to acquiring a knowledge of agriculture . . . as I believe that they will be happier and healthier men as agriculturalists, than if they followed any other line of business."

There is another bit of piquant advice: "I trust that each child will keep prominently in mind the fact that health and happiness can best be secured by leading a rational and useful life, and most certainly cannot be secured by leading a life of indolent extravagance."

THE BAILEY PEOPLE



Bailey administrators Lindsay, Hennessy, Bailey, Welsh and Middelmann . . . a self-perpetuating jury

Wale Street is the heart of Cape Town's financial district. At lunchtime, top executives will stroll round the corner from their offices in or near the Syfrets headquarters to the City Club, or wander down to the even more antediluvian Civil Service Club.

Among them will be the administrators of the Bailey interests. Sir De Villiers Graaff is frequently there, too. It's a small, tight, warm circle of business colleagues and personal friends who work together, play together and enjoy being leading members of the Cape Establishment.

Apart from former Squadron Leader Jim Bailey, son of the late Sir Abe, it is from such men that the administrators of the Bailey Estate have tra-

ditionally been drawn. They are conservative financiers who instinctively play their political, as well as their business, cards close to their chests.

Bailey himself is generally believed to be to the Left of the Progs. The current chairman, Keith Lindsay, retired as GM of the Old Mutual in 1966. He is thought to have "progressive" views. So, too, with Standard Bank director Hans Middelmann, who has from time to time been seen at Progressive Party functions.

Robert Welsh, a partner in Cooper Brothers, is an auditor whose political leanings are not generally known. By contrast, SAAN and Syfrets director Denis Hennessy (son of the late Sir Alfred Hennessy), has maintained his

close school friendship with Div (they were at Bishops together) and is an open supporter of the UP.

Political differences do not, however, impair the strong business and social ties of the group.

It is impossible to predict what the Bailey administrators will do next. Certainly they have the widest powers of discretion over the Bailey portfolio in the interest of Sir Abe's heirs, who in turn can make their wishes known, but not dictate, to the administrators. And they themselves are a self-perpetuating group, none of whom were originally appointed by Sir Abe. They join at the invitation of existing administrators, when death or retirement makes another appointment necessary.

political manoeuvre, inspired at the highest levels and aimed at radically and permanently shifting the delicate balance of power in South Africa? Or was the abortive take-over primarily profit-motivated and the political bonus, that victory would have brought, merely incidental?

Certainly as far as the participation of Sir De Villiers Graaff is concerned he, too, recognised that commercially SAAN was a sitting duck. Nor would it be the first time in South Africa that political foes became business associates after all. Harry Oppenheimer and Federale Mynbou joined forces to change control of General Mining years ago and more recently, we find Harry Schwarz and Carel van Aswegen together in the Henwood's group.

Nevertheless politics was surely uppermost in Div's mind. For no matter how deeply he may despair over the loss of editorial support for the UP in both SAAN and Argus papers, he could hardly welcome the prospect of an avowed Nationalist gaining complete

control of SAAN's publications. And there was the likelihood that at least one of SAAN's papers could be brought round into a pro-UP stance again.

That he went so far as hoping that, by joining forces with Luyt he could ease the way to a UP-Nat coalition, seems much less likely.

Whatever the case the attempted coup, regrettably, has contributed nothing to the improvement of English-Afrikaans speaking relations. The cry of *boerehaat* which arose from sections of the Afrikaans Press was an entirely deplorable reaction. That a spirited defence of one of the hallowed traditions of the English-speaking group in South Africa — a free Press independent of government and politicians — should have been demigrated in this way is as depressing as it is revealing.

What, one may ask, would be the reaction of Afrikaner Nationalists if Raymond Ackerman (say) were to make an offer for Sanlam's substantial stake in Nasionale Pers at a price it could not,

investment-wise, refuse? And suppose the offer were accompanied by strong hints of an impending change in *Die Burger's* political posture, were it accepted?

The wrath and indignation of Piet Cilie and the Keerom Straat boys would shake Table Mountain. And rightly so. Indeed Nasionale Pers already protects its identity, its editorial integrity, and its control by the simple device of restricting share transfers to approved buyers. Its newspapers are therefore the last ones who should point a finger at those who believed that the passing of control to Louis Luyt & Co — who palpably do not share SAAN's ethos — should be resisted, and resisted strenuously.

That said, it is important now to repair bridges between the two language groups in the hope that respect for the heritage, traditions and sentiments of each will be respected by the other. This, after all, is one of the more admirable assumptions underlying the government's own race policy.

Whether or not the Bailey interests

Mulder pledge on ^{Cape Times} 8/11/75 free Press

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Political Correspondent

DR. CONNIE MULDER, minister of Information and the Interior, last night gave an assurance that the Government would "try to maintain a free press" under all circumstances. At the same time he defended the right of opposition newspapers to attack the Government.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Rondebosch East, Dr. Mulder said the Government fully realized the value of maintaining a press, which he said was one of the freest in the world.

One of the first things that immediately impressed foreign visitors, Dr. Mulder said, was the way in which newspapers like the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times attacked the Government.

"But this is their right and I demand that right for them," Dr. Mulder said.

"We will try to maintain that under all circumstances because this is one of the symbols of a democratic society."

Referring to the more aggressive and positive approach of South Africa's information efforts abroad, Dr. Mulder said South Africa refused to be "put in the dock" any longer.

"We have a clean record and we have nothing to hide, and that is why we are breaking through overseas, especially in the United States".

As far as Africa was concerned, Dr. Mulder said South Africa should become a member of the OAU in order to fulfil its role on the continent.

Africa had a strong negotiating power in the political field among third world countries. If South Africa were to become a member of the OAU and "throw its voice in with Africa", Africa would have a strong negotiating power in the economic

In the field of internal party politics, Dr. Mulder said he believed that the only really patriotic party was the National Party.

Agreeing that this may be a unpopular statement, he said "Any true patriotic English-speaking South African has only one political home nowadays and that is the National Party".

In spite of all predictions shortly after the Nationalists came to power, co-operation between English and Afrikaner had never been greater, Dr. Mulder said.

News by T. H. Copeland, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town

Cape Times 18/11/75

New paper?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Louis Luyt is to start a new English-language daily newspaper in Johannesburg, it was learnt yesterday.

According to authoritative sources, the editor will be Mr Martin Spring, the present editor of the Financial Gazette, a Nationalist weekly.

The printing of the new newspaper will be done by Perskor, the Nationalist newspaper setting up a printing group.

Senior journalists at Perskor confirmed yesterday that Mr Luyt held talks with Mr Marius Jooste, the Perskor managing director, on November 6 and 7.

Sapa appoints Black

African Affairs Reporter

merum 24/11/75
promoted to radio news reporter in 1973

THE South African Press Association (Sapa) has appointed an African journalist to run its office in Ulundi, KwaZulu's capital.

A former news reporter for the SABC, Mr Ray Madlala will be responsible for news coverage of the whole of KwaZulu

Born in the Transvaal, Mr. Madlala joined the SABC as a clerk and was

While working for the SABC as a news reporter, he created a network of contacts throughout Natal and Zululand. He commands respect among chiefs and ordinary people.

His first assignment was to cover the KwaZulu Executive Council meeting in Nongoma last Thursday.

The Umtata office for Sapa is also run by an African.

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Editor denies 'sensation' suggestion

Cape Times 10/12/75

245

was the principal aim

Supreme Court Reporter
THE editor of Rapport, Mr. Willem Jacobus Wepener, yesterday denied in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, that his attitude to reports of the Hartman mercy-killing and the scissor murder had been "publish and be jammed"

the biggest White read-ership in the country, told the court that he had the final say on whether a report would appear in the newspaper

LEGAL ADVICE

Mr Wepener was giving evidence before the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Van Zijl, at the trial in which he and four of his staff are alleged to have committed contempt of court with reports published before and during the trials of Dr Alby Desmond Hartman and Larlene Lehnberg and Farhinus Choegoe for murder

He took legal advice on reports before they were published if he thought it necessary. He read all three reports in question but was now not 100 per cent sure that he had consulted attorneys although the reports were of the type that he would have discussed with them

In publishing the reports he had not intended to hinder the police investigations or the court proceedings. He felt that the facts contained in them were in the public interest

Mr A J Lategan, SC, for the State, began his cross-examination of Mr Wepener with questions on Rapport's report of Dr Hartman's confession to killing his suffering father with an overdose

Mr Wepener said that the report, which was headlined "Ek het hom ingespuit", was of the utmost importance to the people of Ceres where Dr Hartman practised

He suggested that Dr Hartman had made the confession, which took the form of a written statement, to set people's minds at rest as they could have worried whether they could continue to trust him to treat them

That edition of Rapport which contained other articles on mercy killing was not intended to create an atmosphere of approval for such killings, nor was it intended to sway public opinion for them

Mr Wepener said that the confession was published because it was news in the public interest and not for monetary gain. He knew of no newspaper in the country where profit

The confession could have caused a public debate, but it was not the intention of the newspaper at the time

Mr Wepener said that the confession was published because it was news in the public interest and not for monetary gain. He knew of no newspaper in the country where profit

Mr Wepener then turned to reports published before and during the scissor murder trial, quoting State witnesses Mr Christiaan van der Lande, Miss Elizabeth Isaacs and Mrs Jessie Faure who all testified against Lehnberg and Choegoe

Mr Wepener said that he had realized that these people would be State witnesses but what they said in the published reports was not relevant evidence

He conceded that it was not the duty of newspapers to reveal all the details of a case before it came to court but at the time he thought that reports would not influence the court.

Reports quoting people as saying that they suggested the judge did not hang Lehnberg or that they would be sorry if she were sentenced to death would not have been published before the trial, he said.

Earlier yesterday the editor of the Burger, Mr Piet Cillie, and the news editor of the Argus, Mr Neil Lunssen, told the court that they had declined to publish a report of the facts in their possession about Dr Hartman's killing before the trial

Mr Cillie said that it would have been "a good front page story" and Mr Lunssen said "it would have been a major scoop". The trial continues today

Mr Lategan was assisted by Mr M L Bekker, Mr Johan Krieger, SC, assisted by Dr Pieter Henning and instructed by Couzeyn, Hertzog and Horak, appeared for the newspaper and its staff

Mr Wepener



He is appearing in his personal capacity and as a representative of Rapport attorneys (Edms) Bpk three of the staff are reporters — Mr Jan Breyerbach, Mr Fanie van Westhuizen and Mr Willie Botha — and the fourth is the news editor Mr Michel Joseas de Cock

Mr Wepener, who said at his newspaper had

Mr Wepener said that he had realized that these people would be State witnesses but what they said in the published reports was not relevant evidence

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Newspaper is guilty of contempt

ARGUS 10/12/75

RAPPORT Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, the editor, Mr Willem Jacobus Wepener and four members of the editorial staff of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper were convicted of contempt of court in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today.

At the start of the hearing today Mr Wepener altered his plea to guilty of contempt of court and apologised for certain reports which appeared in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper.

Rapport Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Wepener and four members of the editorial staff of Rapport altered their pleas.

Wepener told the court that, after yesterday's proceedings, when certain aspects were pertinently brought to his notice by the prosecutor, Mr A. J. Latégan, SC, and the Judge-President, Mr Justice van Zijl, the case was discussed with the newspaper's legal representatives.

They now realised they had indeed broken ('oor-tree') the law, and they wished to apologise to the court.

Wepener said the newspaper now realised they regarded the court too narrowly as consisting only of the judge, whereas in fact the court consisted of all judicial officers who

could be influenced by newspaper articles which appeared in Rapport.

The editor said he was extremely worried that the inference could be drawn that Rapport placed articles in a spirit of challenge. This was untrue, and the newspaper did not put the interests of the newspaper before the interests of the court.

Wepener said he had serious problems with the sub judice rule.

Mr Justice van Zijl then convicted Rapport Uitgewers, Wepener, Michiel Joseus de Kock, Eddie Botha, Jan Breytenbach and Fanie van der Westhuizen of three counts of contempt of court.

The judge said he would pass sentence on Monday.
(Proceeding)

12. Should there be more or fewer tests? Essential

tutorial exercises?

have you found staff and tutors. Comment

13. General comment

RDM 23/1/76

245

Beeld 23/1/76
told to RDM

say sorry

THE Johannesburg Afrikaans daily newspaper Beeld has been fined R500 by the Press Council for contravening the Press code of conduct and has also been ordered to publish a leader page apology to the Department of Information

The Press Council also ordered Beeld to publish the full text of its adjudication elsewhere in the newspaper.

The council acted on a complaint by Dr Eschel Rhodie in his personal capacity and in his capacity as Secretary for Information

It found that Beeld had not contravened the Press Code in relation to Dr Rhodie in his personal capacity, but had done so in relation to his capacity as Secretary for Information

The complaint arose from an article in Beeld on July 14 last year, in which mention was made of "a strong storm" caused by an attack in the news magazine To The Point on the Department of Foreign Affairs and South African diplomats overseas — a storm, according to the report, in which Dr Rhodie felt he was implicated — Sapa

0286
2 245

Press warned on defence agreement

STAR 27/1/76

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, yesterday warned newspapers which had failed to abide by the agreement on the publication of defence information that they had one more chance.

Certain newspapers, both English and Afrikaans, had made a mockery of the agreement between the Defence Force and the Newspaper Press Union, he said during the no-confidence debate.

"I will give their names to the NPU. I will make one more attempt and, if this does not help, section 118 of the Defence Act will be applied blatantly"

The question had been asked whether the public was being kept informed on events in Angola. The answer was that they were. Nevertheless, a lot had been made about the so-called "right to know," especially in Press circles.

The Minister said he had no objection to the public's right to know, provided the security of South Africa's forces was not jeopardised and diplomatic confidences were not blurted out.

On November 20, for instance, the NPU had

been informed why certain things could not be published.

To his sorrow, Mr Botha said, certain South African reporters had broken the confidences more than foreign correspondents had. He expressed his thanks to those English and Afrikaans newspapers who had abided by the agreement and who had not spread rumours.

The Defence Force had asked for a reasonable period of 72 hours in which to release casualty details as the next of kin had to be informed and

the body brought back to South Africa.

Despite assurances given in this regard, certain newspapers went ahead and, without permission, published names of soldiers who had not even been killed.

Mr Botha also criticised newspapers which published blank spaces because of a lack of permission to use a name. He referred to a certain newspaper which, on the eve of the ADCS (African Defence Conference) Organisation of African Unity conference, attributed to him statements he had never made.

"If section 118 of the Defence Act does not prove sufficient, we will not hesitate to strengthen it," Mr Botha said. —Sapa

245

R.D.M. 31/1/76

When the Press has to pay UP

IN ANCIENT Persia the bearers of ill tidings lost their heads to the executioner's axe. Ever since then the Press has had a hard time explaining itself to the society in which it functions.

The countries in the world where a truly free Press exists are few. In Africa, it is only in Rhodesia and South Africa where newspapers function without too many legal inhibitions and even here there are grave restrictions and problems.

In this country the responsibility of protecting the Press and the public from each other rests with the Newspaper Press Union (NPU). This body consists of owners and managers of newspapers and its function is to "take decisions concerning the newspaper industry".

In August 1974 the NPU announced — after talks with newspaper managers — that complaints about the Press would be handled by the South African Press Council.

This new agreement ended the procedures adopted in 1962. This council would act, in theory, as a sort of Press ombudsman with punitive powers to keep the Press in line. It would deal with complaints about newspapers from the public.

A constitution was drawn up and procedures laid down to be administered by the NPU secretariat, which would convene the council to hear complaints.

Press councils exist in Holland, Britain, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Austria. But only the Swedish and South African bodies can impose fines on "guilty" newspapers.

The announcement of this agreement or Press Code was greeted by journalists with mixed feelings. Newspaper groups were split on the issue.

Mr L E A Slater, chairman of the Argus Group, said the Southern Transvaal region of the South African Society of Journalists, which had objected to the code "was not unanimous" and, besides, only 15 per cent of the membership had attended the protest.

In the Free State the English-language journalists accepted the code. Editors such as Raymond Louw of the Rand Daily Mail, Joel Mervis of the Sunday Times and Harry O'Connor of the

● The South African Press Council has fined two Afrikaners newspapers, Rapport and Beeld, a total of R2 000 for infringements of the Press Code. This is how it happened.

Eastern Province Herald, in company with all the then editors of SAAN, attacked the new system and saw in its acceptance by management the appointment of Mr Vorster, who had been fulminating about the Press "bringing their house in order" on pain of legislation.

The Afrikaners editors appeared to remain unaffected by the furore, believing that the code was aimed at "unpatriotic" (read English) newspapers.

It is therefore somewhat of an irony that the first major fines imposed by the Press Council on newspapers for contraventions were on Rapport and Beeld, two influential Afrikaners journals.

On August 28 last year Dr Eschel Rhoodie, Secretary for Information, filed a complaint against these newspapers alleging that reports and/or editorials they had published in the second week of July 1975

had coupled him unfairly — personally and professionally — with the publication of a contentious article in the magazine To the Point.

The offending articles in To the Point had attacked the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, suggesting that it was politically neutral and worse, possibly, an easy victim to security penetration. It was a serious attack on a Government department by the influential journal.

Dr Rhoodie had been editor of To the Point for nine months preceding his elevation to the Department of Information over the heads of a number of his senior colleagues.

He therefore had had ties with To the Point a month after his appointment to Information. Dr Rhoodie placed an order with To the Point for 500 copies a week of the magazine to be distributed through his de-

partment. The copies were bought from taxpayers' funds. Dr Rhoodie's "association" with the magazine which had attacked Foreign Affairs was the basis of his objection to the Rapport-Beeld articles. In passing, it can be mentioned that Dr Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, went on record at that time as calling this type of attack by To the Point on his department "backstabbing".

Dr Rhoodie argued he was associated "by implication" with "backstabbing" a sister department. The procedures of the Press Council stipulate that only after an allegedly aggrieved party has failed to extract satisfaction from an offending newspaper will the council entertain complaints.

Both Rapport and Beeld refused to apologise to Dr Rhoodie when he requested them to do so. The newspapers felt they had not injured Dr Rhoodie's

reputation, either professionally or personally. But Rapport offered Dr Rhoodie space in its letter columns so that he could air his alleged grievances in the newspaper. Dr Rhoodie declined the offer and filed instead a complaint requiring Press Council action.

Dr Rhoodie's list of complaints covered five pages. The legal representatives of Rapport and Beeld replied with affidavits from the editors of the newspapers. Their arguments in "defence" covered some 45 pages of reasoning, together with precedents from decided cases.

Their basic argument was that they had not injured Dr Rhoodie's reputation, either personally or professionally, and that no reasonable person who understood Afrikaans grammar and semantics could read injuria into the reports.

The Press Council consisting of the acting chairman, Advocate H J O van Heerden (by concurrence chairman of Rapport) and Mr G M C. Cronwright, found for the applicant and fined the newspapers heavily — R1 500 in the case of Rapport and R500 in the case of Beeld.

The judgement has come for criticism because the council did not publish the motivations for its findings. Mr Gerrie Uys, registrar of the council and general manager of the NPU, replies to this. "No record was kept of the proceedings, that is true. But the legal representatives of the parties argued from the documents before the council.

"No verbal evidence outside the ambits of the affidavits was called. Had this been necessary, then a record would have been kept. It must be remembered that this type of procedure has been agreed by newspaper managements when they agreed to the amendment of the council's procedure in 1974."

Asked about the possibly anomalous position of Mr William van Heerden as a member of the council and as chairman of Rapport, Mr Uys said that this was raised at the start of the proceedings. "All parties agreed that Mr Van Heerden could hear this complaint. There were no objections that Mr Van Heerden could not adjudicate in this matter."

RDM 4/2/76 (245)

Press entering a dark age

IN THESE days when all of us try to lay claim to being exponents of the "new" crusading journalism, exposing evil, malpractice, and bad government it comes as something of a shock to realise that the Cape Times had done it all by the turn of the century.

Or, perhaps, it points to the basic tenet of a democratic society — and of free journalism — that it survives by eternal vigilance against the forces of evil.

One of the Cape Times' first crusades was against the award of the Cape Government Railways' refreshment room contract to the laird of Matjiesfontein without tenders having been called for.

This led to the break-up of the first Cabinet of Cecil John Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape. It is perhaps a wry comment on our present times that the Cape Times' exposure of the Faros coal contract scandal of recent years and all the other scandals that have been brought to light seem to have the opposite effect on our Government.

Some years later, the Cape Times editor, Maitland Park, attacked the Cape's penal system, basing his charges on a series of articles written by a prisoner on his experiences while awaiting trial in Roeland Street jail.

This resulted in questions in Parliament and an undertaking by the Cape Government to investigate conditions — a somewhat different result to that which attended the Rand Daily Mail's venture into the same field 11 years ago.

Another editor supported the "Women's Lib" movement of the day, the women's suffrage movement and helped to sponsor a Bill to protect young women from exploitation.

At one stage this editor, Edmund Garrett, "a man with a weak chest and strong convictions", involved the newspaper in every controversy of the day.

He crusaded for better education for all races, against slums, for compulsory notification of disease, conditions of shop assistants, cultural amenities, protection of the environment and even Cape Dutch architecture.

Famous journalists worked for the paper and many of the men it trained in journalism earned high honour overseas.

One of its editors was reprimanded before the Bar of the House of Assembly — the only South

● Last night the Cape Times celebrated its centenary with a banquet. RAYMOND LOUW, Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, was the main speaker. Here is an extract from his address.

African editor to have this rare if uncomfortable distinction.

Another, who had angered the powerful Cecil Rhodes by criticising him in a leader, told Rhodes when he tried to influence the policy of the paper, "I think it is good for you, Mr Rhodes, that your paper has an editor who does not care a damn if he pleases you or displeases you."

I have dwelt on the Cape Times' past — but throughout its history it has waged an unremitting battle against authoritarianism and inroads on the freedom of people.

I remember well the bitter fight the paper waged against the Schlebusch Commission, and especially, the surgical precision with which the paper dissected its undemocratic processes.

In one of its leaders on the subject the Cape Times made the pertinent point that, and I quote "The essential peril is that in the struggle against real dangers facing this country, men will forget what they are fighting for. They may win some brief battles for White public opinion, but lose the great war of freedom."

The Cape Times' present editor, Mr Anthony Heard, has been waging his own war recently against the Government's secrecy over South African involvement in Angola, vigorously making the pertinent point that the lack of information was creating uncertainty and distrust of official news among the people.

Here again is an example of history repeating itself for in 1899 the Cape Times railed against "the almost intolerable action of the military censorship in withholding war news and in manipulating war news to suit some inconceivably stupid purpose."

I have stressed the continuing thread of the fight for freedom which runs through the history of this

great paper because I believe the Press is entering a dark age in South Africa.

On the one side it is being harried by inflation and escalating costs, and on the other it is being menaced by the authorities.

Its fragile freedom, already seriously eroded and constantly at further risk at the whim of authority, faces yet graver dangers.

I know the public has grown weary of this lament of ours. We in the Press are always forecasting doom and yet we still have the freest Press in Africa. Yet what we have warned against in the past is now blatantly exposed for all to see.

The shackling of the newspapers in this country which the general public would not take seriously, regarding it as some kind of remote problem that affected those awfully prying chaps on newspapers who should in any case be curbed, now affects every one of us.

I refer to the shameful way the public is being treated over the Angolan war issue.

Major decisions affecting the future of this country, its peoples and more particularly the lives of its youth, were taken without any reference whatsoever to the people.

News of our involvement in Angola was cloaked in secrecy. Even after it seeped out South Africa was not fully aware that it was involved in a major conflict beyond its borders.

And since then the news has been heavily censored so that the full extent of that involvement has been successfully hidden from the public.

The Defence authorities claim that their refusal of information was on the grounds of military security.

Although security was a factor, it fell away in many instances when the papers, TV, and radio overseas

were giving information about South Africa's involvement that newspapers here were prevented from publishing. News and information that was common knowledge overseas — and, therefore, could not by the farthest stretch of the imagination be regarded as a military secret — was vigorously censored here so that the South African public was kept in ignorance.

Many of us believe that there was no justification for preventing the South African public from knowing what was going on and what was of vital importance to it.

Many of us believe that some of the censorship had its motivation not in the security of the military forces north of the state but in the security of the Government.

The recent amendment to the Defence Act is a tacit admission that the Government realises it acted without proper authority in venturing into Angola.

With our border situation deteriorating and with our Government likely to blunder again I can only foresee more and more of this highly restrictive censorship in the name of defence and security.

But, the greatest menace of all is likely to emerge with the establishment of the promised permanent State Security Commission which will undoubtedly act in the manner of the Schlebusch commission.

The numerous attacks by Cabinet Ministers on the Press and their insinuations about its lack of patriotism and loyalty to the country, leaves me in little doubt that its tentacles will extend into the operations of newspapers.

And when that happens the spluttering lamp of Press freedom will have been finally extinguished in South Africa.

Newsmen

angry at sackings

Labour Correspondent

JOURNALISTS on The Star have launched a protest against the sacking of 26 African cleaners by their company. The firm intends contracting out its cleaning — at an estimated saving of R70 000 a year.

Star journalists said at a special meeting yesterday that they deplored the retrenchment of the workers and have called on the newspaper's management for their reinstatement.

One man with five years' service was being paid R44 a week by The Star.

Jobs for 11 cleaners who have served the company for more than 10 years have been found within the firm and jobs are being sought for six others.

The Star's manager Mr P. W. McLean, said the retrenchments were made for reasons of economy and efficiency. Last year profits of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company dropped from R5 549 000 to R3 437 000.

(1) 245

(2) 195

245

21312 - Perry

Banned man's article: judgment postponed

EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, appeared in the Regional Court yesterday on a charge of publishing an article by a banned person.

The Magistrate, Mr J Jordaan, after hearing evidence, postponed the case to next Friday for judgment.

Mr Woods is also on R50 bail pending an appeal against his sentence of six months' imprisonment in December for refusing to disclose the name of an informant regarding alleged criminal actions by a security policeman.

Charged yesterday in his capacity as editor as well as in his capacity as a director representing the newspaper's publishing company, the East London Daily Dispatch (Pty) Ltd, he is accused of having contravened a section of the Suppression of Communism Act by publishing an article by Mr Pumzile Majeke shortly after the latter was banned under the Act.

Mr Woods pleaded not guilty.

Two Security Branch policemen, Colonel A P van der Merwe and Warrant Officer J M van Zyl, told the court that Mr Majeke had been banned on October 16, 1975 and that an article by Mr Majeke had been published in the newspaper on October 24.

Col Van der Merwe also read out a news item which had appeared on October 18 recording the banning of several SASO officials, including Mr Majeke.

Giving evidence, Mr Woods said his newspaper kept file cards on all persons known to be banned. This information came from the South African Press Association which sent the names of banned persons to the newspaper, and librarians in the newspaper office kept the file cards up to date as they received them.

At present there were more than 1 600 such names, Mr Woods said, and it was difficult for the editorial staff to check all names related to news or articles against this list.

"The Daily Dispatch has an editorial staff of 45 and publishes between 30 000

jeke's name had not been received and would not have been in the files anyway nor had it been gazetted by the Minister of Justice at the time the article was published. He had therefore not known that Mr Majeke was banned, had not known of the article and therefore could not have known it would be published in the paper.

He said it was true that a news item by a staff reporter had recorded the banning of Mr Majeke and several other SASO officials, but that the file cards were kept up to date through the SAPA service and not based on news reports.

Although he accepted responsibility for what was published in the newspaper, he was often not in a position to know what was going to appear.

Mr Woods said although he wrote many of the editorials there were five editorial leader writers. The editorial page contained the leading article, a daily cartoon, a daily column, letters to the editor and feature articles. The article concerned had appeared on this page.

Under cross examination by the prosecutor, Mr J Bruwer, Mr Woods said he could not agree that the article had been highly controversial.

It had dealt with the question of blacks participating in homeland politics and the writers' attitude had been no more controversial than the attitude of the Prime Minister 30 years ago towards participation in politics, or than the attitude of General Hertzog when he founded the National Party. The sentiments expressed, had not in themselves been against the law.

Mr Woods, 42, said he had been editor of the Daily Dispatch for 11 years, and this had been the newspaper's first such prosecution in that time.

The executive in charge of the editorial page, Mr Roger Omond, told the

banned and I had not read the news item that had appeared in the newspaper.

Mr Omond said he had edited the article on the side of caution, but his main consideration had been that the article was too long for the available space.

Mr Omond said he had had 9 years' experience in journalism. He had graduated from Rhodes University in 1966 with a BA in history and politics and started working for the Daily Dispatch the following year. He had also had experience on newspapers in Cardiff and London, and had held various posts on the Daily Dispatch including those of features editor and political correspondent.

Under cross-examination by Mr Bruwer, Mr Omond said he did not believe the article was contentious, but explored a field that was of interest to readers.

Mr K J Kingon of the Bax Partnership appeared for Mr Woods and the Daily Dispatch. — DDR

Daily Dispatch

fined R200

DD
18/3/76

EAST LONDON -- The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, was reprimanded and discharged in the Regional Court here yesterday when he was found guilty of publishing an article by a banned person

The publishing company, the Daily Dispatch (Pty) Ltd, was also found guilty and fined R200

The charge follows an article published on the leader page of the Daily Dispatch on October 24 last year by Mr Pumzile Majeke

Mr Majeke had sent in the article on October 7. He had been served with a banning order on October 16. Two days later this was recorded in a news item in the Daily Dispatch and finally Mr Majeke's article was published on October 24.

In his judgment, the magistrate Mr J Jordaan, said the card index system which the Daily Dispatch

used to keep track of banned people was not reliable

"The facts are that the newspaper had knowledge of the banning before the article was published. That this knowledge was not carded is irrelevant to this case."

Mr Jordaan said there was some controversy about the article, but it had criticised the homeland policies and there was negligence on the part of all concerned for not making sure that the writer of the article was not a banned person.

In mitigation, Mr K Kingon who appeared for both Mr Woods and the Daily Dispatch, said it was

quite clear that there was no intention of breaking the law and publishing the article had been a mistake

"The court has held that there was negligence, but I submit that the State has raised a storm in a teacup and the case should never have come before the court at all and I ask that both accused be treated lightly because the matter is a trivial one."

Mr Kingon said the mistake occurred in unusual circumstances because the article was written before Mr Majeke was banned.

"The offence is not a serious one and conviction warrants no more than a caution and discharge," Mr Kingon said.

Mr Jordaan said as the maximum penalty was three years' imprisonment this was an indication of the seriousness of the charge.

He said the charge was preemptive rather than established, but as Editor and director Mr Woods was responsible for the acts of his staff.

An appeal is being noted DDR.

Term 1

(1.245)

1.245

Press misleading says Mulder ^{DD} 6/5/76

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY —
There appeared to have been a deliberate attempt by certain newspapers since the Angolan incident to tell black people that they were being oppressed, the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, said here last night.

Dr Mulder said he wanted to warn newspapers that the Government would not tolerate attempts to rouse the emotions of any section of the South African population or to interfere with black—white relations.

There had, for instance, been a cartoon in the Rand Daily Mail depicting a black man as a "loading zone" with all manner of things piled upon him.

"If this is not a deliberate attempt to rouse the feelings of black people, I don't know what it is," Dr Mulder said.

Among newspaper articles he referred to were some which pointed out the adverse effect price increases would have on black people, while objective reporting would have shown the effect on all people, not only blacks.

The Prime Minister was at present having talks with the Newspaper Press Union about a code of conduct and he therefore did not want to say much more on that subject, but it did appear from time to time as if the NPU could not exercise proper control over its own members, Dr Mulder said — SAPA

247

HANSARD 1988
Share-holdings of SAAN 918

*8 Mr J W E WILEY asked the Minister of Economic Affairs

Whether any investigation into the share-holding of SAAN has been ordered in terms of the Regulation of Monopolistic Conditions Act, if so, (a) when and (b) with what result, if not, why not

Audio/visuals

Is it essential to show any of such as a videotape?

The MINISTER OF COLOURED, RIBOTH AND NAMA RELATIONS (for the Minister of Economic Affairs)

No I have no reason to suspect that, arising from the share-holding in SAAN, a monopolistic condition exists which justifies an instruction to the Board of Trade and Industries to conduct an investigation into the matter in terms of the Regulation of Monopolistic Conditions Act

Mr J W E WILEY Mr Speaker, I should like to ask the Minister whether he will draw the attention of his absent colleague to an apparently well informed article which appeared in the magazine *To The Point* in the middle of April, which may help him to make up his mind whether to order an investigation or not

The MINISTER Mr Speaker, the hon member will have to put that question to the Minister concerned when he is present

When will your presentation have been decided?

Where will you be playing at home or in the meeting room?

How long will the presentation be and for what subject?

What is the right size for the audience expected?

(d) Will everyone be able to see?

Is there a dais or platform?

Is there enough room for the proper positioning of one or more projection screens?

(e) Will everyone be able to hear?

Will you need to use a microphone?

Is there a public address system already installed? Will there be any distracting noises and can these be silenced during your presentation?

(f) Can the room be darkened easily?

Are there sufficient power supplies for any projected visuals or recorded sound?

Visuals

(a) What equipment will you have at your disposal? Will there be an experienced projectionist available?

(b) Are there any suitable visuals or other aids (e.g. films, videotapes, sound tapes, slides, etc.) already available?

(c) What facilities are there for obtaining or making others you may need?

Budget

Has a budget already been prepared? If so, how much money has been allowed for:

Financial assistance for daily newspaper 9/8

own ideas on

find interview

headline those

lines in Write

*9 Mr J W E WILEY asked the Minister of Information

Whether the Government is considering any financial assistance for a daily newspaper in existence or to come into existence; if so, what is (a) the name of the newspaper and (b) the amount of the financial assistance.

The MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

No

(a) and (b) fall away.

the subject, your talk should

quotations, specialists, at this stage

write two sub

points that s

Go through yo

between each

your three m

The body

- 1) Take a sheet of paper. Think about your subject. Jot down 20 to 30 words associated with it.
- 2) Working on a 5 minute talk, ring the three words you think are the most important on your list.
- 3) What do these words say to you? What specifically do you want your audience to think and do at the end of your talk? Now, write the aim of your talk in one short sentence.
- 4) Write your aim at the top of a clean sheet of paper.

2.1.1 The Vertical Plan

VERTICAL PLAN and HORIZONTAL PLAN

Two methods for planning your talk: Constructing your plan:

2. PLANNING THE PRESENTATION.

Compare your two lists of circumstances. If you feel too restricted negotiate with the organizers so that you can achieve your objective.

- (a) Cost of executive time in preparation and presentation?
- (b) Cost of purchase, hire, or manufacture of materials and equipment?
- (c) Hire of accommodation and any special assistance?
- (d) Travelling expenses?

① 262 Cape
② 245

Municipal bid for new law on press

DD
7/5/76

EAST LONDON — Should the Cape Province Municipal Association support a move to legislate that newspapers be prosecuted if they publish confidential municipal information?

This is expected to be one of the most hotly debated subjects when the CPMA meets for its 69th annual congress at the Orient Theatre, East London, from May 10 to May 14, though it is not on the official agenda.

The Finance Committee of the Port Elizabeth City Council — without reference to the council itself — sent a letter to the executive of the CPMA asking them to support and if the executive has seen merit in the request the matter will probably be brought up at the congress.

There was an outcry from Port Elizabeth councillors who felt the move should have been made by the council as a whole or not at all as then it could not have been viewed as a minority decision.

Under existing municipal regulations a councillor or municipal official who disclosed confidential information to the press may be prosecuted, but a newspaper is not liable to prosecution for publishing the information.

One Port Elizabeth councillor, Mr S Rubin, felt the move was an attempt to restrict freedom of the press.

He said the press should be fully aware of developments which affected the community.

The Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Daan Rossouw MPC, however, felt the council's Finance Committee had been correct in bringing the issue to the attention of the CPMA.

"If necessary I would take this to the CPMA alone," he told reporters.

A proposal by the East London City Council that the CPMA support a recommendation to the Provincial Administration that members of the Coloured Management

quest from the CMC here that two members be allowed to sit in at all meetings of the Council's Action Committee.

The CMC indicated it felt it was not gaining knowledge in the running of municipal affairs under the present system of Management Committees and this could only be rectified if they had representatives serving on or sitting in on Action Committee meetings.

If the ordinance is amended to allow CMC members to sit in on these meetings they will not have voting rights and will not be able to take part in debate except if asked to do so on matters affecting the Coloured community.

They would also become liable to prosecution if they disclosed confidential information to the press.

The Grahamstown City Council has applied for the State to increase the subsidy payable in respect of government-owned properties on the grounds municipalities were finding it difficult to balance the budgets.

They say in towns where there is a high proportion of property exempt from taxes and there are limited sources of revenue available municipalities are finding it increasing difficulty in coping financially.

If a proposal by the Jamestown Town Council to abolish entertainment duty in the country districts is accepted it could mean a boom for the cinema industry in the smaller towns.

The council complains it is impossible for film companies to conduct bioscopes in small towns on a profitable basis because of the entertainment duty and the result of this is that young people from the platteland go to the cities to find entertainment.

The Jamestown council felt this was causing depopulation of the platteland which could be avoided if the province abolished the entertainment duty in the country districts as other provinces had done.

feels they are undesirable because of the type of customer they attract.

They have proposed that the machines only be allowed in amusement arcades set aside for the purpose — DDR.

ROSSOW MA C, HOWEVER, felt the council's Finance Committee had been correct in bringing the issue to the attention of the CPMA.

"If necessary I would take this to the CPMA alone," he told reporters

A proposal by the East London City Council that the CPMA support a recommendation to the Provincial Administration that members of the Coloured Management Committee be allowed to sit in at all committee meetings is also expected to arouse considerable interest locally

The present ordinance provides that meetings of occasional and standing committees should not be open to the public or the press, but the council recently received a re-

DISCOPIES IN SHAR... on a profitable basis because of the entertainment duty and the result of this is that young people from the platteland go to the cities to find entertainment

The Jamestown council felt this was causing depopulation of the platteland which could be avoided if the province abolished the entertainment duty in the country districts as other provinces had done

Pinball machines are also causing something of a headache, and not only for those who have to listen to the balls roll and the counters tumble.

The Uitenhage Town Council has been flooded with applications for licences to install pinball and similar machines and

(1) 2465
(2) 2876

Journalists lash war censorship

Staff Reporter
THE South African Press became "unwilling victims of a conspiracy of silence" by failing to report on what happened in the Angolan War because of military censorship.

This view is part of a protest statement from the South African Society of Journalists.

The society, representing about 750 journalists undertook to start a study, with a university, into censorship during the Angola war.

The statement, released from the SASJ national congress in Port Elizabeth, called on the Government to make known the facts on the war.

The society said: "As journalists, we insist on the right to public enquiry and public debate on the Angola war, and we demand to know the facts South Africans committed their lives and their wealth to this war and have still to debate the morality and merits of their involvement.

"The Government has subverted the Press and its role as watchdog of the public interest, and the honesty and integrity of the Press has been brought into question Angola may be just the start"

The SASJ detailed four main issues it was protesting against:

● The way in which the South African Press was abused by the State in that only information satisfactory to the Government was released to accredited journalists, turning the Press into a propaganda machine.

● The way in which the South African Broadcasting Corporation was on many occasions given preferential

treatment over other sections of the Press.

○ The way in which, on occasions, foreign Pressmen were given information not available to South African journalists.

● The way in which South African Pressmen were precluded from movement in the war area and a civil liberty which ensures the free flow of information.

The statement explained: "Under the Defence Act, all reports on a war situation have to be cleared by military censors."

"An agreement exists between the Minister of Defence and newspaper managements which gives the Minister the right to demand as a 'friendly request' that we do not publish certain information."

"The Press has been intimidated over the years to accept a compliant role. Defiance, if considered, involves heavy penalties which could well put newspapers out of business while journalists themselves have to take a personal risk of going to jail."

"As a result, vague information, rumour, and distorted facts were common."

"We accept that in a war situation military censorship may be necessary if it relates to strategic information. However, South Africans still want full answers to five simple questions:

- Who went into Angola?
- What happened in the war?
- When did South Africa enter the war?
- Why did South Africa go to war?
- How did she fare in the war?

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Claim made by Mercury

15/7/76 AM

Mercury Reporter

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party, which accused The Natal Mercury of a contravention of the Press Code, was by its actions guilty of contravening the code in one of its own publications, the S.A. Press Council was told in Durban yesterday.

The claim was made by Advocate W. P. Boshoff, who appeared for the Mercury at yesterday's hearing before the three-man council. He submitted that the Mercury had no case to meet and in no way contravened the Code.

The HNP, was represented by its deputy-leader, Mr. Jaap Marais, who gave evidence on his party's complaint to the council.

This was that the Mercury, on March 6, published an article stating that an HNP claim "that the South African Government is supplying R100 million a year in aid to the Frelimo communists of Mozambique is not correct."

The report referred to an article which appeared in the newspaper the previous day quoting from an HNP pamphlet distributed by the party in the Durban North constituency.

Mr. Marais said that his party had written to the Editor of the Mercury enclosing cuttings from various other newspapers as evidence to substantiate its "aid to Frelimo communists" claim.

reports in other newspapers for the verification of facts

"My attitude is that until such time as the fact is established one way or another — without assumption — it is misleading to say, as your pamphlet does, that the South African Government should stop the R100 million a year aid to the Frelimo communists of Mozambique.

"It is precisely because we do concern ourselves with fair play and ethics that we do not treat assumptions as facts," he wrote.

Mr. Boshoff submitted that the Mercury had in no way contravened the Press Code. It had published a report which was later considered to be inaccurate in view of Article 2c of the Code.

In compliance with the Code the Mercury had the next day published the report which the HNP was objecting to.

All the newspaper evidence on which the HNP had based its pamphlet

statement indicated that it was the mining houses and not the Government that paid the amount to the Mozambique Government, he said.

The HNP itself had had ample opportunity to check the factual content of its own pamphlet and having failed to do so it was itself guilty of contravening the Press Code, he said.

Asked by Mr. Willem van Heerden, one of the council members, whether the Mercury's failure to publish the HNP's letter was a contravention of the Code, Mr. Boshoff said that it was not

"An editor was not obliged to publish a letter, it was purely at his discretion. "But in this case I am instructed that if the HNP had made it clear in their letter to the Editor of the Mercury that they wanted it published, he would probably have done so"

The council will announce its findings at a later date.

The Mercury did not publish this letter and its failure to do so was, he submitted, a serious contravention not only of ethical principles, but of Articles 2b and c of the Press Code.

Readers were deprived of the opportunity to judge for themselves whether the HNP statement was correct or not.

Mr. Marais said that the HNP based the relevant information in its pamphlet on articles which had appeared in the Star, the Sunday Times and Sunday Tribune.

He submitted that the Mercury should have checked the accuracy of its report by getting further information before publishing the denial

A letter from Mr James McMillan, Editor of the Mercury, to the secretary of the HNP, was handed in as an affidavit.

He said that the Mercury did not rely on

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The Star averaged 184 000 over January-June, 0,2% down on the same period last year while the Rand Daily Mail with 137 000 was 0,2% up Cape Argus at 109 000 slipped 3,2% while the Daily News at 96 000 drifted 0,6% The Cape Times on the other hand at 69 000 fell 4%

Beeld and Transvaler show the greatest strides in the morning field with Beeld at 48 000 gaining 29,3% Transvaler, with its new look has risen 4,4% to 64 000 Evening rival Vaderland, however, is static at 61 000

Argus MD Liff Hewitt argues that two very long holiday weekends in April and May drastically curtailed evening paper sales And, he adds, heavy rains in the Cape hit Argus circulation

On the other hand, Hewitt points out that The Star's circulation increased noticeably in June, with Soweto riot coverage specials (as did that of the



SAAN's Walton . . just as we expected

The new Sunday Express, now selling only in the Transvaal, has dropped to 135 000 and now trails the Tribune's 150 000 SAAN's MD Liff Hewitt, however, says circulation is "about what we'd expected."

Meanwhile the Press focal point is still the expected first publication of Louis Luyt's new morning, The Citizen MD Philip Clark says the date is still within the first two weeks of September, that the first issue will be 52 pages; that print order will be somewhere between 150 000-200 000

THE PAPER CHASE

	Sales average	Change on	Change on
	Jan-June 1976	July-Dec 1975	Jan-June 1975
	'000s	%	%
DAILIES			
Star	184	+1,7	-0,2
RDM	137	+4,2	+0,2
Argus	109	+0,6	-3,2
Daily News	96	+1,1	-0,6
World	131	+3,7	+9,2
Natal Mercury	68	+0,6	-0,1
Vaderland	61	-7,4	No change
Cape Times	69	+6,9	-4,0
Burger	68	+5,8	-0,6
Transvaler	64	+21,4	+4,4
Beeld	48	+11,3	+29,3
E P Herald	28	+1,1	-3,4
Pretoria News	27	+3,7	-3,3
Daily Dispatch	26	+0,2	+0,4
Evening Post	28	-3,6	-0,4
Oosterlig	12	-6,2	-2,6
The Friend	8	+1,5	+2,0
Diamond Fields Advertiser	8	+7,6	+2,2
WEEKLIES			
Sunday Times	487	-2,7	+2,1
Rapport	458	-5,4	+1,2
Sunday Express	135	-19,7	-4,2
W/E World	188	+5,0	-4,7
Sunday Tribune	150	-4,7	-1,5
W/E Argus	139	+0,3	-3,7
W/E Star	115	-0,6	-7,1
W/E Cape Times	98	+1,2	-4,5
W/E Burger	80	+5,1	-0,5
Ilanga (bi-weekly)	78	+7,5	+2,0
Post	43	-14,8	-15,2
W/E Transvaler	48	+14,0	+2,5
W/E Daily News	38	-1,7	-6,3
W/E Vaderland	24	-8,0	-8,8
Financial Mail	21	+1,1	+0,9
W/E Pretoria News	126	-4,9	-10,4

ABC FIGURES
Riots sell

F.M
6/8/76

Is TV beginning to bite into the sales of evening papers, as has been so long predicted? Latest circulation figures show a slight but perceptible drift to mornings, particularly noticeable among Afrikaans papers

RDM, though not so noticeably) and Hewitt claims that much of the increase has held

Both the Sunday Times and Rapport have climbed back after sales losses following the January price increase The Sunday Times with 487 000 is 2,1% up, while Rapport, selling an average 458 000 in the first half, is up 1,2%

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Mulder gives new warning to press

CT 14/8/76

DURBAN. — The time had perhaps come when the Government would have to help the press to put its house in order if the press would not do so itself, the Minister of the Interior and of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, said here last night.

Dr Mulder told a National Party public meeting that among the things he had in mind were that reporters' names should be carried with each report, that all opinion-formers on newspapers should be bilingual South African citizens and that circulation figures among various population groups would have to be revealed to advertisers.

"It feels to me that the time has arrived in this watershed year to establish these things in the interest of South Africa and in the interests of freedom of the press," he said.

South Africa placed a high premium on press freedom which, with religious freedom and freedom of speech, were part of a free society. But one expected loyalty and patriotism from the press and responsible reporting, even of things with which the newspaper disagreed.

Dr Mulder singled out in particular the Durban Daily News for reports and headlines concerning a speech at the National Party congress yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller.

The headlines: "Rhodesia rapped for hot pursuit" and "Muller backs majority rule" did not reflect what Dr Muller had said about Rhodesia and had upset him.

Dr Mulder had told him that he had not "rapped" Rhodesia.

"Our press is recklessly irresponsible about delicate matters which the Government has to handle with the greatest care," Dr Mulder said.

"It is a crime against South Africa to cause trouble between us and our neighbouring states."

In this instance, Dr Muller was dealing with a matter in which the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, had involved himself, and had considered it so important that he had carefully prepared his speech in advance.

This considered opinion of South Africa's attitude, which would go out into the world, had been given in writing to



reporters. Yet the impression created about a delicate matter was that Dr Muller backed majority rule in Rhodesia.

What could be done with newspapers which showed such irresponsibility? Dr Mulder asked.

"If you attack the press in any form whatsoever, the world cries 'police state', if you give it freedom, it reacts as it did today," he said.

Dr Mulder named the Sunday Times and the Rand Daily Mail as examples of newspapers which had carried irresponsible reports or comment.

When taxes were increased earlier this year, the Sunday Times had stated that Blacks were being taxed for increased spending though the war was between Black people and Whites who believed in apartheid, he said.

It was one of the newspapers which had said that separate development, which it called apartheid, was the real danger to the country.

"In a country where relations between peoples are as loaded as ours, it is irresponsible to say this," Dr Mulder said.

The Rand Daily Mail, at the time of the Springs bus boycott, had made no attempt to justify the fare increases to its considerable Black leadership.

It could have explained that they were caused by price rises, petrol increases and the increases in Black wages, which had been raised three or four times.

The Prime Minister and the Newspaper Press Union were still discussing a new agreement, and Dr Mulder said he hoped this would be completed fairly soon.

But he said he wondered whether the opinion-formers of newspapers — editors, columnists and others in senior positions — should not at least be required to be South African citizens.

A South African citizen at least had an interest in the country, and would not be able to "take the first plane home" if things went wrong as a result of the suspicion he had shown.

Nor was a man who was not fully bilingual justified in commenting on current events. Sapa

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Cape Times 22/6/76

Botha blamed press for riots, inquiry told

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — At the height of the Soweto riots, Mr M C Botha the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, told urban Black leaders that the "unfortunate clashes" on the Afrikaans issue at Soweto schools could, to a large extent, be blamed on the newspapers.

This was revealed yesterday before the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the riots when the minutes of a meeting between Mr M C Botha and urban Black leaders, held on June 19, during the height of the riots, was made public for the first time.

Answering complaints by LBC leaders over the compulsory use of Afrikaans, the Minister said he had no authority to "suspend" a language, because both English and Afrikaans were

entrenched as official languages

The minutes also revealed the Black leaders' anger over a meeting with Mr J Ackerman, regional director of Bantu Education on June 13. The leaders said Mr Ackerman had told them education was a professional matter and LBC members were not competent or capable of discussing it.

Mr Justice Cillie ordered the press to leave the riot inquiry hearing halfway through evidence given by Mr J C de Villiers, Chief Director of the West Rand Administration Board

The order — made at Mr De Villiers's request — followed his scathing attack on the Bantu education system in Soweto.

Mr De Villiers then requested that his evidence, dealing with the role of the police and the political climate in Soweto be heard in camera.

Mr De Villiers told the commission that about a month before the June riots, he had told his chairman that at least some inspectors of Bantu education were "busy fighting fires alongside the Soweto haystack" in their handling of the Afrikaans language issue. In his evidence, Mr de

Mr Villiers also criticized the way in which the Department of Bantu Education was pushed to the sidelines when it came to the provision of new school buildings in Soweto.

"The whole system is . . . frustrating and extremely unjust to the Department of Bantu Education . . . (it) . . . needs urgent attention."

"Official clumsiness and refusal to fulfil requirements faster and sufficiently must certainly contribute to a climate of dissatisfaction and frustration in which reaction from people becomes possible," Mr De Villiers said.

Prefacing his remarks Mr De Villiers said "I believe firmly that we must not allow the riots to have occurred in vain."

"It doesn't help to . . . suppress those factors which in the decades ahead can invite further reaction if they are not now squarely faced up to."

Mr De Villiers said the procedures adhered to in the erection of school buildings were unsatisfactory

He could not understand why the departments of Bantu Administration and Community Development approved the buildings of schools, community development financed them, and local authorities built them.

The introduction of schooling on ethnic lines had caused a further setback, Mr De Villiers said.

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AMU J

SA's big events in new book

Staff Reporter

A BOOK covering most major headline-hitting events in South Africa during the past century was published in Cape Town this week.

"A Newspaper History of South Africa" was written by Cape Times sub-editor Mr Vic Alhadeff who travelled extensively and spent several months doing research to get first-hand information and capture the human drama behind each event.

The book covers 42 events dating from the Sand River Convention in 1852, which marked the birth of the Transvaal Republic, to the Soweto riots of June 1976.

"For each event, I read at least four newspapers of the time and also history books to get a full background," said Mr Alhadeff.

For the account of the 1916 Battle of Dellville Wood, in which only 750 soldiers survived out of 3 143, in the South African Brigade, in France, the author interviewed an 86-year-old survivor, Captain S C Vincent.

The episode of the hijack of the SA Boeing in 1972 includes an account by the pilot, two hostesses and the doctor who massaged one of the hijackers who complained of backache.

Citizens' plea by Dawie

Political Correspondent

FNL official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, the Burger, has, through its influential political columnist, Dawie, again cut right across Government policy

In his column yesterday, Dawie (the Editor, Dr Piet Cillie) repeated his remarkable plea of five days ago by again appealing for full citizenship for all those in South Africa who could not be given Transkei-type "separate freedom" in their own state.

This deviation from the official party line by the Burger is especially significant since the newspaper has been noted for its conservative approach in Nationalist politics in recent years.

In effect, Dawie's proposals appear to be a defiance of the Prime Minister himself, who has repeatedly stated that Blacks living outside the homelands must exercise political rights in these areas, and that the Coloured and Indian people would never be represented in the White Parliament under a Nationalist Government.

Dawie wrote yesterday that where a prospect of a future such as in Transkei could not be offered, there would at least have to be the prospect of equal freedom next to the Whites in one newly designed state structure.

Based on his argument on the need for all to have an objective, common standard, Dawie said that a united defence front could be envisaged while important sections of the population passed the prospects of a more having freedom.

On Saturday, Dawie wrote that the formation of the time of the homelands as an ultimate demand for order for a South Africa.

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19/11/76

The Cape Times Friday,

Piet Cillie calls for freedom

THE EDITOR of the Burger, Mr Piet Cillie, yesterday called for a Government declaration of intent — offering full freedom to all people in South Africa not catered for by the homelands policy.

Addressing a meeting of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, he said he was not advocating a new constitution, but a declaration of intent to give a prospect of full freedom to

all the children of a particular state. This would give Afrikaners a clarity of purpose.

He reiterated the viewpoint of the Burger's Davie column that there was a need for co-equal citizenship for all peoples in South Africa, if this was not available through the homelands policy.

“We're emphasizing this now,” he said, “because people are often more amenable to good sense when they are in trouble.”

Mr Cillie said he was not making a plea for the end of the homelands policy. However, the Westminster system of government had served its purpose in South Africa, and had now broken down for all practical purposes.

This had also occurred everywhere else in Africa. It also was against the tradition of the Afrikaner to dominate others permanently.

South Africa was moving, alone, towards a series of multiple crises. The current mood of the West was not conducive to support of the Republic in these crises. Their resolution would require all the spiritual, intellectual and material resources of the country.

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Not. Merc. 19/11/76

Freedom call

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The editor of the Burger, Mr. Piet Cillie, yesterday called for a Government declaration of intent — offering full freedom to all people in South Africa not catered for by the homelands policy.

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2/12/76.

The Natal Mercury

Hearings is told newspaper acted in good faith

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr. Percy Yutar, SC, yesterday read out a statement in the closing stages of the Cillie Commission's Cape Town sitting, saying he accepted that the Cape Times had acted in good faith in publishing a report on Tuesday about the burning of houses at Guguletu.

The report quoted a police spokesman as saying that at Guguletu on Monday night a crowd had singled out as target the homes of policemen and of those they believed had given evi-

dence before the Cillie Commission. Major C. V. R. Mouton, of the South African Police, whose evidence was led by Dr. Yutar, told the Commission on Tuesday that no such information had been given to the Cape Times or to any other newspaper by a police spokesman.

Major Mouton referred to the Cape Times report as "false and distorted."

When the Commission resumed in open session yesterday Dr. Yutar said he wished to make a statement in connection with the evidence given by Major Mouton.

The statement was: "In his evidence before the Cillie Commission on Tuesday, November 30, Major Mouton did not say nor did he intend to convey that the Cape Times had deliberately falsified or distorted its report, but that information contained in the report was not correct in respect of the assertion that the houses damaged by arsonists in Guguletu were those of witnesses testifying before the Cillie Commission."

"I am prepared, after hearing the report, accompanied by the Cape Times attorney, to accept that he acted in good faith in preparing the report and, likewise, that the Cape Times acted in good faith in publishing the report."

"But I point out that the information was not obtained from a police spokesman, as envisaged by the agreement between the Press Union and the S.A. Police, that no information may be sought from a member of the police other than certain officers."

"In fact, no police officer had given the information supplied. The reporter in question spoke to a Black person, who was introduced to him as a detective sergeant."

"The reporter wanted to obtain confirmation from a police officer but was prevented by the newspaper's deadline. The Cape Times accepts that it would have been preferable to obtain confirmation from a higher police authority."

After leading this statement, Dr. Yutar said: "I hope the happy relationship that exists between that newspaper and the police will continue."

Mr. Justice Cillie: "And with the Commission."

Dr. Yutar: "And with the Commission."

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Citizen leaves NPU

C.T. 6/12/76.

JOHANNESBURG — The Newspaper Press Union said yesterday it was "a little surprised" that the Johannesburg morning newspaper, the Citizen, had decided to leave the NPU

"The publication has been a member for a short time," The NPU president, Mr H Miller, said in a statement "We've had little contact with its executive members We are not sure what their problems are "

In a statement announcing its withdrawal yesterday, the newspaper's managing director, Mr Philip Clarke,

said "We have taken this decision not only in the interests of the Citizen, but in the interests of the press in general

"Our brief experience as a member of the NPU has shown that there is no place in the organization for a new and vigorous newspaper which is bringing fresh ideas, in promotion, distribution and news coverage, to an industry which for far too long has been dominated by existing groups and their restrictive policies," he said

Mr Clarke claimed that the Citizen is now the only

major newspaper which is able to act on its own in the interests of readers and advertisers and the public in general"

"We believe that, by withdrawing from the NPU we will be able to implement, without artificial restraints being placed on us, our policy of bringing to the reading public and to advertisers a new concept in marketing and editorial presentation "

He said the newspaper's independent approach would bring about changes in other sectors of the press

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Editor's 8/12/76
case: DD
judgment
tomorrow

GRAHAMSTOWN — Judgment in the appeal of the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, against conviction and sentence of six months imprisonment for refusing to disclose the identity of an informant in connection with allegations of criminal actions by a security police officer, will be given in the Supreme Court here tomorrow.

The appeal was heard on October 29 before Mr Justice D. D. V. Kannemeyer and Mr Justice Theal Stewart.

Mr Woods, who returned from Cape Town yesterday after a private discussion with Sen Dick Clark, chairman of the United States Senate's Foreign Relations Committee on Africa, said he welcomed the imminence of the judgment.

"I will accept whatever judgment is handed down by the Supreme Court tomorrow and will not take it on appeal to the Appellate Division if it goes against me," he said.

"I appreciate that I have had a fair trial before qualified judges, unlike the many South Africans now in jail who never had a trial at all and were condemned to prison by a politician." — DDR

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Judgment day
for editor ^{9/12/76}
GRAHAMSTOWN. ^{RDM}
Judgment will be given today in the appeal by the editor of the Daily Dispatch against conviction and a sentence of six month jail.
Donald Woods was found guilty of refusing to disclose the identity of an informant in connection with allegations of criminal actions by a Security officer.
The appeal was heard in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on October 29.

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#6

Fleet Street 9/12/76. editor backs DD. Vorster

LONDON — In a major article yesterday, a Fleet Street editor praised South African Premier John Vorster for his realism and warned that the West's policy of pillorying and isolating South Africa could be a costly failure.

Mr William Deedes, editor of the Daily Telegraph and former Conservative cabinet minister, who recently met Mr Vorster and Mr Ian Smith, said in a leader page article that the "crusade to pillory South Africa is having perverse results"

The loss of trusted communication with Mr Vorster had, for a start, reduced the West's ability to act more decisively over Rhodesia

Mr Deedes said he was left in no doubt that Mr Vorster and Mr Smith found the British Government irreconcilable.

He said Mr Vorster's uphill and expensive road to separate development was obscene to some, but "it is more consistent than the arguments of his critics in South Africa"

He said the critics included both idealists and realists who believed Mr Vorster should move before blacks became totally alienated and turned to communism

But, he said, there were many who just sought "adjustments" to suit themselves "It is to Mr Vorster's credit that his response to this lobby lacks cordiality," said Mr Deedes

He said he found Mr Vorster's view that the West had lost the will to govern and to resist aggression, disturbing "What he says, he means, and if we accept what he says we must conclude that in this psychological war with South Africa, we have achieved overkill"

"We have lost all hold over Mr Vorster. While some, holding more enlightened views than him about race and equality may draw some moral satisfaction from despising Mr Vorster and all his works, in reality, it signals

total failure of our policy," he said

Mr Vorster was prudent to spend so much of his budget on defence, because time was running fast against the Nationalists

Mr Deedes described Mr Vorster's "one outside chance" as being certain black regimes who could move into an anti-communist alignment with him, even in their own self-interest

"At least some black regimes share with Mr Vorster the virtue of realism," he said, "and realists have a way of confounding those, like ourselves, who live in cloud cuckoo land" —
DDC

Newspaper editor succeeds in appeal

The Argus Representative

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch of East London succeeded today in an appeal against his conviction and six months' prison sentence refusing to reveal the identity of an informant in connection with allegations against security police officer.

The court held that the examination at which Mr Woods appeared was not held by the magistrate who had issued the subpoena.

The examination was a nullity.

The ruling by the magistrate that there was no just excuse justifying Mr Woods's refusal to disclose the identity of his informant and the sentence imposed as the result of such refusal were set aside.

Giving the background of the case Mr Justice Kannemeyer, who heard the appeal with Mr Justice Thea Stewart, said during September last year the offices of an organisation known as the Black Community Programme in King William's Town were broken into and, according to Mr Woods, furniture and typewriters were maliciously damaged, and a duplicating machine was stolen.

Mr Woods received two reports indicating that a member of the Security Branch of the South African Police was responsible.

CLAIM

One report was based on suspicion only but the other was made by a person claiming to have seen a policeman, a Mr Hattingh, near the offices at the relevant time.

Mr Woods also claimed to have information from another source linking the policeman with maliciously damaging the motorcar of Mr Alan Paton.

Mr Woods, in a prepared statement which he had read out in court, said that in September 1975 he interviewed

unwilling to take the matter further, requiring me to protect his identity. This, as a journalist, I have to do.

The informant regarding Mr Paton's car consented to his identity being disclosed and Mr Woods gave his name as Mr D. J. Card, an East London City Councillor who was prepared to testify.

Mr Woods said he was then informed by two police colonels that orders had been received to issue a subpoena against him if he did not disclose the name of his unidentified informant.

This was done on December 5 and served on Mr Woods on the same day.

LEGAL

Dealing with the legal provisions requiring a person to attend an examination before a magistrate if he was likely to give material evidence relating to an alleged offence, the judge said that there had been changes in the 1955 Act from the wording used in a similar Act passed in 1917.

In the 1955 Act 'every magistrate' was altered to read 'a magistrate' and after the words 'require the attendance' in the 1917 Act were added the words 'before him'.

It was argued that addition of the words 'before him' in the present section as opposed to that of the 1917 Act must be given some effect.

He had come to the conclusion, said the judge, that the words 'before him' must be given their ordinary meaning, namely that the magistrate who issued the subpoena must hold the examination.

COMMON CAUSE

It was common cause that the subpoena was signed by Mr P. S. Sauerman in his capacity as magistrate and that the examination was held by Mr N. R. Oosthuizen another magistrate.

If he was correct in his view that on a proper

interpretation the section required that examination must be by the magistrate who sued the subpoena the examination was not an examination held under section.

It was a nullity.

When the appeal heard on October 20 Woods was represented by Mr H. W. Levy SC, Mr F. Kroon (assisted by Mr K. J. Kingon), S. A. Engelbrecht SC Deputy Attorney General appeared for the State.

Woods's refusal to disclose the identity of his informant and the sentence imposed as the result of such refusal were set aside.

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Mr Woods also claimed to have information from another source linking the policeman with maliciously damaging the motorcar of Mr Alan Paton.

Mr Woods, in a prepared statement which he had read out in court, said that in September 1975 he interviewed General Van den Bergh, head of the Bureau for State Security and told him of this information.

He also mentioned the matter to the Minister of Justice the following day.

General van der Bergh said according to Mr Woods that he would discuss the matter with General Geldenhuys, head of the Special Branch.

STATEMENT

On his return to East London Mr Woods was approached by a Special Branch colonel who asked for a detailed statement at the request of General Geldenhuys. Mr Woods prepared a statement.

On December 4 he was approached by Lieutenant Colonel S. C. Williams of the CID with a request that he should make a statement apparently in order to disclose his source of information. He made a statement.

In so far as the breaking into the offices of the Black Community Programme was concerned Mr Woods declined to identify the informant on the ground that he was unable to contact him and could accordingly not obtain his permission to disclose his identity.

In the statement to General Geldenhuys Mr Woods said his informant fears reprisals and is now

prepared to testify.

Mr Woods said he was then informed by two police colonels that orders had been received to issue a subpoena against him if he did not disclose the name of his unidentified informant.

This was done on December 5 and served on Mr Woods on the same day.

LEGAL

Dealing with the legal provisions requiring a person to attend an examination before a magistrate if he was likely to give material evidence relating to an alleged offence, the judge said that there had been changes in the 1955 Act from the wording used in a similar Act passed in 1917.

In the 1955 Act 'every magistrate' was altered to read 'a magistrate' and after the words 'require the attendance' in the 1917 Act were added the words 'before him'.

It was argued that addition of the words 'before him' in the present section as opposed to that of the 1917 Act must be given some effect.

in his capacity as magistrate and that the examination was held by Mr N. R. Oosthuizen, another magistrate.

If he was correct in his view that on a proper

Woods was
Mr H. W.
Mr P. S.
by Mr R.
S. A.
Deputy
appears

1976
1976
Soweto pictures refuted

Mercury Correspondent
CAPETOWN — Photo-
graphs allegedly taken by
White policemen in
Soweto showing their col-
leagues "posing" beside
dead Africans and which
appeared in the mass
circulation German
magazine Der Spiegel,
were almost certainly
misrepresentations, it
was said yesterday.
Mr. D. Grobbelaar,
head of the foreign sec-

tion of the Department
of Information, said
points refuting allega-
tions that the photo-
graphs were taken in
Soweto have been sent
to the Information Coun-
sellor in Bonn, pending
the outcome of the
official police report.
Der Spiegel is also
investigating the verac-
ity of the pictures.
Mr. Grobbelaar said
vital points about the

photographs were:
● South African rifle
slings fasten midway
up the barrel of the
rifle and not at the
end;
● The soldier's uniform
is not police or service
issue in South Africa;
● A smiling soldier in
the background is
wearing camouflage
uniform not issued in
South Africa;
● South African police-

men do not wear put-
tees, as seen on the
legs of the man step-
ping over the bodies
of the children;
● Lorries with ribbed
sides are not used by
South African Police.
● The floor of the lorry
is covered in anti-
mine sandbags. Land-
mines were not used
in Soweto;
● The dead children on
the lorry have

wounds consistent
with those made by a
landmine explosion.
If appears likely,
according to tentative
conclusions reached, that
the photographs may
have been taken at the
site of a landmine or
mortar explosion in
Angola or Mozambique
— a finding consistent
with the Cuban style
uniforms in the photo-
graphs.

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Soweto riot ^{10/12/72} photos faked ^{DD}?

LONDON — The West German magazine, Der Spiegel, launched an investigation yesterday into allegations that its news pictures of alleged Soweto atrocities were "disgusting" misinterpretations.

The photographs allegedly taken by white policemen in Soweto showing colleagues "posing" beside dead black bodies were almost certainly misrepresentations, it was claimed.

A police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday investigations into Der Spiegel's story had been completed and were in the hands of Gen Kriel, in charge of riot control, who was still studying them.

Mr D Grobbelaar, head of the foreign section of the Department of Information, said a number of points refuting Der Spiegel allegations had been sent to Bonn.

He said vital points about the photographs sent to Bonn were:

South African Police or Army have never been issued with the rifle the soldier is holding,

South African rifle slings fasten midway up the barrel of the rifle and

not at the end,

The uniform the soldier is wearing is not police or service issue in South Africa,

The smiling soldier in the background of the second photo is wearing camouflage uniform not issued in South Africa,

South African policeman do not wear puttees as seen on the legs of the man stepping over the bodies of the children

No lorry with ribbed sides such as seen in the picture is used by South African Police

The floor of the lorry is covered in anti-sandbag mines. Landmines were not used in Soweto

The dead children on the lorry have wounds consistent with those made by a landmine explosion

The South African Embassy in Bonn has written questioning the pictures.

But the magazine is refusing to reveal the source of the pictures until they have carried out their own investigation

"We would not have used them unless we were satisfied they were genuine," a Der Spiegel spokesman said. "Now we have to find out whether we have made a mistake and check with the sources" — DDC

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Now the Special Branch will be disappointed says Woods

Sum. Trib. 12/12/76
Tribune Reporter

HIS successful appeal against a conviction and six months prison sentence for refusing to disclose the name of an informant would be a grave disappointment to the Special Branch, Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch, said after the judgment was handed down in the Supreme Court in Grahamstown this week.

JUSTICE

Mr Woods said the decision proved yet again that when the Special Branch bumped up against the law as administered by proper judges in proper courts, justice prevailed.

The Special Branch was generally more successful in putting people in jail when they by-passed the courts through detention without trial, because what they usually regarded as

evidence could seldom stand exposure to the full light of public inquiry before qualified officers of the courts.

Earlier this week, Mr Woods had said he would accept whatever judgment was handed down by the Supreme Court.

He said: "I appreciate that I have had a fair trial before qualified judges, unlike the many South Africans now in jail who never had a trial at all and were condemned to prison by a politician."

In the appeal judgment, Mr Justice Kannemeyer, with Mr Justice Theal Stewart concurring, held that in terms of the amended Criminal Procedure Act, the examination to

which Mr Woods had been summoned to give evidence should have been conducted by the same magistrate who signed the subpoena for Mr Woods to attend, whereas it was conducted by another magistrate.

BURGLARY

Mr Woods' involvement in the matter arose from a visit he paid to Pretoria in September last year to inform the Head of the Bureau for State Security, General H J van den Bergh and the Minister of Justice that there were reports that a security policeman named Hattingh had been seen in the vicinity of a burglary of the premises occupied by the Black Community

Programme in King William's Town, and also that Hattingh was alleged to have deliberately smashed the windscreen of a car belonging to author Alan Paton. Mr Woods told the magistrate at his examination that because he could not get his informant's permission to disclose his identity on the burglary allegation, and no formal charge could therefore be laid against Hattingh, he had reported the matter unofficially in the hope that Hattingh's superiors would take note of the complaint and caution him against such actions.

As regards the windscreen allegation, there was a witness who was prepared to testify but no action was taken in the matter.

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Editors say detention was harassment

DD
15/12/76

JOHANNESBURG — Several South African newspaper editors yesterday protested "with the utmost vigor" at the detention by security police yesterday of the Editor of The World newspaper, Mr Percy Qoboza.

In a statement on the arrest and detention of Mr Qoboza, Mr Raymond Louw, Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor of the Star, Mr George Palmer, Financial Mail, Mr Tertius Myburgh, Sunday Times, Mr Harry O'Connell, Eastern Province Herald, and Mr Donald Woods, Daily Dispatch said:

"We, the editors of newspapers in South Africa, protest with the utmost vigor at the arbitrary detention of Mr Percy Qoboza by the security police in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The police have every right to question anyone whom they suspect can help them with their inquiries into the commission of crime, but the outrageous manner of Mr Qoboza's detention at 3:30 in the morning suggests the police wished to intimidate as well as question.

"The fact that Mr Qoboza was released after several hours without any charges being laid

suggests, too, that whatever information was sought from him could have been obtained by a visit at a more civilized hour and without the authoritarian trappings of a sudden police raid in the early morning hours.

"If we are to read into this harassment of a respected colleague an attempt to intimidate the press as a whole we can assure the authorities they will be disappointed.

At the time the statement was drawn up the accepted time of Mr Qoboza's detention was 3:30 a.m. According to Mr Kruger it was 7 a.m.

The statement was endorsed by several other editors — Mr A H Heard, Cape Times, Mr Ian Wylie, Sunday Tribune; Mr J. O'Malley, Daily News, Mr P. Ferraz, The Friend, Mr J. McMillan, Natal Mercury; Mr R. Steyn, Natal Witness, and Mr R. Colman, Senior Assistant Editor of The Argus in the absence of the Editor Mr W. W. MacKenzie who is on leave.

Editors who refused to endorse statement were Mr Pakendorf, Oggendblad, Mr Cilie, Die Burger, Mr Johnson, The Citizen, Mr Kotze, assis-

tant editor, Transvaaler, Mr Grosskopf, Beeld

And in Zurich yesterday, the International Press Institute (IPI) expressed "shock and dismay" at the detention of one of its members.

The institute has cabled the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, urging him to secure Mr Qoboza's release and the release of some 15 other black and white journalists currently imprisoned, detained or otherwise restricted in South Africa.

In a widely circulated statement the Institute said it was deeply concerned at the "continuing and blatant attempts to muzzle free reporting and comment in South Africa."

It added, "Percy Qoboza is an editor whose courage and dedication to the truth has been an inspiration to all journalists. He is the sort of man any civilized society should point to with pride and hold up as an example to others."

IPI also called for the release of 12 black journalists still detained since the Soweto riots, of David Rabkin of the Cape Argus and Anthony Holiday of the Cape Times, and of freelance journalist Eric Abraham, who is banned from working as a journalist and restricted to his home for 12 hours a day.

"Neither free expression nor democracy can long survive in a country when people so dedicated to these concepts are thrown into jail," IPI said — SAPA-DDC

8 Jan 15/12/76
**Editors protest
over Qoboza**

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Detention

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INTIMIDATE

"The police have every right to question anyone whom they suspect can help them with their inquiries into the commission of crime but the outrageous manner of Mr Qoboza's detention at 3.30 in the morning suggests that the police wished to intimidate as well as question

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Cape Times, Mr Ian Wylie, Sunday Tribune, Mr P Ferraz, The Friend, Mr J McMillan, Natal Mercury, Mr R Colman, The Argus, Mr J O'Malley, Daily News, and Mr R Steyn, Natal Witness.

Sapa reports that Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police, has denied that Mr Qoboza was arrested at 3.30 am.

He said Mr Qoboza was detained for questioning at 5 am after the police had received information that he had ordered his reporters to report for duty at 6 am.

"We were aware of the fact that Mr Qoboza was in possession of certain information and in view of the present situation in the country it was therefore necessary that we question him early.

"We were satisfied that it was not necessary to detain Mr Qoboza any longer after questioning him and he was released," Mr Kruger said.

REPORTED

The Star Bureau reports from London that the detention of Mr Qoboza is fully reported in Britain's national Press today together with the response of other editors in Johannesburg.

In a long feature article outlining the background to the detention, Alan Smith in The Guardian says the moves against Mr Qoboza "might well be read as a warning to the rest of the South African Press that not even editors should consider themselves immune" from attack by the Government.

Ken Owen reports from Washington that news of the arrest of Mr Qoboza caused a brief stir there

The International Press Institute said in London today it was "shocked and dismayed" by the detention, and called for the release of other detained journalists in a cable to Mr Kruger

KDm
10/12/76

Afrikaans

newspaper

criticises

Qoboza

detention

By PATRICK LAURENCE

ANOTHER Afrikaans newspaper has criticised the manner in which Security Police detained and questioned Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of The World.

"He was knocked up and taken away at night by a strong force of policemen," Beeld said in an editorial yesterday.

"No definite reasons could be established immediately. More than 12 hours later it was announced that the time was not so unreasonable as he would in any event have been at his office an hour later.

"It is also said that it concerned a report that appeared in his newspaper the previous day. Was it then necessary to send such a force in the night?"

Referring to the early release of Mr Qoboza, the editorial added that it looked as though the authorities could have achieved their aim with less ostentatious steps which would have evoked less harmful reactions both here and abroad.

"It is a factor in our tense times, in the propaganda war against S.A. that becomes more important."

But the editorial went on to criticise the protest statement put out by 17 English-language newspaper editors on the manner of Mr Qoboza's detention and interrogation.

"From our South African Press colleagues who reacted with such excitement over the case we expected greater sobriety. The questioning of Mr Qoboza had nothing to do with any 'threat' to Press freedom."

It went on to describe the latest edition of The World as "nearly a model of libertarian Press freedom."

Mr Dirk Richard, editor of Die Vaderland, had earlier made similar points when he described the detention of Mr Qoboza as having the appearance of intimidation — but accused English-language editors of creating the impression of a "Gestapo excursion every time a newspaperman is detained."

The World itself yesterday dismissed the dispute as to whether Mr Qoboza was detained at 3.30 am (as his wife has insisted) or 5.00 am (as the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, has stated) as "academic."

BLACK PRESS
The Nation

FIN. MAIL

17/12/76

247

SA's first Black-owned newspaper in half a century, *The Nation*, rolled off the presses this week. Based in Natal, it is published by Isizwe Sechaba (Pty), wholly owned by Inkatha Yenkululeko YeSizwe, the cultural movement of which KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is president.

The Nation aims to be "a forum for the entire spectrum of Black opinion in SA", says Walter Felgate, who has been appointed MD of Isizwe Sechaba by Inkatha. "While we are obviously pro-Inkatha and pro the newly formed Black Unity Front, we realise that there are many other Black groups who have roles to play."

The Nation's first ever editorial rejects Perskor's proposals that it set up "joint venture" publishing companies with Blacks in the Bantustans.

"We do not reject Black-White partnerships. We object strongly, however, to such partnerships being used by Whites to continue their controlling influence over Blacks," it says. "Under the Perskor proposals, selected Blacks would be given minority shares in the company and Perskor would enjoy a controlling share."

This, says *The Nation*, would enable Perskor to control appointments and editorial policy.

The new paper will come out roughly once a month, until it is registered as a newspaper. Then it hopes gradually to transform itself into a fortnightly, a weekly and perhaps even a daily.

25 000 copies of this month's 16-page edition have been printed. Two more editions are already being planned — January's, with a print order of 40 000, and February's, which will be a 24-page edition with the same print order.

BLACK PRESS F.M

The Nation 17/12/76

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Detention of ^{Cape Times} editor: Beeld ^{17/12/76} hits at police

JOHANNESBURG. — A second Afrikaans newspaper has criticized the manner in which security police detained and questioned Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the World.

"He was knocked up and taken away at night by a strong force of policemen," the Beeld said in an editorial yesterday.

"No definite reasons could be established immediately. More than 12 hours later it was announced that the time was not so unreasonable as he would in any event have been at his office an hour later.

"It is also said that it concerned a report that appeared in his newspaper the previous day. Was it then necessary to send such a force in the night?"

Referring to the early release of Mr Qoboza, the editorial added that it looked as though the authorities could have achieved their aim with less ostentatious steps.

But the editorial went on to criticize the protest statement put out by the 17 English language newspaper editors on the manner of Mr Qoboza's detention and interrogation.

"From our South African press colleagues who reacted with such excitement over the case, we expected greater sobriety. The questioning of Mr Qoboza has nothing to do with any 'threat' to press freedom."

Mr Dirk Richard, editor of the Vaderland, made similar points when he described the detention of Mr Qoboza as having the appearance of intimidation — but accused English language editors of creating the impression of a "Gestapo excursion every time a newspaperman is detained or questioned."

The World itself yesterday dismissed the dispute as to whether Mr Qoboza was detained at 3.30am (as his wife, Anne, has insisted) or 5.00am (as the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, has stated) as an "academic debate".

It said: "The fact is that he was awoken from his bed by knocks on the door. Seven or eight policemen walked into the house. They wandered around opening books, reading and taking letters. Then he was told to accompany the police to Protea police headquarters . . ."

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Memo. 2
November 1976

Die Beeld criticises detention

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH

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DEPT

JOHANNESBURG — A second Afrikaans newspaper has criticised the manner in which security police detained and questioned Mr Percy Qoboza, Editor of The World

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"From our South African press colleagues who reacted with such excitement over the case we expected greater sobriety. The questioning of Mr Qoboza has nothing to do with any "threat" to press freedom" — DDC

Miss Wilson and Gill
e, Kevin Solomons, Ian Webber,

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Arriving in a morning held with me
by one of the 18 in December, 1976: P
Mary Potts and Pam Lipnitz.

1. Suggests that Saldru and medical service and disease pattern to doing elective information (or be easy to find out but not know the gaps in official statistics)
2. Suggested study of the number of unemployed in an urban area, and
3. Perhaps preclinical medical students hospitals could be trained in malaria testing) so as to be able to carry out simple research projects
4. Paper on appropriateness of South example, that about 80% of cases been handled adequately by a nurse
5. A paper developing that contribute the Secretary for Health on preventive health service; assess and discussing prospects for its
6. Paper on Trauma, causes and character, in a particular area.
7. Proposal to institute teamwork with a number of small groups of economics and medical students and those from other Faculties; each to study a particular disease and to draw together information on incidence, geographic differences in prevalence, major causes and predisposing factors, methods of treatment, facilities available for treatment and prevention, effects of the disease, costs of its occurrence, costs of curing or preventing the complaint and the benefits of doing so.
8. Need to write up the project on measles done by Dr. Dick and study the results in terms of legislation and reduced incidence of measles.
9. Proposal for an action committee to provide information and stimulate interest in team project work and liaise with Saldru. Suggestion that initial research on a number of diseases, i.e. the literature available, previous research, would be most helpful. In March Saldru and the action committee should meet again to research official sources of statistics in more detail and to organise the research teams. The teams should work towards a report which may or may not count towards their course, which should be ready by June or July. In July the report could be presented and discussed, and fieldwork planned to fill in important gaps in the data available. The fieldwork could then be done in some cases as project work for lectures or courses, during the long vac' in summer 1977/78.

Saldru is willing to help with any current or proposed research as far as limited medical knowledge allows e.g. planning, drawing up questionnaires etc. Contact Saldru, School of Economics, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch. Phone: 65-51 Ext. 453.

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2012/76

Editorial attacks Covenant speeches

THE Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday attacked the way in which some speakers used the Day of the Covenant and predicted that the day might become a source of divisiveness not between English and Afrikaans speakers, or between White and Black, but also between Afrikaners.

In a leading article, the newspaper said there was a problem about the way in which "we allow the day to be used"

When one considered the way in which it was used by some speakers every year, "it

might still become a source of divisiveness -- not between English and Afrikaans speakers or between White and Black, as we hear in the annual accusations, but also between Afrikaner and Afrikaner"

In another leading article, Rapport queried whether the treatment received by Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the World, who was interrogated last week, was "something which every citizen of the country can expect."

"Does the law state that it must be done in this manner?" the newspaper asked.

LC7

22/11/70
Inkatha's
paper hits
market

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The new black newspaper, The Nation, published in Durban for the first time this week, is to work towards "furthering black solidarity in the national struggle for liberation."

The first issue — a 16-page tabloid-size newspaper — is being sold in Natal and the Transvaal. The newspaper is owned by a black company, Isizwe-Sechaba (Pty) Ltd, in which the black cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, has the controlling interests.

In setting out its policy the newspaper says it would not prescribe to anyone but offer "in-depth" reporting

It says "there is a need in South Africa for a newspaper in which editorial policy is decided by blacks.

"The Nation has clearly set itself the task of furthering black solidarity in the national struggle for liberation."

In the editorial comment, The Nation rejects white ownership of black newspapers.

"The next 10 years will be decisive in South Africa. During these 10 years, blacks will see radical changes taking place

"It will be during this crucial period that the blacks of South Africa need, not one, but a number of black-controlled journals."

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154

This is the second part in an interview with PERCY QOBOZA, Editor of The World, and it replaces his weekly column. The interview was conducted by Howard Barrell of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.

KT

White 'change' is not black 'change'

23/12/76 STP

Barrell: After meeting Dr Kissinger on his recent South African visit you wrote in The World that the South African Government was not fooling the West with her argument that her race policies were the best guarantee against a communist takeover here. You have just returned from the week-long Maseru conference of the African-American Institute. What are your impressions of the significance of the conference in the light of your earlier statement, and perhaps beyond it?

Qoboza: Its significance can't be over-estimated

From the strong congressional participation and the people from very important bodies, including heads of corporations, it is clear that June 16 has conscientised the American public deeply on what is happening in South Africa.

They want a strong commitment from their government and business community to accelerate change here

Barrell: And do you see any significance in the attendance at the American-sponsored conference of Mr Alfred Nzo of the African National Congress and Mr David Sibeko of the Pan African Congress?

Qoboza: A lot of significance. The stupidest thing the South African Govern-

ment ever did was to restrict the activity of the ANC and PAC. It sent them underground and abroad where they became powerful forces, instrumental in keeping the South African situation in the public eye.

I also detected a definite closing of ranks between the ANC and PAC and I believe it is only a matter of time before positive steps are taken to heal the rift between them. The relationship between Nzo and Sibeko indicated this to me. About five years ago they would not be caught sitting at the same table but this isn't the case anymore.

Barrell: What is your analysis of the conflict in South African society and the factors contributing to it?

Qoboza: Something which emerges quite loudly is that this conflict has caused a lot of soul-searching among a wide spectrum of South African society.

I am loth to use the word "change" because it is the most overworked word in the country. But one can't deny there has been a tremendous awareness in many people, even in the National Party, that the survival of South Africa can be achieved only by making some sort of changes in our national policy.

Yet, in our enthusiasm, we are overlooking some very basic factors. A lot of whites want to improve separate development. And they don't consider what blacks are thinking

— blacks want the complete abandonment of separate development.

Barrell: And any role for the homeland leaders?

Qoboza: It would be dangerous to generalise. It would be unfair to look at Gatsha Buthelezi in the same context as K D Matanzima — their philosophies are miles apart.

Matanzima believes explicitly in separate development, while Buthelezi can safely be called a strategist who takes what he is given and uses what he has got to get what he ultimately wants.

In other words, he is destroying the system from within.

My view is that everyone, including some homeland leaders, who can sympathise and identify with the broad mass of black aspirations, can play a meaningful role in achieving things we want for ourselves and all South Africans.

Barrell: Similarly, what role in resolving the conflict is there for the black consciousness movement?

Qoboza: Black consciousness is a natural development for people who find themselves in our position.

The first priority of the movement was to rid the black man of his inferior status and slave mentality born out of his denigration and humiliation.

Strange as it may seem there are still blacks who believe quite sincerely they are spiritually and intellectually inferior to

whites. The job of black consciousness is to try to save this kind of person from the misconception that reduces him completely to the role of second-class citizen.

Barrell: I gather the economic philosophy of the black consciousness movement is "black communalism." It has been compared to the Ujama politics of Nyerere in Tanzania and to socialism of Western Europe. You have been quoted as saying that you know of no communist resident in Soweto. Would you expand?

Qoboza: The black consciousness movement and indeed the whole African continent is involved in the basic task of defining the concept of black communalism to my mind.

Black communalism is consistent with our cultural heritage, where individuals develop their own form of capitalism, but still have the social conscience that tells them to use their resources to uplift the less fortunate brothers in the community.

Blacks are capitalists. But they are motivated very strongly by a concern for their fellow men.

The greatest danger to the capitalist system is if it continues to reflect the "they-us" syndrome—"they" representing the whites who selfishly hang on to their position of privilege, and "us" being the blacks who perpetually remain in a state of poverty, administering to the needs and comforts of the masters.

TO IS A H

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PRESS

1977

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UK Press
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blamed for
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race stand

LONDON — Newspapers have been accused of contributing to an "unprecedented deterioration in race relations" in Britain last year

The accusation is made in a Runnymede Trust booklet, "Publish and be Damned?", written by Peter Evans, home affairs correspondent of The Times.

It says newspapers sometimes play up a racial matter on a news page while playing it down in the opinion columns

The author says that in future the Press must give more sensitive treatment to "modern multiracial Britain". He advocates the use of more black and Asian journalists as a way of helping to improve race relations.

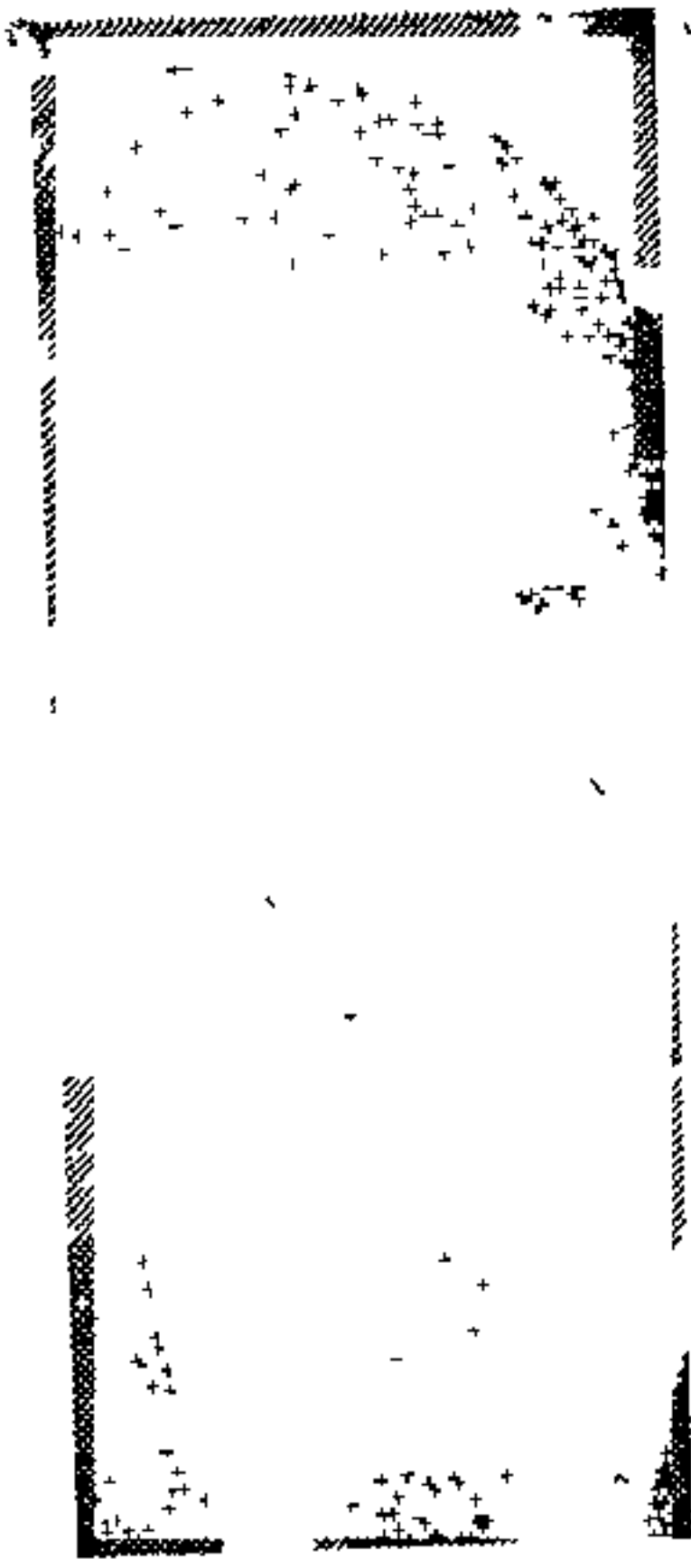
"The journalist has a responsibility to create understanding," he said

State moves on editor verdict

S.A. 77 Shaw
**Own Correspondent
GRAHAMSTOWN —**
The State is to seek leave to appeal against the verdict in the recent successful appeal by Mr Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch.

name had not been the magistrate who passed sentence

It is expected that the State's application for leave to appeal against this decision will be heard later this month.



Mr Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, recently successful in his appeal against a conviction relating to withholding the identity of an informant who provided information to his newspaper which became the subject of a report. The State is to appeal against his discharge.

Mr Woods had been convicted in December 1975 for refusing to disclose the name of an informant in connection with allegations of criminal actions by a member of the security police.

Last month Mr Woods was successful in an appeal against his conviction and sentence which was heard by the Eastern Cape Division of the Supreme Court.

In that appeal the court ruled that Section 83 of the Criminal Procedure Act had not been complied with because the magistrate who subpoenaed him to reveal the informant's

Uys gets top UK journalism post

247

Staff Reporter

MR STANLEY UYS, an assistant editor and political editor of the Sunday Times, left South Africa yesterday to become London editor of the Rand Daily Mail and its associate newspapers in the South African Morning Newspaper Group.

The group consists of the Rand Daily Mail, Cape Times, Natal Mercury, Eastern Province Herald, Daily Dispatch (East London) and Sunday Times.

Mr Uys, who was chief of the Cape Town Bureau of the Sunday Times, will take charge in London and write on British and Western European affairs.

Mr Robert Hayes, the present London bureau chief, will become its editorial manager.

Born in the Free State, Mr Uys started his journalistic career on the Rand Daily Mail as a reporter, became a feature writer on the magazine Libertas, and then joined the Sunday Times first as a drama critic and then as political correspondent.

He has lived in Cape Town for the past 20 years.

Mr Uys graduated with distinction from the University of Cape Town, majoring in social anthropology and comparative African government and law.

He tutored in social anthropology and lectured on comparative African government and law for a short time.

Mr Uys has travelled widely in Western Europe. He visited Britain at the invitation of the Foreign Office, and West Germany at the invitation of the West German Government.

He was the South African correspondent of The Observer and The Guardian, London, and a frequent contributor to the New Statesman, BBC, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Irish Radio, New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation and Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

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STATE TO APPEAL EDITOR JUDGMENT

Mercury Correspondent *MM*

GRAHAMSTOWN — The State has given notice of intention to apply to the Supreme Court here for leave to appeal to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein against the Supreme Court's judgment in favour of the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald James Woods, in which a magistrate's judgment sentencing him to six months' imprisonment was set aside.

The original sentence was passed in December 1976, when Mr. Woods refused to reveal the name of an informant in connection with allegations of criminal actions by a member of the Security Police.

Mr Woods won his appeal last month when the Supreme Court ruled that Section 83 of the Criminal Procedures Act had not been complied with in his case because the magistrate who subpoenaed him to reveal the informant's name had not been the magistrate who had passed sentence.

The basis of the State's notice of intention to seek leave to appeal is the contention that Section 83 does not require the magistrate holding the examination in terms of the Act to be the magistrate who issues the subpoena.

"By applying to take this matter to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein instead of accepting the judgment of the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, the State will give many people the impression that it is sulking about it, and that it is a bad loser," Mr. Woods commented yesterday.

"Personally I welcome any test of civil rights in an open court before judges qualified in law. If we had more of this sort of proper legal procedure instead of people's liberties and punishments being decided by party politicians, it would be a good thing for South Africa."

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Force pace of change— Nat editor

Pretoria Bureau

7/11/77

A top Nationalist has urged the Government to step up the pace of change in South Africa — even if it does mean a split in the National Party.

Dr. Andries Treurnicht
"GREY AREAS"
In a move to involve the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, directly, Dr. Treurnicht wrote:
"What Mr Vorster does now will do much to determine the future of the country. Unprecedented negotiations have been held through-out the country to ensure a peaceful change.
The present government has a duty to take the lead in the process of change. It is the duty of the government to ensure that the process of change is not only peaceful but also that it leads to a new South Africa.
Dr. Treurnicht said that his party was prepared to work with the government to ensure that the process of change is not only peaceful but also that it leads to a new South Africa.

National Party.

In his regular political column Mr Dirk Richard, veteran Nationalist newspaper editor and political commentator, said the Government would be guilty of a "serious neglect of duty" if fear for a split caused it to ignore controversial issues.

This neglect of duty would in itself be a threat to party unity, he added.

The slow pace of change could no longer be tolerated. Postponing issues such as a clear spelling out of the position of South Africa's coloureds, was becoming dangerous.

NO ASSET

"If party unity is forcing us to move forward at the same careful pace as we are doing now, then it no longer is an asset to the National Party or South Africa," Mr Richard wrote.

His stand shows that the tough debate between verlig and verkramptes within the governing party has by no means been silenced.

It was merely in a temporary lull after a points' win for the verkramptes in the last round when the Prime Minister sided with Dr Andries Treurnicht.

to involve

Probe²⁴⁷ told of Press's riot role

19/1/77 Mercury Reporter

OFFICIALS should give senior journalists more information to prevent lies being reported, Mr. Leon Mellet, the Mercury's crime reporter, told the Gillie Commission yesterday.

Asked by Dr. Percy Yutar, former Attorney-General of the Transvaal, to explain the role of the Press in last year's unrest, Mr. Mellet said the Press could be both helpful and harmful.

"Irresponsible reporting and reports by juniors not experienced enough to handle a riot situation may be of help to agitators."

Dr. Yutar: "You mean half-truths may have been reported?"

Mr. Mellet: "If reporters weren't told all the facts..."

"And half-truths, a learned judge said, can sometimes be worse than lies?" — Yes.

(The Judge quoted is Britain's Lord Denning, one of the three British Judges who granted a temporary injunction against this week's planned postal boycott.)

Hampered

Mr. Mellet said the Press could play a positive role during riots but were hampered by officials refusing to give information.

"Any junior reporter could find people only too willing to talk and it is this way that Leftist publicity and lies get reported.

"Officials are largely to blame for not releasing all the relevant information."

Mr. Mellet praised police for "helping to defuse" a tense situation in Natal by coming to a "gentleman's agreement" with KwaZulu officials when trouble erupted at a school in Umlazi.

Two children were arrested during the trouble, caused by agitators at the school telling the children, police who had come to the school on a drugs charge, were there to spy on them.

MR LEON MELLET: "Officials should keep Press informed..." He told the Commission that he felt the Press could have been both helpful and harmful in last year's unrest situation.

On the third day the children were in an ugly mood and two Inkatha officials pleaded with the police to release the pupils. The Inkatha officials promised to placate the pupils if this was done.

"To my mind the police made a wise decision and averted a crisis by releasing the two pupils, who could have been charged with serious crimes."

Protest

On another occasion non-White medical students from the University of Natal had marched in protest in Sydney Road, Durban.

"The students called on spectators to join in their protest, but as far as I could tell not one joined them," Mr. Mellet said.

"Police then arrived. The police started to arrest the students. They arrested 91. I don't believe the small number of policemen there could have arrested that many students had they not been helped by Black spectators.

"All in all, I think the Black spectators arrested or helped arrest more students than the police."

Asked what he thought was the reason for the relative calm in Natal, Mr. Mellet said the Zulu nation was a disciplined race and children showed respect for their parents.

"Parents are very much in favour of their children receiving education and they would not have tolerated their offspring joining any form of rioting."

22/1/77
**Peter
Magubane
honoured**

247

Staff Reporter

MR PETER MAGUBANE, Rand Daily Mail photographer, yesterday won one of South Africa's top journalist awards, the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery prize for the best visual reporting.

This is the first time in the history of the SFW awards for enterprising journalism that one of the prizes has gone to an African.



**PETER
MAGUBANE**

Mr Magubane, 43, won his award for his photographic coverage of the disturbances in Soweto and Alexandra last year. He was detained during the unrest under the Internal Security Act, and recently released after 123 days.

The other two awards this year were for the best reporting under pressure of time and circumstance, and for the best investigative reporting in which pressure of time played no part.

Mr Johan Pretorius, who was responsible for the television news coverage of Mr Vorster's meeting in West Germany with Dr Kissinger and the West German chancellor, Mr Schmidt, won the prize for the best reporting under pressure.

Mr Martin Creamer of the Sunday Express won the third category for his articles on the activities of the Chaim Wainer organisation.

An overall winner will be announced in Johannesburg on February 21.

Top prize for 'Mail' man Prisons tried to stop

Express Reporter

THE Prisons Department tried to stop a former detainee, photographer Peter Magubane, from entering the visual reporting section of the coveted Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery competition, which he won this week with his graphic pictures of the Soweto and Alexandra riots

Prison officials told Magubane's lawyers last November it would be bad publicity for South Africa if the Rand Daily Mail photographer should win the competition while in detention

They also tried to prevent two of Magubane's Mail colleagues — photographer William Nkosi and reporter Jan Tugwana — from entering the competition

"The whole world will pack up against us," a Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Major-General C P Brink, told a lawyer last November who tried to get permission for the three



• PETER MAGUBANE
... held for 123 days.

Black journalists to be interviewed about their entries

Magubane was arrested in August, while on duty during the height of the rioting

The Editor of the Mail, Mr Raymond Louw, said of his detention "Magubane was in the forefront of the Mail's newsgathering team in Soweto and his photographs spoke eloquently of the horror that erupted there

"Determined efforts have been made to prevent his pictures being published He

has been assaulted by the police twice and his cameras and films have been confiscated on occasion

"Now the police have taken the ultimate step in indefinite detention

"I am disgusted," Mr Louw added

Magubane, 43, was released without having been charged three days after Christmas — the last journalist among the riot detainees to go free

He submitted a late entry for the SFW prize

He spent 123 days in detention

Before that he had spent a total of 23 months in jail — 17 of them in solitary confinement while under Security Police interrogation

The other six months were a sentence for breaking a five-year banning order That sentence ended two years ago

Over the years Magubane has won several international awards for his photographs

PRE-RIO
HOODS

Press blamed

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PORT ELIZABETH — Coloured and African theatre and the Press had contributed to the tension in Port Elizabeth's Black townships before the riots last year, Colonel P. J. Goosen, divisional head of the Security Police in the Eastern Province, told the Cillie Commission yesterday.

Colonel Goosen said that long before trouble broke out in Port Elizabeth, tension had been building up among the Blacks.

He ascribed this to the influence of the Press and the Coloured and African theatre, which he said, had a destructive nature because they tended to emphasise Black Power and Black ideology.

Organisations such as the Black People's Convention, South African

Students' Organisation and South African Students' Movement also contributed to the build-up of tension, he said.

The participation of Coloureds in the unrest coincided with the arrival in Port Elizabeth of four ringleaders of the trouble at the University of the Western Cape, the Colonel said.

He did not name the four, but said they met certain staff of Dower Teachers' Training College, Paterson High School, and others, including the Rev Sam Abraham.

One man they saw was Mr George Botha, the Coloured schoolteacher who fell to his death down the stairwell of the Sanlam building in Port Elizabeth in December.

Colonel Goosen said Mr

Botha had close links with the African National Congress.

Questioned by Mr Justice Cillie, chairman of the commission, Colonel Goosen said Mr Botha had been held at Despatch because there were no cells at the Security Police headquarters in the Sanlam building.

He was brought to the Sanlam building in the mornings by three Security Policemen. On December 15, as he stepped out of the lift with a Security Policeman on either side of him, he broke loose and jumped six storeys down the stairwell, said Colonel Goosen.

Mr Botha, the colonel said, had been concerned with political activation of youth and had been establishing cells. He had also liaised closely with youthful members of the Coloured Labour Party and with the Black People's Convention.

Colonel Goosen also referred to meetings where speeches he described as inflammatory were made:

On August 16 at St Martin de Porres Hall in Gelvandale, the national executive chairman of the Labour Party, Mr Alan Hendrickse told a crowd they should "support their children whether they are guilty or not".

Labour Party vice-chairman Mr David Currie said: "Today we see schoolchildren demonstrating. Must your children set the pace for you?"

On August 22 at a meeting in the NG Kerk in Schauderville, Mr Hendrickse said: "One day they will pay for the death of young children in Soweto, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth."

Mr L. C. Koch, chief director of the Cape Highlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, told the commission that Port Elizabeth Africans showed "passive sympathy" towards the rioters because of resentment of repressive laws.

He said they had been happier under municipal control because they saw Bantu Affairs boards as extensions of the central Government.

The main grievances of township residents were about housing, education, welfare and lack of representation, said Mr Koch.

Report criticises curbs on SA press freedom

LONDON — There was a sharp crackdown on free reporting in South Africa last year, the International Press Institute said in its annual review of world press freedom yesterday.

The "traumatic year of confrontation between an increasingly repressive government and the media at home and abroad" had been summarised by Rand Daily Mail reporter Patrick Laurence last December, the report said.

Laurence had written that the South African press was "in a state of incipient siege."

The IPI, which recently moved its headquarters here from Switzerland, reported generally that countries possessing press freedom were a dwindling minority.

Persecution of journalists and restraints on the press had intensified to an unprecedented degree during 1976.

The survey covers the 61 countries in which the IPI has press, radio and television editors as members.

Lack of sufficient information had prevented publication of action impinging press freedom in many other countries, the IPI said.

Nearly a score of journalists had been arrested, detained in solitary confinement for many weeks or sentenced to long terms in imprisonment in South Africa, the report said.

"The majority of those detained were black newsmen who won the admiration of their colleagues throughout the world for their courageous reporting of the demonstrations against the Government's racial policies in Soweto and other black townships."

In the three pages devoted to "South Africa," the report recalled the protests to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, by the IPI director, Mr. Peter Galliner, last November and December.

Mr. Galliner had expressed concern about the detention of black journalists, the re-arrest of Nat Serache and the 10-year prison sentence passed on David Rabkin.

Later Mr. Galliner had protested about the Anthony Holiday and Eric Abraham cases and about the brief detention and interrogation of the Editor of The World, Mr. Percy Qoboza.

In its Rhodesian section the report noted that there was "constant Government pressure on the editors of the Rhodesia Herald and The Chronicle to publish what is in the national interests of white Rhodesia."

4/3/77

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Editor tipped for rectorship

JOHANNESBURG — Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, is tipped to become the new rector of Potchefstroom University on May 1 after the sudden resignation of Prof Hennie Bingle on Monday.

This move would have significant implications in Afrikaner academic circles and the newspaper war between the Transvaal and Cape press groups, Perskor and Nasionale Pers.

Prof Bingle resigned at a special meeting of the council. A council statement said since the rector had reached normal retirement age.

During his controversial career he sent a student to a psychiatrist for wearing his hair long, clashed with a professor who accused him of alleged irregular purchases of university building material and was involved in a controversy when efforts to have his son appointed registrar were opposed.

Nationalist sources indicate that Dr De Klerk will be his successor, although Prof Tjaart Van Der Walt, chairman of the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging, has an outside chance. Prof Van Der Walt is a more outspoken critic of the government than Dr De Klerk.

Dr De Klerk considered entering politics, the sources indicate, but

feared joining the small group of impotent verligte voices in the Nationalist Parliamentary caucus. The rectorship of Potchefstroom University, where Dr De Klerk was professor of psychology before entering journalism, would give him a more powerful base.

Yesterday he declined to comment when asked through his secretary about the rectorship. He was elected to the executive of the Afrikaner Broederbond last year.

If he is elected, Perskor will have to find a replacement to continue the fight for circulation with Nasionale Pers's Johannesburg morning newspaper, Beeld — DDC.

247

Godet Mr.R. Labour Broomersvlei Road CONSTANTIA 7800

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Newspapers ban

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a crossword ad

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The Newspaper Press Union has told the Johannesburg Council for the Care of the Aged that it would not give its approval to further competitions which it may want to carry through its member newspapers.

ed because the guarantor has withdrawn his guarantee of the R100 000 prize money.

sue was no longer of any concern to the NPU but he added that no approval would be given to further contest by the council

Horne

The general manager of the NPU, Mr G Uys, yesterday met with the council's attorney to discuss the flop of a nation-wide crossword competition that was published by a number of newspapers.

Mr Uys said there was a possibility the council had contravened an NPU rule regarding competitions for welfare organisations.

The Star established there was a contract between the two parties

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The competition collaps-

This rule stipulates that no third party shall benefit from the competition.

In this case the third party was the competition organisers, National Crossword Contests (Pty) Ltd.

Mr Uys said today: "It looked as though they did benefit We don't know"

He added that the NPU had approved the competition "on the basis that no third party would benefit"

He said as the competition advertisements were no longer running the is-

JOHANNESBURG 2000

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Kistner Dr. W. 60 Tenth Str

Kingwell Mr. R. Gordonville

Knight Mr.J. Institute of E

, Manor Road, OXFORD, U.K.

Du Plessis Mr. W. Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs, Admin Board, Box 14025 P.E. 6000

Kooy Ms. A. 204 Sangary, Carstens Street, TAMBERSKLOOF 8001

Letsie Mr. L. Catholic Church, 149D Location, Boyhaville, O.F.S. 9660

Levy Mr B. c/o 75 Kloof Road, Sea Point, CAPE TOWN 8001

Lewis Mr. D. c/o SALDRU Dept. of Economics U.C.T. RONDEBOSCH 7700

Lipton Ms.M. School of African Studies, University of Sussex, BRIGHTON U.K.:

Loots Mr. L. Office of Economics Adviser, Private Bag X455, PRETORIA 0001

Loudon Prof.J. University of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA₂5PP WALES U.K.

Marais Ms. L. c/o K.W.V. P O Box 528 PAARL 7620

Marais Mr. D. Uskor, Langenhoven Students Centre, STELLENBOSCH 7600

Maree Mr. J. c/o School of Economics, U.C.T. RONDEBOSCH 7700

Mark Ms. M. c/o School of Economics U.C.T. RONDEBOSCH 7700

Maytham Ms. Y. 511 Garmor House, Plein Street, CAPE TOWN 8001

Mills Mr. M. Stanhope, P O Amabele 4931

Moerat Mr M. & Mr. J.Heeger Industria House, 350 Victoria Road SALT RIVER 7925

Morris Mr. M. 2 Woodroyd Lane, RONDEBOSCH 7700

Moyle Mr. J. School of Architecture, U.C.T. RONDEBOSCH 7700

8/5/27

Press row: Barnard steps down

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CAPE TOWN — Prof Chris Barnard said yesterday if in his new book South Africa Sharp Dissension he had implied that the press in this country as a whole was bad and irresponsible, he was prepared to withdraw this

Prof Barnard has devoted about a quarter of the book to an attack on the press. In the interview yesterday he said. "I think that on the whole we have a good press in South Africa — but what I'm getting at is that I'd like to see an even better press. "I agree that there

should be freedom of the press, but only if newspapers are prepared to report in a factual, unbiased manner. Otherwise I think this freedom should be curtailed"

Replying to a questionnaire submitted to him at a press conference to mark publication of the book, Prof Barnard said he agreed.

That Groote Schuur Hospital is today one of the most famous hospitals in the world, that the hospital enjoys this reputation because of the world-wide publicity given to the pioneering and historic exploits of Prof

Barnard and his team in the field of cardiovascular surgery, that this was the result of positive, and not negative reporting of what happened at the hospital

Prof Barnard also conceded that the world fame he enjoyed today, and the invitations he had received to visit almost every corner of the earth, were directly attributable to the wide publicity given to his work in Cape Town

The heart surgeon was also asked if he agreed that the extensive coverage given the heart-transplantation by the news media had the effect

of accelerating research in heart disease and producing millions of rands

His reply to this was "I must say honestly that heart transplantation would have been further advanced today without all the publicity it has been given by the media, which has to a great extent hampered out work

"So far as communicating with other heart centres and cardiologists is concerned, we could have done this much more effectively through out medical journals than through the popular press." DDC

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 MINING - Diamonds - Labour
 MINING - Other - General
 MINING - Other - Labour

Mixed marriages
 Motor industry & motor trade

MOZAMBIQUE - General
 MOZAMBIQUE - Labour

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Muni **THE CITIZEN** *FIN. MAIL*
In trouble again *4/2/77*
247

N: **The Citizen** is again in trouble with the Audit Bureau of Circulation The ABC — the only recognised authority for newspaper circulations — has already refused to admit *The Citizen* as a member, although the paper was expected to join within the next few months when it had complied with all the ABC's rules

NAM: Now the paper has sent a misleading letter to agencies, which could give them the impression that the ABC has put its stamp of approval on *The Citizen's* circulation figures This has angered the of (ABC It says it will send a circular to its members, who include most advertising agencies and many big advertisers, putting the record straight

NAT: In its letter, signed by Advertisement Director Ray Cotterill, *The Citizen* says. Nat. "It is without doubt that many advertising executives have been awaiting, with great interest, ABC figures for our first three months (September to November) and I am happy to inform you that the daily average sale for that period was 69 090. This figure was the audited circulation carried out by the ABC appointed auditors Peat-Marwick and Mitchell and Malan and Du Preez "

Neth: The letter then says that an ABC certificate had not been granted because a

NEW

News

NIGERIA - General

NIGERIA - Labour

NORWAY - General

NORWAY - Labour

Nurses

record of street sellers and the corners at which they operated was not supplied "However it has been agreed that an ABC certificate will be granted for the period January to March 1977."

istry

Citizen MD Philip Clarke tells the *FM* that the circulation figures had been audited but not certified by Peat-Marwick and Mitchell and they had been audited and certified by *The Citizen's* own auditors Malan and Du Preez He refused to comment when asked if he thought the letter was misleading.

The Citizen's claim that ABC had agreed to grant it a certificate for the period January to March hardly seems possible since *The Citizen* still has to qualify for membership

John Marquard, chairman of ABC's management council, tells the *FM* "We are not happy about this letter We feel our members should be given certain additional facts and these will be sent to them in a circular."

CONSUMER PROTECTION
 Bodies

See CRIME - General

See also MANPOWER

See PRODUCTIVITY

See HOMELANDS - Ndebele

See also { DECENTRALIZATION
 HOMELANDS - General

See HOLLAND

See { MANUFACTURING - Printing
 PRESS

See HEALTH & DISEASE - Nurses

UNIVERSITY

Journalist changed 7/27

CAPE TOWN

24

TELEPHONE 69-8531

Director Ext 487
Secretary Ext 496

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Nat Serache of the Rand Daily Mail was released yesterday after being detained under the Terrorism Act for three months

He was taken straight to the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court where he was charged under the Publications Act for allegedly being in possession of banned literature.

According to the charge sheet, he was allegedly in possession of a pamphlet on detentions and banings in South Africa entitled, 'South Africa: A Police State'

The pamphlet was published by the Christian Institute last September and banned under the Publications Act shortly afterwards.

Mr Serache was granted bail of R100 — DDC

AFRICAN COLLEGE
SCHOOL OF LIBRARIANSHIP,
University of Cape Town,
RONDEBOSCH
7700

4th August, 1976.

APPLICATION FOR

R7400 OR
2761 & 1972

III: Dossiers

Vie sociale et politique (publication en 1977)

The School of Librarianship in the last 4 years by the loss of staff. Miss L.E. Taylor, Mr G.D. Quinn, and myself were being taught by another three or four. At the present time there are still three people to help with sections of courses. This course was suggested by the Staffing Committee when our position was brought to their attention last year.

During 1975 and the first part of 1976 it has been engaged part-time by Miss L.E. Taylor and sections of the staff. The Cape Provincial Library Service has been obtained by Mrs Russell's absence. This course was suggested by the Staffing Committee when our position was brought to their attention last year.

In 1977 there have been certain staff of the School who are being neglected for lack of money. We need the money not only to continue employing the part-time staff referred to above, but also to engage the people at present paid from Demonstrator money, and other specialists who at present cannot be engaged. It is a question of maintaining the existing position as a first priority, and then of improving on it.

A brief account of the work carried out by the staff of the School of Librarianship shows that there are at present six part-time lecturers to do Mrs Russell's work.

Lesotho holds SA reporters

5/21/77 - J. J. J.

The Star's Africa
News Service

MASERI — Two South African journalists attempting to cover the visit of the United Nations team to the Lesotho border were held by police yesterday while the team visited the controversial border posts at Qacha's Nek and Telle Bridge.

Lesotho authorities said the journalists, Mr David Thomas of The Daily News in Durban and Mr Bruce Stephenson of Sapa, were detained because they did not have Lesotho Press credentials.

However Mr Thomas at least, is known to have a South African Press card identifying him as a bona fide journalist.

The leader of the UN mission, assistant secretary

general Abdulrahim Abby Farah, visited the border post at Telle Bridge on the southern border while the journalists were being held by police at Quthus nearby.

At one point during the day a Mr Bezate, who said he was Transkei MP for Herschel, stood in the middle of the Telle Bridge saying he wanted to welcome the UN team and show them around the border area on the Transkei side.

He did not meet Mr Farah, however. Before visiting Telle Bridge Mr Farah flew from Maseru to the eastern border post at Qacha's Nek.

Meanwhile, the technical experts in Mr Farah's team drove in four-wheel drive vehicles from Maseru to Qacha's Nek.

Lesotho fears truth — freed journalists

UMTATA -- Two South African journalists arrested by Lesotho police on Friday both said their detention showed clearly Lesotho does not want the world to know the truth about the Lesotho-Transkei border dispute.

The two, Mr David Thomas of the Daily News and Mr Bruce Stephenson of SAPA -- who are both based in Umtata -- were held for nearly ten hours in Quthing after they tried to trace a United Nations team visiting Lesotho in connection with the border dispute.

In a statement from Maseru the Lesotho Government claimed they had arrested two spies when referring to the arrest. The police, however, knew they were reporters as they con-

fiscated their press cards.

Mr Thomas said during their interrogation the Lesotho police seemed concerned about where they had received the information that the UN team would visit the border post at Telle Bridge which is 20 km from Quthing.

Mr Thomas said he had had a tipoff from his head office in Johannesburg and Mr Stephenson said he heard the news on the radio.

The policeman who did most of the interrogating was a man who called himself Warrant Officer John Zuma who seemed to give orders to uniformed men much higher in rank.

WO Zuma told the reporters "We want absolutely no interference with what the UN delegation is doing in our country." He said the border was "politically closed."

The two men saw a car with the registration UNDP 1 at the hotel in Quthing which the police removed from sight. But they did not contact any of the UN team.

When they were released they discovered the UN team had visited the border post at 9 30 pm while the post closes at 4 pm.

The Transkei MP for Herschel, Mr Simon Burhall, is reported to have shouted at the UN team to come over to the Transkei side and see for themselves if the border was closed. They ignored him.

The two men were treated well by the Lesotho police although they said they were very angry when they first arrested them.

Mr Stephenson was told that there would be a recommendation made to the Lesotho Government that he be banned from Lesotho for life.

Last month when he visited Maseru and tried to apply for a press card he was told to leave by the police and ordered to stay in his hotel room.

When the two asked the police to release them they were told they were being held because they did not want them to meet or observe the UN team.

They were released soon after the UN team visited Telle Bridge. —
DPP

Police grab stops Press seeing UN

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Mercury Correspondent

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In a statement from Maseru, the Lesotho Government claimed they had arrested "two spies" when referring to the journalists' arrest. The police, however, knew they were reporters as they confiscated their passports and Press cards.

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The policeman who did most of the interrogation was a man who called himself Warrant Officer John Zuma, who seemed to give orders to uniformed men much higher in rank.

Warrant Officer Zuma told the reporters: "We want absolutely no interference with what the UN delegation is doing in our country." He said the border was "politically closed."

"I can't go down there and have my passport endorsed when we don't recognise that country," he said, referring to Transkei.

The two men saw a White Mercedes with the registration UNDP 1 at the hotel in Quthing before the police removed it from sight. They did not manage to contact any of the UN team.

When they were released they discovered the UN team had visited the border post at 5.30 p.m. It closes at 4 p.m. Mr. Thomas said when they went over the Telle Bridge at 5.30 he counted 87 people who had crossed from Lesotho to Transkei and 169 who had crossed the other way.

See Page 11

Press ousts 'SA agent'

Eugene Hugo
The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON—The State Department Correspondents' Association has ejected journalist Lester Kinsolving for taking payments from the South African Government.

This follows a report in the Washington Post that Kinsolving, an Episcopal priest, accepted 2,500 American dollars worth of corporate stocks from a lawyer-lobbyist working for the South Africans.

The shares and expense money paid by the law firm and charged to the South Africans permitted Kinsolving to appear at annual meetings of five companies in 1975 and eight last year.

After nearly an hour's debate, the association of US and foreign correspondents who cover the State Department decided that Kinsolving accepted stock from South African agents

This was in return for backing the South African Government at corporate meetings where the National Council of Churches and other religious organizations supported resolutions to ban business operations there because of South Africa's racial policies.

Kinsolving has claimed that he looked upon the stocks as a "lecture fee."

The vote to oust him was 9-6. There are about 350 members in the association.

Kinsolving, who said he would take appeal to a court, described the association's action as a "1984 procedure whereby a rump of nine voted to expel me."

CBS news diplomatic correspondent Marvin Kalb, one of those who voted against the expulsion, resigned from the association in protest shortly after the vote.

The Power Behind the

The SABC wants to stop newspapers publishing advance information about TV programmes. The corporation could have one way of enforcing its wishes — legislation. **MURRY TURBEVILLE**

of The Star's Insight Team reports.

The editor of Family Radio and TV believes the SABC and Perskor have the influence to get legislation passed to stop the Press from lifting TV schedules from his magazine.

"Legislation of the type they have in Holland" said Durban based Mr Len Bennet, whose magazine has exclusive rights to print programmes in advance.

The SABC has already threatened legal action if the Press tries to lift the new embargoed programmes (the embargo takes effect from June 1).

Although facts are not copyrighted, presentation can be taken legal advice, and believes it has the right to prevent any schedules being lifted from Family Radio and TV and its Afrikaans counterpart TV Radio and Dagboek.

Mr Bennet said his

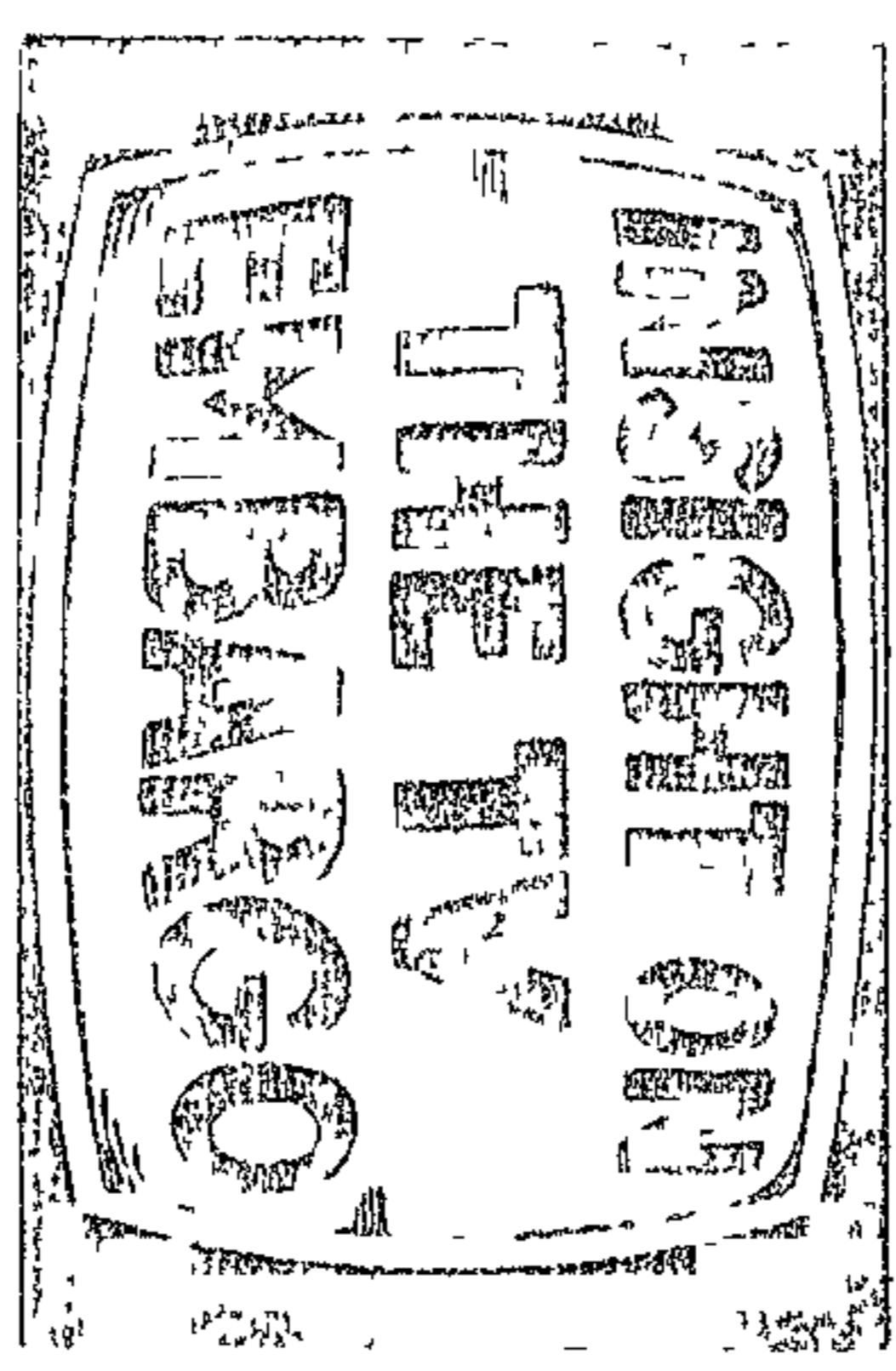
Can the

SABC

make

it flow

stick?



Personality's drop in circulation was dramatic. From an average of 11,000 a month, the report says, it is about 5,000.

The editor has said that because of the advertising drives, circulation was at a record 50,000, which the current order of 100,000.

Ad bid

Mr Bennet said his magazine is trying to attract advertisers. "The idea is that we will reflect visually those commercials that appear on television," he said.

He also admitted that his publication would have first access to editorial coverage of TV and radio news. "Because the old staff in my Grammatika would have been holding their breath in dramatic reduction, I am glad to see them in the hands of the new management."

With the changeover in ownership from Republican Publications to the SABC and Perskor a year ago, the magazines changed their names and began shortly before the name change to "Print TV programmes". They were formerly Personality and Nou.

Costs

Mr Bennet said his magazine is not yet showing a profit.

In terms of an agreement between the SABC and Perskor, the corporation is paid either R50,000 a year or three percent of the profits, whichever is the higher.

publications' circulation had increased by 5,000 a month since the introduction of Teleline — an advertising gimmick on TV with handsome prizes to be won that is linked to the magazine. Teleline appears regularly on our non-

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larger schools. Some of these duties are probably assumed by the headmaster in the Plasskool word inqewy. (Plasskool in die O.V.S. and Ibid, March 1959, pp. 99-100; Nuwe this regard: Bantu Educational Journal, October 1958, p. 386; See in farmers, workers on his farm, or other people in the area. (See in school, he may well receive help in cash or kind from neighbouring

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THE UNIVERSITY OF 'WEEKEND WORLD' *FIN MAIL 25/2/77*

Ex Africa semper aliquid novi wrote Pliny nearly 2 000 years ago. And what more new and exciting than the imaginative education project which begins next month in *Weekend World* (circulation: 205 787). Called People's College, it will provide quality education for Africans at low cost

Starting on March 6, *Weekend World* will publish a 24-page national tabloid educational supplement each week, aimed at both schoolchildren and adults in Soweto and other Black townships. Written by a specially-trained team on the Sached (SA Committee for Higher Education) Newspaper Project, the supplements will comprise

- Practical adult education material — courses on subjects like motor repairs, health care, worker education, coping with inflation, and how parents can help prepare their children for school
- Supplementary material for pupils studying for junior certificate (JC) or matric, to help them overcome problems like the crippling shortage of properly-trained teachers. Supplementary courses will include JC and matric English, geography, biology, and JC accountancy, while a full JC maths course will be offered.
- Courses outside the normal school syllabus: English, typing, accountancy, money management and household budgeting, and SA economic development, and (later) office management.

The ingenious idea of avoiding costly text-books by using a newspaper with an established nation-wide circulation — *Weekend World* has a readership of 1,3m — was first tried out last year when Soweto's education system dissolved into chaos. The Sached Trust, which also runs a teacher upgrading project in Bophutha-Tswana, and Turret (formerly Britzius) Correspondence College, raised money for, and then put out, a four-page daily supplement in *The World* for five weeks in July and August to assist JC and matric pupils whose schools had been closed.

Says Sached Newspaper Project director Clive Nettleton: "Operation Catch-Up, as the supplement became known, was highly successful, attracting a wide readership and a very

favourable response from students" People's College's budget for 1977 is R650 000. Eight companies (Barclays, Rembrandt, Toyota, SA Breweries, Barlows, Shell, Sales House and Anglo American) have each put up R20 000, while *Weekend World's* own contribution (including absorbing some of the newsprint costs) will work out at about R60 000. The balance has been raised by Sached itself from organisations like World University

"study centres" and thus provide greater motivation and a means of overcoming any difficulties which may arise with their work"

He says that People's College is a "totally new approach to large-scale mass education. Black education is in a very bad way, but to put it on a par with White education would cost in the region of R3 000m — excluding capital costs. This is impossible at the moment, so an alternative high-quality



People's Nettleton with regional organiser Maanda Negota . . . new ideas on education

Service and Misereor, a development arm of the Catholic Church.

Half the money will go on newsprint and printing (*Weekend World* staff will do the sub-editing free of charge), while the other half will fund Sached's 14-man staff

Clive Nettleton makes the point, however, that "pure" correspondence education is inadequate. "So in addition to our head office in Johannesburg we are setting up regional organisers in Natal, the Northern Transvaal, and the Vaal Triangle (and hopefully later the Eastern Cape) to help students establish "learning groups" at local

but low-cost approach is required. Under our plan, we estimate the annual cost per person at R120, assuming we can involve 5 000 in learning groups. If we can involve double that number in the first year, as we hope to do, the cost per head will be less

"If the project succeeds it will establish a significant alternative means of acquiring relevant knowledge and skills for large numbers of people at low cost. And that is one of the major problems which needs to be solved in education in this country"

Best of luck!

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News cutting led to school arson

28/11/77
RDM

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — King William's Town students set their school alight after a cutting from the Daily Dispatch was pinned to the school's notice board, the Cillie Commission heard yesterday.

Warrant Officer G. Hattingh, of the Security Police, said the report, which appeared last September, was headlined "No chance says Vorster".

WO Hattingh said "Left-orientated trouble

makers" at the Forbes Grant secondary school decided they would make the changes. They set the school on fire, causing R83 000 worth of damage.

The District Commandant of King William's Town Major T. Muller, described 23 incidents in the King district — which includes Fort Hare and Lovedale — last year. He told the commission the total damage to schools during the unrest last July and August was more than R241 000.

Press gags in S.A. reported by IPI

4/3/77 247

LONDON — There had been a sharp crackdown on free reporting in South Africa last year, the International Press Institute said in its annual review of world Press freedom released yesterday.

The "traumatic year of confrontation between an increasingly repressive Government and the media at home and abroad," had been summarised by Rand Daily Mail reporter Patrick Laurence last December, the report said.

Laurence had written that "The South African

Press is in a state of incipient siege."

The IPI, which recently moved its headquarters here from Switzerland, reported generally that countries possessing Press freedom were a dwindling minority.

Persecution of journalists and restraints on the Press had intensified to an unprecedented degree during 1976.

The survey covers the 61 countries in which the

IPI has Press, radio and television editors as its members.

Lack of sufficient information had prevented publication of action impinging Press freedom in many other countries, the IPI said.

Nearly a score of journalists had been arrested, detained in solitary confinement for many weeks, or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in South Africa, the report said.

"The majority of those detained were Black newsmen who won the admiration of their colleagues throughout the world for their courageous reporting of the demonstrations against the Government's racial policies in Soweto and other Black townships."

In the three pages devoted to South Africa, the report recalled the protests to the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. M. Kruger, by IPI director, Mr. Peter Galliner, last

November and December.

Mr. Galliner had expressed concern about the detention of non-White journalists, the re-arrest of Nat Serache and the 10-year prison sentence passed on David Rabkin.

Later Mr. Galliner protested about the Anthony Holiday and Eric Abraham cases. Here, as before, the IPI director had urged the minister to secure the release of all newsmen.

Mr. Galliner protested on December 14 about the brief detention and interrogation of African editor, Percy Qoboza.

The IPI Press release at that time had deplored the "blatant attempts to muzzle free reporting and comment in South Africa."

"Neither free expression nor democracy can long survive in a country where people so dedicated to these concepts are thrown into gaol," it said. — (Sapa.)

'Crackdown' on freedom to report in SA

Cape Times
4/3/77

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Protests to Kruger

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"Neither free expression nor democracy can long survive in a country where people so dedicated to these concepts are thrown into jail," it said.

White Rhodesia

In its Rhodesian section the report noted that there was "constant government pressure on the editors of the Rhodesia Herald and the Chronicle to publish what is in the national interests of White Rhodesia".

Rhodesian radio and television news was weighted strongly in favour of the White minority, it said.

— Sapa

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**Gallery
closed to
newspaper**

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Parliamentary Press Gallery facilities of the Daily News, Durban, have been withdrawn for the remainder of this month, the President of the Senate, Senator Marais Viljoen has announced.

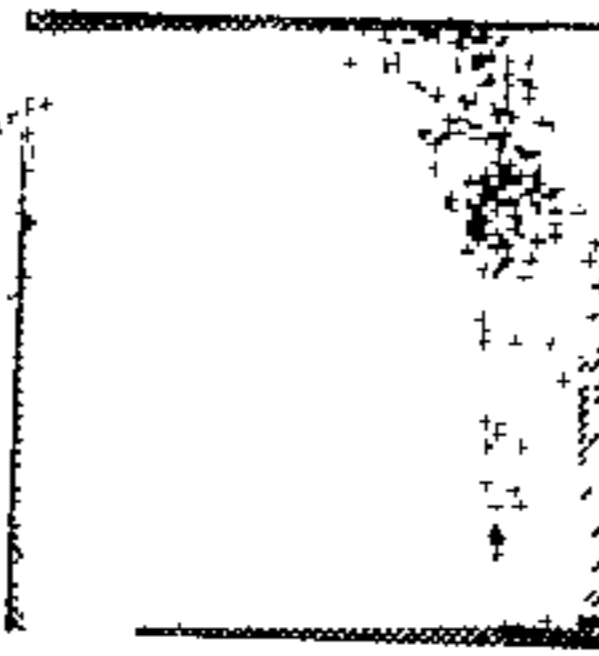
This is the result of a leading article in the newspaper on February 24 which suggested that the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, should apologise for wrongly denying that he had partly associated himself with a prediction that gold would reach 350 dollars an ounce.

Dutch journalist *Staw 10/1-1/77* told to quit SA

Mr Fred de Bruin, correspondent for Dutch and Belgian Press and radio has been told by the Department of the Interior to leave South Africa by Saturday.

Mr de Bruin was recently seized and his passport held in Swaziland for 48 hours. He went to Swaziland on a weekend holiday and decided to interview runaway black South African students.

A police escort took him to the Swazi border. He was then refused permission by South African police to enter South Africa, and spent four hours in "no-man's-land"



MR DE BRUIN

between the two passport control custom's posts.

Eventually Mr de Bruin persuaded a Swazi customs officer to telephone the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, who, through diplomatic channels, got permission for him to re-enter South Africa.

Guerilla war in SA predicted

2/3/77

NEW YORK — A Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist predicted yesterday that blacks in South Africa would be armed within five years and would begin guerilla warfare within South Africa's borders.

Mr Les Payne showed a variety of shots of his South African tour, dramatically illustrating the way, as a black, he was able to avoid official eyes.

"I just dropped from sight," he said. "The authorities told me, 'We'd like to know where you are. Keep us informed.' I did not. I simply drove into Soweto like an African and waved at the police. They thought I was returning from work."

Mr Payne's conclusions are grim. "I would say that there is no question the way 80 per cent of the population live is just brutal, it's agonising."

"The government there has got to be one of the most brutal, perhaps one of the most uncivilised on the face of the globe at this moment."

Some other Payne observations. Considering the way

they insist they're an African tribe, it's funny how the whites keep calling themselves Europeans.

Robert Sobukwe is "the Malcolm X of South Africa. A very astute guerilla leader. The most impressive leader in the country."

The "honorary white" system for visiting blacks recalls America in the 1950s. "When Africans could go into places in Washington where I could not go as an American. It's just one of the peculiarities of racism, be it here or there." — DDC.

BALANCES OF WE ARE MISSING

Judicial process should function like "a modern, fast machine", and of Mr F. W. de Klerk (Vereeniging), a leading Nationalist spokesman on justice, who complained that in the past the scale has been loaded against the State and in favour of the accused.

For the United Party, Mr George Hourquebie (Musgrave) said principles foreign to South African legal procedure were, being introduced and those marked the first of far-reaching radical change. His party's chief spokesman on justice, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, said the Bill was an unsuccessful attempt to marry the inquisitorial with South Africa's accusatorial system.

Today HARRY PITMAN, MP for Durban North and Progressive Reform Party spokesman on justice, spells out how much the Bill seeks to change the rights at present available to a man who finds himself arrested by the police.



Harry Pitman — the new Bill has many serious deviations

Making inroads into every man's basic right to protection

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NOV THE RAPE OF YOUR RIGHTS

CONT

Among the serious deviations are:

No access to friends

ACCESS — The accused person awaiting trial will no longer have access to friends and legal advisers. He may want friends to get in touch with witnesses to the incident to testify on his behalf or he may need documents and exhibits to be searched for in the preparation of his defence.

Now this is done away with. All he will have is assistance from a legal adviser — not even access. The prison may well say to the lawyer that he can speak to the accused on the telephone and no more — that is enough assistance.

Few preparatory examinations

SUMMARY TRIALS — Preparatory examinations will no longer be required in serious matters and will become exceptions rather than the rule. The accused will not even be entitled to see the statements of the witnesses, as in the preparatory examination, to see what the case against him is. He will see only a statement of facts drawn up by the prosecutor.

Even in the Soviet Union Article 201 of the Criminal Procedure Code has provisions for acquainting the accused with all

The case for the state could be made, in this way, through the accused himself.

The whole question of the onus being on the state is attacked in this Bill, and the thinking appears to be that people who come before the courts are guilty, so why waste time on them.

Accused can be retried

RETRIALS — In cases relating to public order or state security, the accused can be tried again if the judges fail to reach unanimity.

If the majority of the court, two of the three judges, are of the view that nothing has been proved against the accused the verdict should be not guilty."

No justification for this

RETRIALS — in cases relating to cused will be required to give evidence before calling witnesses, while the state will be allowed to call witnesses in whatever order it wishes.

This is a ridiculous, illogical method, designed to prejudice an accused. There can be no justification for this discrimination against one party in a case where the other party can do what it likes in regard to the sequence of witnesses.

the "materials of the case", which shall be presented to him for examination, and he has the right to copy all the information from it.

Witnesses may be far away

LOCATION OF TRIALS — At present trials are almost invariably held in the area where the crime was committed, so that witnesses will be accessible to the accused. Now the Attorney-General will be able to decide the locality.

Incredible change

THE RIGHT TO SILENCE — In serious cases where the matter can only be dealt with by a Regional Court or a Supreme Court, the accused person can be hustled into the magistrate's court right after being arrested and required to plead

The prosecutor may then request the magistrate to question the accused for admissions which will then be recorded as proof of the facts, these recordings will then be sent to the higher court, where they will be accepted as proof.

Now this is an absolutely extraordinary and incredible change in principle in our law.

That one judicial officer may elicit admissions and record them and that there is a legal statute

that says that recording is proof of that fact in his trial before another judge or magistrate is astounding.

It means in effect, that the judicial officer not trying the case would be an arbiter of whether a fact has been proved in a trial which takes place before another judicial officer, when the latter judicial officer may even be a judge, while the former is a first-year magistrate.

The principle that one man might find a matter proved for another man to sentence him is a very unsatisfactory one. It is an example too of the unsatisfactory result of making a judicial officer a participating party in the case.

Our legal principle has always been that the judicial officer is an impartial arbiter — simply, in effect, a referee between two parties who decides simply which of the two contesting versions is correct.

The principle has always been against an accused person being required to show that he is innocent, with the onus of proof of guilt on the state instead.

A commission of inquiry has also found that being questioned by a judicial officer can cause the accused to feel compelled to answer.

The whole idea that the accused should be placed in a position where the case against him is made out of his own mouth is violently opposed to our law.

Witnesses held in prison

DETENTION OF WITNESSES — These can now be "protected" by detention in prison for up to six months if the Attorney-General puts up affidavits which satisfy a judge in chambers.

The whole idea of witnesses against an accused person being held in prison until after they have given evidence is abhorrent to our legal principles.

The whole basis of our adversary system is that the impartial arbiter, the judge, adjudicates upon two sets of voluntary witnesses.

When you introduce witnesses held in prison, bringing them straight into court from prison and thereafter back into prison again, you are producing witnesses who go into court with a pistol held to their heads.

There they are, incarcerated by the state to give evidence for the state, and their prime consideration is to do what will get them out of prison.

That this has become one of our legal norms, our legal principles, shows a severe degeneration of principle.

Evidence in writing

TRIAL BY POLICE DOCKET — Written statements by persons

other than the accused being accepted as evidence

This is a radical departure from our traditional form of criminal trial, which requires witnesses to testify and to be subjected to cross-examination.

It enables the state to serve upon the accused a police docket containing statements and therefore obviate the necessity of a trial as only the accused would have to give evidence. This would open the way for trial by police docket.

The court has to make an assessment of the demeanour of a witness, but it cannot assess the demeanour of a statement. The state, knowing that a witness could be a bad one might use this section to avoid cross-examination and to avoid exposing that witness at the trial.

No automatic reviews

ABOLITION OF AUTOMATIC REVIEW — The Bill will do away with automatic reviews by judges of trials run by senior magistrates or magistrates with six years' experience and certification of judicial ability.

This Bill is not a streamlining of the criminal procedure of South Africa, it radically alters a system which is working very well.

These changes would take away protections that legislatures and courts have created because experience has shown that they are necessary to protect citizens against injustice

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FIN. MAIL 18/3/77

No ears, no eyes

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The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by, when any defence would be necessary of the 'liberty of the Press' as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government —

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

The case for a free Press does not rest on what other countries will think of South Africa if we do not have one. It is much stronger than that.

There are two kinds of society — open and closed. The US typifies the first, the USSR the second. Of all the factors determining into which type a country falls, the existence or absence of a free Press is probably the most important. It is not only one of the outward signs of an open society, it is one of the mainsprings. It is not a sufficient condition of democracy, but it is certainly a necessary one.

For people to feel secure, be able to vote intelligently, remedy ills, or rectify malpractices, they need first and foremost to know what is going on. In modern mass society, that cannot happen unless there are newspapers which are free to tell them.

Presenting a picture

The business community would be wrong to think all this is abstract theorising which does not touch them. They got a fright last year when Soweto erupted, but at least they had some picture, however incomplete, of what was happening. That picture, supplied by the Press, enabled employers to get some insight into the conditions under which their workers were living, and to take steps to try and put them right. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries was able to compile a long memorandum to the Prime Minister, the Urban Foundation was set up.

Providing a free flow of information and opinion is a function which the SA Press has in common with newspapers in other countries. The SA Press has also come to play a special additional role, however.

Since voteless Blacks have no direct means of making their voices heard in the parliament which governs their lives, newspapers have become by far the most

important channel of communication between Black and White. In a normal society, the governed should be able to talk to the government through political parties and the ballot box.

For Blacks in SA these mechanisms do not exist. They have therefore turned to the Press to make known their disabilities and their demands.

The lack of amenities in Soweto and other urban locations is a serious problem, as most businessmen acknowledge. Poverty, as businessmen also acknowledge, is another grave problem. African scholars and their parents are dissatisfied with the Bantu Education system. The industrial colour bar, lack of effective wage bargaining mechanisms, and the effects of inflation are also big grievances among Blacks.

Increasing alienation

How do we know about these things? From the Press. The Newspaper Bill which the Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, introduced in Parliament last week will have the effect of seriously curtailing the flow of news about them.

It will isolate employers even further from the living conditions, the frustrations, and the aspirations of their workers. It will increase the alienation of the Cabinet, Parliament, and the various government departments from the majority of the people affected by their decisions. It will, in short, push Black South Africa even further out of the mind of White South Africa.

Despite the numerous restrictions under which newspapers already labour — such as the Prisons, Defence and Riotous Assemblies Acts — it is still possible at present for them to give prior warning of problems building up. There is thus some chance that they can be tackled before they explode. Imposing even further restrictions on the press will seriously diminish those chances.

The problems will not simply go away if government, like a petulant mediaeval king, simply chops off the head of the messenger who brings bad news.

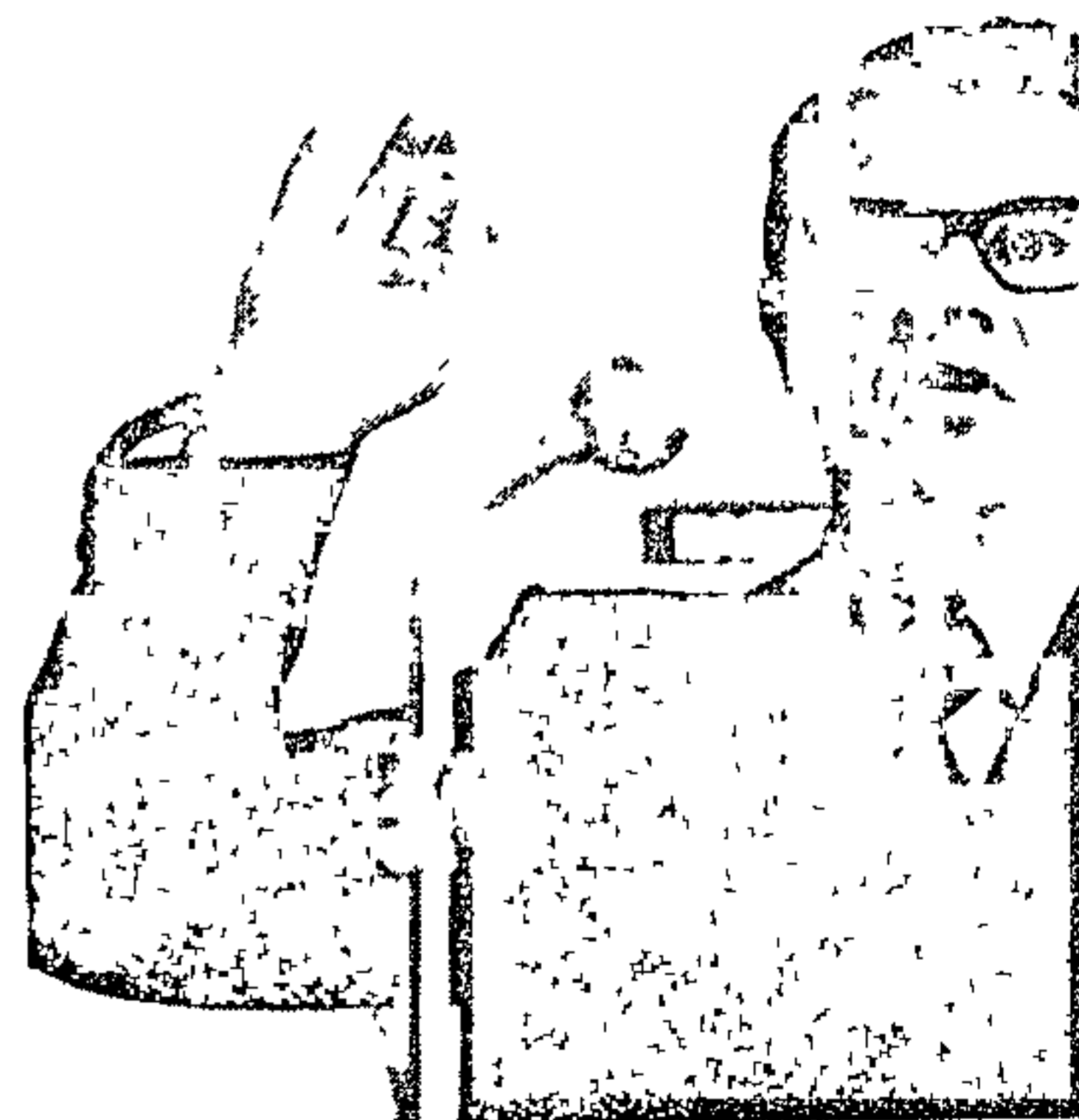
A newspaper is no more perfect than any other institution. It does sometimes get things wrong. But to suggest, as some people do, that newspapers are deliberately irresponsible or that they are them-

selves the cause of the problems which they report, is itself a grotesque distortion. Every journalist in the country knows — and often feels extremely frustrated by — the extent of self-censorship which already operates. If any charge is to be made against newspapers in so far as their reporting of racial matters is concerned, it is that they have understated rather than overstated the extent and the depth of Black grievances.

Some of those who have themselves been bruised by a watchful press may be inclined to sit back in satisfaction while government puts on the clamps. But they are deluded if they think an attack on the Press will not harm them too. The appetite of a government hungry for more and more control grows by what it feeds on.

Businessmen are already worried about increasing state intervention in the economy. Dr Andreas Wassenaar has expressed the fear that we are headed for an "Afrikaner dictatorship". The Bill is an inexorable step in that direction.

Government's idea of what the mass media should be like is its own SABC IV, a bland mixture of boredom and false reassurance. It knows that its policies cannot stand critical scrutiny, and that the evidence is mounting daily that they are causing more and more tension.



Mulder . . . towards a closed society

Editor hits at control by gun

JOHANNESBURG — Those who thought security could be bought with arms needed a long bout with a psychiatrist, Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the World, said here.

Mr Qoboza was one of six members of a panel at a symposium on South Africa in 10 years time. The symposium was organised by the Black Sash

People who thought the changes which had opened five star hotels to blacks and introduced multinational sport would satisfy black people were sleeping through a revolution, Mr Qoboza said.

The days of paternalism are over and the days of meaningful dialogue are in

Mr Otto Krause, editor of the Financial Gazette, spoke as an avowed Afrikaner Nationalist who did not see through spectacles of fear and guilt

His perceptions of South Africa, like those of his fellow Afrikaner Nationalists, was one of in-

ter action between nation and nation and not a perception of racial rivalry.

He foresaw a future in which the different nations would reach a peaceful accommodation through hard bargaining

It would however exclude political power sharing within a single country. Afrikaners would not accept that and would fight to resist it.

Mr Adam Small, a poet and philosopher, made an impassioned plea for people not to adopt a hostile attitude toward the Afrikaans language because of the political situation.

Mr Small said. "I am Afrikaans-speaking I cannot help the fact that Mr Vorster's politics are conducted in the language which I learnt at my mother's knee"

Dr Sheldon Leader, of the University of the Witwatersrand, described the present South African situation as one of crisis.

— DDC

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No. 4	The things you do not know about yourself which are unknown to others	What you know about yourself which is unknown to others	No. 2
No. 3	What you do not know about yourself which is known to others	The things you know about yourself which are known to others	No. 1

THE JOHARI WINDOW

Window". Here it is:

Bill a threat to State security — ex-editor

CAPE TOWN — Mr Rene de Villiers, MP, said yesterday the Newspaper Bill was a creature of the Government which would be armed with the powers of life and death.

"It is a vicious and dangerous Bill that is a threat to the security of the State," the former Star editor told a University of Cape Town student protest meeting against the proposed Newspaper Bill and banning of eight UCT students last year.

Mr De Villiers said the hand of the Government was the hand of those reaching for total power, with their attacks of the free press and trade unions

"The press will be a controlled and fettered press and we will reach a long, dark night if the Bill is imposed," he said.

The more pugnacious the press was, the better it was doing its duty. Nothing that had appeared in South African newspapers could do as much damage abroad as what the intention to pass the Newspaper Bill had already done.

"The Bill is a very grave threat to the country. It is a tyrannical Bill," he said.

Mr De Villiers said it was the right of newspapers to inform the public, and an attack on the freedom of the press

was an attack on the public.

He felt the imposition of the Bill could effectively destroy the channel of communication between whites and blacks, and he called on the public to "support a free press and the right to be heard and the right to be yourselves."

Dr David Welsh, the head of the Comparative African Law and Government Department, said the authoritarian measures of the Government were an intimation of its weakness and that the imposition of the Newspaper Bill would mean that the freedom of the press was finished.

Mr N Hayson, the Nusas and SRC president at UCT, said the Bill was to be imposed because "facts threatened propaganda and ideological distortions."

He said it was better to have a candle in the darkness than no candle at all, and therefore urged students to support the motion which resolved to "continue to commit ourselves to struggle for a just democratic society in our country."

The motion was passed unanimously by over 1 000 students. — DDC

Cabinet to study Bill

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is to discuss the Newspaper Bill today in the face of mounting antagonism towards State control of the country's Press.

The Newspaper Press Union yesterday seemed willing to reopen talks with the Government, and the Prime Minister was prepared to meet the members, on his terms.

At the same time, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, conceded that the Bill might

still be dropped if an agreement could be reached on machinery to discipline the Press.

The Press Union president, Mr. Hal Miller, yesterday said his union was anxious to resume talks and "intended to seek an early meeting with the Prime Minister."

He added that the matter would be considered at a special Press Union executive committee meeting in East London tomorrow, and, if necessary, at the full executive meeting in Cape Town on March 21.

The Press Union has so far refused to budge in its opposition to the principle of State intervention in the Press.

At a public meeting last night, the Progressive Reform Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, MP, warned that the Bill would sabotage the country internationally more than any other piece of legislation.

He said it would strike

a "crippling blow at the country's parliamentary system" if the Press was not allowed to convey views or disseminate

TURN TO PAGE 2

Press Bill row

FROM PAGE 1

news free from Government control.

Dr. Mulder, in weekend interviews, made it clear that the initiative for resumed talks would have to come from the Press Union through a direct approach to the Prime Minister.

He said also that he would push the Bill through Parliament as soon as possible if the negotiations were not reopened.

Yesterday, he repeated that the legislation did not amount to Government intervention.

But he added: "I do not think it is impossible that an arrangement could be reached that did not require legislation, but as things stand now we must proceed with the Bill as a matter of priority."

The Prime Minister has declined to comment on the possibility of renewed talks.

A spokesman from his office confirmed that he made the following statement to Cape Town's Die Burger:

"In the light of the attitude of the Press Union so far and the standpoint of certain newspapers, for example the columnist of the

tion empowering the Government to close newspapers for up to a week.

Mr. Gerdener, Minister of the Interior between 1970 and 1972, said the request had come from Mr. Vorster, who had been upset at a particular report and wanted powers to close newspapers that transgressed.

Mr. Gerdener said he had resisted attempts to force the Press to toe the line.

"It is absolute nonsense," Mr. Vorster said when asked to comment on the report.

See also Page 15.

Cape Times, which is in sharp contrast to the decision of the board of Nasionale Pers, I have no comment to make on the matter."

Mr. Vorster was referring to the Cape Times columnist Gerald Shaw who was highly critical of the measure on Saturday and the Nasionale

Pers's decision expressed its willingness to discuss the matter with the Government in a spirit of mutual trust and co-operation.

Inquiries here also revealed that the Bill carried the stamp of the Prime Minister personally and that the Bill did not stem from Dr. Mulder or his Department.

According to Sapa, Mr. Vorster yesterday described as nonsense a claim by the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr. Theo Gerdener, that as Minister of the Interior he had been asked to draw up legisla-

Bill will harm SA says Emlin

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Bill would sabotage South Africa's international relations more than any other piece of legislation on its statute books, the Progressive Reform Party leader, Mr Emlin, warned yesterday.

Speaking at a Sea Point party rally, Mr Emlin said the Bill would destroy South Africa's claim to be associated with democratic countries in the West.

"It will strike a crippling blow at the functions of our parliamentary system," he said.

This system was based on periodic decisions by the voters and it could not function if the press was not allowed to convey views or disseminate news free from Government control.

In a way the Bill was a tribute to South Africa's press. It demonstrated that the press had refused to "succumb to the blandishments or to bow down before the threats of the Government."

The press — Afrikaans and English, management, editors and journalists — had shown a remarkable unity in their opposition to the principle of the Bill, Mr Emlin said.

He added, "I believe that the press's total rejection of the principle of statutory control shows that in spite of the erosion of liberty in South Africa over the past 29 years, our press remains proudly committed to the principle of freedom of expression."

Meanwhile, the cabinet is to discuss the Bill today in the face of mounting antagonism towards State control of the press.

Developments yesterday indicated that the Newspaper Press Union was willing to reopen negotiations with the

Government and that the Prime Minister was prepared to meet the NPU, on his terms.

At the same time the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, conceded in newspaper interviews that the tough measure might still be dropped if an agreement could be reached on machinery to discipline the press.

The NPU president, Mr H Miller, said in a statement yesterday the NPU was anxious to resume discussions and intended to seek an early meeting with the Prime Minister in an effort to find a solution.

The matter would be considered at a special NPU executive committee meeting in East London tomorrow, and, if necessary, again at the full executive meeting in Cape Town on March 21.

Though it appears the NPU is prepared to restart negotiations with the Government, this does not mean that a solution to the deadlock is any nearer — RC.

Press

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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — There are strong indications that South Africa's proposed new Press legislation could have far-reaching effects on decision-makers' attitudes here as they frame the Carter administration's Southern African policy options.

Well-placed sources suggested ramifications, particularly if there is a strict enforcement of the wide controls projected in the Newspaper Bill just introduced in Parliament.

It has been pointed out in Washington that this type of legislation, which affects human rights, could well shift the emphasis to sterner measures against South Africa in a situation in which the country cannot afford to use up whatever small quantity of goodwill still exists towards it.

Focus on laws

As one source put it "Those who have to make decision about South Africa are guided by events in South Africa and this will not be regarded with equanimity."

In looking at American relationships with South Africa, decision-makers will have to look at the human rights question and they cannot help but focus on laws which violate human rights such as the Terrorism Act and now the proposed Newspaper Bill.

But the new Press legislation has not only caused a stir in United States diplomatic circles. It undoubtedly comes as a blow to those South Africans attempting to present a positive picture of the country in America.

It is perhaps significant that South African Foreign Minister-designate "Pik" Botha chose not to defend the legislation when approached for comment. Instead, Mr Botha declined to comment while South African Infor-

mation chief Carl Noffke struck up a highly defensive posture.

This followed the dissemination by Mr Noffke's department here of synopses of the Government White Paper on Friday and the subsequent harsh judgment of the legislation by the American Press.

Mr Noffke's R15-million information operation in the US has laid heavy emphasis in the past on South Africa's Press freedom in an attempt to convince American critics that the country in fact does uphold democratic standards.

But Mr Noffke told me that his department was not going to change a single word or re-phrase its information material in the light of the new legislation.

Impact

The mere fact that there is to be a Press code would not affect Press freedom in South Africa, according to Mr Noffke. He said the fact that this measure was being discussed in Parliament had made a big impact in America.

His department had received many inquiries and when it was pointed out that the Newspaper Press Union had the opportunity of discussing the measures with the Government and had refused there had been a reaction of disbelief.

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Press Freedom in
SA tests with
these 24 men

The total picture presented of South Africa was of a democratic country with a free and independent judiciary, a virile economy, the greatest amount of Press freedom on the continent of Africa, and a country in which the standard of living of blacks was being steadily improved, said Mr Noffke.

Nat Press

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renews call for talks

15/8/79

A renewed Nationalist call for negotiations on the Newspaper Bill came today as the Cabinet met to consider the controversy over the Bill and the Newspaper Press Union's move to meet the Government

The NPU is anxious to resume discussion with the Government and intends to seek an early meeting with the Prime Minister in an effort to find a solution. It will consider the

matter at a special meeting of its executive committee in East London tomorrow and, if necessary, again at its full executive meeting in Cape Town next Monday.

The official Cape Nationalist newspaper Die Burger said in an editorial that a calm analysis of viewpoints on the Bill led it to the conclusion that differences could be bridged by patient and perhaps also tough negotiation.

The introduction of the Newspaper Bill had the purpose of giving an insight to all responsible elements what was at stake if the matter was taken to total confrontation.

The editor of the Transvaler, Dr Willem de Klerk, today stated that self-control by the Press through its own organs was far preferable to a Press law. However, a Press law as such was not necessarily evil, he said.

It could be acceptable if it contained a few basic principles, offered a collation of existing legal restrictions and arranged procedures to make the Press responsible for self-control through its own Press council, Dr de Klerk said.

Large sections of the Press, however, reject such a formula even more strongly than the Government's present plan.

A system under which the Press is supposed to censor itself while the State stands by with legal sanctions will break down instantly, these sections feel.

"Self-discipline has to mean what it says," said the editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson. "Few newspapermen will be prepared to act as the Government's

agents in a task which newsmen oppose on principle"

LAST STRAW

Die Vaderland welcomed the door left open for discussion because "the way the legislation is being handled creates the impression the Government wants to push it through, regardless of the strong objections by the Press."

The Union of Black Journalists, whose president has been detained, commented "For the black journalist who has been harassed at every turn, detained, interrogated by Security Police and humiliated, this Bill comes perhaps as the last straw."

It was a pity that the Bill was nothing but a vote of no confidence in the "efficient courts of law."

The South African Society of Journalists has expressed solidarity with South African editors and the NPU in their stand against the Bill.

In Cape Town yesterday Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, said that if the Bill becomes law "it will take South Africa across the threshold that separates the free world from the world of authoritarianism."

● Watchdog has a role to play — Page 19.

Inside Mail

THE Newspaper Bill now before Parliament is the culmination of a long history of hostility by the ruling National Party towards the English-language Press

The hostility pre-dates the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 and is to be found in "Die Republikeinse Jorde", a policy document issued with the approval of Dr D F Malan during the second World War

It recommended that newspapers serving "foreign interests" should be kept within bounds" and that their activities should be regarded as high treason after the establishment of a republic

Since then the hostility has taken a more refined form. The objective is no longer to render newspapers liable to charges of reason. But it is still to keep them within bounds - or, to use contemporary jargon, to ensure that they are responsible

Over the years the National Party has consistently levelled two accusations at newspapers, especially those whom it has labelled the "vyandage Engeliseers". In essence the charges are that

- 1) The Press incites Blacks against Whites and thereby arms race relations and threatens public safety
- 2) The Press, directly and indirectly, provides the basis for reports in overseas newspapers which well the tide of world hos-

The road that led to the 'Bill'

PATRICK LAURENCE

Magazines which, in the opinion of the Minister, systematically published subversive reports.

Sharpeville and its aftermath coincided with threats to close down the Rand Daily Mail from Dr Carel de Wet, an MP who was to become a Cabinet Minister and then Ambassador to Britain.

With the crushing of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress and their underground offshoots in the early 1960s, a period of relative quiet followed as the authorities tightened their grip

It brought repressive of a sort for the Press from threats, partly because the Newspaper Press Union had taken steps to set up its own disciplinary machinery

But the emergence of a new generation of outspoken Black leaders operating from platforms in the officially-sanctioned policy of separate development was to change that

Publication by the Press of statements from men of the calibre of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu re-

Rand Daily Mail, Monday, March 14, 1977

EVERY Inside Today

RAND DAILY MAIL

CHANGING THROUGH MARCH 10

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viewed fears in official circles that newspapers were "inciting" Blacks — an allegation which the new leaders themselves denied

But by then a new factor was emerging: a more critical and questioning attitude among Afrikaans newspapers, which since then has increasingly worried the Government

The prelude to the new attacks came with the 1970 general election campaign, when at a rally of the National Party in Johannesburg City Hall both the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the former Minister of Transport, Mr Ben Schoeman, unleashed sharp attacks on the English language Press

The climax came three years later at a National Party Congress in Bloemfontein during a speech by Mr Vorster, who accused the Press in general and its own disciplinary machinery

But the emergence of a new generation of outspoken Black leaders operating from platforms in the officially-sanctioned policy of separate development was to change that

Publication by the Press of statements from men of the calibre of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu re-

the Rand Daily Mail in particular of publishing "inflammatory" material. He had "begged, pleaded and threatened" in a bid to persuade the Press to discipline itself against publication of articles which sowed racial hatred, he told the congress.

Then came a threat to introduce legislation to prevent newspapers from appearing on the streets if they contained articles which would incite racial hostility.

Later, in October, Mr Vorster issued an ultimatum to the English-language press: put your house in order by January 1974 or face legislation providing for the suspension of newspapers

Last year was the year of Soweto June 16 and the unrest and violence which swept through most townships after police opened

fire on student demonstrations against compulsory instruction in Afrikaans.

It is an open secret that some reports angered the authorities, particularly those which questioned the neutrality of the police in the clashes between migrant workers and student militants.

Now there is the Newspaper Bill, with justifications for it from the Minister of Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, because of alleged irresponsible reporting characterised by distortion and malice.

But what is surprising is not that the threatened legislation has finally reached the stage of a Bill before Parliament, but that it took so long to do so.

One reason has been the awareness of the Government that the relatively free Press is one of its

best cards in the search for friends and allies abroad. As Dr Mulder has put it, a free Press is one of the best advertisements South Africa has

But another important reason has been attempts by the Newspaper Press Union to meet and neutralise National Party objections by creating its own machinery for discipline.

As early as 1964 an official Press Commission of Inquiry recommended the establishment of a statutory Press Council for the "self-control and discipline" of the Press

The composition and powers of the proposed council anticipated some of the proposals contained in the Newspaper Bill for the creation of the new Press Council.

The proposals of the Commission report

of 1964 and those of the Newspaper Bill of 1977 contain in common provision for Government appointed representatives, compulsory registration of journalists and powers to impose fines on erring newspapers

But the proposed council of 1964 was a pale reflection of the proposed council of 1977, mainly because it did not have powers to suspend newspapers and, in addition, provided specifically for representation of working journalists

The newspaper industry, however, escaped falling under the proposed council of 1964 by anticipating it and setting up its own disciplinary body, a Press Board of Reference.

The Board of Reference was empowered to reprimand erring journalists

Under the Emergency Regulations the authorities were empowered to ban newspapers, journals and

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mand newspapers which contravened the code and to order that the reprimand be published. The presumption was that the threat of publication of the reprimand would act as a disciplinary check on newspapers.

The South African Society of Journalists, an association of working journalists, rejected the Press code on the grounds that it was meant to appease the Government and that working journalists had not been consulted when the code was drawn up.

But the Board nevertheless functioned and issued reprimands against newspapers and helped save newspapers from being placed under the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 — which provided for powers to ban journals and magazines.

Then came Mr Vorster's ultimatum of 1973. The reaction of the Newspaper Press Union was similar to its reaction to the threat 10 years earlier from the Press Commission

report and the Publications Act.

It tried to prevent censorship and control by providing for new measures of "self discipline" by the newspaper industry itself.

The first step was to "give teeth" to the Press Council (as the old board had come to be known) by empowering it to impose a fine of up to R10 000 on newspapers infringing the Press code. The second step was to amend the code itself.

An amendment demanded that newspapers exercise "due care and responsibility" in publication of reports which might stir up racial hostility or endanger the safety and defence of South Africa.

The code was rejected by nine editors, who complained that they had not been consulted as a body.

But the Press Council went ahead and exercised its new powers. Several newspapers have been fined for contravening the amended code.

It did not, however, satisfy Mr Vorster

Journalists say code offers no protection

14/3/71
DJ

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JOHANNESBURG — There is no clause in the proposed new press code which protects journalists who have acted in the public interest, the South African Society of Journalists has pointed out in a statement rejecting the Newspaper Bill.

The society believed a code and press council imposed on the press by any government was irreconcilable with press freedom because governments had vested interests in the manner in which news was reported and commented upon.

"Governments have the habit of suppressing news — the true facts of situations — if they may prove an embarrassment," the statement said.

"We further object to the provisions for imprisonment of editors, owners or newsmen and women for up to 12 months without the right of appeal to the courts.

"The right of appeal is enjoyed under South African law by murderers and rapists, but not by editors and owners of newspapers."

The SASJ strongly objected to the prohibition of tip-off payments to members of the public.

"This action is but another example of arbitrary actions taken by an authority which has no intimate knowledge of the sphere of endeavour it is trying to control.

"Members of the public often go out of their way to provide newspapers with news and information, acting in the public interest. Compensation for time, trouble or transport has become a standard practice on newspapers.

"We believe this prohibition is calculated to prevent public contribution to the free flow of information."

A clause of the code said that only what may be reasonably be true "having regard to the news source" may be presented as fact.

The SASJ asked what news source may ever be said to be giving the truth or the full facts of a situation.

For example, where there is public violence is that source the police, or

the riot victim?

The SASJ found the following definitions in the code vague, unspecific and open to wide interpretation.

"Harmful to public morals," "obscene and lascivious matter," "matter which is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section," "subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic or cultural matters," "matters that may detrimentally affect the safety of the state," "standards of decency and public morals of the nations are not debased," "relations between the different nations and population groups of the Republic are not prejudiced," and "the name of the Republic is not damaged abroad."

The SASJ believed these definitions would cause great anxiety on the part of newspaper editors and vigorous self-censorship which would only harm the free flow of information and comment. — DDC.

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Don't kill free Press, papers tell Mulder

14/3/77
JD

Mercury Correspondent
THE South African Press of all persuasions has given a unanimous message to the Government: "Don't kill the free Press."

For the third successive day yesterday newspapers gave prominent front-page news coverage and editorial opinion to their condemnation of the Newspaper Bill which will strangle freedom of the Press.

The Bill has been considered such a serious attempt to silence the Press that it has brought unprecedented unity between Afrikaans and English-language newspaper editors and their managements.

Although there are signs that that unity may not hold, prominent Nationalists in the Press world have been outspoken in their abhorrence of the Bill in its entirety.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport led its front-page with a call by former Minister of Transport Mr. Ben Schoeman, who is now chairman of Perskor, one of two major Afrikaans newspaper groups, for the scrapping of the Bill.

The editors of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express took the unusual step of commenting on the Bill prominently on the front pages of their newspapers.

The Sunday Times gave over part of its own editorial space to quote

extracts from editorials in five other newspapers.

The Sunday Express also devoted its whole editorial column to saying Why They Want A Gag. It also carried an article questioning whether South Africa faced Government by dictatorship.

The Sunday Tribune entitled its editorial Entering The Age Of Ignorance.

Mr. Joel Mervis, former editor of both the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express, wrote that freedom of the Press and the Newspaper Bill were totally incompatible.

"A newspaper will therefore be faced with

this choice It can seek to uphold Press freedom, in which event it will fall foul of the law and incur its harsh penalties, or it can bow to the law, in which event it will betray its trust and subvert Press freedom."

The Citizen said that to curb the freedom of the Press was to curb the freedom of the individual. It claimed that some reports had been cause enough for the Government to be angry with some sections of the Press. There had been one-sided, unbalanced, unfair and almost incitative reports.

But the Press was a bulwark against tyranny, a braking influence on unfettered authority.

Board is 'willing to talk'

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CAPE TOWN—The board of directors of Nasionale Pers accepted that Press freedom did not imply absolute freedom, the board said in a statement.

The statement by Nasionale Pers, mother company of the Burger, Volksblad, Oosterlig and Beeld, said: "The board accepted the Government had recognised, assured and maintained the principle of Press freedom as a cornerstone of democratic government, unqualified and inviolate.

"It accepted without reservation the right and the responsibility of the Government to ensure that an orderly body politic was maintained by all, including the Press.

"Press freedom did not imply absolute freedom. The board accepted that the Government's action with regard to the Press legislation sprang from the conviction that the Press Union had not succeeded in ensuring maintenance of this principle and that it therefore regarded it as its duty to ensure responsible Press freedom.

"Nasionale Pers was willing to discuss the legislation with the Government in a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation."

In Britain reports on the legislation to curb the South African Press were widely published in the serious Press at the weekend.

National and international Press bodies are expected to make statements today backing South African journalists.

The only weekend editorial comment was in the Right-wing Sunday Telegraph, which declared Mr. Vorster's resort to censorship would be taken as a sign of weakness and even desperation abroad. — (Sapa-Mercury Correspondent.)

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14/3/77 MS

Defying press council can mean R2 000 fine

CAPE TOWN — Fines of up to R2 000 and prison sentences of up to a year may be imposed on journalists or newspaper owners who fail to obey a press council directive, in terms of the Newspaper Bill published here on Saturday.

The controversial measure was read a first time in the Assembly Friday after opposition objections, and has now been published in full.

It provides for progressively heavy sentences on journalists or newspaper owners who disobey a directive of the press council, which may impose fines of up to R1 000 on journalists and up to R10 000 on newspaper owners or order that publication of a newspaper be suspended.

Failure to comply with such a press council decision will be punishable on first offence by a maximum fine of R500 or six months' imprisonment, or both.

This increases on second offence to a fine of between R500 and R1 000 or six months imprisonment, or both, and on third or subsequent

conviction to a fine of between R1 000 and R2 000 or 12 months imprisonment, or both.

The Bill provides for fines of up to R500 or six months imprisonment, or both, for contravention of other provisions, including failure to give evidence before the press council or produce any required relevant document, or failure to publish a report as directed by the council.

The same penalty applies to insulting, disparaging or belittling a member of the council, publishing a factually incorrect report of its proceedings, anticipating its findings or doing anything equivalent to contempt of court in connection with its proceedings or calculated to influence the council or its members.

Newspapers which pay

for tip-offs or insure themselves against being penalised by the press council also fall under these provisions.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, said in an interview at the weekend that his reference on Friday to a select committee was not intended to mean that the Newspaper Bill would necessarily be referred to a select committee.

"When I spoke in the House, I was using examples of what could happen to a Bill — any Bill. It could go to a select committee before or after the principle has been established."

"I did not intend it to be an opening for this Bill."

Asked to comment on reported willingness of the president of the NPU, Mr H W Miller, to resume discussions with the Government, Dr

Mulder said "I am not prepared to commit myself at this stage."

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said in Beaufort West at the weekend that the Newspaper Bill could have been avoided had the NPU realised in time that it was playing with fire.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr Botha said the Government believed in the freedom of the press. It did not envisage taking any action against the responsible sections of the English and Afrikaans language press.

Mr Botha said a large part of the Afrikaans press as well as the English press was responsible, and although these newspapers disagreed with and criticised Government policy they acted in a responsible way which was an honour to South Africa.

He expressed his appreciation for the support the Defence Force had received from the responsible sections of the English and Afrikaans language press.

The Newspaper Bill was not aimed at these people. It was aimed at those who were reckless with South Africa's interests and played with the safety and security of South Africa.

He hoped the NPU would take steps to negotiate with the Government because if it had done so earlier the introduction of the Bill could have been avoided.

— SAPA

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Newsmen say no to Press gag

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—There is no clause in the proposed State Press Code which protects journalists who have acted in the public interest, the South African Society of Journalists has pointed out in a statement rejecting the Newspaper Bill.

The society believed that a code and Press Council imposed on the Press by any government was irreconcilable with Press freedom because governments had vested interests in the manner in which news was reported and commented upon.

"Governments have the habit of suppressing news — the facts of situations — if they may prove an embarrassment," the statement continued.

"We further object to the provisions for imprisonment of editors, owners or newsmen and women for up to 12 months without the right of appeal to the Courts.

"The right of appeal is enjoyed under South African law by murderers and rapists, but not by editors and owners of newspapers."

The SASJ strongly objected to the prohibition of tip-off payments to members of the public.

"This action is but another example of arbitrary actions taken by an authority which has no intimate knowledge of the sphere of endeavour it is trying to control.

Public

"Members of the public often go out of their way to provide newspapers with news and information, acting in the public interest. Compensation for time, trouble or transport has become a standard practice on newspapers.

"We believe this prohibition is calculated to prevent public contribution to the free flow of information."

Clause 1.(B) of the Press Code said that only what might reasonably be true "having

regard to the news source" may be presented as fact.

The SASJ asked what news source could ever be said to be giving the truth or the full facts of a situation.

For example, where there is public violence, is that source the police, or the riot victim?

The SASJ found the following definitions in the code vague, unspecific and open to wide interpretation: "harmful to public morals," . . . "obscene and lascivious matter," . . . "matter which is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section" . . . "subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic or cultural matters."

Safety

Others were: "Matters that may detrimentally affect the safety of the State," . . . "relations between the different nations and population groups of the Republic are not prejudiced," . . . "the name of the Republic is not damaged abroad."

The SASJ believed those "definitions" "will cause great anxiety on the part of newspaper editors and vigorous self-censorship which can only harm the free flow of information and comment."

Shell deaths

WILDFLECKEN—Three U.S. Army dependents' sons died and one was critically injured yesterday when a dud shell they apparently were playing with exploded, a military spokesman in West Germany said yesterday. — (Sapa-AP.)

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Editor case: SABC appeal

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13/7/77

Staff Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The SABC today appealed in the Appellate Division here against an award of R2 000 for defamation made to Mr John Michael Wallace O'Malley, Editor of the Daily News, Durban, in connection with the Racialist Assemblies Act.

The action arose from the editor's arrest in connection with a SASO meeting in September 1974.

Mr Justice Irving Steyn, a Rand Supreme Court judge, handed down judgment in favour of Mr O'Malley on March 31 1976. Mr O'Malley originally claimed R10 000.

The defamation action arose from SABC news reports on September 26 1974. Mr O'Malley claimed the words in the reports meant or were understood to mean that he (the editor) attended an unlawful gathering of SASO and BPC and had been arrested on a charge of having done so.

13 OTHERS

The editor claimed some of the reports stated "the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, had announced in Cape Town that the Editor of the Daily News, Mr John O'Malley, had been arrested in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act".

The news report continued: "Our Durban news office reports that 13 other people were arrested earlier yesterday evening after several hundred non-whites and a number of white students, attended an illegal meeting organised by Saso and the Black Peoples' Convention".

Mr R Kruger SC (for the SABC) submitted before the Appellate Division today that factually, the SABC news report was correct and the only dispute was, whether the omission to set out precisely where and specifically under which contravention of the act he was arrested constituted a defamatory "half truth".

There had been no intention by the SABC to injure Mr O'Malley.

Mr S Kentridge SC (for

Mr O'Malley) said that at the outset of the broadcast prominence was given to the editor's name and the fact that he was a newspaper editor.

Nothing was said in the news reports as to where or why he was arrested.

The trial court was correct in finding that the broadcasts "must result in

the conclusion that the immediate impression which would have been formed by the average reasonable listener of normal intelligence was that the editor had attended an unlawful gathering and had been arrested on a charge of having done so."

(Proceeding)

What the hell is going on?

Sam 12/3/77



KEN OWEN

Nationalist columnist, seems to go farther. He interprets the recent behaviour of the electorate as a signal that a "white power struggle" — meaning an Opposition — "is no longer in the national interest".

"In the time in which we live and which lies ahead," he writes, "it is no longer correct thinking to mobilise a white opposition force with the specific purpose of unseating the National (party) regime"

Archaic

The point is expressed more bluntly in private conversation among those elitist Afrikaner intellectuals whose hearts he in Stollenbosch and who like to refer to the party faithful as "stemvee", which translates roughly as "voicing herds".

They call for a new De Gaulle to seize power and to make the reforms which the "stemvee" will not under our present archaic Westminster permit

What precisely, does all this mean?

What, precisely, is to be sacrificed to "survival politics"? The official Opposition, sorry little creature that it is? The Press? Our standard of living? Our right to vote the Government out of office?

What the hell is going on in this country?

THE Government's decision to hobble the Press in this country — and damn the consequences abroad — looks ominously like the latest step in a sequence that began with the Prime Minister's broadcast on New Year's Day

Mr Vorster warned us to prepare to fight alone, without hope of outside help, and to condition ourselves for what might lie ahead

Since then, the talk among those Afrikaners who cluster round the powerful core of the National Party has swirled round the concept of "survival politics."

Extraordinary

The new fad phrase is "the De Gaulle option", and it is backed by suggestions from influential Afrikaner political commentators that a Westminster-style Opposition is really a stumbling block

The Editor of the Transvaal wrote last Sunday that "responsible" people had come to the view that only a dictatorship could save South Africa

The reputed head of the Broederbond, Professor Gerrit Viljoen, argued in a remarkable interview published in the Sunday Times a week ago that white South Africans should develop a rational strategy for survival. And now an extraordinary statement given to the Sunday

Times by the head of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, published on this page, discloses that such a strategy does, in fact, exist

The economy stringency to which the country is now being subjected, the belt-tightening and the strategic stockpiling, would fit exactly into the Malan blueprint for the mobilisation of total resources to meet the threat of total war

So, too, would the new clamps on the Press. The implicit disregard for foreign opinion carries the same fatalistic stamp that marked the Prime Minister's broadcast

Unusual

It was Mr Vorster's tone, more than the content of his remarks, that was unusual. He said, you may recall, that the West had lost its will to fight, and that the Soviets knew — after Angola — that they could attack any part of the African continent with the same impunity they enjoyed when they

crushed Hungary

We had no allies, we could expect no help from anybody and we would now look to our own defence

To a degree he was stating the obvious. Hardly a week passes but that the Americans tell us the same thing, and there is really nobody else capable of rescuing us.

Precautions

But it is different when the Prime Minister says it, and adds that we must now "take the necessary precautions". At least one conservative foreign publication, Britain's Economist, has interpreted his mood at "batten- ing down for war".

What precautions does the Prime Minister mean?

General Malan says we must guard ourselves for total war, and he acknowledges the difficulties created for this effort by our remaining democratic institutions

Davie, the influential



WAINWRIGHT

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TO SAY WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

ing What I have seen appals me and concerns me

The whole idea of a tribunal of this type having this kind of power over the Press is anathema to the NUJ and, I would have thought, to journalists' associations and professional bodies in every democratic country

"On the face of it this is a development that looks totally inimical to Press

freedom

Taken with and in view of the increasing harassment of and restrictions placed on journalists particularly Black and opposition journalists in South Africa this is a most disturbing development

In 1973 when the first indication appeared of a Press Code being imposed by the South African Government upon the South African Press we warned and made

protest to the South African Government against such a code Now our worst fears and anticipation look to be on the point of being confirmed"

The Guardian and the Financial Times of London have given prominent coverage to the Bill

American business interests have made it clear the Government should not un-

derestimate the damage to investment links likely to result from the latest bid to curb the Press

Mr Graham Hatton editor of the Financial Mail said this was the response he had had from American business circles

They made it clear South Africa should not underestimate that it could be very very damaging to South Africa's investment as well as trade links he said

Storm oor persvry
Botsing dalk afgeweer

— BEELD

Outcry against Press clamps

— RAND DAILY MAIL

FURY OVER TOUGH NEW PRESS LAW

— THE WORLD

— the end . . .

No more protection for news sources, Mulder warns



• DR MULDER "my department and I have been watching things for two years"

you'll try and hunt them down If I say they haven't you'll criticise me for not doing my job I have my ways and means of doing this and I'm not going to disclose them

Asked to what extent the legislation had been motivated by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, Dr Mulder replied "The decision came from the Government as a whole I'm not going to put the blame on the Prime Minister himself"

Dr Mulder said he would not as Minister of the Interior, have any say over remission of sentence, or any other aspect of punishment meted out under the Newspaper Bill

Questioned on whether the measure would add to criticism that the South African Government has totalitarian tendencies, the Minister "No, except in cer-

tain countries it is put that we are curbing the Press But many countries will understand

The British Press has disciplined itself — You've just got to look at the way they handled the Irish Revolt France, Belgium, Austria, Germany and Italy all have one or other form of control, he added

Was he concerned about alienating his own Press?

"I don't think this will happen It's in the interest of the country as a whole They don't like it now, but when they see how it operates they'll come round to it

Asked why he did not recognise the right of newspapers to conduct their promotions and news gathering activities in the most profitable way provided it was honest Dr Mulder said

"It's not ethical for newspapers to receive news in

that way (by paying tip-off fees and offering prizes. Tempting people to abuse privacy is wrong These are invariably little people who are privy to important documents The temptation must be terribly strong for people who are struggling against inflation"

The Express put it to Dr Mulder that newspapers frequently had to defend cases in the old Press Council at great expense, when the complainant's motive was simply to "bleed" the newspaper In some cases R5 000 had been spent defending unjustified actions

"That's pocket money for newspapers" replied Dr Mulder But he assured us that the judge appointed chairman of the new Press Council would not take kindly to frivolous claims "A judge of all people should be able to assess the situation"

Newsmen fear Govt witchhunt

Express Reporter FEARS that the Newspaper Bill may signal the start of a witchhunt of the best journalists in the profession and of specific newspapers were expressed by the Society of Journalists yesterday

In a statement totally rejecting the new legislation the SASJ representing most journalists on English language newspapers claimed the Newspaper Bill would also force vigorous self-censorship on the country's entire Press

"We believe the Press should not be given special

treatment in any respect the SASJ said We have no special rights above that of the individual nor should we be singled out and controlled with special sanctions

For this reason the SASJ said there was no need for a new Press Council created and dominated by the Government

There is also no need for a vague politically charged code of conduct regulated by a system of heavy penalties through the Press Council the statement added

"We believe the Bill

makes crimes of many standard journalistic practices, and as well cause the start of a witchhunt of the best journalists in the profession and of specific newspapers

The SASJ concluded that a Government-imposed Press Code and Council was irreconcilable with Press freedom because governments had vested interests in the manner in which news was reported

"Governments have the habit of suppressing news — the true facts of situations — if they prove an embarrassment" the SASJ said.

Newspapers can be closed down

SWEEPING powers to close newspapers, impose jail sentences of up to a year and personal fines of R2 000, will be given in terms of the Newspaper Bill, published yesterday.

The Bill departs from the explanatory memorandum, published on Friday, to give these powers to the chairman himself

The memorandum said the council could impose a fine not exceeding R1 000 on people responsible for offensive reports, a fine of R10 000 on the newspaper owner, and suspend the printing and publication of the newspaper for a period

But in terms of the Bill, anyone refusing or failing to appear before the chairman of the council, pay a fine im-

posed or obey an instruction to suspend his newspaper, is liable to be imprisoned for six months, or be fined R500, or both, provided he has no previous convictions

On a second conviction, he can be fined R1 000 and sent to jail for six months, or both

In the case of a third conviction, or more, he may be fined R2 000, or sent to prison for a year, or both

Then there are sentences of up to six months and fines of up to R500 for a host of other infringements, including:

- Refusing to answer questions put by the council.
- Giving a false answer
- Refusing to take an oath or make an affirmation at the request of the chairman.
- Interrupting the proceedings of the Press Council or misbehaving at the place where the meeting is being held
- Doing anything calculated to influence the Press Council
- Insulting, disparaging or belittling a member of the Press Council
- Anticipating findings
- Insuring a newspaper or person against penalties which could be imposed by the chairman of the Press Council
- No tip-off fees may be paid to the public or competitors arranged that might attract news stories
- No civil or criminal proceedings may be instituted against the State, the Press Council or the complainant in any bona fide case.

Council or misbehaving at the place where the meeting is being held

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• Anticipating findings

• Insuring a newspaper or person against penalties which could be imposed by the chairman of the Press Council

• No tip-off fees may be paid to the public or competitors arranged that might attract news stories

• No civil or criminal proceedings may be instituted against the State, the Press Council or the complainant in any bona fide case.

The chairman has the right to subpoena any person to give evidence to the Press Council

Editors can

*Sun Times
13/23/77*

And newspapers can be closed down, says Bill aimed at curbing Press

EDITORS and journalists who refuse to appear before the proposed statutory Press Council can be jailed.

This is one of the provisions of the highly controversial Newspaper Bill which empowers the State to interfere in the free working of the Press in South Africa. The Bill has evoked a storm of protest from Afrikaans and English language newspapers. It was published in Cape Town yesterday. The statutory Press code embodied in the draft legislation demands that editors and newspaper owners ensure that news and comment do not damage the name of South Africa abroad or endanger the safety of the State and its economic prosperity.

Nominate

The Bill establishes a Press Council consisting of three or five members under a chairman appointed by the State President. Council members will be drawn from a list of five nominated by the State President and five nominated by the Newspaper Press Union. This is the organisation of newspaper owners which this week rejected the Bill entirely. The Bill foresees the possible non-co-operation of

the Newspaper Press Union, whose members include all the Afrikaans papers in South Africa and all but one of the English-language newspapers.

If the union fails to nominate people to serve on the council, the council's chairman is empowered to do so.

If those nominated by the union refuse to serve, the chairman may fill their places from the list nominated by the State President.

Anyone dissatisfied with a newspaper report can complain to the council.

The editor or owner of the newspaper is allowed not less than 24 hours and not more than 14 days to comment on the complaint.

The council is empowered to subpoena anyone connected with the

complaint to give evidence under oath and produce relevant documents.

Failure to do so is an offence punishable by either a fine or jail or both.

If the Press code has been contravened the editor must publish a full report in the next edition of his newspaper. Once again failure to comply will be a punishable offence.

Sweeping

If the council finds that the Press code has been contravened it has sweeping powers, including fines of R1000 for reporters, R10 000 for editors and owners and the temporary suspension of publication of the newspaper.

There is no appeal to a court of law, but decisions may be reviewed by a panel of Supreme Court

judges

Review is not automatic and the judges may decide on whether the Press Council has acted correctly only within the terms of the legislation.

Any attempt to influence the Press Council or anticipate its findings will be regarded as contempt of court.

The Bill also requires editors to record the names and addresses of reporters and correspondents responsible for each report and to supply the record on demand to the council within 48 hours.

Other provisions include:

- Banning of payment or compensation for news hints.
- Prohibition on owners, editors or reporters from taking out insurance against Press Council fines.
- Protection of the council and the State from civil or criminal proceed-

CANT

Political Correspondent

be jailed

Groups join in strong protest

By NEIL HOOPER

ALL major South African newspaper groups have protested about the Government's Newspaper Bill, read in Parliament for the first time this week

Nasionale Pers qualified its view, saying it was prepared to discuss the Bill with the Government

The Bill, when it becomes law, will drastically increase State control of newspapers and effectively remove freedom of the Press in South Africa

Nasionale Pers, mother company of Die Burger, Die Volksblad, Die Oosterlig and Die Beeld, said that its board accepted without reservation the right and responsibility of the Government to ensure an orderly body politic was maintained by all, including the Press

The board said that Press freedom did not mean absolute freedom

The board accepted that the Government's action on Press legislation sprang from a conviction that the Newspaper Press Union had not succeeded in ensuring maintenance of this principle.

Confidence

Therefore the Government regarded it as a duty to ensure responsible Press freedom

The board said that it was willing to discuss the legislation with the Government in a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation.

Mr I G MacPherson, chairman of South African Associated Newspapers, which publishes, among many others, the Sunday Times, the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express, said of the Government's plans:

"The proposed legislation represents an unwarranted and unjustified attempt to curtail



The man who isn't playing ball with the Press . . . the Minister of Information Dr Connie Mulder in action yesterday.

ings in connection with the bona fide work of the mail

● A reporter or correspondent whose name appears above a report in a

newspaper shall be presumed to have been responsible for the report until he proves otherwise

The statutory Press code embodied in the Bill demands that news be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner without intentional or negligent departure from the facts by distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation or incorrect accentuation, material omissions or precis writing

Only what may be reasonably true may be presented as fact Reports not based on fact must be presented in such a way that this is made clear

Where it is not possible to verify the accuracy of a report, this must be mentioned in the report.

Incorrect reports must be rectified without delay, on the same place on the same page and with the same degree of promin-

ence

Headlines and pictures must give a reasonable representation of the facts in the report and posters must not exaggerate

The Press code also demands that in the news and comment, editors exercise exceptional care and responsibility on subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, cultural and ethnic matters or incite people to contravene the law, and in matters that may detrimentally affect the safety of the State, its economic prosperity or peace and order.

They must as far as practicable ensure honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting, that standards of decency and public morals are not debased, relations between the population groups are not prejudiced and the name of South Africa is not damaged abroad

Leave it to the law, say journalists

THE South African Society of Journalists said in a statement yesterday that the newspaper Bill might well force self-censorship on the Press.

The statement said in part:

"The Society of Journalists rejects the terms of the proposed Bill, believing that legislation already exists in abundance to provide for the protection of the individual and the safety of the State through the due process of law.

"There is no need for a Press Council, which will be the creation of the Government and which the Government will dominate. There is also no need for a vague, politically-charged code of conduct, regulated by a system of heavy penalties through the Press Council, against whose decision there is no right of appeal even through the courts."

The statement added the society had also not recognised the Press Council and code established by the Newspaper Press Union, "because journalists were not a party to the drawing up of this code nor the establishment of the council."

CONF

Sunday Times March 13 1977

Press clamp by Easter?

● From Page 1
fully he will obviously be anxious to avoid an open confrontation between the Government and the newspaper.

Dr Connie Mulder, however, yesterday took a hard line. In a brief interview he said that his mention of a select committee had been merely hypothetical.

He had meant to show up the Opposition for their first reading rejection of the draft legislation, he added.

The Government, he intimated, would not be willing to abandon the Bill or substantially change it in a select committee.

At one stage during its negotiations with the

Newspaper Press Union the Government had been prepared to drop the idea of legislation altogether if the union had come up with something acceptable.

A door

It had also been willing to make substantial changes to the Bill when it submitted this recently to

the union for discussion and consultation.

However, said Dr Mulder, the Newspaper Press Union had rejected the draft legislation out of hand and had opposed its principle.

"It slammed the door shut and threw down the gauntlet," he added, "and you don't do that to the Prime Minister".

Dr Mulder said he was anxious for the Bill to be taken through all its stages as soon as possible, may be before the Easter recess.

A select committee would merely delay it, he went on.

A decision on whether negotiations could be reopened would have to be taken by the Cabinet, he said.

"But my own feeling is if the legislation is delayed you will have all the odium of the Bill and none of the results."

freedom of the Press, and as such SAAN is totally opposed to it
"A Press which is subjected to State control cannot properly fulfil its public duty

"Freedom of the Press is simply an extension of the freedom of the individual, which is the inalienable right of every citizen.

Denying

"To curtail the one is to deny the people of this country the right to be informed, and this is something which we find abhorrent."

Mr L. E. A. Slater, chairman of the Argus Company, which publishes The Star, the Cape Argus, the Daily News and many other newspapers, said that no country, in the so-called free world had ever tried to impose the sort of Press control envisaged by the South African Government.

He added that the board of the Argus Company was unanimously opposed to Government control of the Press Council.

JOURNALISTS CALL FOR N.P.U. BOYCOTT

THE President of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr Jon Hobday, has called on the newspaper industry to refuse to collaborate with the Government in implementing the proposed Newspaper Bill.

The legislation, he warned, would spell "the end of Western-style newspaper freedom in South Africa."

"The SASJ will have nothing to do with it," he said in an interview after the Government announced its new plan for the Press.

Mr Hobday called on the Newspaper Press Union to refuse to nominate members for the proposed Press Council, which will be given powers to punish newspapers, editors and individual journalists.

"The rights of the Press are no greater than those to which any citizen of South Africa is entitled. This being the case, why is it necessary to make any exception of the Press by subjecting it to special legislation?"

The power of the Press, he said, was in the fact that it represented the eyes and voice of the people as a counter-balance to the power of government.

Regulated

A government in a free and democratic country represented the views of the majority. The Press represented all people.

"The Press, not being above the law, is already regulated to a vast extent by laws and rules govern-

By CAROLINE CLARK

ing defence, police, prisons, riotous assemblies, racial incitement, defamation and other law that applies to ordinary people. We are now going to have more rules and regulations which make us a special case — which denies us recourse to the ordinary man's law.

"We believe that not only is it unfair to subject us to special laws, but that the penalties involved in this legislation are grossly excessive."

The society, said Mr Hobday, had a number of objections to the new Press code itself.

Vague

The definitions of transgressions are vague, extremely wide and subject to individual interpretations. This would inhibit newspapers in their fundamental duty — to keep people informed.

The code could lead to such sensitivity towards the sensibilities of any group that independent and critical interpretation of events would be inhibited and editors would be forced into severe self-censorship.

This would be aggravated by the fact that any crank, vested interest or anybody with an axe to grind could complain to the Press Council, thus making newspapers ultra-vulnerable.

This is a power that can be utilised by vested interest, government or private individual against an institution

whose traditional role is that of representing no vested interest."

Mr Hobday also had three other major criticisms.

The ban on newspapers paying for news tip-offs. It was the right of any individual to give news tips to newspapers, for pay or not. The clause would dry up legitimate sources of news or turn alert, concerned, members of the public into shady smugglers of the news.

Journalists would be held responsible for any material initiated by them which appeared in overseas newspapers. The criterion would not be what they had actually written but what appeared.

The capacity of the new law to force journalists to reveal sources of information or face fines, ranging from up to R500 or six months jail on the first offence up to a maximum of R2000 or 12 months jail on the third. Traditionally journalists refused to reveal sources.

The annual meeting of the Cape Town Press Club yesterday sent a telegram to Minister of Interior Dr Connie Mulder strongly objecting to the powers of the proposed Press Council and saying it urged the NPU not to nominate any members to the council.

Angry

British Press men have reacted angrily to the Newspaper Bill which threatens far-reaching consequences for the South African Press.

A British Institute of Journalists spokesman called it an "extraordinary measure" and said it was reprehensible that a body not required to follow all the procedures of a court of law should be given such considerable powers to prosecute newspapers.

Mr Ron Knowles, Press Relations Officer for the National Union of Journalists, said his union could only deplore any measure, which was aimed at the freedom of the Press.

Bill that will kill Press Freedom — Page 18



Jon Hobday — non-co-operation

Fines, bans but no appeal for papers that fall foul of the new Press gag

Political Reporter

JOURNALISTS and newspaper proprietors can be heavily fined and newspapers suspended from publication, under the legislation introduced to parliament this week by the Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder — who was at pains to point out that he is seeking no more than Press freedom.

The main features of the Newspaper Bill — which does not apply to radio or television — are:

- Establishment of a statutory Press code.
- Establishment of a Press Council consisting of a Government-appointed chairman, who will be a judge or an ex-judge, and between three and five members drawn from a panel of ten. Half the panel will be Government-appointed and half nominated by the Newspaper Press Union or by the chairman. Should the NPU fail to act, half the members actually sitting

on the Press Council will be government nominees and the other half nominated by the chairman.

- Anybody dissatisfied with a newspaper report will be free to take the matter to the Press Council.
- The Press Council will lay down the procedure for hearing a complaint. The complainant and the newspaper concerned will be entitled to legal representation, while the Press Council will be able to direct witnesses to give evidence under oath or produce any document.
- The Press Council will give reasons for its decisions and the newspaper proprietor or editor will be required to publish the report in full in his next edition, displaying it as might be stipulated by the Press Council.
- Journalists contravening the Press code will be liable to fines of up to R1000, proprietors to fines up to R10 000 and the Press Council can direct suspension of publication for a certain period.
- There is no appeal against Press Council decisions, though certain cases may be reviewed by three Supreme Court judges. The judges can remit cases to the Press Council for reconsideration and can only set aside a decision if it was based on male fides.
- The Press Council and its members will be protected by laws of contempt similar to those applying to judicial officers.
- Payments of "tip-off" fees to people other than employees, regular contributors and freelance journalists will be prohibited.
- Newspapers and journalists will not be allowed to insure against penalties which might be imposed on them for contravening the Press code.
- The State, the Press Council and its members or a complainant may not be proceeded against civilly or criminally for their bona fide actions in respect of the legislation.
- Any South African citizen under whose name a report appears in the overseas Press will be deemed to be responsible for the report.
- The Press code itself, which forms part of the legislation, contains the usual injunctions against defamatory, material omissions and publication of blasphemy and obscenity.
- However, some far-reaching provisions demand that:
 - Reports not based on already established facts should be presented in such a way as to show that this is so.
 - Where it has been impossible to check the correctness of a report, this must be mentioned.
 - Comment should be honest and balanced and presented in a way that shows clearly that it is comment.
 - Editors and proprietors should be especially careful about subjects which could give offence in racial, ethnic or cultural matters, affect the safety of the state and the common weal and economic prosperity, the peace and good order and the defence of the Republic and its people. There should also be care about the representation of reports on violence and atrocities.
 - Editors and proprietors should exercise exceptional caution as to the individual's right to privacy in private activities should be reported only when this is in the public interest and the community has a right to be informed.
 - Editors and proprietors should guard against debasing standards of decency and public morality, prejudicing relations between different groups and damaging the name of the Republic abroad.

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Sunday Times March 13
1977

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PARLIAMENT should be suspended for seven years.

A 'carefully-chosen' multiracial executive should then be imposed as the highest authority in the land.

Armed with dictatorial powers, the executive would then force through major reforms aimed at minimising colour discrimination and decentralising the country's urban complexes.

Opposition — whether from the Black left or the White right — would be ruthlessly put-down.

And, after seven years of benevolent dictatorship, a new, ordered land would be handed back to the people.

This type of solution to the crisis facing the country has been whispered among a wide variety of people for some time now — particularly among what are known as verligte Nationalists believing that change must be made, but fearing that a White backlash and rapidly rising Black expectations could only be contained by a dictatorship.

It was finally stated openly this week by Dr Willem de Klerk, distinguished editor of Die Transvaler.

Writing in his column for the Sunday newspaper, Rapport, Dr De Klerk said simply, "There is dictatorship talk among our people."

Even "responsible" people were talking this way.

As far as Dr De Klerk himself was concerned, however, the idea was anathema.

"We can't trust anyone possessing uncontrolled power," he said.

But at the same time, he conceded "It could still become necessary. Who knows?"

There is considerable speculation over Dr De Klerk's motives for publishing, at this particular time, such radical thoughts.

But it seems safe to say he has heard similar talk in high Nationalist circles — and that pending legislation against the Press, effectively bringing newspapers under a form of government control, convinced him that the time was ripe to spell out

Is and in t

By MARTIN SCHNEIDER
Political Editor

how some "responsible" people were seeing the future.

He specifically mentioned in the scenario statements that the Press would naturally come under State control, he quoted an MP as saying newspapers had become irrelevant — and he then stated in categorical terms the need for an absolutely free Press.

It was almost as if Dr De Klerk had inside information on a radically new trend in government.

And yet, there appears to be little need for the formal imposition of a dictatorship.

The strongest possible case can be made out that a natural process in this direction has been taking place for some time.

For a start, the Sunday

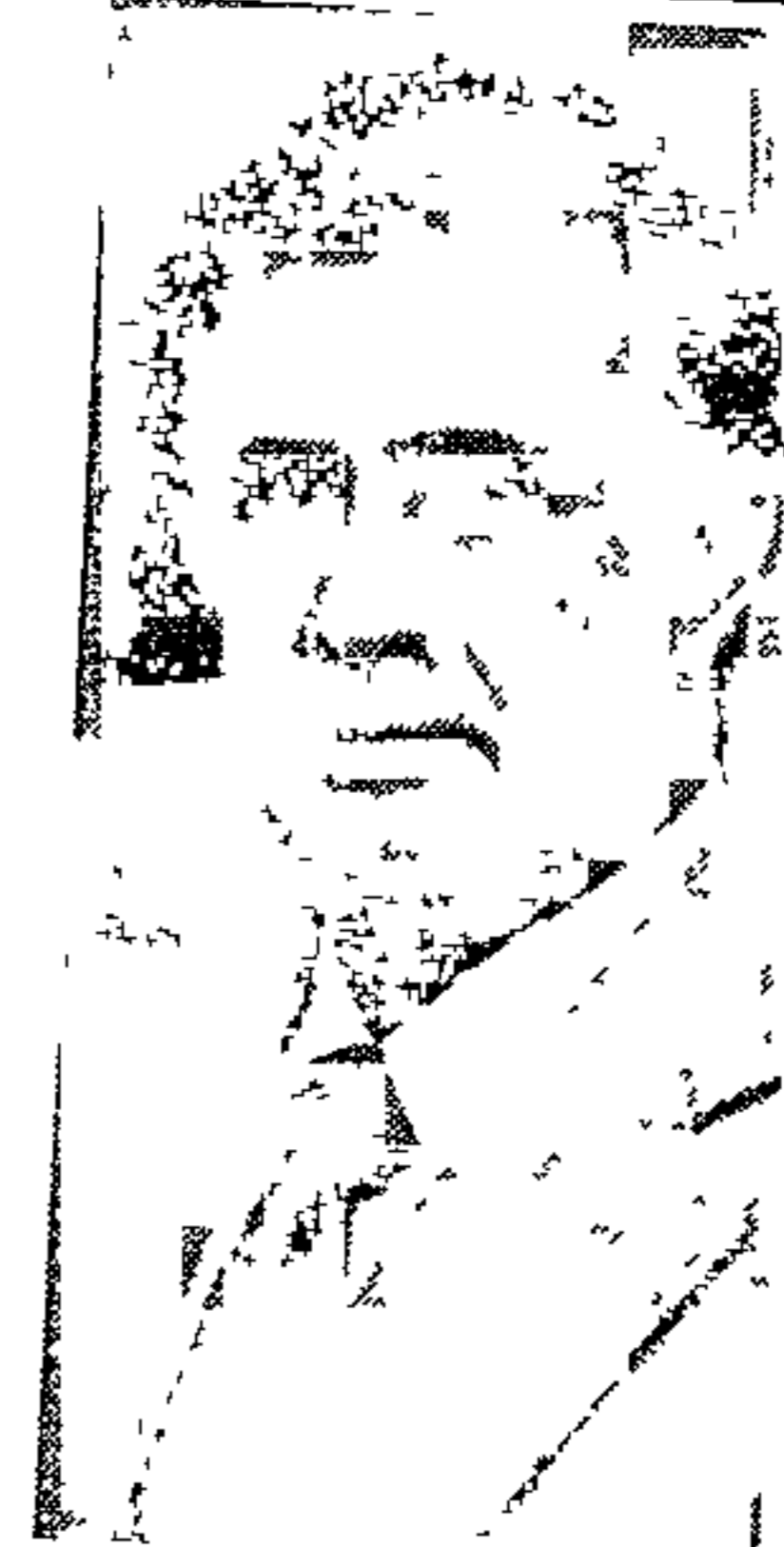
Express has on a number of occasions in the past year attempted to show

- That the Government itself is increasingly regarding Parliament as irrelevant,
- That more and more power is being passed into the hands of Ministers who by purely administrative action are making, amending, and even suspending the law,
- That the all-White Parliament cannot accommodate the Government's increasing need to establish new forums for debate with other race groups,
- And that, in the end, the Government could be forced to establish a new, multiracial executive under the State President who, we suggested, could be Mr Vorster himself wielding the real power.

Cont

there dictator

Sunday Express
March 13 1977



●DR DE KLERK
... "dictatorship talk".

Top Nat
editor
speaks
up about
the
whispers

he house?

In fact Prof Barry Dean, of Cape Town University, has taken the trend to its ultimate conclusion

The constitution, he said in a recent study, could "simply wither away"

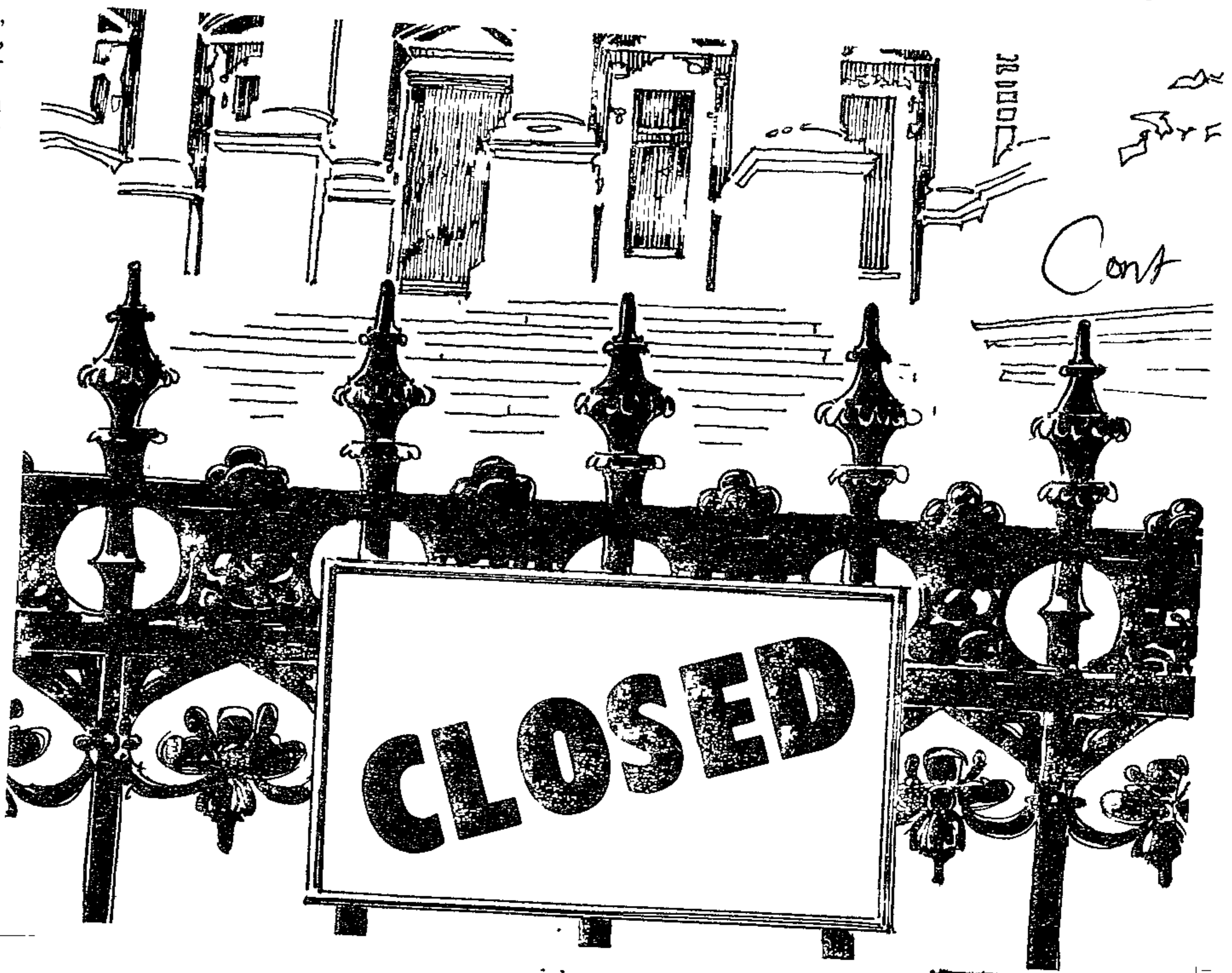
And he added "But perhaps that is the fate of all African constitutions"

In his superb analysis acknowledged by most constitutional lawyers as one of the most authoritative and penetrating studies in recent times, Prof Dean says bluntly "It (Parliament) seems to have accepted the executive (the Ministers) as its master"

The Ministers, he said, were increasingly being given greater power to bring about fundamental social, economic, political and legal change simply by administrative action

In fact, he found that supervision of Ministerial administrative action was decreasing and that organs of government would become increasingly insignificant, "their role being reduced simply to the provision of support for the executive where the latter feels this necessary"

On two occasions this week, the trend towards stronger and more centralised control was confirmed.



Sunday Express

MARCH 13

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How the Government

By JEAN LE MAY

THE full extent of the Government's total disregard of the Viljoen Commission's pass law recommendations, and of the opinions of its homeland leaders, can be disclosed today

Its decision arbitrarily to increase penalties for pass law offences has been angrily received by Chief Lucas Mangope, usually one of the more restrained Black leaders, who yesterday castigated the new laws as "reckless disregard of our feelings and attitudes". His reaction clearly reflects that of most Blacks

in the situation which has arisen because

● Penalties for transgressing the pass laws were greatly increased (five-fold, from R20 to R100, for Blacks) in spite of the fact that the Viljoen Commission's recommendation that these laws should be without penalty altogether,

● Black leaders were neither consulted nor informed, in defiance of an agreement reached between them and the Prime Minister, that a joint committee should investigate the pass laws

The Viljoen Commission of Inquiry into the Penal

System tabled its report only in January

It dwelt on the pass laws at some length, saying they had in the past caused "widespread dissatisfaction and unrest among Black people"

The report spelt out why, in the commission's opinion, penalties could not be harsher. This was because

● Pass law offences were regarded as "technical, morally non-reprehensible"

● If harsher penalties were imposed, this would "in view of the political climate cause a great uproar"

ignored its own commission

The Commission then formally recommended that "the influx control and pass laws, if not decriminalised, should be depenalised so as to prevent large-scale arrests and trials of offenders".

But this was wholly ignored in the new legislation, which was slammed by Senator Eric Wanchester in the Senate this week

"Has the Government gone completely mad?" he asked "No law on earth is going to stop a human being looking for employment so that he can feed his wife and children. We are making

criminals of people who are no different from ourselves"

Other Senators and MPs pointed out that the new penalties would counteract the work of the Aid Centres, which have decreased convictions under pass law offences from 511 163 in 1974 to 250 020 last year

Professor Hudson Nt-sanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, said he saw the new penalties as "appalling, particularly in view of the so-called investigation into the pass laws"

This investigation was first mooted at the summit

meeting between the Prime Minister and the homeland leaders in January 1975

Nothing came of it because Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who was to have convened the first meeting of a joint committee, subsequently opted for independence and thus pulled out of the inquiry

At the time Chief Gatscha Buthelezi dissociated himself from it altogether because it was to be confined to influx control for Blacks only

The investigation was reconstituted after last October's summit between the

Prime Minister and the homeland leaders

But no meeting has yet been held. Chief Mangope told me this week that he and his colleagues were waiting for the Minister to convene the first meeting

From another source I heard that the first meeting was to take place "quite soon"

But, despite the fact that this investigation is scheduled to take place, the homeland leaders were not consulted — they were not even informed — before Mr Cruywagen introduced the new legislation.

Cont

Sunday EXPRESS

WHY THEY WANT A GAG

NEVER mind the denials, the smokescreen talk of State security, the ironic ring to the phrase about placing "a high premium" on the freedom of the Press. Ask yourself instead a simple question:

Would the Government invite world hostility, wreck South Africa's name abroad, ignore the opposition of even its own Nationalist newspaper proprietors and editors — just to introduce a law that would be a damp squib?

Just to express a few polite platitudes about the duty of newspapers?

Of course not.

Direct Government intervention in the affairs of the Press can have only one purpose. to enable the Government to dictate to newspapers what they may tell you. And to close them down if they do not comply.

When Mr J G Strijdom was Prime Minister he referred to the English-language Press as "the last barrier" the Nationalists had to overcome. Down the years the threat has been echoed.

In recent times the once-compliant Afrikaans Press has asserted its independence from the party. The result, it, too, is now included in the Nationalist programme for Press emasculation.

The terms of the legislation are dangerously wide and ambiguous. Everything depends on interpretation — and there is no doubt what interpretation the Government would wish its Government-dominated Press Council to place on the law.

The essence of its clash with the Press can be easily crystallised.

● Government believes some things ought not to be said, ought not to be reported, because they are upsetting, or otherwise undesirable.

● Honest newspapers believe that they have a duty to inform the public: that suppression is undesirable and dangerous.

We are not talking here about state security. We are talking about the simple right to know what is going on, palatable or not.

Down the years the Government has been assiduously limiting that right. Now comes a final ferocious stroke that heralds the death of Press freedom.

The target is not just an isolated English-language newspaper or two. Afrikaans editors recognise this full well. That is why they too reject Government intervention.

South Africans have always been a blunt and outspoken lot. That is what gives the country its vigour and drive. It is also what will save the country in the end. Only by blunt speaking and hard bargaining between every group will South Africa begin to forge a workable blueprint. Only by conducting this debate in public will extremists on either flank be hindered in their secret mischiefs.

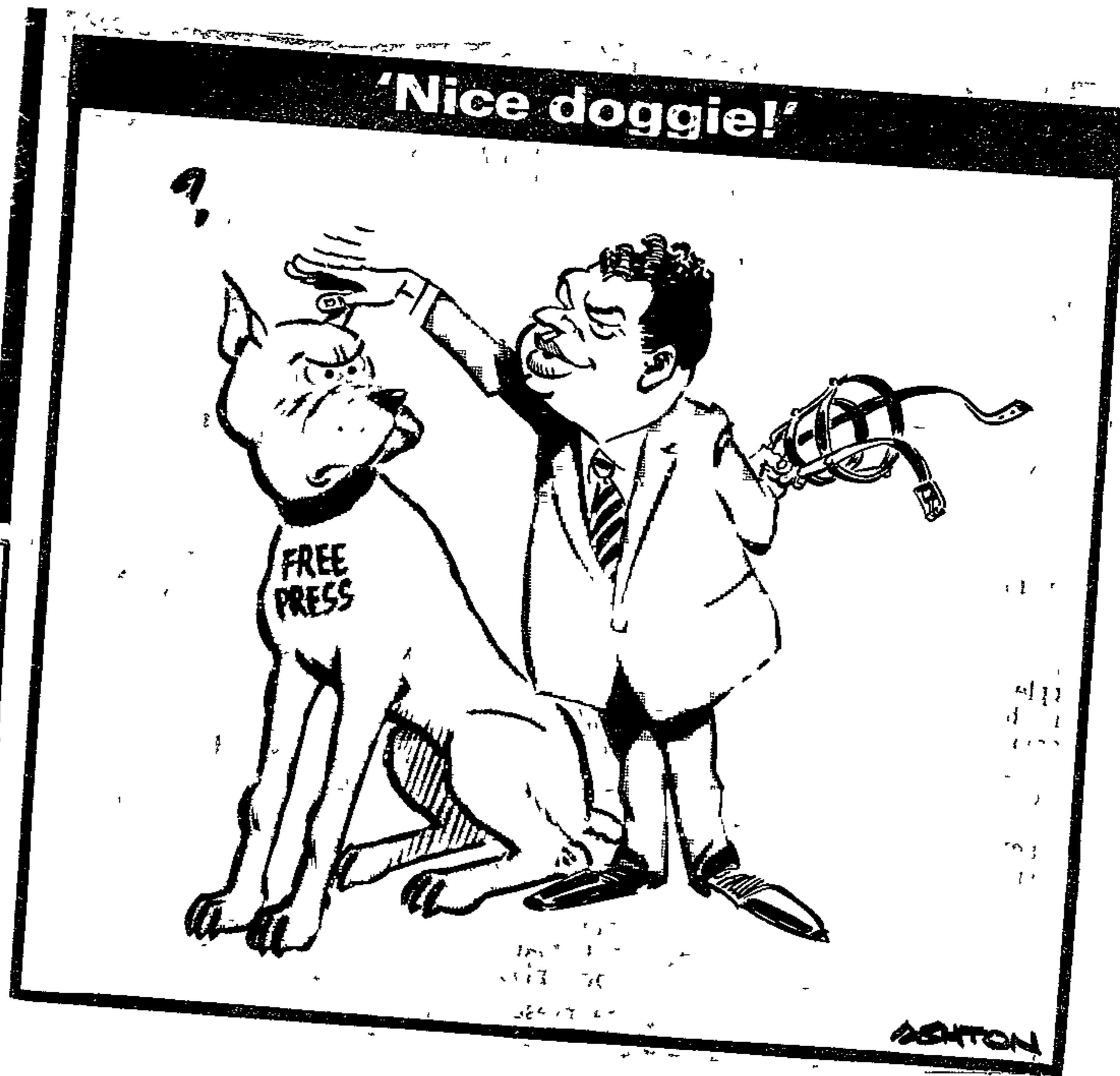
An artificial silence now would invite the dangerous conclusion that the time is over for talking. A bland Press under the thumb of the Government would do the country at large a gross disservice because it would be mirroring a lie.

The Sunday Express will not be party to such a conspiracy against the best interests of all the peoples of the country.

Cont

Sunday Times March 13

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First, the Cabinet brushed aside the Viljoen Commission recommendations that pass laws offenders should not be subjected to fines or imprisonment

The Minister of Bantu Administration simply doubled existing fines

Then, the Cabinet brushed aside the Newspaper Press Union's total opposition to the Newspaper Bill imposing powerful restraints on what may or may not be published

A few other recent examples underline the point with even greater force

- The Government arbitrarily committed the country to a war in Angola in August 1975 Parliament was given the scantest — and the most misleading — information nearly six months later
- Throughout this period, the

Government invoked the Defence Act, imposing blanket censorship on the press over publication of any information regarding the war,

- When rioting broke out in Black townships last year, Parliament was not summoned Instead, Mr Vorster called a meeting of the National Party caucus,

- Such public corporations as Iscor and Escom are outside the control of Parliament and Ministers have refused to divulge information about them,

- The Minister of Justice and magistrates can prevent or permit public gatherings and, effectively, the right of assembly is at their mercy

- By purely administrative action, Ministers can segregate any public amenity, or, if they so wish,

they can simply suspend the law and integrate an amenity The Nico Malan theatre is a classic example,

- Immorality Act prosecutions have, in fact, been suspended and special permission is needed for the law to be implemented

- During the whole of the 1975 Parliamentary session, only one question and one supplementary question was put by a Nationalist member,

- Refusal by Ministers to answer questions is taking place with greater frequency,

- On one occasion, allegations of corruption made in Parliament were countered by threats from the Minister of Economic Affairs to introduce measures to prevent "unjust allegations against public servants",

- Legislation protecting the secrecy of Government departments is such that information about them can only be published with their authority

A statement by a Nationalist MP summarised the Government's attitude admirably on these issues

"I see little merit in newspaper exposes of government malpractice," Mr Val Volker, MP, once said "Too much knowledge might shatter public confidence in institutions of this nature"

The list is seemingly endless, but the trend is clear

In the end, Dr De Klerk's fears that a dictatorship may be formally imposed could prove unjustified

At the present rate, it could just happen naturally

THE BILL THAT MAKES IT A CRIME

Express Reporter

IF Dr Mulder's Newspaper Bill were law now all South African newspapers could be charged under it tomorrow

The Bill makes it an offence to publish material that damages South Africa's name abroad. But South Africa's name abroad is being damaged now by the revelation that the Government proposes to impose control

on the Press

The six headlines below show the shock with which both English-language and Afrikaans newspapers received notice of the Bill this week. Overseas newspapers, journalists and politicians were no less startled and critical.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PRP, agreed yesterday that the introduction of the Bill will do 'untold damage' to the country's

name abroad.

Mr Eglin said: 'It will confirm the view widely held in the West that South Africa is moving towards authoritarianism.'

Some British newspapers this week made the point that when the Bill becomes law South Africa will have the most highly legalised form of Press censorship outside the communist countries.

The International Press Institute is ex-

pected to issue a statement tomorrow.

A former British Cabinet Minister, Mr William Deedes, now editor of the Daily Telegraph, added his voice to that of other British critics of the new Press Bill, saying Mr Vorster's Press censorship proposals would be dangerously counter-productive.

Mr Kenneth Morgan, general secretary of the British National Union of Journalists, also criticised the proposed legislation, say-

Oorlog tussen Pers en Regering

— DIE VADERLAND

**Kommentaar
Perswet te drasties**

— DIE VADERLAND

**Powers to suspend papers
Govt curb
on Press**

— THE STAR

Confidential

NEWSPAPER sources who provide information on a confidential, off-the-record basis, will have no right of protection if the new Press Council wants their names revealed.

Dr Connie Mulder, Minister of Information and of the Interior, whose contentious Newspaper Bill has caused a furore, made this and other vital points yesterday in an exclusive inter-

view with the Express.

Asked whether confidences to journalists would become a thing of the past in terms of the new legislation, he replied:

I'm not sure how this will work. There will certainly be a higher premium on good sources and they will have to be prepared to be revealed in the end. We cannot continue with these stories from so-called informed sources which are simply thumb-

**By HUGH MURRAY
Political Correspondent**

sucks in many cases.

On the question of whether penalties would be imposed on people who mislead the Press to the point that false reports are published, but in good faith, Dr Mulder said:

If that is a problem, we'll certainly have to look into it at the committee stage of this Bill and make whatever

amendments are necessary.

Dr Mulder also made it clear that:

- The Bill was aimed equally at the English and Afrikaans Press.

- He intended to disclose details of a dossier his department has compiled against the Press over a period of two years when he speaks in the second reading debate on the Bill.

- The ban on tip-off fees and other incentives to the public was designed to prevent insignificant people who have access to important documents from making money out of their positions.

- No curbs would be placed on politicians, but they should look afresh at what they say in public.

— Dr Mulder said he was still

uncertain whether the Bill would be sent to a select committee for further examination. Hinting that the time factor was against it, he explained: 'So much time will be lost. We don't know how long it will take for a select committee to finish its work. On the other hand, though it may need a further run-through.'

Asked for examples of what he meant when he accused the Press of misrepresentation, distortion, as well as dishonest and malicious reporting, Dr Mulder said:

'I'm reserving all that for my second reading speech. Naturally, my department and I have been watching things for the last two years, and I will give examples in the debate.'

The Express asked Dr Mulder whether the Government was contemplating making it an offence for

public representatives to speak out in a way damaging to South Africa. He said this was not necessary.

The remedy in connection with politicians lies with the electorate. If they offend the public, the voters can have their say and push them out.

Dr Mulder was not prepared to lay the blame for the alleged journalistic infringements at the door of either the English or Afrikaans Press or individual newspapers. 'I'm not going to fall for that one — any man in the street will tell you that certain journalists and newspapers are guilty of this kind of thing. Whether it's the English or Afrikaans Press? Well, I think it's both.'

Did any qualified newspaper people help with the drafting of the bill?

'Now please don't ask me that. If I say they have

COMMENT

A Bill South Africa doesn't need

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13/3/77

WITH one thoughtless stroke of a legislative pen, the Government is about to eliminate one of South Africa's most precious possessions — the freedom of expression that, in the eyes of the world, distinguishes South Africa from despotisms elsewhere in Africa

Make no mistake. The Newspaper Bill now before Parliament provides for effective State control over what news papers may print — and consequently over every individual's liberty to express himself

Dr Mulder is wasting his breath when he tries to persuade the world otherwise

From the moment this bill becomes law, we will no longer be able to counter criticism by pointing out that the Government permits a free Press with responsible professional standards to pursue its duty fearlessly

Beyond the pale

In the middle of a grave crisis of international confidence in South Africa, Mr Vorster will have thrown away his trump card. It is likely to cause the collapse of support by people in America and Europe who share our determination to resist marxist expansion

We will, simply, be beyond the pale

The tragedy is that it is all so unnecessary. Tough laws already exist to control news of a military or strategic nature. Racial incitement is already a serious offence in law. Dozens of other laws govern the conduct of the Press

ABC of Government's new press code

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12/3/74

CAPE TOWN — The tough press code contained in the Newspaper Bill, published in the Government White Paper yesterday, makes it clear that newspapers must ensure that the name of South Africa is not damaged abroad.

It spells out exactly how it wants news reports, photographs and comments handled by newspapers and sets the standards of decency and morality on which newspapers are to operate.

The full code, which will almost certainly be rejected by newspapers because of its wide definitions open to various interpretations, read

News:

(A) News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by:

(1) Distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation or incorrect accentuation;

(2) Material omissions;

(3) Precise writing

(B) Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the news source, may be presented as a fact, and reports not based on facts shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that such is not the case.

(4) The safety of the State, the common weal and the peace and good order are not endangered, by reporting.

Advertisements:

Advertisements regarding matter which is in terms of a decision under the Publications Act, 1974 (Act No 42 of 1974), undesirable shall not be inserted in a newspaper.

PC.

(C) Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified, and where it was not practicable to verify the correctness of a report, it shall be mentioned in such report.

(D) Where a report had been published which subsequently appeared to have been incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified *mero motu* and without reservation or delay, and on the page corresponding to the page of the newspaper on which such report appeared and with the same degree of prominence.

(E) Headlines or captions to pictures shall give a reasonable representation of the material facts of the report or picture in question

(F) Posters shall not exaggerate but shall give a reasonable representation of the material facts of the report in question.

(G) The presentation of reports on court cases involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals

(H) The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided.

(I) The publication of any matter which is

blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic shall be avoided.

Comment:

(A) Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment.

(B) Comment shall be the honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motive.

(C) Comment on any matter shall be given in a manner balanced in regard to all material facts thereof.

News and comment:

As far as news as well as comment is concerned, editors or owners shall:

(A) Exercise exceptional care and responsibility as to:

(1) Subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law;

(2) Matters that may detrimentally affect the safety of the State, the common weal and economic prosperity, the peace and good order and the defence of the Republic and its people,

(3) The presentation of reports on the commission of violence and atrocities.

(B) Exercise exceptional care and caution as to matters affecting the private lives and interests of individuals, having due regard to the principle that the right of the individual to privacy shall be respected and that his private activities shall only be reported and commented upon where such activities affect the public interest, and the right of the community to be informed demands that such activities be reported and commented upon.

(C) As far as is practicable ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted.

(D) As far as is practicable ensure that —

(1) The standards of decency and public morals of the nations and population groups of the Republic are not debased;

(2) Relations between the different nations and population groups of the Republic are not prejudiced;

(3) The name of the Republic is not damaged

12/3/77

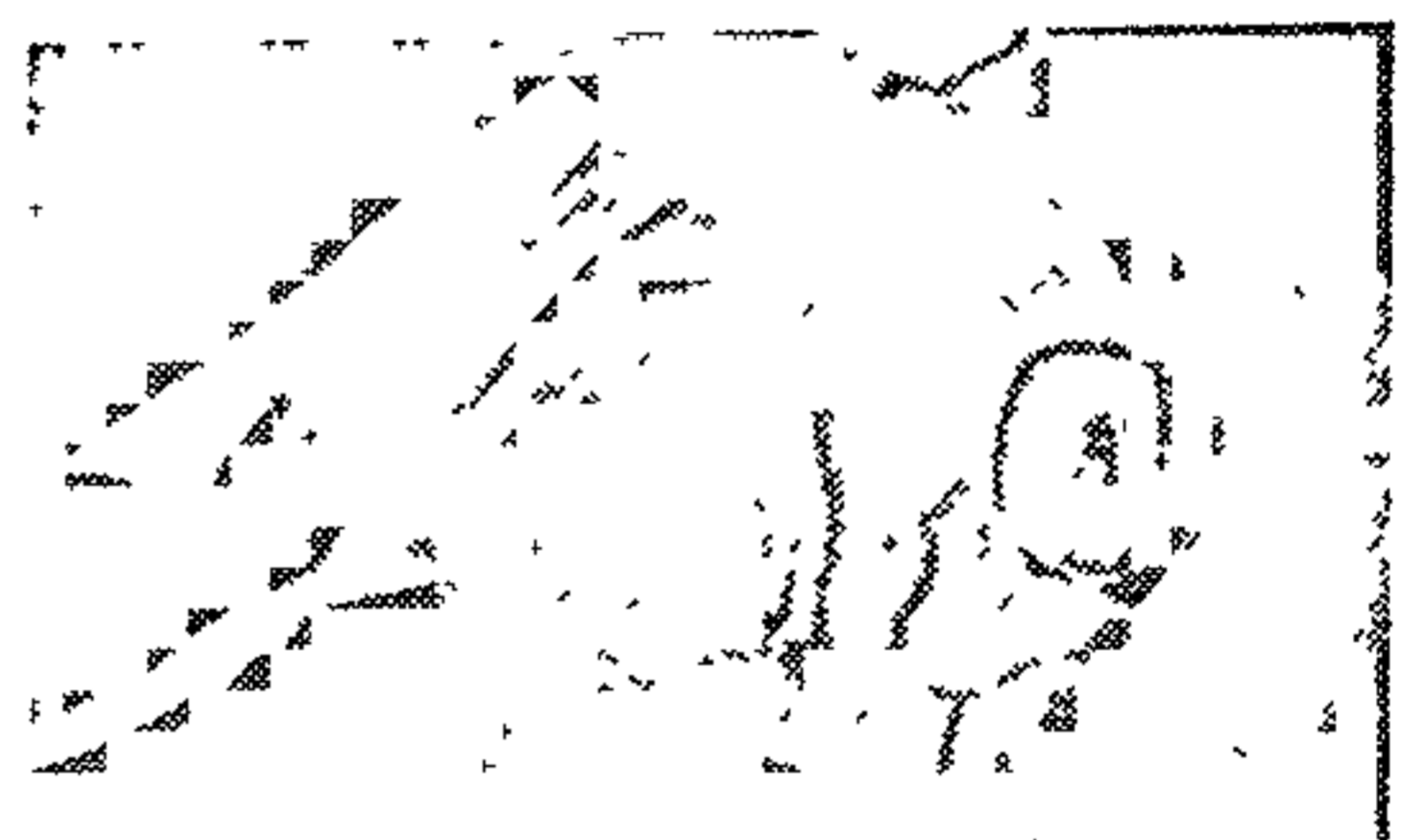
The beginning of the end of press freedom?



MR LIONEL MURRAY (UP) . . . "The white paper is cause for even greater alarm than the announcement of the Bill."

members will be appointed
"The code is so vague and widely stated as to be capable of subjective interpretation of views
"There is no provision to protect reporting which is at present covered by the principle of privilege in matters of public concern and interest"

when related to the content of the Bill
"The damage to South Africa by this Bill will be too serious to contemplate. No select committee can make it acceptable
"It is blatant authoritarianism by a government which is not prepared to tolerate criticism of its mismanagement of our economy and of race relations"



"These are highly subjective matters where one man's judgment will seldom be precisely the same as others. Who is going to decide whether news has been incorrectly accentuated?"
"This is absurd these things must be left to the good taste and common sense of the men who run newspapers. And who is going to doubt the correctness of a report. What is 'harmful to public morals?'"
"Who is going to judge what may be offensive to the feelings of any section of the inhabitants?"
Mr De Villiers said in general the White Paper

confirmed the worst suspicions. The Press Council could close down a newspaper with no appeal to a court of law
"Anyone who values press freedom would not touch this proposed legislation with a barge pole"
Mr De Villiers, in a storm of protest from the Nationalists, termed it a "tragic day" for South Africa that marked the beginning of the end of the country's free press.



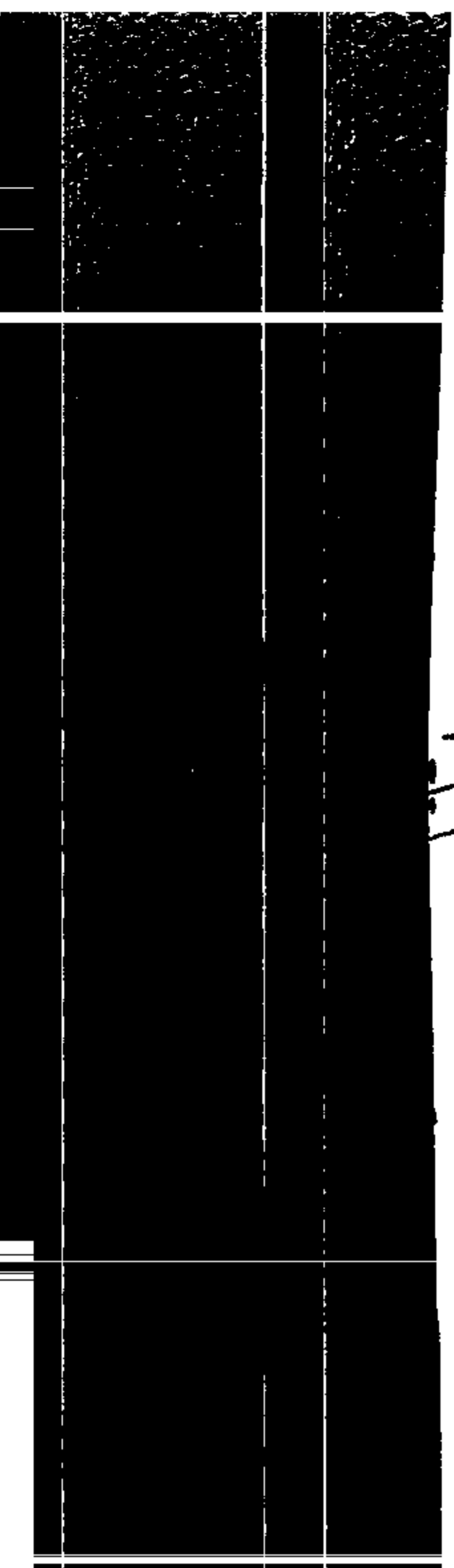
It was clear the Government wanted a statutory code and council and it was up to the Government to justify this need in the second reading debate
Replying to the debate Dr Mulder said the opposition parties were trying to restrict the freedom of speech by refusing to allow the first reading to pass
All he was asking was that the House consider the matter. After that it could be sent to a select committee, change the principles after careful considerations and ever vote it down — PC.

BRILLIANT COUNCIL CLOSE PAPERS

12/28/77

Cont

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DD 12/3/77 207

CAPE TOWN — Unprecedented powers to control South Africa's press without recourse by the newspapers to the courts of law are contained in the Government's shock Newspaper Bill.

Press freedom not affected says Mulder

According to the White Paper tabled in the House of Assembly yesterday, a journalist can be fined R1 000, a newspaper proprietor R10 000 and the printing and publication of the paper suspended or even be prohibited permanently

In a stormy Assembly debate, the United and Progressive Reform Parties signalled their outright rejection of the measure by opposing its first reading amid cries of "Sieg Heil" and "Nazis."

The Afrikaans press greeted the new legislation with banner headlines registering shock and predicted "war, world-wide reaction and a dreadful verbal fight within the country"

Beeld's main headline said "Government shocks press" while Die Vaderland boldly announced "War between press and government"

Die Transvaler predicted a serious struggle between the press and the Government in its front page article entitled "Government and press clash."

The Bill, according to the White Paper, sets up a three or five-man Press Council to be headed by a judge or a retired judge

appointed for three years by the State President

Half the council members will be appointed by the State President and the other half by the Newspaper Press Union

The administrative work will be undertaken by a State official called the clerk of the Press Council

What the papers say; ABC of code, page 9.

Written complaints are to be submitted to the clerk and after being informed, a newspaper editor or proprietor must respond within a period of 14 days.

At the council hearings the editor or proprietor may be represented by an authorised representative, himself personally or by his legal representative. They may question persons giving evidence

The council may require the evidence to be given under oath or by affirmation and its meetings will

be open to the public.

It is required to give reasons for its decisions, embodied in a report together with the details of the reprimand, or fines or directive that publication of the newspaper be suspended for a period

The editor or owner of the newspaper concerned must have the full report published in the next ensuing edition and if directed, in a place stipulated by the council.

Persons who refuse to appear before the council, or refuse to answer questions, or knowingly give false evidence, or refuse to take the oath or affirmation, will be guilty of an offence

Clause 9 of the Bill states that a decision of the council or its chairman is not subject to an appeal to a court of law. But its decision is subject to review by three judges of the Supreme Court

If the council's decision is set aside, it will have to reconsider its decision, but if mala fides was involved, the Supreme Court will settle the matter itself

The proprietor must furnish the names of the journalists concerned in any report if requested. The law will also prohibit compensation being paid to people submitting news hints, a time honoured method for newspapers to get stories.

In its preamble the White Paper says that a high premium is placed on the freedom of the press in South Africa, based on the right of a community to be informed and inseparable from the concept of the freedom of speech.

But complaints were continually received that newspaper reports were offensive to moral standards, detrimental to public welfare and harmful to race relations.

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Bill had been drawn up because reckless and damaging reporting had continued despite regular warnings from the Government, the Minister of Interior, Dr Mulder, said at a press conference here yesterday

He said the Bill did not affect the freedom of the press. The press code would recognise the freedom of the press

While the Government valued the freedom of the press, it could not always remain silent on reckless reports damaging South Africa.

The Government required protection against reporting which could endanger the safety of the State. The community ought to be protected against reports which could cause enmity or gave offence in racial, cultural and religious fields

"The question is how to promote the operation of a free press and the free flow of information while at the same time protecting the rights of the individual, the community and the State

"In the new Bill the Government chooses to do so by a system of checks and balances to which the State, the press and the reader all contribute."

No journalist or newspaper editor could possibly object to a law which enshrined the basic tenets of responsible journalism

Although the press had set itself up as the watchdog of democracy, the press itself was the most undemocratic institution in the world. Were the press to be the guardian of community interests, who was to watch the guardian?

It was for this reason that a press council was

proposed in the new Bill. "This council will be the public's watchdog and must see to it that the press code is applied in practice"

The Bill would only harm South Africa abroad if it was unfairly projected as inhibiting press freedom

Asked whether reporting of factual events, such as the arrest of a black runner or the riots which affected South Africa abroad, would fall within the Bill, Dr Mulder said factual reporting would not.

Asked why the provisions permitting prohibition on a newspaper to appear were necessary, Dr Mulder said this would only be applied in extreme cases

A newspaper could, according to the Bill, be prohibited permanently, but he thought this unlikely

"The Bill does not lay down a maximum period, but we are dealing with reasonable people and I do not think it will be prohibited permanently"

The Bill would not apply to foreign correspondents based in South Africa, to film cameramen or to the SABC. The SABC had, however, voluntarily accepted the press code and legislation would be brought to include this in the provisions affecting the SABC's licence, which had to be renewed regularly

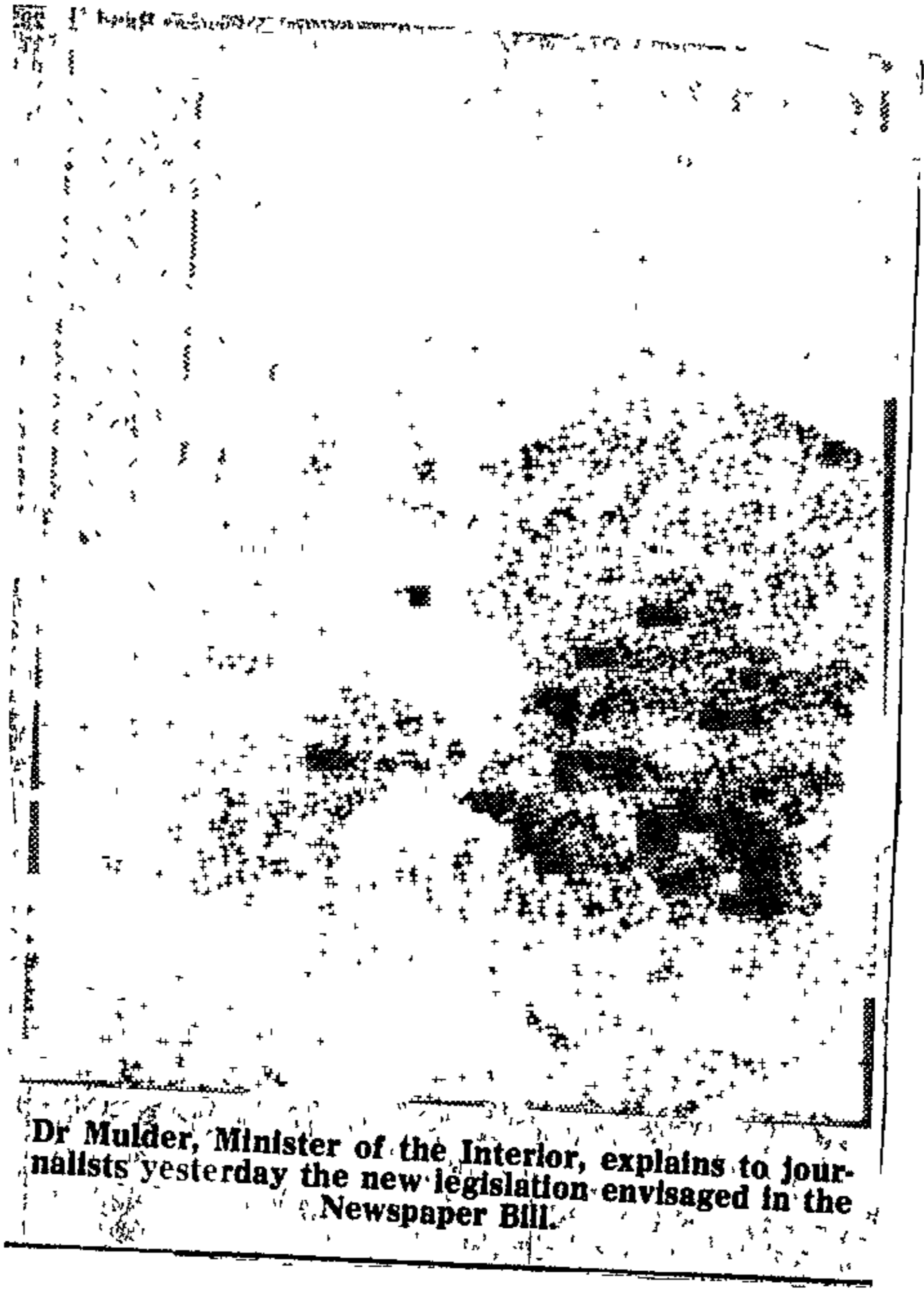
The provisions would apply to South African citizens sending reports overseas.

Dealing with the prohibition of fees for news tip-offs, Dr Mulder said offers of cars, holidays and large sums for tip-offs had made South Africa a nation of gossips. — SAPA.

Cont

DD 12/3/77

247



Dr Mulder, Minister of the Interior, explains to journalists yesterday the new legislation envisaged in the Newspaper Bill.

EDITORS READY TO FIGHT FREEMENERS

Mercury Correspondent

THE SOUTH African Press, in English and Afrikaans, has been unanimous in its condemnation of the Newspaper Bill, calling it censorship by fear and an attempt to control people's minds and thoughts.

The Bill constitutes the most extensive attempt to curb the Press in South Africa.

The Vaderland took the unusual step of ruining a front page comment article by the editor, which said that newspapermen would not be able to perform their normal duties for fear of transgressing the wide provisions of the Bill.

"Fear will hang over every editorial typewriter and the Government will thereby achieve what it certainly has not aimed at: censorship through fear," he wrote.

Countries abroad would view the new system as the end of Press freedom here.

The Cape Times wrote that the measure could signal the end of a freedom which distinguished South Africa from totalitarian states.

"How the State can seek to discipline newspapers — which, from previous ministerial statements, is clearly its intent — and yet claim that it is upholding the

freedom of the Press, will escape even the most resourceful of political minds."

In an editorial entitled "Leave The Press And The People Free," The Cape Argus said "the Press" had been increasingly blamed by Government spokesmen for a variety of the country's ills.

It would be disastrous if the Government were to take the irretrievable step of restricting the country's newspapers in the performance of the legitimate functions.

The East London Daily Dispatch described the bill as "a shocking measure that will revolt the free world," creating

offences which do not exist in normal societies under normal laws.

It defines offences under the Bill in such wide terms that innocence can be deemed to be guilt — and it creates offences which do not exist in normal societies under normal laws.

When this Bill becomes law, machinery will be created whereby South Africans can be prevented further from knowing about what their rulers are doing to this country and what is happening inside it and on its borders.

It is yet another instance of Nationalist fear of full public knowledge, and read against

the background of all the threats uttered by this Government against the Press down the years, it can validly be viewed in the light of this conclusion — these people are out to control our very minds and thoughts, and to shape them to their own fear-ridden prejudices.

Kimberley's Diamond Fields Advertiser said the underlying motive of the Bill was control of the Press, which affected the people vitally.

Only the SABC's Current Affairs programme approved of the legislation, which does not affect radio or television. It said many authorities contended World

War III was already upon us, with South Africa at the centre of the struggle. Measures like the Newspaper Bill were necessary in such an undeclared war.

"South Africa values a free Press: It is an asset in our strained relations with the Western World, and one that should be preserved," the programme stated.

The new legislation was not designed to curb criticism of Government policy, it added.

The Rand Daily Mail comments on today's front page: "We're all in peril. In proposing to destroy Press freedom as it has

been known in South Africa, the Government's reason has finally snapped.

"Few actions in nearly 29 years of Nationalist rule can match the damage that will be done by the measure now before Parliament.

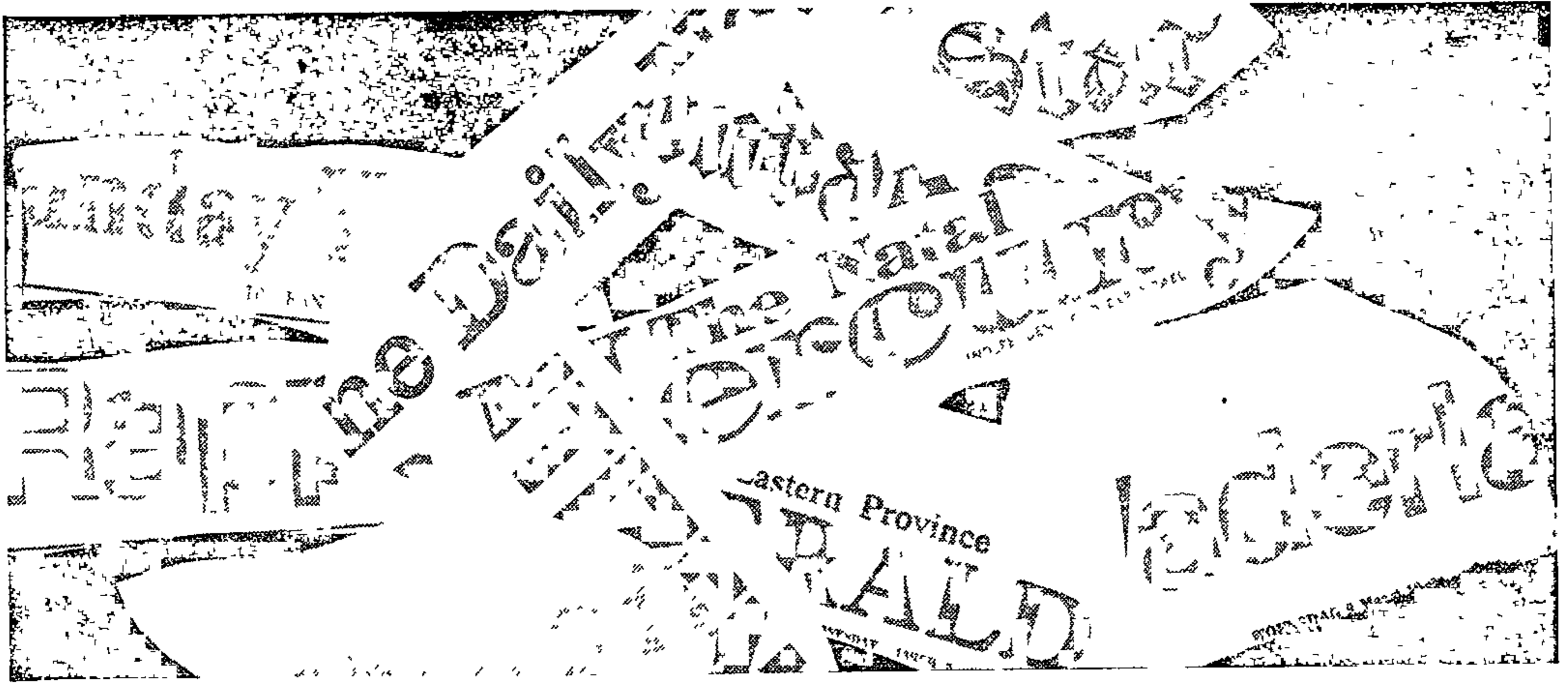
"For the limited Press freedom which we still enjoy is the one remaining thread of respectability in the tattered cloak of democracy which the Government wears so uneasily.

"Now the cloak is to be thrown off altogether, because no country where the Press is under State control can pass as

democratic. The two things are utterly incompatible.

Was it coincidence that the editor of the Transvaler, Dr. Willem de Klerk, warned in an article last Sunday that some "responsible" people — he did not name them — had come round to the view that only a dictatorship could solve South Africa's problem.

"Our reaction to that was that a dictatorship would not be possible without an assault on the Press first. And now within days, this has come to pass."



THE NEW PRESS CODE 247

Parliamentary Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The tough Press Code contained in the Newspaper Bill, published in the Government White Paper yesterday, makes it clear that newspapers must ensure that the name of the Republic is not damaged abroad.

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Distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation, incorrect accentuation, material omissions or precis-writing.

Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the news source, may be presented as a fact, and reports not based on facts shall be presented in such a manner that it appears clearly that such is not the case.

Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified, and where it was not practicable to verify the correctness of a report, it shall be mentioned in such report.

Where a report had been published which subsequently appeared to have been incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified *mero motu* and without reservation or delay, and on the page corresponding to the page of the newspaper on which such report appeared and with the same degree of prominence.

Headlines or captions to pictures shall give a reasonable representation of the material facts of the report or picture

in question.

Posters shall not exaggerate but shall give a reasonable representation of the material facts of the report in question.

The presentation of reports of court cases involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals.

The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided.

The publication of any matter which is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic shall be avoided.

Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment.

Comment shall be the honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motive.

Comment on any matter shall be given in a manner balanced in regard to all material facts thereof.

As far as news as well

as comment is concerned, editors or owners shall:

Exercise exceptional care and responsibility as to subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law.

Matters that may detrimentally affect the safety of the State, the common weal and economic prosperity, the peace and good order and the defence of the Republic and its people;

The representation of reports on the commission of violence and atrocities.

They must exercise exceptional care and caution as to matters affecting the private lives and interests of individuals, having due regard to the principle that the right of the individual to privacy shall be respected and that his private activities shall only be reported and commented upon where such activities affect the public interest, and the right of

the community to be informed demands that such activities be reported and commented upon.

As far as is practicable they must ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted.

As far as is practicable ensure that:

The standards of decency and public morals of the nations and population groups of the Republic are not debased;

Relations between the different nations and population groups of the Republic is not prejudiced;

The name of the Republic are not prejudiced abroad; and,

The safety of the State, the common weal and the peace and good order are not endangered by reporting.

Advertisements under the Publications Act are undesirable and shall not be inserted in any newspaper.

'Reckless' reports 24

reason for Bill

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Bill had been drawn up because reckless and damaging reporting had continued in spite of regular warnings from the Government, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, said here yesterday.

Answering questions at a Press conference, he said the Bill did not affect the freedom of the Press. On the contrary, the Bill said the Press Code would be applied so as to recognise the freedom of the Press.

Dr. Mulder said warnings had been issued from time to time by himself, the Prime Minister and other senior Government members.

While they, too, valued the freedom of the Press they could not always remain silent when reckless reports damaging to South Africa were published.

"The stream of complaints against the Press increased," he said. Reporting had sometimes improved, sometimes become worse.

The Prime Minister had begun discussions two years ago with the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) which last October drew up a projected Press Code. This was not acceptable to the Government, and he would explain why in his second-reading speech.

PRESS BILL SPLIT

CAPE TOWN—The Independent United Party yesterday voted with the Government in the Assembly in a division on the First Reading of the Newspaper Bill.

The Bill was read a first time after the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party took the unusual step of opposing it at first reading—one of the strongest forms of parliamentary disapproval.

The result of the division was: NP and IUP 107, and U.P. and PRP 31. —(Sapa.)

The Bill had been drawn up as a basis for discussion, but had been totally rejected earlier this week by the NPU, who refused to discuss the provisions with a Cabinet committee.

"We had the choice of going ahead or leaving the matter there. The Government decided to proceed with the legislation."

Dr. Mulder was asked why, if the Bill did not restrict Press freedom, the measures were opposed by editors and by the NPU.

"I suppose the Press and the editors do not like any rules to apply to them in these circumstances," he replied.

He regretted the NPU had unilaterally rejected the Bill while the Cabinet committee was prepared to discuss it and to consider changing it.

"We are not trying to prevent criticism or freedom of the Press. We are only trying to get responsibility in those Press circles where responsibility has been abused," he said.

The Bill would only harm South Africa abroad if it was unfairly projected as inhibiting Press freedom.

"If this Bill is pre-

sented to the outside world as curbing or controlling the Press or, perhaps worse, that it breaks down Press freedom in South Africa, then surely it will have a detrimental effect," he said.

"This is not an attack on the Press in general. It is not an attack on journalism in general. We have a responsible Press and journalists but we have — and nobody will deny this — individuals and newspapers abusing this and creating problems not only as far as the State is concerned."

Asked whether reporting of factual events, such as the arrest of a Black runner or the riots which affected South Africa abroad would fall within the Bill, Dr. Muller said factual reporting would not.

"The question of correct reporting of things that really happen can in no way be taken amiss or jeopardise a paper in any way.

"It depends on how they are reported and how the emphasis is put."

Asked why the provisions permitting prohibition of a newspaper — which could in themselves create a bad impression overseas — were necessary, he said this would only be applied in extreme cases.

"It will be applied where the Press Council feels it necessary. I believe and take it that this will be after three or four occurrences where the Act has been contravened."

A newspaper could, according to the Bill, be prohibited permanently, but he thought this unlikely.

Dr. Mulder said the existing Press Code would not be abolished, but the new one was drawn up because the existing one was unsatisfactory in a number of respects.

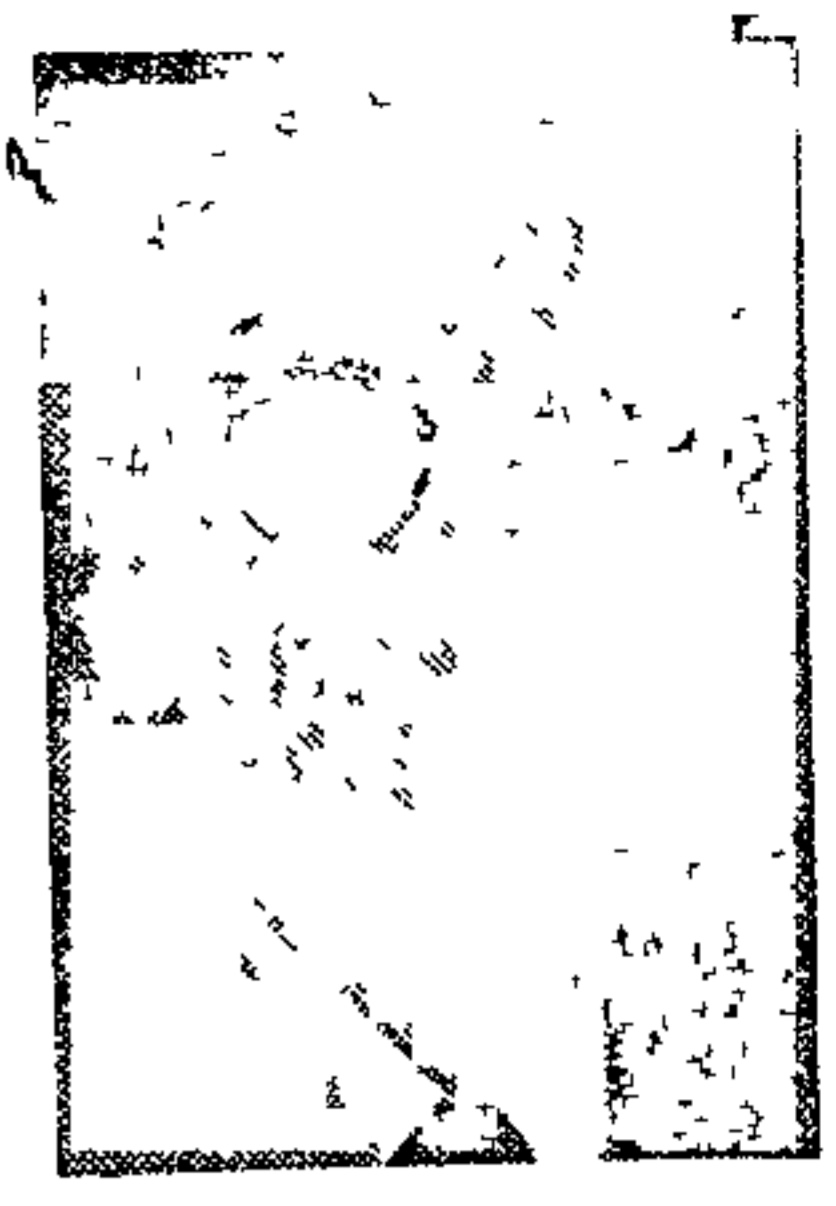
The Bill might still go to a select committee as he had stated in Parliament earlier, but no decision had yet been taken. If it did not, its provisions would be applied soon after it had completed its passage through Parliament.

Dr. Mulder said the Bill would not apply to foreign correspondents based here, to film cameramen or to the SABC. The SABC had, however, voluntarily accepted the Press Code and legislation would be brought to include this in the provisions affecting the SABC's licence.

The provisions would apply to South African citizens sending reports overseas. In the case where a foreign correspondent sent a report to a foreign newspaper, any South African newspaper reprinting the article would be responsible for it.

Newspapers would also be held responsible for the contents of letters they published.

Dealing with the prohibition of fees for news tip-offs, Dr. Mulder said the offer of cars, holidays and large sums for tip-offs had made South Africa a nation of gossips. — (Sapa.)



MR. RENE DE VILLIERS

End of Press freedom'

CAPE TOWN — The introduction of the Newspaper Bill was a tragic day for South Africa and marked the beginning of the end of Press freedom in the country, Mr. Rene de Villiers (PRP Parktown) said in the Assembly yesterday.

He accused Government members of "understanding the concept of Press freedom, which had existed in South Africa since 1826, when an autocratic Governor had conceded the right of a free and unfettered Press."

Opposing on behalf of the PRP the first Reading of the Bill, Mr. de Villiers, a former newspaper editor, said the Bill confirmed his worst fears. Government speakers did not understand the concept of Press freedom, to which they paid lip service and pious platitudes.

Mr. de Villiers said the Bill was unanimously opposed by the Newspaper Press Union representing all English and Afrikaans newspapers except one, that there could be no real Press freedom in a State controlled.

The Bill provided the establishment of a Press Code which according to available evidence had been drawn up

goodwill or consent of the NPU.
"The code therefore becomes an imposed instrument, an instrument of coercion, and that would be the end of real Press freedom," he said. — (Sapa.)

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Newspapers say Bill is censorship by fear.

ADL
12/9/52

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Press, English and Afrikaans, has been unanimous in its condemnation of the Newspaper Bill, calling it censorship by fear and an attempt to control people's minds and thoughts.

Die Vaderland took the unusual step of running a front page comment article by the Editor, who said journalists would not be able to perform their normal duties for fear of transgressing the wide provisions of the Bill.

"Fear will hang over every editorial typewriter and the Government will thereby achieve what it certainly has not aimed at: censorship through fear," he wrote

Countries abroad would view the new system as the end of press freedom here as effective control of the press would be taken out of the hands of the press.

"The press recognises the necessity for self discipline and close co-operation with the

Government in the interest of the country's security. But the planned legislation will muzzle the press to the extent that it will not be able to fulfil its normal function.

"... we also wish to appeal to the Government to take note of fair and justified criticism. Our plea is that the Bill be amended to eliminate its authoritarian nature and the danger of censorship through outside control.

"The White Paper holds out the prospect of a measure that is not only totally unacceptable to the press, but is also not in the interests of South Africa."

In an editorial entitled "Leave the press and the people free," the Cape Argus said the press had

been increasingly blamed by Government spokesmen for a variety of the country's ills.

It would be disastrous if the Government were to take the irretrievable step of restricting the country's newspapers in the performance of legitimate functions.

Durban's Natal Mercury believed that the "frightening vagueness" of some of the Bill's provisions would be seen as a deliberate attempt to intimidate, which would lead to a disastrous suppression of news.

"It is not less information but more that is needed if we are to make the right decisions about the future in South Africa," the paper said.

"With economic and political pressures all about him and his Government's policies leading white South Africa rapidly towards confrontation with the country's blacks, the Prime Minister, desperate in the cul-de-sac of his follies, has finally turned in anger on the mirror of it all — the press.

"Blinded by its eagerness to deal with its detractors, it has succumbed to the folly that by limiting the view in the mirror, it may somehow make things appear rosier than they are.

"What it has overlooked, or perhaps no longer cares about, is that by deciding to legislate it has done irreparable harm to what remains of South Africa's image as a passably democratic member of the Western community of nations."

The Cape Times said it would not abandon its traditions of vigorous journalism.

"Whatever happens during the passage of this Bill through Parliament, the Cape Times feels it necessary to assure its readers that there is no disposition on the part of this newspaper to abandon its traditions of vigorous journalism, conducted in the public interest according to prudent and responsible standards of professional conduct which have proved themselves in a century of service to the Cape and to South Africa."

In a front page editorial, the Rand Daily Mail said few actions in nearly 29 years of Nationalist rule would match the damage that would be done by the measure now before Parliament.

"For the limited press freedom which we still enjoy is the one remaining thread of respectability in the tattered cloak of democracy which this Government wears so un-

Now the cloak is to be thrown off altogether, because no country where



FOUNDED 1887

The Star



JOHANNESBURG

...

10c

Registered at the General Post Office as a newspaper)

Saturday March 12 1977

ONT →

The Press has been unanimously critical of the new Bill

The Rand Daily Mail was it coincidence that he editor of Die Transvaler, Dr Willem de Klerk

arrived in an athlete last Friday that some "responsible" people — he did not name them — had come round to the view that only a dictatorship could solve South Africa's problem

Our reaction to that was that a dictatorship could not be possible without an assault on the Press first And now, within days, this has come to pass

The Citizen "We hope the Government will listen to the outcry from the

AND

REGULATES

REPORTERS

THEIR

FROM

THE

STILL

Press against the Bill that seeks to control and regulate it"

The Transvaler "One will readily concede that the Press has its faults Unjustified and irresponsible claims which damage the country particularly cause understandable resentment

"But the price which must now be paid to put this situation in order is far out of proportion"

Die Vaderland "The provisions are so wide

open to interpretation that the newspaperman will, for fear of transgression, not be able to perform his normal duties as a newspaperman

"Fear will hang above every editorial typewriter and the Government will thereby achieve what it certainly has not aimed at, censorship through fear"

Beeld "Beeld wants to put it clearly We are strongly opposed to Government interference in

the Press We see no justification for it It can only be detrimental to society"

Oggenblyd (Pretoria) "Why legislation to curb the Press — and it is difficult to put any other interpretation to the legislation — had to be introduced at this particular point in time is beyond comprehension"

The Argus (Cape Town) "We do not see how the Press can be controlled

and still be called free Or how such control could do anything but make already bad matters worse Governments decide policy, not the Press"

Burger (Cape Town) "A fight over freedom and discipline in the South African Press which appeared inevitable this week, is in the present circumstances too costly for our country"

The Cape Times "Our belief — and we hope we

are proved wrong when details are to hand — is that this measure, if not successfully resisted by the Press, could signal the end of a freedom that distinguishes this country from totalitarian states in this respect news that both English and Afrikaans newspapers of the Newspaper Press Union are unanimously opposed to the measure is encouraging"

The Natal Mercury

"With economic and political pressures all about him and his Government's policies leading white South Africa rapidly towards confrontation with the country's blacks, the Prime Minister, desperate in the cut-de-sac of his follies, has finally turned in anger on the mirror of it all, the Press"

The Eastern Province Herald (Port Elizabeth) "The Government's interest is wholly political

It does not want honest and fearless reporting and least of all does it want outspoken criticism As pressures mount against it, domestically and abroad, it finds these attributes of free expression increasingly intolerable"

The Daily Dispatch, East London "People who take the new Newspaper Bill at face value and don't read the fine print through twice might be fooled into thinking it is

reasonable It is not a shocking measure that will revolt the free world"

The Friend (Bloemfontein) "It's (the Bill's) chief effect will be to turn the Press — up to now a healthy, vigorous and respected independent institution — into a subservient animal of the State As such its credibility cannot go untainted No Press which functions only through the courtesy of

Government regulation, and with drastic government penalties to inhibit it, can call itself free."

The Diamond Fields Advertiser (Kimberley):

"Perhaps not very many readers of this and other newspapers to which they look for today's news and expression of opinion, on it are much concerned at the prospect of a statutory newspaper control board any more than they are disturbed at the functioning of say the Dairy Control Board But they should be, it affects them vitally"

GOVT PRESS

What the

Bill

contains

Bill: NEW

MOVERS

Parliamentary Staff

Cape Town

There is now a strong possibility that the controversial News-paper Bill, published today, will be sent to a Parliamentary select committee or that negotiations between the Government and the National Press Union will be reopened.

The Bill provides for a Press Council, a Press Code and stiff penalties, including suspension of the publication of newspapers found guilty by the Press Council
The first reading stage of the Bill was passed in the

'Another step to totalitarianism'

THE ASSEMBLY — Fines of up to R2 000 and prison sentences of up to a year may be imposed on journalists or newspaper owners who fail to obey a Press council directive, in terms of the Newspaper Bill published here today.

The controversial measure was read a first time in the Assembly yesterday after opposition objections, and has now been published in full.

The Bill provides for a Press council which can:

- Reprimand anyone for a contravention or impose a fine up to R1 000
- Fine the owner of a newspaper up to R10 000
- Suspend printing and publication of a newspaper for any period it determines

A court may impose penalties where a person fails to appear before the chairman of the Press Council or fails to pay a fine or fails to obey a direction of the council.

A fine of up to R500 or six months' imprisonment can be imposed for a first conviction — Political Staff and Sapa

CON

Assembly yesterday after vigorous protest from the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party.

At a Press conference yesterday the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, who will be handling the Bill in Parliament, said that no decision had yet been taken on whether it would be referred to a select committee.

He did not seem to be ruling out the possibility.

Changes

Such a select committee can make changes to the Bill and hear representations from Press interests.

This would to some extent defuse the total confrontation which is developing between the Government and the Press after the breakdown of negotiations between the Prime Minister and the Newspaper Press Union, the NPU.

The Cape Nationalist newspaper, Die Burger, today gave great prominence on its front page to the possibility of the Government and the Press again negotiating about the legislation.

Criticised

The Johannesburg daily, the Beeld, today criticised yesterday's White Paper which, it said, "lodged the firm impression that it contains considerable restrictions."

It also carried a statement by the board of Nasionale Pers which said the board was willing to discuss legislation in a spirit of mutual trust.

The president of the NPU, Mr H W Miller, today said the union was willing to resume discussions, although it remains "in principle opposed to State intervention."

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Government moves to control the South African Press were met with shock and surprise and were condemned throughout the country yesterday.

In Natal politicians warned the Bill would remove freedom of the Press and was one of the final steps towards a "totalitarian government."

Mr Frank Martin, MEC, leader of the United Party in the Provincial Council, said the Bill was "wicked."

"The Government has been very clever. It has included things to which no one would object, not even the Press, to cover the more dubious cases. It will be the devil's own job to implement."

Mr Ray Swart, national chairman of the Progress-

sive Reform Party, said "I am appalled by this further intrusion into the rights of a free Press in South Africa."

"With a Government so firmly entrenched in power and fixed in authoritarian ways, one of the last saving graces has been the knowledge that we have a responsible and free Press capable of highlighting all the Government's excesses and keeping the public informed."

"I hope the public will be aroused before it is too late and realise the terrible threat to the rights of all implicit in threats to the freedom of the Press," Mr Swart said.

Mr Percy Thomas, chairman of the Natal coastal region of the PRP, said "This is the final stage to a totalitarian State in which no opposition will be tolerated."

MP: It's a mockery

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — To talk of the Newspaper Bill as a measure to advance Press freedom was sheer mockery, Mr R M de Villiers, Prog Reform Party MP for Parktown, said today.

"The Bill lays down the framework within which newspapers may function. In other words it circumscribes the operations of newspapers."

Mr de Villiers, a former editor of The Star, and other Opposition spokesmen again strongly protested today when the controversial Bill was published.

The Bill is an instrument of limitation and if the Government thinks it is going to bluff anyone except its own myopic fol-

lowers that this is not a restriction of Press freedom, it is woefully mistaken.

"The Bill attempts to lay down standards for newspapers. These standards must, by their very nature, be arbitrarily imposed and that, by itself, conflicts with the very concept of Press freedom which means that the newspapers can pose their own disciplines and hold themselves accountable to the public."

"The moment the State tries to lay down standards and ventures into the field of morality and behaviour, as it does in this Bill, it strikes at the very roots of a free Press which is then obliged to apply outside and impossible standards and to conform to artificial norms."

TALKS WITH VORSTER FAIL

Parliamentary
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government yesterday gave notice that it plans to take action against the South African Press by bringing it under firm statutory control.

It is doing this despite the unanimous opposition to Government controls expressed by the Newspaper Press Union, the organisation of newspaper proprietors, with the backing of both English and Afrikaans editors.

The long-threatened measure was announced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, when he gave notice that he would introduce the "Newspaper Bill" in Parliament today.

According to its long title, the Bill "provides for the establishment of a Press Code, for the application of such code in such manner that the freedom of the Press is upheld, for the establish-

Govt Press gag feared

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11/2/77
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ment of a Press Council, for the functions of such Press Council, and for matters connected therewith."

The United Party and the Progressive Reform Party immediately expressed fears that the Bill would limit the freedom of the Press.

The Government's intention to introduce the

Bill follows the collapse on Tuesday of negotiations between the Prime Minister and the Newspaper Press Union.

The NPU represents all Afrikaans newspaper companies and all but one English newspaper publisher.

Full details of the Bill will not be known until it is published, probably

today.

A White Paper on the Bill is to be issued this morning and a Press conference is being held by Dr. Mulder in Cape Town this afternoon, reports Sapa.

The president of the NPU, Mr. H. W. Miller, said yesterday that he could not say in detail what the Government Bill would contain.

However, he confirmed that negotiations between the NPU and the government had been taking place, and that a meeting with Mr. Vorster and some members of his Cabinet had been held on Tuesday.

The Government had been informed that the NPU had "reached unanimity within its own ranks and with the editors of Afrikaans as well as English-language newspapers and was wholly opposed to the principle of State intervention in newspapers."

Freedom

The United Party's Mr. Lionel Murray, MP, pointed out yesterday that a year ago Dr. Mulder had assured Parliament that he believed in the freedom of the Press and had added: "As a Western country we place a high premium on the freedom of the Press."

"As Minister of Information it is one of the strongest arguments I am able to use.

dom of Speech."

The Progressive Reform Party's Mr. Rene de Villiers, a former editor of the Star, immediately expressed fears that the Bill would have no other purpose than to regulate or control the Press.

"That would be a disastrous day for South Africa, because without Press freedom there can be no real debate, no democracy in fact," he said.

The Independent United Party's Mr. John Wiley, MP, who has been waging a battle against the Press, said: "I have warned for years that Press freedom does not mean Press licence.

"Accepted Press standards have been abused for too long for nothing to be done about them."

Government clamp on newspapers

From Page 1

white paper says the Government places a high premium on the freedom of the Press and that this freedom is based on the right of the community to be informed.

It comprised the same freedom as the freedom of speech of every citizen, subject to the law and the rights of other citizens to give information and express criticism.

Newspapers were repeatedly excluded from censorship legislation, because the Press Union established its own disciplinary body

But there were still complaints that matter in newspapers was offensive to moral standards, detrimental to public welfare or harmful to good relations between the population groups

It had therefore been decided to legislate for a Press code, "with which reporting and other matter in newspapers must comply, and for establishing a Press council for the investigation of complaints of non-compliance with the press code"

CRITICISM

The Press council would decide on the complaints and, where guilt was determined, reprimand or punish the guilty parties

Clause 3 of the Bill laid down that the Press code should be applied so that freedom of the Press was recognised, but also so the law, freedom of worship and the Christian view of life were not affected.

The clause also provided that the Press code should not be construed as prohibiting fair and reasonable criticism.

Dealing with the composition of the Press coun-

cil, the white paper says that if the Press Union fails to nominate the required number to serve on the council, then the chairman of the council would be empowered to do so

Provision is made for an acting chairman of the Press council, who must have held judicial office for not less than 10 years or been an advocate or attorney or lecturer in law for the same minimum period.

Three members would constitute a quorum, and in the case of an equality of votes, the chairman would have a casting vote. The seat of the council would be determined by the Minister of the Interior, but the council would be entitled to meet elsewhere. State officials would do the administrative work of the council

A clause provided that written complaints must be lodged within 21 days of the date on which the matter complained of appeared, but the chairman of the council could allow a longer period.

The chairman could also decide that the council would not investigate a complaint considered frivolous

● Freedom of the Press at stake — Page 15.

11

Powers to suspend papers

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Govt curb on Press

11/3/77
JFA

John Patten, Political Correspondent
The Assembly

The Government intends setting up a Press council with powers to suspend printing and publication of a newspaper for any period it should decide for contravening its proposed Press code.

The Press council will also have the power to impose a maximum fine of R10 000 on the owner of a newspaper and R1 000 on the journalist mainly responsible for an offence against the code.

The Government tabled a White Paper on the controversial Newspaper Bill, which passed its first reading today despite spirited opposition from the United and Progressive Reform parties.

The Independent United Party sided with the Government.

Judge

The white paper says the Press council would consist of five or three members, with the chairman being a judge or retired judge of the South African Supreme Court. He would be nominated by the State President.

Half the remaining members would be appointed from a list of five nominated by the State President.

The other half would be appointed from a list of five nominated by the Newspapers Press Union. All appointments would be for three years.

Presentation

The proposed Press code in the Bill provides the correct presentation of news without departure from facts through distortion, material omission or precis-writing, true reporting, verification of facts, rectifying of errors, and headlines and captions, posters.

It also says that reports on court cases involving sex or immorality be presented in a manner not harmful to public morals, and the avoidance of publication of obscene matters (including photographs) or matter offensive to the religious convictions of any section of the country's inhabitants.

The code also provides for clear identification of comment, as comment, its honest expression without malice and with balance. Editors and owners are expected to exercise "exceptional care" on matters that might cause cultural or racial enmity, security matters and reports on violence and atrocities.

The introduction to the

To Page 3, Col 1

Presses British

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Conf

CAPE TOWN — The controversial Newspaper Bill is to be withdrawn and the Newspaper Press Union is to be given a year in which to discipline its members, the Prime Minister announced last night.

The dramatic news came in a special statement to the House of Assembly shortly after Mr Vorster and other cabinet ministers had completed their third day of discussions with an NPU delegation.

Mr Vorster hoped the new dispensation, which would leave the disciplining of the press in its own hands, would be the start of a new era in press relations.

His announcement was welcomed all round by spokesmen for the three opposition parties in Parliament and by Mr H W Miller, president of the NPU.

Mr Vorster's withdrawal of the Bill at the request of the NPU, which will now institute its own press council and press code, is expected to attract international reaction.

He also announced that a press secretariat attached to his department would be instituted to liaise with the press and to deal with press matters and complaints.

Mr Vorster told the Assembly "In response to appeals from the NPU, and at its request, the Government has decided to give the Newspaper Press Union a year to discipline itself effectively under its own press council and code.

"On the suggestion of the NPU, the Government has also decided to institute a press secretariat attached to the Department of the Prime Minister for liaison with the press and to deal with press matters and complaints."

"The Bill now before the House will not be proceeded with under the circumstances."

"The full details of the press code and council of the NPU and other related information will be published soon, including the address of the office where, and in the manner in which, complaints can be lodged."

Mr Vorster told journalists his meeting with the NPU delegation had been "full and frank discussions."

"I hope that these discussions and decisions will be the start of a new era in relations between the press and the public," he said.

"I am satisfied that

agreement is in the interests of South Africa and if everyone contributes their share, it will be the start of a new era for us."

Mr Vorster's announcement came on the eve of the second reading of the Bill which was expected today.

Opposition parties took the unusual step of opposing its first reading.

Mr Vorster confirmed he and the NPU would be in constant touch during the next year.

Mr Miller said the NPU welcomed the Government's decision. It would give the NPU the opportunity to demonstrate what its press council and code could achieve through self-discipline.

He believed the agreement was in the best interests of South Africa and the press. Throughout the negotiations the common purpose had been to preserve press freedom and to ensure it was exercised with responsibility.

A clearer understanding of the problems involved had been reached.

"We readily understand the Government's concern that press irresponsibility could cause grave injuries to our national security and well-being, particularly under present political and economic circumstances," Mr Miller said.

"It's decision to leave the attainment of effective self-discipline in our hands makes us all the more aware of the importance of the responsibility entrusted to us."

He praised the decision to establish a press secretariat and offered full co-operation.

Mr Lionel Murray, the United Party spokesman, said the agreement "makes good sense and is welcomed."

"One can only hope the withdrawal of the Bill will in some measure undo the damage done to South Africa by its introduction," he said.

The NPU had accepted a

heavy responsibility which it would undoubtedly discharge without denying the public access to news to which it was entitled.

Mr Rene de Villiers, the Progref spokesman, said he was relieved by the agreement. An impasse between the Government and press was undesirable and to nobody's benefit.

"A postponement of the Bill which I devoutly hope will in due course lead to the dropping of the measure, is clearly in the best interests of South Africa and all its people," Mr De Villiers, a former newspaper editor said.

"I know the press is well aware of its responsibilities as the eyes and ears and watchdog of the public and will continue to exercise this responsibility in a way which is not only a credit to the press, but a benefit to the country."

Mr John Wiley, the Independent United Party spokesman, said his party

had wished an agreement could be reached between the Government and the NPU.

The IUP had interviewed Dr Mulder, the Minister of the Interior, who would have piloted the Bill through Parliament and it had urged the NPU to re-open discussions.

"It is to be hoped the new agreement will cure abuses of press freedom without resort to statutory regulations and that the press will play its important role in public affairs with greater responsibility," Mr Wiley said.

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr John Hobday, expressed relief last night.

"We believe the decision to defer the Bill, however conditional it may be, is in the best interests of every individual in the country, and of South Africa as a whole at this crucial time in its history" — PC-SAPA.

DD
24/3/77

24) Vorster gives Press

Political Staff

a year to get 'in order'

THE ASSEMBLY — The Government has decided to withdraw the Newspaper Bill and has given the Newspaper Press Union a year to discipline itself effectively under its own Press Council and code

A Press secretariat attached to the Prime Minister's Department will also be created

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, announced this yesterday, thus suspending a heated controversy on the Government's proposed statutory control over newspapers

The decision came after three meetings between Mr Vorster and four Ministers and a five-man delegation of the NPU in Cape Town this week

Previously, discussions between the NPU and Mr Vorster broke down and the Newspaper Bill was introduced in Parliament by the Minister of Information, Dr Mulder

The NPU then asked the Prime Minister to have further discussions

Yesterday's meeting between Mr Vorster, the Ministers and the NPU delegation, lasted about 35 minutes.

Mr Vorster rose in the Assembly late yesterday afternoon and read this statement

"In response to appeals from the NPU, and at its request, the Government has decided to give the Newspaper Press Union one year to discipline itself effectively under its own Press Council and code

"On the suggestion of the NPU the Government has also decided to institute a Press Secretariat attached to the Department of the Prime Minister for liaison with the Press and to deal with Press matters and complaints

"The Bill now before the House will under the circumstances not be proceeded with

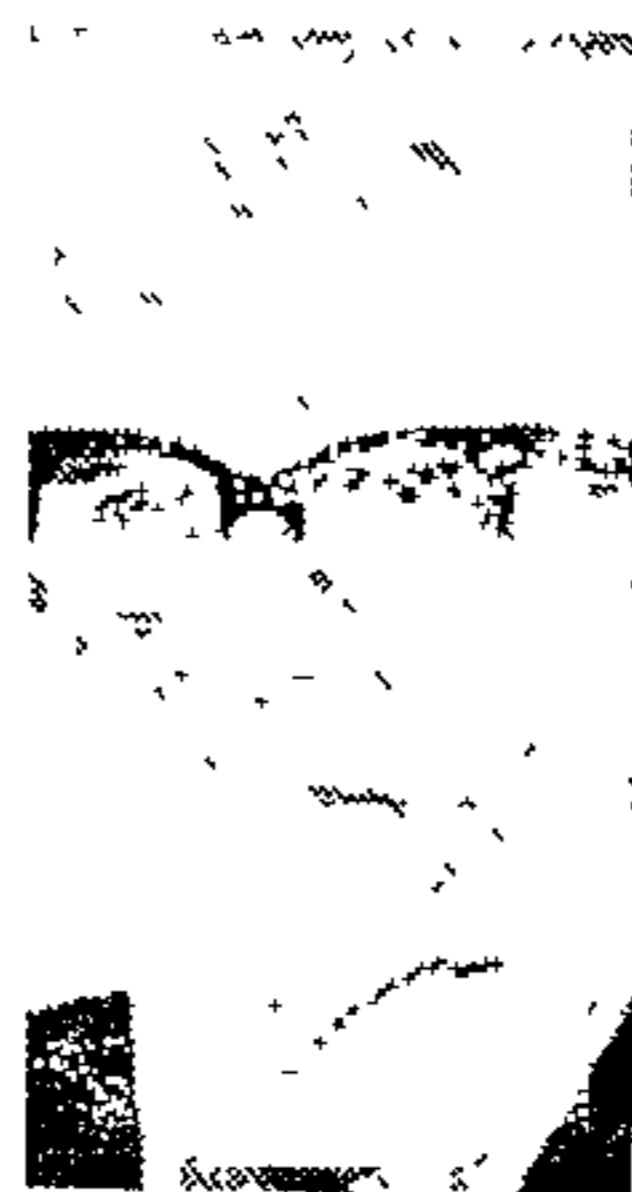
"The full details of the Press code and council of the NPU and other related information will be published fully in the near future, including the address of the office where, and the manner in which complaints can be lodged," Mr Vorster said



MR VORSTER ...
a year.



MR DE VILLIERS
... welcomed.



MR MURRAY ...
relief.

General relief at shelving of Bill

Tim Patten Political Reporter

THE ASSEMBLY — General relief by all political parties, — including the National Party — greeted the announcement by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in parliament yesterday that the highly contentious newspaper bill was being withdrawn

Loud calls of "hear, hear" — mainly from the Government benches — followed the short statement read by Mr Vorster. The Opposition

have on South Africa's image abroad

Mr F W de Klerk (Nat Vereeniging) voiced his relief on behalf of a body of verligte Nationalists, and expressed his preference to voluntary discipline as opposed to statutory control contained in the Bill

Mr de Klerk is the brother of Mr Wimpie de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler

GLAD

He said: "I am glad

and the acceptance of the NPU's offer to ensure self-discipline proves this

Mr Rene de Villiers (PRP, Parktown), who opposed vigorously the Bill's first reading, said he was greatly relieved that "wiser counsels have prevailed" as far as the introduction of the Bill was concerned

He said: "An impasse between the Government and the Press is clearly undesirable and to nobody's benefit. One remains implacably opposed to any form of

Best for all

The NPU last night welcomed the Prime Minister's announcement

In a statement, Mr H W Miller, president of the NPU, said:

"We welcome the decision to give the NPU the opportunity to demonstrate what its Press Council and code can achieve through self-discipline

"We appreciate greatly the spirit in which our discussions with the Government have been conducted and we believe that the agreement which has now been reached is the best possible solution for South Africa, the Press and the people of South Africa

"Throughout the negotiations the common purpose has been to

Cont.

STAR
24-3-77

tentive silence.

Reaction from Nationalist-MPs reflected the amount of concern felt even within the Government ranks to the Bill and the effect it would

to try to exercise effective self-discipline I hope they will succeed in this effort

"It was at no stage the intention to make any inroads on press freedom

statutory control of the Press

"A postponement of the Bill, which I devoutly hope will in due course lead to the dropping of the measure, is clearly in the best interest of South Africa and all its people

WELCOME

"I know the Press is well aware of its responsibilities as the eyes and ears and watchdog of the public and will continue to exercise this responsibility in a way which is not only a credit to the Press but a benefit to the country"

Mr Lionel Murray, the United Party's spokesman on interior matters, said the arrangement arrived at between the Government and the NPU made good sense and was welcome.

"One can only hope that the withdrawal of the Newspaper Bill will, in some measure, undo the damage done to South Africa by its introduction

"More information about the function and powers of the Press Secretariat attached to the Office of the Prime Minister will be awaited"

Press freedom, but at the same time to ensure as far as possible that it will be exercised with due responsibility.

"Through the talks over the past three days we believe that we and the Government have achieved a clearer understanding of each other's problems and difficulties

Concern

"We readily understand the Government's concern that Press irresponsibility could cause grave injuries to our national security and well-being, particularly under present political and economic circumstances. Its decision to leave the attainment of effective self-discipline in our hands makes us all the more aware of the importance of the responsibility entrusted to us."

"We are particularly pleased that the Government has decided to establish a Press Secretariat in the Prime Minister's Department and we offer our full co-operation to achieve the best understanding and most effective liaison between the Government and the Press on matters of fundamental national interest."

Frank

At a Press conference yesterday Mr Vorster said there had been full and very frank discussions and he hoped that the discussions and the decision would introduce a new era in relations between the Press and the public.

A good agreement in the interests of South Africa had been reached. If all the parties played their part, it could introduce a good era for all.

The fight is not yet over, say editors

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE editors of two major South African newspapers warned last night that the Press faced a continuing fight against Government control.

The Rand Daily Mail's Mr Raymond Louw and Mr Harvey Tyson of The Star told the annual meeting of the Southern Transvaal branch of the South African Society of Journalists that the withdrawal of the Newspaper Bill was only a breathing space for the Press.

"I am filled with the greatest pessimism," said Mr Louw. "I welcome the breathing space, but the Newspaper Press Union will obviously have to give something."

There was a real danger that the Government would just keep on trying to force concessions out of the NPU, and even then might still bring in the Bill again next year.

"The Press, including the SASJ, must guard against giving the Government more power over us."

The NPU, he said, had done "a damned good job for the Press as a whole."

But he feared the NPU might now find itself forced to concede too much to the Government.

Mr Tyson said the decision to shelve the Bill for a year had not changed the position a great deal.

Self-censorship was no better than Government control, and the Press could not be expected to do the Government's job for it.

"The fight goes on," he said.

The editor of the World, Mr Percy Qoboza, addressed the meeting on the SASJ's plan to de-register as a trade union so that it could admit Black members.

The White hand of friendship was likely to be rejected vociferously at first by the Blacks, he said.

Black journalists felt they were part of the general Black consciousness movement. He urged White journalists to continue to seek this ideal patiently.

Mr Qoboza arrived late because he had been trying to locate a reporter who had allegedly been held by the police.

● See Pages 10, 11

Police killed

Mail Africa Bureau

SALISBURY. — Three Rhodesian policemen have been killed in an ambush by guerillas and a Rhodesian army corporal has been murdered while on leave in the operational area, bringing the death toll in the border war to 4104.

Another 13 insurgents had been killed bringing their losses since December 1972 to 2363.

247

2/3/77
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12/1/77 RSM

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2/1/77, p. 2

We want friends

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The next result is that the 't' statistics are likely to be too large if we may erroneously accept a β parameter as being significant when in fact it is not

The fact that the Newspaper Bill has been withdrawn is no cause for congratulations, says **LAURENCE GANDAR**, former Editor-in-Chief of the Rand Daily Mail. Big Brother will still be watching.

Suspended sentence for the Press

25/3/77 RBM

TEI
RELIEF over the Government's decision to withdraw its infamous Newspaper Bill is understandable. Statutory Press control, especially at this delicate juncture in other affairs, would have been vastly damaging to South Africa's interests, internally and externally.

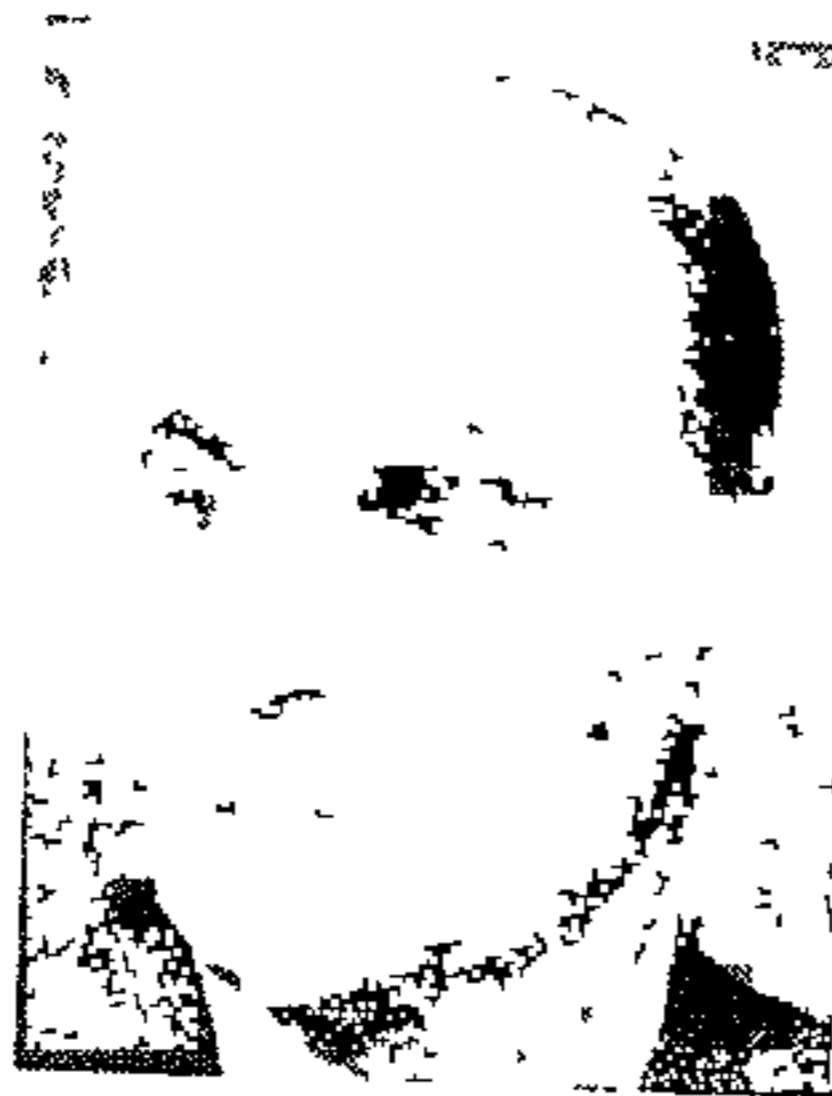
But feelings of relief need to be sharply qualified and there are certainly no grounds for mutual congratulation about the compromise that has been reached. For, make no mistake, it is going to have to produce much the same results as the Government's proposed legislation if it is to survive. The Press Secretariat attached to the Prime Minister's Department will see to that. Big Brother will be watching.

A too sombre view? I do not think so. A premature judgment ahead of publication of the details of the agreement? We shall see. It will be my contention in this article that enough emerged during the stormy run-up to this week's meetings between the Prime Minister and the Newspaper Press Union to make one deeply apprehensive about any agreement reached between them.

Three points came to light very clearly. The first is that the Newspaper Bill is not so much a specific issue to be considered on its own, but is an important part of an overall strategy to deal with what the Government regards as a state of total, low intensity war confronting the country.

It is as one prominent Nationalist MP put it, designed "to enable the Government to keep things under control in this time of emergency." And there have been ominous indications that in the new "politics of survival" not only Press freedom but other civil liberties as well, are felt to be readily dispensable, including the Westminster parliamentary system itself.

This is why I do not believe that the Prime Minister has backed down, listened to reason or had second thoughts. He has merely been persuaded "to give the NPU the opportunity to demonstrate what its Press Council and Code



LAURENCE GANDAR

can achieve through self-discipline," as the unfortunate NPU president, Mr Hal Miller, put it. Quite so, and the NPU had better deliver the goods, or else.

The second point to emerge was that it is mainly a small segment of the English Press which has fairly consistently disturbed the Government and failed to be what Dr Mulder describes as "disciplined, loyal and responsible."

While Government spokesmen have been curiously wary about identifying this segment, a fair guess would be that the newspapers mainly concerned are the Rand Daily Mail, the Daily News, the Daily Dispatch and the Cape Times.

And I suspect that what worries the Government most of all is that the relatively liberal views of these papers, their outspokenness, their political standpoints and their vigorous reporting methods, have been spreading slowly but steadily to the rest of the English Press and, to some extent, even to the Afrikaans Press. In the Government's view, this process must be halted before it gets out of hand.

Which brings me to the third point: the view that these newspapers represent an alien philosophy that has no rightful place in South African affairs. Since the early days of the Nationalist regime, liberalism has been a dirty word, a dangerous word, a concept foreign to the conventional socio-political ethos of White-ruled South Africa.

And this is largely true: a liberal philosophy is inimical to a localised race

philosophy based on institutionalised discrimination and oppressive legislation. But it is no more "foreign" or subversive or inherently dangerous than Christianity, with which it is far more in tune than is apartheid.

What, then, is the public to think about these latest moves against the Press? Is it not right that in these difficult times newspapers and newspapermen should be "disciplined loyal and responsible"? Indeed, it is not, for in the Government's eyes and, alas, in the eyes of many others, this means subscribing to the traditional norms and values of our racially-structured society, outdated and irrelevant as these are becoming.

The Government, it has no doubt emphasised to the NPU, is by no means out to suppress criticism of its policies or reports of shortcomings in its activities. It welcomes this, so it says, as any mature government does, provided that such criticism and reporting fall within the parameters of these traditional values and do not threaten the prevailing order of things.

But it is precisely the status quo that does need to be challenged, and changed as rapidly as possible. Let us look back at the role of the Press in this regard. In 1959 the Rand Daily Mail broke with the United Party and gave its support to the Progressive Party. It was hardly popular for doing so. In 1961 the Progressives fought their first election as a party and only one member was returned. Today they have 12 members and the party is in such an upswing of support that it is certain to become the official Opposition at the next election.

In those days, too, the Rand Daily Mail propounded the idea of mixed sport and was excoriated for this. Today the country has mixed sport and the Government even boasts about it.

The Rand Daily Mail stood for shared public amenities, amid howls of protest, but shared amenities is what we are getting. It called for respect for the human dignity of our Black peoples, the Government now talks the

same language. Discrimination must go, this newspaper said nearly 20 years ago, and it presented arguments why this was so. Now the Government says it too, though it is dragging its feet badly in the matter.

Today the Rand Daily Mail, along with many other papers, says that power must be shared between the races of this country. This, once again, is held to be an alien philosophy, something to be deplored, but power-sharing is what we will assuredly have, somehow or other, in the years ahead.

And it is the job of the Press to help bring this about in a peaceful, orderly manner. It is resisting change, or delaying it until it comes too late, that is the real danger to South Africa, not advocating change, as the so-called "liberalistic" Press has tried to do.

In Rhodesia, a once courageous and vigorous Press has long since been bludgeoned into a muted and circumspect affair, with the result that the White Rhodesians have woken up far too late and are now desperately trying to settle for terms far less favourable than they could have had on several occasions earlier on.

What South Africa requires at this time is a more, not less, adventurous Press, pushing forward the frontiers of our national thinking, exploring new ideas for the solution of our complex problems, unearthing fresh facts, however unpalatable, that we need to be aware of, extending the fragile channels of communication between the races, supplying safety valves for bottled-up frustrations and grievances and generally helping to loosen up rigid attitudes so that movement is possible.

A free Press as the open forum of ideas is the best guarantee of this but, remember, it is still under sentence of death, suspended for a year.

The pressure on newspapers, to conform is now intense, the restraints are piling up. The Press may still be technically free, but I fear it has been gravely wounded — and the country will feel its

Our duty is to serve the people

22/3/57 ST

JOURNALISM, they say, is like a capot handle. It is presumed to be able to remain cool while transmitting the hot.

Nowhere in the world is this presumption greater than in South Africa.

For ours is a volatile society with a tradition of robust political debate. It is afflicted with racial problems that can inflame passions to a degree unknown in societies where issues like "oppression" and "survival" are not matters of life and death importance to an entire, mixed population.

Yet the coolt of most South African newspapers in this pressure-cooker environment, the calm professionalism that is usually displayed in purveying

the hottest of political information and opinion, has received insufficient credit in the debate about the Press this past fortnight.

The Newspaper Bill has been withdrawn (we comment on this in a leading article on the opposite page), but it is nevertheless worth noting that our newspapers today are not behaving markedly differently from what they did, say, 25 years ago.

It is true that outspoken black voices are today articulating their grievances and aspirations with greater stridency and more self-assurance.

But — in addition to the complicated apparatus of stringent security laws that already govern such matters, as well as the industry's own disciplinary process-

TERTIUS MYBURGH

es — there is no journalist in a responsible position who is not acutely aware of his or her responsibilities not to incite racial feelings.

So why, out of the blue, this sudden concern with the flow of information?

There are reasons to suspect that it has to do with something more than "undisciplined" or "irresponsible" reporting.

For the Government finds itself in a dilemma.

Convinced that the country is in a state of total, low-intensity war, the "politics of survival" demand two things: Tough security measures to maintain internal order, and the simultaneous introduction of social changes to relieve tensions at home and to meet some of the criticism from abroad.

To achieve the latter, some Government spokesmen, and certainly many NP intellectuals, have been compelled to preach the philosophy of change, to tell the faithful such unfamiliar things as the need to recognise every person's human dignity, to defend a new sports policy and generally to justify Mr Vorster's oft-stated belief that the NP is

really the party of change.

To reassure the faithful that the NP has not completely left the traditional rails, some politicians had to cast about for something at which to direct a little old-style kragdadigheid. And there are not many targets left, security, drugs, pornography and "permissiveness" generally having been largely taken care of.

So the Press, always an issue guaranteed to rouse a congress or a hussvergadering, was suddenly elevated into a national controversy.

Reason ultimately prevailed and both Government and Press were able to reach sensible agreement. The settlement was wise and it is welcomed. But if this is truly to be the begin-

ning of a new era of understanding between the authorities and the media, it is essential for those in government to realise that, apart from a small, discredited Neanderthal fringe, most South Africans accept the need for change and no longer need compensatory kragdadigheid.

Our rulers need no longer try to shield people from the true facts or feel self-conscious about urging them to adapt to the realities of our time. The majority, in fact, craves it.

And in this process the Press should be seen as an ally, not an adversary. For the responsibility of journalism in a free society is to serve the public — not the profession of journalism, not a particular newspaper not a political

party, not the Government, but the public.

Their primary duty is to place information in the hands of the people, who must be their own rulers. They must make that the supreme obligation of their lives. And to this task they must bring intelligence, a sense of responsibility, skill, devotion and, hopefully, some wit.

True, newspapers make mistakes (and responsible ones correct them). They, too they tend to tread heavily on official toes.

But it is a wise government that recognises that newspapers do not exist only to comfort the afflicted. They must, inevitably, also afflict the comfortable.



247

Comment

27/3/55 ST

Press still faces threat to freedom

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No.4	The things you do not know about yourself which are unknown to others
No.3	What you do not know about yourself which is known to others

MODNIM

COLD comfort is to be found in the Prime Minister's demand that newspapers should discipline themselves within a year or face the consequences of a law to control the Press. He has withdrawn, but only under threat of compliance, his Newspaper Bill which would have placed statutory control over the Press and effectively inhibited what remains of Press freedom.

But what is the alternative? It is, to use Mr Vorster's words, for the Press to set its own house in order. And who is to judge whether the house is set in order? None other than Mr Vorster.

So in the end there will be legislation to restrict the free flow of news unless the flow of news and its handling in the course of the next 12 months satisfies Mr Vorster.

However to please a prime minister consistently in a free society is to function in a way which must strip newspapers of their essence: their independence and impartiality; their role as guardians of the governed; watchdogs over mismanagement or corruption; and challengers of bureaucratic authority.

Democracy works best when there is tension between government and the Press. And democrats in public life understand and accept (even if sometimes unwillingly) that the scrutiny under which the Press places their public actions is in the common interest. Democrats recognise that the Press acts not on its own behalf but on behalf of the public at large.

Unhappily, however, the Press is not a super-efficient organisation. Dedicated though most journalists are to accuracy, mistakes and errors of judgment will occur. And this, too, is something which democrats

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27/3/77
STAR

accept. They understand that there must be allowance for human error. The test is whether the journalists and newspapers correct their errors when the errors are discovered.

To this end we have no difficulty in subscribing to a reasonable code of conduct for newspapers and no difficulty where issues are in dispute of having them put out to arbitration.

The danger lies in the manner of disciplining those who err and in the level of the expectations of those who are pressing for a new disciplinary procedure. If discipline is too severe news will be stifled through self-censorship. And self-censorship is every bit as destructive as censorship.

The public should be under no illusions, therefore. The withdrawal of the Newspaper Bill has not removed the threat to Press freedom and to the public's right to know. It has merely shelved it — and could well have created a climate in which effective reporting could be seriously impaired.

US means business

Cont
27/3/77
STOR

By EUGENE HUGO

WASHINGTON Chairman of the Senate Africa Sub-committee Dick Clark said this week the time had come for coercive measures against South Africa

He had been pleading this approach in meetings with President Carter, Ambassador Andrew Young and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance

In an exclusive interview here he said he had perceived no attempt at meaningful change since his visit to South Africa last November.

This had persuaded him the United States would have to react immediately and that South Africa faced a situation in which it would be completely isolated, not only from the United States but also from the West

When he spoke of coercive measures he did not mean, for example, an immediate severing of diplomatic relationships as this would serve no purpose at this stage. He did mean America had to back mandatory arms sanctions and back the United Nations' stance on South West Africa

Senator Clark, also a member of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, outlined an approach on the area that have hardened considerably since November

One reason has been the threat to a free Press in South Africa and, like many observers, he does not view Prime Minister Vorster's suspension of the Newspaper Press Bill as a climb-down.

Instead he sees it rather as another method of forcing newspapers to toe the line in a situation in which the Government is finding it more and more necessary to curb opposition to its policies

Senator Clark said he saw investment in South Africa as only one factor in measures his Government should use as pressure for change

"What the new administration should do," he said "is to go privately to the South African Government and say Obviously this is your country and we recognise and acknowledge the fact that you are a sovereign nation and that we cannot tell you what to do in relation to Rhodesia and South West Africa and your internal situation

"But our relationships with your country, including loans diplomatic tie, intelligence exchanges, are our business and are going to be affected by what you do

"If it is your decision to pursue the path of separate development and not bring about a totally independent South West Africa, you must understand that the relationship at all levels will be affected and will lead to a totally isolated relationship"

If, on the other hand, South Africa showed sincerity in giving up the idea of separate development he had every reason to believe that there would be closer relationships between the

CLARK SPELLS OUT NEW LINE

United States and South Africa — one which would encourage foreign investment

There had to be meaningful changes — not necessarily in the context of US standards but by South Africa's own

"When we speak of a change in separate development, we speak of the fundamental change the President referred to in his United Nations speech," said Senator Clark

"He said the United States was happy to see minor discrimination removed, but it was speaking in the sense of the sharing of power for all people — not just the Coloureds and Indians

Senator Clark said a logical start would be to call in the chosen leaders of the black people — not the leaders as seen by the South African Government — but the Sobukwes, the Mandelas and the Steve Bikos

"Your Government should sit down in honest and open discussion with these people," said the Senator. If they really felt a Communist threat and its future lay with the West these kind of changes had to be made. Otherwise they would have to fight their battles alone.

Mandatory

The United Nations would continue its pressure on South West Africa and America would join that pressure

"You can expect the United States to back a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa," said the Senator

On the concept of international supervision of elections and referendums in Rhodesia and South West Africa Senator Clark said it did not have to be just the United Nations but could be carried out by observers from interested parties — the Frontline Presidents, South Africa, the United States and Britain

Senator Clark said the United States could not advocate the sort of policy it advocated in relation to South Africa against every country in the world which violated human rights

He said many Americans felt there were people of every race in South Africa who could work together to find a just solution

"It is a country of such great potential, it is amazingly prosperous, it is a beautiful country," he said "We have a natural affinity to South Africa."

Press was inflammatory before riots, Cillie told

By MELANIE YAP

CERTAIN newspapers caused "inestimable damage" by creating the impression that the Department of Bantu Education was implementing a new language medium policy before the riots, the Cillie Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

Giving evidence in Pretoria's Old Synagogue, Dr A. B. Fourie, director of control for the department, said the language policy which existed up to June 16 last year had been in operation since 1955 and no changes had been made. "Many examples of inflammatory and twisted reporting over the language medium in schools, especially in Soweto, can be shown."

"These were not sporadic reports, but a sustained onslaught over a period of more than two years, which must necessarily have had an effect on the emotions and actions of the Black people," Dr Fourie said.

He said it was not unusual for the department to receive calls from reporters asking for action to memoranda sent by school boards or associations before the department had received these documents.

Reports under headlines such as "Officials run the show", "Blacks have no say" and "High official attacks Department" could be read daily, Dr Fourie added.

"The department once even had to read the minutes of a confidential school board meeting in the Press," he said.

'There must have been pressure'

Staff Reporter

FAVOURABLE opinions on dual medium instruction expressed by school boards erupted over the Afrikaans language issue could not have changed drastically without pressure, the Cillie Commission was told yesterday.

Giving evidence in Pretoria's Old Synagogue, Dr A. B. Fourie, director of control for the Department of Bantu Education, said a poll in 1973 showed the majority of school boards in the Transvaal and the

Free State wanted both English and Afrikaans as media of instruction. A circular letter sent to all school boards asked for recommendation on their preference for English alone, Afrikaans alone, or dual medium instruction.

In the Transvaal 61 per cent were in favour of dual medium, 34.4 per cent for English alone and 4.6 per cent for Afrikaans alone. In the Free State 91.5 per cent wanted dual medium, 3.5 per cent English and 5 per cent Afrikaans.

Both Natal and the Cape had an average of 57 per cent in favour of English only, 38 per cent for dual medium and 4 per cent for Afrikaans instruction.

On the basis of the poll the Department of Bantu Education decided not to make changes in the existing policies of teaching in English and Afrikaans on an equal basis. Principals of schools could apply for exemption if teachers had an inadequate grasp of one of the official languages.

HARDSHIP

"Certain newspapers have tried throughout to give their readers the impression that a brand new language medium policy was being implemented by the department which would cause great hardship and cost to the parents and children," Dr Fourie said.

Referring to the Weekend Argus of October 25, 1975, the language issue was reported under the headline "Africans forced to use Afrikaans at schools".

Dr Fourie said the language medium policy was not enforced and school principals were free to apply for exemption if their teachers were not capable of using both media.

DISMISSAL

Immediately before the unrest some school boards overstepped their authority by issuing instructions on the language medium to be used in schools under their control. Such decisions were not within their jurisdiction, Dr Fourie said.

A circular containing such instructions by the Meadowlands School Board to all Tswana schools in 1975 was submitted to the commission.

Mr F. B. Olivier, chief inspector for control, said newspapers had given wide coverage to the case of the dismissal of three principals by the Tonga School Board last year and the subsequent strikes by the pupils. This spread the idea that children could be used as pressure groups to achieve certain goals.

The hearing resumes on Monday.

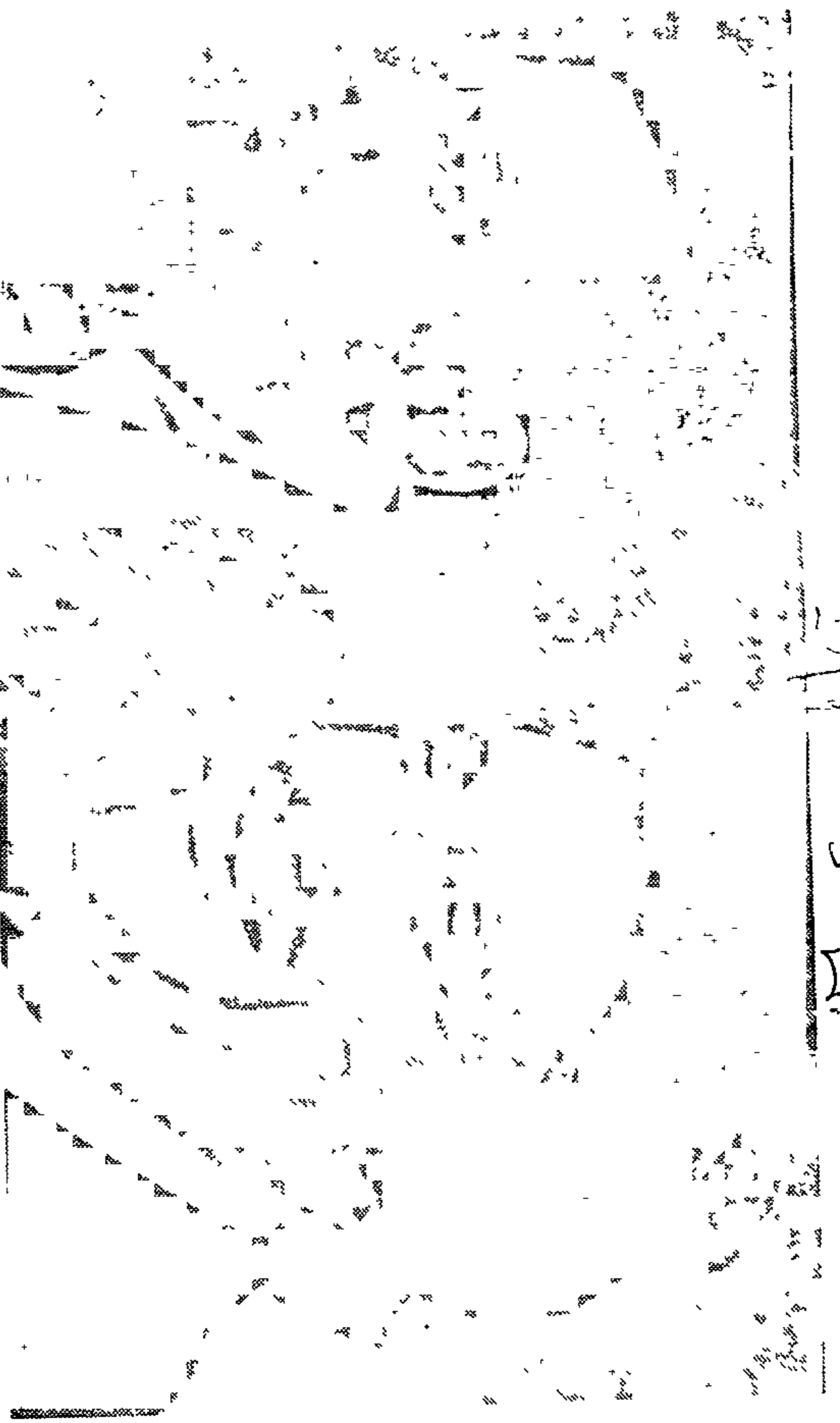
PRES SURREZ ON

Conduct code

gains ground

From HUGH ROBERTON

Mr Pik Botha (left) and Senator Dick Clark — the confrontation grows.



NEW YORK: The future course of Southern Africa's relations with the United States and the rest of the Western world took firm shape during high level meetings in Washington and New York this week.

At the White House, President Carter spent an hour discussing the relationship with South Africa's Foreign Minister designate, Mr. Pik Botha, who leaves his post as U.S. Ambassador this weekend.

And at the United Nations, the U.S. began

negotiations with the Third World on a Security Council resolution, and an appended package of undertakings, on Southern Africa.

There was no official statement after the Washington meeting, but events before and since the Carter-Botha talks have strongly suggested some of the matters that arose.

One is the question of U.S. investments and business operations in South Africa. President Carter has taken a personal interest in efforts to use such operations as a lever to bring

strongly oppose the Bantustan policy.

It is believed that Mr. Carter reiterated his determination to do so during his meeting a fortnight ago with Chief Buthezen of Kwazulu.

On a more positive level, however, Mr. Carter has indicated in recent days that he is taking more seriously the Soviet Union's activities in Africa than he appeared to be doing at the start of his Presidency.

His Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Young, and other Carter appointees, stated only a short time ago that they did not believe the Soviet Union

Battering Down the National

By GRAHAM LINSOTT, Political Reporter

AS UNPRECEDENTED international pressures built up against South Africa this week, the man in the street has been asking as never before "Where do we stand and where do we go from here?"

This is in a situation of conflicting undercurrents about imminent reform which would save the situation and the opposite extreme or retreating into a forlorn last laager of authoritarianism.

The Sunday Tribune put the question to a cross-section of politicians and political analysts, getting a general reply that relations with the outside world are at an extremely low ebb — though there is disagreement as to the degree and danger of the isolation, the way to put it right, and whether the Government will be able to hold the situation without at least modifying long-standing practices of democratic administration.

Mr Colin Eghn, leader of the Progressive-Reform Party — We are in a situation of extreme isolation, with storm clouds ahead and signs that the West might turn on us as well. Meanwhile, the Government appears to be pessimistic and moving in an increasingly authoritarian direction.

Mr Japie Basson,

Transvaal leader of the United Party — It is fatal to compare our situation now with that just after Sharpeville because the strategic scenario has changed entirely. The West is seriously considering dumping us as an embarrassment because of our internal policies, while there still are certain Nationalists who believe we can handle things alone and would actually welcome a general siege mentality as an excuse for authoritarianism.

Control

Senator Denis Worral, a member of the Nationalist Foreign Affairs Group and a former Professor of Political Science — Pressures have picked up, but the position is not substantially different from before. South Africa is not a passive spectator but is playing her own role in building up a democratic society and retaining control over her destiny.

Mr John Barratt, Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs — The situation is bad and will get a good deal worse, not helped by politicians damaging internal moral by exaggerating the Communist threat. There are signs of a siege mentality, but it seems unlikely that public opinion, even in the National Party, would allow the Government to take authoritarian wartime powers.

Professor Michel Louw, Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University — South Africa's graph is taking a dip but the situation can be changed by internal political innovation. There is no need for the Government to take war-time controls, nor is this likely.

Mr Eghn said Mr Vorster appeared to anticipate the present situation in his melancholy New Year address to the nation.

South Africa's stocks appeared to have declined significantly among the Western powers and the main question now was whether the West would move from its position of comparative aloofness to active measures against this country.

President Carter had not spelled this out in his address to the United Nations and it was important that South Africans should recognise, from his low-key tone, that he was a conservative liberal rather than a radical liberal.

Mr Eghn said Rhodesia remained a critical area and the Furchalle solution — of which he approved as an exciting venture in group relations — was about to enter its most testing period in the search for international recognition.

However, it seemed that the Government was not able to introduce changes of the type needed to satisfy its former allies in the West.

Mr Vorster's speech at New Year seems to indicate that he has given up hope of getting understanding or supportive action from the West," said Mr Eghn.

Policy

"I think he is wrong but this depends not only on initiatives in foreign policy but how fast he is prepared to move for a change.

Perhaps he takes a pessimistic line because he knows what changes, if any, he is prepared to make. Events last year changed the situation from one of considerable hope to one where the Government believes we are running into extreme isolation, with the storm clouds gathering."

Mr Eghn said it seemed the government was battering down the hatches to ride out the storm, and with this went a belief, in many quarters, that the government needs total control.

This would explain measures tightening up on economic controls, tightening up on censorship of defence matters, aspects of the Civil Defence Bill dealing with conflict situations, and so on.

"All of this reflects a state of mind that makes state efficiency more and more important," he said.

It was disturbing that central authority should grow in these fields without any corresponding growth in social, economic and political reform which would allow one to believe that the authoritarianism was just an unavoidable phase.

Mr Basson said that the Western powers had lost confidence in the Nationalist Government's capacity to make the changes.

It was becoming increasingly clear to the West that the Soviet Union and its satellites were playing a game which wrongly put them in the role of liberators. "This is a tremendous worry for the western powers," he said.

Code

of ethics

Several companies, in response to the pressure of the new administration, voluntarily drew up a code of ethics to govern their South African operations and many other companies are now joining the voluntary effort.

After a meeting three weeks ago with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the companies formally notified the South African Embassy in Washington they would have to consider withdrawing from the Republic if they were prevented from enforcing the code.

Among other things, the code calls for the abolition of separate amenities, such as washrooms and canteens, and the promotion of blacks to managerial and supervisory positions.

President Carter is also said to have made known to Mr Botha his abhorrence of not only Pretoria's race policy but also the steady abrogation of the rule of law.

And, following repeated statements by officials of the new administration, Mr Carter is thought certain to have emphasised to Mr Botha that the U.S. will

interest in Southern Africa and that the presence of Cuban troops in Africa was not a serious hindrance to normalising relations with Cuba.

But at his Press conference the day after seeing Mr Botha this week, Mr Carter said one of the most important issues which Mr Vance would discuss with the Soviet leadership during his current visit to Moscow would be a possible agreement to end outside interference in Africa.

Clear alternatives

An alternative, Mr Carter made clear, could be Soviet-US confrontation on Africa.

At the U.N., meanwhile, the Carter administration's views on Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa were forcefully spelled out in a declaration of principles, many aspects of which must have cropped up during the President's talk with Mr Botha.

The declaration called on South Africa to grant voting rights to all people in the country, and insisted that they observe UN resolution on Rhodesia and South West Africa.

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Banned for 'blasphemy'

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No. 3

Before the Wits Rag magazine, Wits Wits, was banned several Transvaal municipalities refused to allow it to be sold in their areas because it was blasphemous.

The Rag Committee agreed to remove several pages before Wits Wits was sold in Edenvale and Roodepoort.

Pretoria, Carletonville and some small local authorities banned distribution outright.

A Rag spokesman said today that if the Publications Control Board's objection to the magazine had been known a few hours earlier, the committee could have arranged for all the offensive pages to be torn out.

A meeting will be held soon to discuss further action. Rag leaders hope they will be able to sell Wits Wits in a few days' time—not necessarily on a Saturday, as is traditional.

Pretoria's management committee this week decided unanimously to prohibit the distribution of Wits Wits in the city after three items were read from it.

"We felt they were blasphemous and likely to hurt some people's feelings," a member of the committee said today.

But he denied the committee had anything to do with the complaint to the Publications Control Board.

Professor G. R. Bozzoh, vice chancellor of Wits University, said yesterday that it appeared the banning had resulted from an objection by one or more Pretoria councillors.

He personally viewed the magazine as "a very mild issue."

Charities, including the medical clinics run by the university, stand to lose about R85 000 if there are no Wits Wits sales this year.

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THE JOHARI WINDOW

Window". Here it is:

The new code that will bind the Press

247
Comment
What
Code
means
to
the
Express

A RETIRED judge appointed by the Newspaper Press Union or a judge nominated by the Chief Justice will head the new South African Press Council.

This was revealed in a statement issued by the Newspaper Press Union yesterday. The statement reads as follows:

FOLLOWING the recent discussions between the Newspaper Press Union and the Prime Minister, the president of the NPU has announced its revised Press Code and the composition of its Press Council.

The Press Council chairman will be a retired judge appointed by the NPU, or a judge nominated by the Chief Justice of the Republic.

In considering each complaint the chairman will be assisted by two assessors, of whom one will be drawn from a panel of newspapermen appointed by the NPU and one from a public panel also nominated by the NPU.

The decision on a complaint and any penalty to be imposed will be made by the chairman after consultation with the assessors.

The code reads as follows:

1 The freedom of the Press is indivisible from, and subject to, the same legal and moral restraints as that of the individual and rests on the public's fundamental

Lawyer is still unhappy

Express Reporter PRESS law expert Mr Kelsey Stuart said he was still unhappy with the code because it was vague in parts.

"A perfectly honest report about anticipating a drop in the gold price could be interpreted as affecting this country's international position," he said.

The introduction to the revised code was also couched in vague terms and words which were difficult to define.

He said he did not believe the revised code could be interpreted as an attempt to force editors to suppress the truth and that it should make no difference because the Press had always acted with a high degree of responsibility.

"As long as editors continue as they have in the past they will not fall foul of the code."

The revised code was preferable to the Press Bill because it was drawn up by and would be administered

by newspaper people rather than politicians.

Mr Stuart is the author of a book on newspaper law, "A Newspaperman's Guide to the Law", and legal advisor to South African Associated Newspapers.

The chairman of the NPU, Mr Hal Miller, said yesterday: "We believe this is an appropriate solution for the Press, the Government and the public, and we hope the public will use the Press Council."

right to be informed

By reason of that right all newspapers are obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively and to comment or criticise fairly and honestly

2 Insofar as news is concerned it is specifically accepted that

a. News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by
 i distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation,
 ii material omissions, or
 iii summarisation

b Only what may reasonably be true having regard to the news source and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinion, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly

c. Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the correctness of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report

d. Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay. Any such correction, whether spontaneous or on request, shall appear on a page of the newspaper corresponding to, or more prominent than, the page on which the original report appeared. Moreover, the correction itself shall be presented with a degree of prominence which is adequate and fair so as readily to attract the attention of readers of the newspaper

e. Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or pic-

ture in question

f. Posters shall not exaggerate and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report in question

g. The presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals

h. The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided

3 Insofar as comment is concerned it is accepted that

a. Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to

b. Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon

4 Insofar as both news and

comment are concerned it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them to

a. exercise due care and responsibility as to

i subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law,

ii matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good order, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position

iii the presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities,

b. exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest.

c. as far as is practicable ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted

Complaints must initially, within 10 days of the publication, be addressed to either the editor concerned or to the Registrar of the Press Council for transmission to the editor

This initial complaint, if made to the editor, must be in writing (a letter will suffice), if made to the Registrar it could be by telephone but must be then confirmed in writing within the 10 days

If the initial complaint is not dealt with by the newspaper to the satisfaction of the complainant within the next seven days in the case of a daily newspaper or 14 days in the case of a Sunday or weekly, the complainant may, in writing, request the council to adjudicate on the complaint.

This he does by simply writing to the Registrar and furnishing the page of the newspaper on which the report appeared and copies of his correspondence with the newspaper

He may, but need not, add statements by witnesses in support of his complaint

The address of the Registrar is PO Box 10537, Johannesburg, 2000. His telephone number is 838-1551

Copies of the code, and rules of procedure of the council are obtainable on request from the Registrar. The rules emphasise the need for speedy adjudication of complaints.

The names of the chairman and members of the council will be announced shortly.

THE revised Press Code arrives in circumstances inviting misgiving.

In the first place, we do not believe the Government has any business playing so demanding a role in Press affairs when the Press demands no more statutory rights than any ordinary citizen

In the second, we abhor the fact that this revised Code was brought about at gunpoint, as it were. The threat of a law to bring newspapers under State control still looms, and a code midwived by a government in such circumstances must be looked on with suspicion.

We have still to analyse the Code and its implications fully, but two dangers are immediately apparent. Admirable sentiments in the code can become impossible injunctions when there is fundamental disagreement on what is cause and what is effect. For instance, no one wishes to cause offence between the races; but the Government and some newspapers disagree entirely on what actually causes it.

The other danger lies, as we said last week, in the Government's intention. Will it truly be satisfied unless the Code achieves all, or nearly all, that the legislation would have achieved in the way of muzzling?

Against all that, we accept that the NPU delegation which negotiated with the Government is satisfied that it has not given away what it is not licensed to give away — the practice of Press freedom.

This being so the Sunday Express will not interpret the Code as demanding self-censorship or requiring it to change its ways.

That is not to say the Express never errs. Simply that it has conducted its business of supplying information with responsibility and integrity up to now. And that it will be business as usual in the future.

FOLLOWING the recent discussions between the Newspaper Press Union and the Prime Minister, the president of the NPU has announced its revised Press Code and the composition of its Press Council.

The chairman of the Press Council will be a retired judge appointed by the NPU or a judge nominated by the Chief Justice of the Republic

In considering each complaint the chairman will be assisted by two assessors of whom one will be drawn from a panel of newspapermen appointed by the NPU and one from a public panel also nominated by the NPU.

The decision on a complaint and any penalty to be imposed will be made by the chairman after consultation with the assessors

Accepted

The code reads as follows:

1 The freedom of the Press is indivisible from, and subject to the same legal and moral restraints as, that of the individual and rests on the public's fundamental right to be informed

By reason of that right all newspapers are obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively and to comment or criticise fairly and honestly

2 Insofar as news is concerned it is specifically accepted that —

a: News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by —

(1) Distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation

(ii) Material omissions; or (iii) Summarisation.

b: Only what may reasonably be true having regard to the news source may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance

Presented

Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinion, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly

c: Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is

A new code for the Press

practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified

Where it has not been practicable to verify the correctness of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report

d: Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay

Any such correction, whether spontaneous or on request, shall appear on a page of the newspaper corresponding to, or more prominent than, the page on which the original report appeared

Avoided

Moreover the correction itself shall be presented with a degree of prominence which is adequate and fair so as readily to attract the attention of readers of the newspaper

e: Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question

f: Posters shall not exaggerate and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report in question

g: The presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in

such manner that it is not harmful to public morals.

h: The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided.

3 Insofar as comment is concerned it is accepted that

a: Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to

b: Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon.

Concerned

4 Insofar as both news and comment are concerned it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them to —

a: Exercise due care and responsibility as to

(1) Subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law;

(ii) Matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good or-

247
3/4/78
der, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position;

(iii) The presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities.

b: Exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest.

c: As far as is practicable ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted

Confirmed

Complaints must initially, within ten days of the publication, be addressed to either the editor concerned or to the registrar of the Press Council for transmission to the editor.

This initial complaint, if made to the editor, must be in writing (a letter will suffice), if made to the registrar it could be by telephone but must then be confirmed in writing within the ten days.

If the initial complaint is not dealt with by the newspaper to the satisfaction of the complainant within the next seven days in the case of a daily newspaper or 14 days in the case of a Sunday or weekly, the complainant may, in writing, request the council to adjudicate on the complaint

This he does by simply writing to the registrar furnishing the page of the newspaper on which the report appeared and copies of his correspondence with the newspaper

Supported

He may, but need not, add statements by witnesses in support of his complaint

The address of the registrar is P.O. Box 10537, Johannesburg, 2000 His telephone number is 838-1551

Copies of the code and rules of procedure of the council are obtainable on request from the registrar

The rules emphasise the need for speedy adjudication of complaints

The names of the chairman and members of the council will be announced shortly

Revised press code announced by NPU

414/2
247

JOHANNESBURG — Following the recent discussions between the Newspaper Press Union and the Prime Minister, the president of the NPU has announced the union's revised press code and the composition of its Press Council.

The chairman of the Press Council will be a retired judge appointed by the NPU or a judge nominated by the Chief Justice of the Republic.

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The code reads.

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Insofar as news is concerned it is specifically accepted that news shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omissions, or summarisation.

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Posters shall not exaggerate and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report in question.

The presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in such a manner that it is not harmful to public morals.

The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided.

Insofar as comment is concerned it is accepted that it shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to.

Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon.

Insofar as both news and comment are concerned it is further accepted

that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them to exercise due care and responsibility as to

Subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law.

Matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good order, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position.

The presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities

Exceptional care and consideration shall be exercised in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest.

As far as is practicable it must be ensured that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted.

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This he does by simply writing to the registrar, furnishing the page of the newspaper on which the report appeared and copies of his correspondence with the newspaper. He may, but need not, add statements by witnesses in support of his complaint. — SAPA

Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay. Any such correction, whether spontaneous or on request, shall appear on a page of the newspaper corresponding to, or more prominent than, the page on which the original report appeared. Moreover, the correction itself shall be presented with a degree of prominence which is adequate and fair so as readily to attract the attention of readers of the newspaper.

Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of

247

This is new code for Press

(1) The freedom of the Press is indivisible from, and subject to the same legal and moral restraints as, that of the individual and rests on the public's fundamental right to be informed.

By reason of that right, all newspapers are obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively and to comment or criticise fairly and honestly

BALANCE

(2) Insofar as news is concerned, it is specifically accepted that.

(A) News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from facts, whether by

(i) Distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation

(ii) Material omissions, or

(iii) Summarisation.

(B) Only what may reasonably be true having regard to the news source may be presented as facts, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance

Where a report is not based on facts, or is founded on opinion allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly

DOUBT

(C) Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified

Where it has not been practicable to verify the correctness of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report.

(D) Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay.

Any such correction, whether spontaneous or on request, shall appear on a page of the newspaper corresponding to, or more prominent than, the page on which the original report appeared

Moreover, the correction itself shall be presented with a degree of a prominence which is adequate and fair so as readily to attract the attention of readers of the newspaper

REASONABLE

(E) Headlines and captions to pictures shall give

The revised Press code and composition of the Press Council have been announced by the President of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Hal Miller, after talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

The chairman of the Press Council will be a retired judge appointed by the NPU or a judge nominated by the Chief Justice.

In considering a complaint, the chairman will be assisted by two assessors of whom one will be drawn from a panel of newspapermen appointed by the NPU, the other from a public panel also nominated by the NPU.

The decision on a complaint and any penalty to be imposed will be made by the chairman after consultation with the assessors.

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B Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon

STANDARDS

4 Insofar as both news and comment are concerned, it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications expect from them to.

A Exercise due care and responsibility as to:

I Subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law:

II Matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good order, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position

III The presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities.

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ADJUDICATION

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He may, but need not, add statements by witnesses in support of his complaint

Cont

The STAR Monday April 4 1937

the contents of the report or picture in question.

(F) Posters shall not exaggerate and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report in question.

(G) The presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals.

(H) The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided

COMMENT

(3) Insofar as comment is concerned it is accepted that

(A) Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts

B. Exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest.

C As far as is practicable ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted.

Complaints must initial-

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Rand Daily Mail 4/4/77

Editors wary of new Press Code

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POLITICAL REPORTER

VAGUE terms in the new Press Code have left some editors wary of its implications.
The new code announced by the Newspaper Press Union at the weekend derives from the agreement with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, who said he would withdraw the controversial Newspaper Bill if the NPU would prepare a new Press Code.
Under the new code, the fines of up to R10 000 which were provided under the NPU's old code will continue to apply. The wording of the new code differs from the old one but editors approached yesterday found it difficult to determine how they would be affected.

outline

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5. Conclusions
based on Francis Owen
- include here
Whinn (Prof) ✓
Sachal
Thomas?
Pointers for further re

Newspapers which have reacted so far stated that they would continue to serve the public in the responsible manner they had always adopted. In assessing the new code, many have adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude.

6 p.
implications

Mr Raymond Louw, retiring Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, congratulated the NPU on watering down the worst aspects of the Newspaper Bill.

do outline

"On the other hand I still feel extremely concerned that the wide interpretation that can be placed on various clauses in the code of conduct could be to the detriment of a free Press," he said.

list of contributors (u)
descriptions of contributors

"The worst aspect that remains is the threat hanging over the Press that the Government will introduce the Bill should the Press not discipline itself sufficiently to meet the Government's complaints.

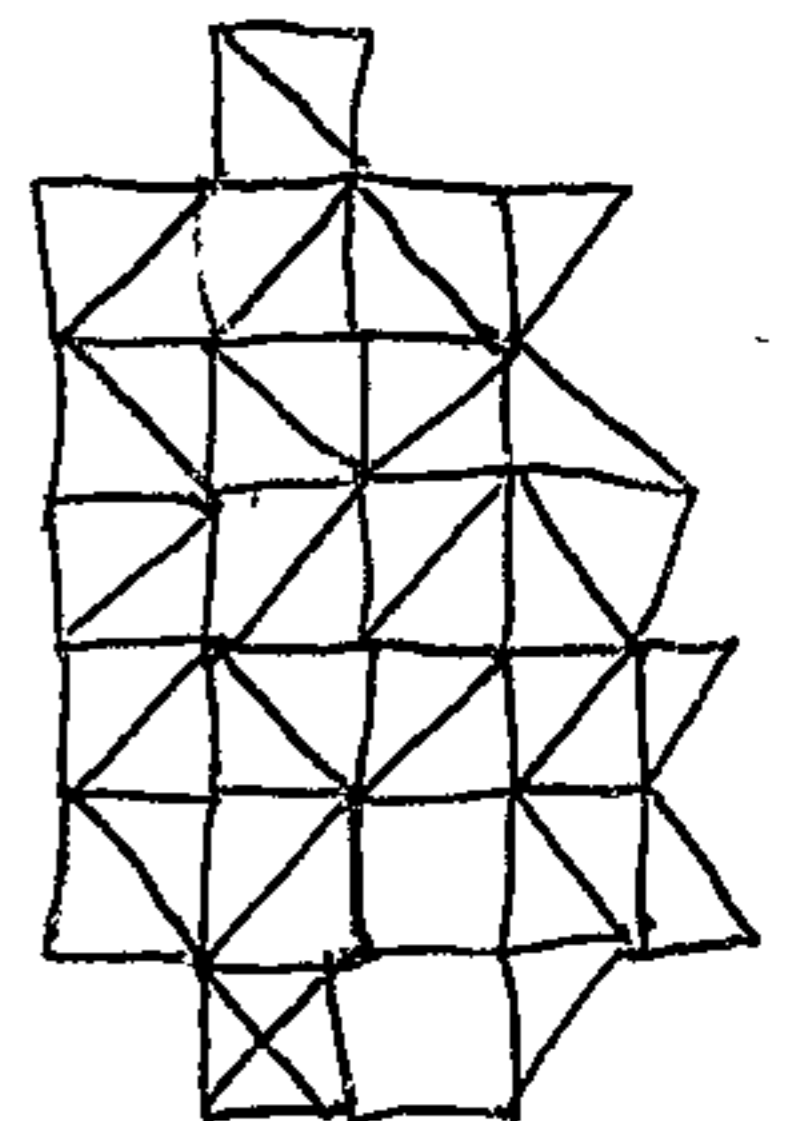
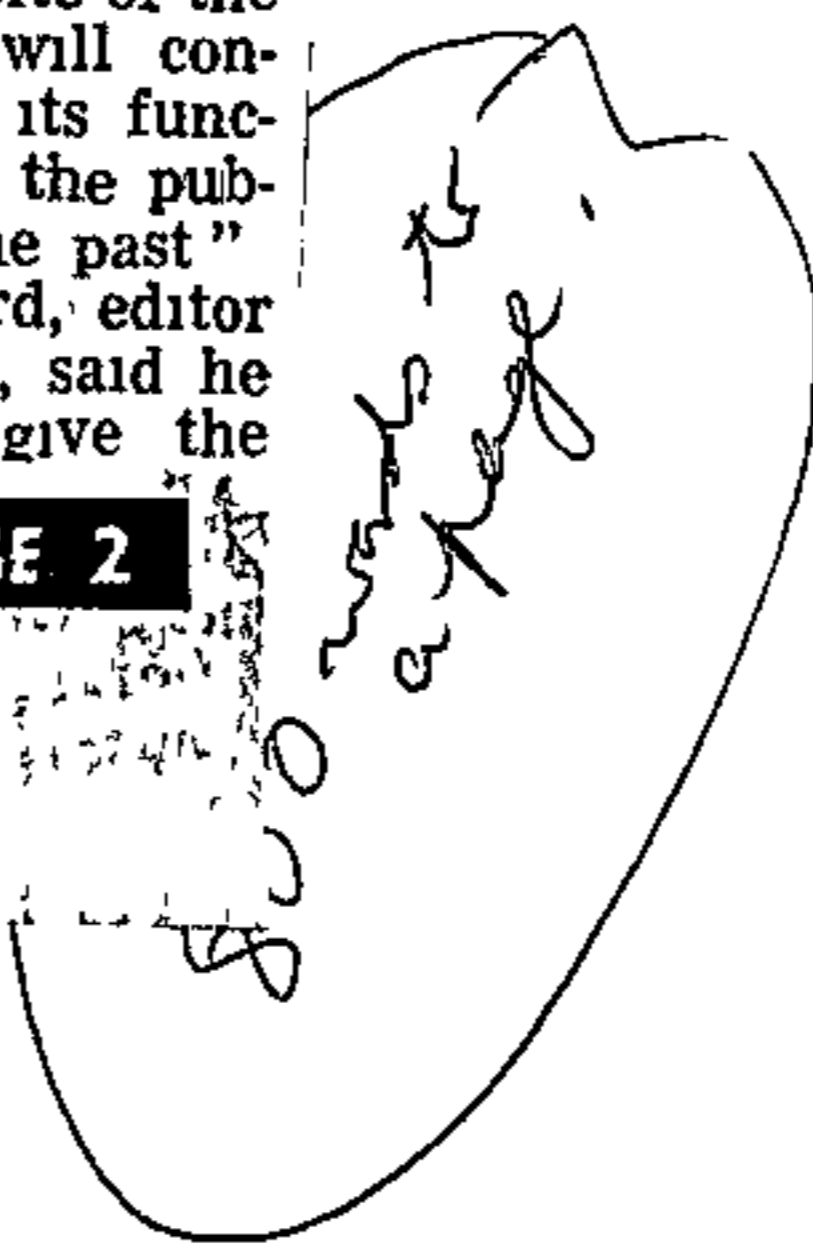
2 p.

"The Press in this country has always been responsible and, inspite of the code, I hope it will continue to exercise its function of informing the public as it has in the past"

Where to put Thomas
Phiminter

Mr Dirk Richard, editor of Die Vaderland, said he was content to give the

TO PAGE 2



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B Only what may reasonably be true having regard to the news source may be presented as facts, and such

Newspaper Union spells out its revised Press Code

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C Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the correctness of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report.

D Where it subsequently appears that a published report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified spontaneously and without reservation or delay. Any such correction, whether spontaneous or on request, shall appear on a page of the newspaper corresponding to, or more prominent than, the page on which the original report appeared. Moreover, the correction itself shall be presented with a degree of prominence which is adequate and fair so as readily

to attract the attention of readers of the newspaper. E Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question. F Posters shall not exaggerate and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report in question. G The presentation of reports on court cases and other events involving sex or immorality shall be in such manner that it is not harmful to public morals. H The publication of obscene and lascivious matter, including photographs, shall be avoided.

3 Insofar as comment is concerned it is accepted that: A Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to. B Comment shall be an honest expression of

opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon. 4 Insofar as both news and comment are concerned it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them to:

A Exercise due care and responsibility as to (i) subjects that may cause enmity or give offence in racial, ethnic, religious or cultural matters in the Republic or incite persons to contravene the law, (ii) matters that may detrimentally affect the peace and good order, the safety and defence of the Republic and its people, the economy and the country's international position, (iii) the presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities. B Exercise exceptional care and consideration in

This initial complaint, if made to the editor, must be in writing (a letter will suffice). If made to the registrar it could be by telephone but must then be confirmed in writing within the 10 days. If the initial complaint is not dealt with by the newspaper to the satisfaction of the complainant within the next seven days in the case of a daily newspaper, or 14 days in the case of a Sunday or weekly, the complainant may, in writing, request the council to adjudicate on the complaint. This he does by writing to the registrar furnishing the page of the newspaper on which the report appeared and copies of his correspondence with the newspaper. He may, but need not, add statements by witnesses in support of his complaint. The address of the Registrar is PO Box 10537, Johannesburg, 2000. His telephone number is 838-1551. Copies of the Code and Rules of procedure of the council are obtainable on request from the Registrar. The rules emphasise the need for speedy adjudication of complaints. The names of the chairman and members of the council will be announced shortly.

ONT

Rand Daily Mail

4-4-1977

Censor row, then editor quits

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — Mr Jack Shepherd-Smith, editor of Scope magazine, has resigned because he disagreed with the Republican Press editorial directors' interpretation of censorship guidelines. Mr Shepherd-Smith said yesterday he resigned because of the banning of the March 18 issue of Scope and the resultant difference of opinion.

Asked why the Publications Control Board had found that issue of the magazine undesirable, he said he had no idea.

Mr Boet Hyman, a director of Republican Press, said yesterday that Mr Shepherd-Smith's resignation followed a disagreement in a policy matter involving certain guidelines laid down by the new appeals board.

He declined to elaborate.

Editors wary of new Code

FROM PAGE 1

new code, a one-year trial to see how the clauses were interpreted by the Press Council.

The council would have to set guidelines and standards during the year and one could then judge if it were acceptable.

"It may be that the new code will be a millstone round our necks but I'm prepared to give this one-year trial," he added.

He was pleased that the council chairman would be a judge or a retired judge.

The editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, wrote that he abhorred the fact that the new code was brought about "at gunpoint."

The Express would not interpret the code as requiring self-censorship or that it change its ways. "It will be business as usual in the future."

An editorial in the Sunday Times said.

"By endorsing the new code, we are merely declaring publicly the standards by which we are prepared to be judged."

The paper saw the code as no more than a summary of the general principles already observed by all responsible newspapers and would make no change in its news or comment.

The Rhodes University Department of Journalism issued a statement signed by Professor C. A. Giffard, the department's head, and four lecturers.

It warned that the implication of the agreement between the NPU and Mr Vorster was that the NPU bore responsibility for increased censorship of the Press.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said yesterday:

"The code has been settled with us and I accept it as such in the hope and trust that it will solve the problems between the public and the Press and that it will herald a new era of understanding.

"The public now knows what to do and where to go if it is dissatisfied with anything," Mr Vorster said.

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Moves to end Afrikaans newspaper battle

RDM
5/4/77

1/1/77
K. van

By J. H. P. SERFONTEIN

NASIONALE PERS, publishing company of Beeld, has indirectly and unofficially sent out feelers in recent weeks to Perskor, publishing company of Die Transvaler to end the lengthy and costly Press war between the two groups.

According to these unofficial approaches by certain Perskor directors it has been suggested that Perskor should in future concentrate on the afternoon market, withdrawing completely from the morning market in favour of Nasionale Pers. The latter might then be prepared to give up most of the afternoon market in favour of Perskor.

In Nationalist newspaper and party circles there is a growing belief that Nasionale Pers cannot continue indefinitely losing money.

It is estimated that Nasionale Pers has lost almost R20-million in the past four years in its fight against Die Transvaler.

It is highly significant that Dr Wimpie de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, has turned down the prestigious appointment as Rector of the Potchefstroom University. He is obviously determined to remain in charge of the fight against Beeld.

But advocate Dawie de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, told

me: "For many months we have had no contacts with Perskor on any matters of this kind."

He significantly did not enlarge on the statement.

Pretoria is now becoming the main battlefield for what could become the final and decisive clash in the Press war.

Oggendblad, Perskor's morning newspaper, is expected to close within the next two months, partly as a result of the war.

It is still undecided whether Oggendblad and Hoofstad will merge into one paper, known as Hoofstad, to be publishing in the mornings and afternoons.

Oggendblad could simply disappear to make way for Die Transvaler which, in any case, has a larger Pretoria readership and was well established in Pretoria long before Beeld and Oggendblad arrived.

Oggendblad might even continue despite its dropping circulation and being heavily subsidised by Hoofstad.

Mr Marius Jooste, managing director of Perskor, told me yesterday that it was "totally untrue" that it has been decided to merge Hoofstad and Oggendblad.

"I have merely asked the editors of Hoofstad and Oggendblad to visit the US to investigate effective methods of countering the threat of TV."

1/1/77
K. van

Press Council hearings ^{20/4/77} _{RDM}

Staff Reporter

(25/6)

THE newly-appointed Press Council chairman, Mr Justice Oscar Galgut, will preside over his first hearings in Johannesburg next week

Six complaints against newspapers will be laid with the Press Council on April 27 and 28

The newspapers involved are the Rand Daily Mail, The Star, Beeld, the Sunday Express and the Daily News

Mr F. R. Buckland has

complained that the "Mail" published a letter in a different form to the one he submitted in April last year, and former University of the Witwatersrand SRC president Mr D S Georgiades, has objected to an article which appeared on August 25 under the headline "Now Wits man admits link with BOSS"

The other hearings involve.

● The Herstigte Nasionale Party vs Beeld

● Mr J G. Hughes, MP, vs the Sunday Express —

concerning a May 9 report headlined "Top UP men see Vorster".

● Professor Roy Sargent, head of the Rhodes University speech and drama department, vs The Star over a July 15 review of his production of "Romeo and Juliet".

● Mrs M. Reynolds has complained that the Daily News was strongly biased against her husband, Mr W B Reynolds, a candidate in the provincial elections last year

RDM 20/4/77

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Probe told of NPU code

Staff Reporter

THE Newspaper Press Union yesterday told the Cilhe Commission that no complaints of the kind given in evidence to the commission had been made to its Press Council. Submitting a three-page memorandum with annexures of its Press Council's constitution, code of conduct and rules of procedure, the NPU said judgment of all complaints against individual newspapers was left to the Press Council.

In recent discussions with the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, the NPU had stressed the position which arose when public officials voiced public criticism of newspapers without lodging complaints with the Press Council for investigation and adjudication, the memorandum said.

For this reason the new Press Secretariat in the Prime Minister's department had as one of its functions the channelling of complaints from Government circles to the Press Council which it was hoped would "bring a marked improvement in the situation," it said.

Referring to the Press and last year's unrest, the NPU said agreements with the Department of Defence and the Commissioner of Police allowed "where feasible and compatible with national security" for newspapers to gain information.

STRAIN

"It is, perhaps, in this field that in certain areas communications broke down during the period of unrest. Probably because of the strain under which the police were operating, reporters were not always able to obtain the information and assistance they hoped for from policemen and, as a result, they were left with information from other sources which they could not check against information from the police.

In other areas, where the police were more forthcoming, the liaison between police and Press remained good," the memorandum said.

The NPU said it would be acting outside its province if it dealt with individual pieces of evidence critical of specific newspapers. This was best left to the publications

~~(Handwritten signature)~~

RDM
22/4/77

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The memorandum said all the owners of urban daily papers, both Sunday and Afrikaans, except the Citizen, were members of the NPU and the memorandum was submitted on their behalf.

Press Council hears cases against papers

29/4/77
RBM

257

STAFF REPORTER

THE Press Council, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Oscar Galgut, yesterday reserved judgment in cases against three newspapers.

Mrs E. M. Reynolds, wife of the unsuccessful United Party candidate in last year's Durban North by-election, Mr W. B. Reynolds, claimed that the Daily News, in Durban, was "strongly and persistently biased" against her husband throughout the campaign.

She said far more space, pictures and headlines had been devoted to the PRP's Mr Harry Pitman and the National Party candidate, Senator Denis Worrall, than to her husband. Mrs Reynolds said reports in the newspaper showed distortion of facts, significant omissions and unfair headlines.

POWER STRUGGLE

In a case against the Star, Prof Roy Sargent of Rhodes University denied a suggestion that in his production of "Romeo and Juliet" he had copied a movement sequence from a Capab production of the play.

The HNP brought a case against Beeld for reporting last year that a power struggle for party leadership was brewing between two senior officials in the party, Mr Louis Stoffberg and Mr Jaap Marais. Beeld denied the HNP claim that speculation had been published as fact.

Judgment in all cases is expected next week.

Pressing for a marriage?

What's behind the battle between the Afrikaans morning newspapers on the Reef? Can both survive the struggle?

Johannesburg has seven daily newspapers. Four appear in the morning, and all are losing money.

The *Rand Daily Mail* could cost SA Associated Newspapers R1m this year. The *Citizen's* recent monthly losses are said to be several hundred thousand rand.

The Afrikaans mornings, *Beeld* and *Transvaler*, are also faring badly. Top executives on both sides deny, however, there have ever been any merger negotiations.

Their seeming insistence on fighting to the death is puzzling on several counts. During the second half of last year *Beeld* and *Transvaler* between them sold only 115 000 copies per day, while the *RDM's* daily circulation was 152 000.

Arguably, too, the political stance of the *Citizen* makes it more attractive to bilingual readers of the two Afrikaans papers than (as its founder, Louis Luyt, hoped) to the *RDM's*. The Afrikaans papers are, in other words, fighting over a smaller and more hotly contested market than are their English counterparts.

With commercial TV due to start next January, the cake could get even smaller. TV advertising is forecast by the SABC at R38m next year. How much of that will come from increased advertising budgets remains to be seen.

The omens, however, aren't good. During the first two months of this year the volume of Press advertising in major newspapers was 15% down on January/February 1976. All newspaper groups are wooing advertisers with discounts if they buy space in all of a group's newspapers. Argus' discount is 10%, Saas's 7,5%.

TV threat

But already, says advertising agency media manager Dick Reed, classified and retail advertising "tend to go mainly to the larger of two competing newspapers." That could explain why during January, according to Market Research Africa's *Adindex*, the volume of advertising in *Beeld* was down 6% on January 1976, while *Transvaler's* was up 5%. *Transvaler's* latest declared circulation is 65 000 against *Beeld's* 50 000. That, however, gives *Transvaler* no cause to relax. TV threatens to take a significant slice next year of nationally advertised products such as cars, detergents, etc.

Meanwhile, Nasionale Pers (*Beeld*) and Perskor (*Transvaler*) are already newspaper partners. The Sunday, *Rap-*

port, is the result of a merger in the early Seventies of two other Sundays: *Beeld* (NP) and *Dagbreek* (Perskor) and makes sound profits today.

There are, however, strong forces working against a further *toenadering*.

Journalists enjoy the political influence exercised by the fourth estate. As the official organ of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, *Transvaler* gives Perskor enor-



Beeld and *Transvaler* a spot of street fighting

mous political sway - far more, for example, than NP's Cape Town-based *Burger*. *Beeld* was, at least partly, almost certainly re-launched as a daily to capture some, if not all, of this political power.

A political merger (which dailies would represent far more than Sundays) between traditionally liberal Kapenaars and conservative Transvaalers would, however, be difficult to sustain. Even *Rapport* is regarded by both sides as a prickly pear.

Commercially, too, neither side is inclined to back off from the fight. Perskor's taxed profits (R3,3m last year against R2,9m in 1975), coming mainly from its magazines and printing presses (they also print *Citizen*), are large enough to carry *Transvaler* losses.

At the same time, NP badly needs a Transvaal daily, preferably wholly owned to support its Cape papers. *Beeld* not only provides them with Transvaal

news, but also enables NP space salesmen to offer advertisers country-wide coverage at special reduced rates.

As a market place, too, the Transvaal is thought still to have more growth potential than the Cape, especially the Eastern Cape. Both *Beeld* and *Transvaler* upped their circulations slightly in the second half of last year. So did *Burger*, but NP's *Oosterlig* in Port Elizabeth both fell slightly.

NP's MD Dawid de Villiers, claims, too, that *Beeld* is making steady progress towards break-even point, though still far from it. If so, it must be quite a relief. Last year NP's taxed profits were down to R2,2m from R3,8m in 1974 - the year before *Beeld* was launched.

Pitching in

Meanwhile, as *Citizen's* street sellers pitch vigorously for business among car commuters, there's curiously little evidence of a tough fight being waged between *Beeld* and *Transvaler*, though both are widely reckoned to have become fine newspapers. Instead, they are focussing on different areas. De Villiers believes most potential lies in or near the cities, where 70% of *Rapport's* weekly sales of 458 000 are made.

Conversely, Perskor is gearing up to increase *Transvaler's* appeal to platterland readers. Next month should see the installation of facsimile transmission facilities to enable *Transvaler* to be printed in Pieterburg as well as in Johannesburg. The Pieterburg edition will include Northern Transvaal news, too. If the experiment proves successful, it will be repeated in other towns where Perskor has printing facilities.

The hope is that earlier, and possibly cheaper, editions of *Transvaler* will boost country sales. De Villiers concedes that country folk generally have more time to read morning newspapers than their urbanised cousins.

And so the war continues - after a fashion. It could be less costly, De Villiers suggests, if both sides cooperated on technical and distribution matters.

Alternatively, one of the Afrikaans papers might collaborate with an English counterpart in offering a deal to advertisers, just as the *Sunday Times* and *Rapport* have.

There could even be a merger between *Beeld* and *Citizen*. NP is no stranger to publishing in English. *Fan Lady* has produced handsome profits for the past decade. It might just decide that an English morning offered as much political and commercial potential as one published in Afrikaans.

Journalists ditch racism

21/5/71

R4
247

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Society of Journalists threw open its membership to journalists of all races yesterday after conducting a national ballot which gave an overwhelming vote in favour of a non-racial organisation

It is the first time a predominantly white-registered trade unions has opted out of the framework of existing labour legislation — rejecting it as racist.

The SASJ ballot, which needed a two thirds majority vote of its 618 members for the change, had a 74 per cent majority, with nine per cent against in an

85 per cent poll.

The voting was on the dissolution of the society and its reconstruction outside the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act which prevents blacks from belonging to registered trade unions.

The new organisation is known as the Southern African Society of Journalists.

The SASJ, made up almost exclusively of English-language journalists, has been in existence for 57 years

Its president, Mr Jonathan Hobday, said yesterday. "This is a major step forward and in

keeping with changing times and rapid development of black journalism in South Africa.

Black journalists formed the Union of Black Journalists five years ago. This union precludes whites from being members

The SASJ may now apply to the International Federation of Journalists, based in Brussels, for affiliation. It is also expected to formalise relations with the British National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Guild representing American, Canadian and Puerto Rican journalists.
— DDC

Opposition fears control

By BERNARDI WESSELS
Political Correspondent

THE Government yesterday gave notice that it plans to take action against the South African Press by bringing it under firm statutory control. It is doing this despite the unanimous opposition to Government controls expressed by the Newspaper Press Union, the organisation of newspaper proprietors, with the backing of both English and Afrikaans editors.

The long-threatened measure was announced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, when he gave notice that he would introduce the "Newspaper Bill" in Parliament today.

According to its long title, the Bill "provides for the establishment of a Press Code, for the application of such code in such manner that the freedom of the Press is upheld, for the establishment of a Press Council, for the functions of such Press Council, and for matters connected therewith".

The United Party and the Progressive Reform Party immediately expressed fears that the Bill would limit the freedom of the Press.

The Government's intention to introduce the Bill follows the collapse on Tuesday of negotiations between the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Newspaper Press Union.

The breakdown in negotiations came as a result of the determination of the NPU to oppose all and any legislative or statutory control of South Africa's newspapers, reports Sapa.

The NPU represents all Afrikaans newspaper companies and all but one English newspaper publisher.

Full details of the Bill will not be known until it is published, probably tomorrow. A White Paper on the Bill is to be issued this morning and a Press conference is being held by Dr Mulder in Cape Town this afternoon.

The president of the NPU, Mr H. W. Miller, said yesterday that he could not say in detail what the Government Bill would contain.

However, he confirmed that negotiations between the NPU and the Government had been taking place and that a meeting with Mr Vorster and some members of his Cabinet had been held on Tuesday this week.

The Government had been told that the NPU had "reached full unanimity within its own ranks and with the editors of Afrikaans as well as English-language newspapers and was wholly opposed to the principle of State intervention in newspapers".

At the same time the NPU was fully aware of the threats facing the country and with which those in Government office had to grapple.

Mr Miller said the Government had been told that while the Press could not forgo its independence or its traditional right of criticism, it nevertheless had a strong desire for better understanding and more effective liaison with the Government in matters which vitally affected the national interest.

It had made certain proposals aimed at achieving such understanding.

These, he said, stemmed from principles firmly

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Cont

STAR 27-5/77

They included recognition that Press freedom was subject to the same legal restraints as applied to individual citizens, that Press comment should take cognisance of the country's complex racial problems and the general good and safety of the country and that due care should be exercised in dealing with problems that could cause racial hostility or ethnic, religious or cultural offence.

The NPU's attitude was that only a Press free from legislative control could perform its duties properly and that it must not only be free but must be seen by the public to be free.

It felt that any statutory restraints, injunctions or control organisations imposed by the State on the Press would court disaster.

The new shock measure appears to be the culmination of an almost 20-year battle about Press freedom between the National Party Government and the Press, mainly the English section of the Press reports **BERNARDI WESSELS**.

It reached a high pitch during the Verwoerd administration but calmed down after the Press Commission, which sat for some 10 years, produced recommendations that did not solve what the Government saw as the problem.

Further threats against the Press were made at regular intervals by the present Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and various of his Cabinet Ministers.

The United Party's Mr Lionel Murray MP said yesterday that a year ago Dr Mulder assured Parliament that he believed in the freedom of the Press and said: "As a Western country we place a high premium on the freedom of the Press. As Minister of Information it is one of the strongest arguments I am able to use overseas. We believe in the freedom of speech."

Mr Murray said any limitation on that freedom would be disadvantageous to South Africa. He could not comment further, he said, because the details of the Bill had not been released.

The Progressive Reform Party's Mr Rene de Villiers MP, a former editor of The Star, immediately expressed fears that the Bill would have no other purpose than to regulate or control the Press.

THE Newspaper Press Union, the organisation of newspaper proprietors, represents these newspapers. Rand Daily Mail, The Star, Die Transvaler, Die Vaderland, Beeld, Pretoria News, Hoofstad, Oggendblad, The World, Sunday Times, Sunday Express, Rapport, Sunday Tribune,	Cape Times, Die Burger, Cape Argus, Eastern Province Herald, Evening Post, Die Oostelg, Daily Dispatch, Natal Mercury, Daily News, Natal Witness, The Friend, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Die Volksblad, Financial Mail and Financial Gazette.
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MEC criticises reporting on mixed sport for schools

247

ARGUS 31/5/77
MR F. A. LOOTS, MEC in charge of education, suggested in the Provincial Council yesterday that certain newspaper articles which he felt poked fun at his recently announced mixed interschool sports policy might be the type of article which could be reported to the Press Council.

Speaking during the debate on the Education Vote, Mr Loots described certain articles which appeared in Weekend Argus and the Cape Times as 'negative and mocking' (spottend). The articles dealt mainly with the number of people and departments whose agreement was needed before a mixed interschool match could take place.

Mr Loots asked for Press co-operation in reporting on the matter, which was a delicate one.

Mr Fri Botha, United Party MPC for Groote Schuur, said he thought the relevant articles were fair comment on a matter of public importance.

FOR PUBLIC

Miss Annette Remecke, MPC for Rondebosch, suggested that school sports facilities be made available in the late afternoons and at the weekends for the public living nearby. This would be especially helpful in built-up areas. Subscriptions could be paid, to go toward school funds.

Replying, Mr Loots said the idea would cause problems particularly in urban areas. He said it might be more practical in rural areas.



A tender affair . . . but can it survive?

and an increase in number of us of the Eastern Cape except in large part to the larger extension of fresh milk production. S has been mechanised to an increasing towns.

TV PUBLISHING Behind the ban

FIN MAIL
3/6/77
247

Many are prepared to buy details of forthcoming TV programmes, but far fewer are as interested in radio. The SABC, nevertheless, wants to see full advance details of its many radio programmes still published.

It used to do so itself, at considerable net cost, in *Bulletin*. Recently, it decided to withdraw from publishing and hand over the job, and its inherent financial risk, to others.

Its two magazines, *Family Radio* and *TV and Radio en TV Dagboek*, were put up for tender. Neither Argus nor SA Associated Newspapers responded. Both Perskor and Nasionale Pers were unwilling to take on the task of publishing lengthy radio details without the incentive of an at least partially exclusive right to TV programme details.

In the event, Perskor won the tender and the SABC imposed a TV publishing restriction on other publications, effective June 1. Whether it will be challenged remains to be seen. Generally, copyright doesn't exist in facts, only in the manner of their presentation.

A British court recently decided, how-

ever, that broadcasting organisations do possess copyright in the details of their programmes. That, if it were applicable here, could stifle any challenge to the SABC or Perskor.

Whether the restriction will provide either with much profit is another matter. The SABC is certainly making little enough so far from the two magazines.

Perskor pays it 3% of sales revenue. At 30c/copy, on a joint circulation of some 200 000, that amounts to R1 800 a week. Out of that SABC has to pay eight full-time writers providing copy for the magazines, as well as other editorial costs.

Even a modest profit, however, is an improvement on the losses incurred by *Bulletin*. Until commercial TV begins, the SABC needs every cent it can find.

Year	Total	Whites	Coloured & Asi
1973	48 687	908	3
1965	61 971	1 209	4
1957	67 467	991	4
1950 +	77 547	1 042	

Table: 2 Number of regular farm empl Eastern Cape, selected years

The total number of regular farm employ decreased since the mid 1950's as shown

Complaints against 'Mail' — findings

20/6/77
R.D.M.
247

Staff Reporter

The South African Press Council has upheld one complaint against the Rand Daily Mail — ordering the newspaper to publish its adjudication — and dismissed another.

The council has ruled that a University of the Witwatersrand student Mr D S Georgiades was justified in his complaint about reports published on August 25 and 26 last year which alleged he had a "link" with the Bureau for State Security.

In the August 25 report headed "Now Wits man admits link with BOSS", the council found that the headline and part of the report did Mr Georgiades an injustice and that the wrong impression created by the word "link" was not adequately withdrawn in a report published on August 26.

SPIES

The council said there could be no doubt that the word "link" did in fact convey to readers, especially university students, that there was a tie-up, or connection, between Mr Georgiades and BOSS. The council said the use of the word constituted distorted reporting.

The council found that a report on a student meeting, "Students demand SRC expose spies," published on August 26, was incomplete and ignored the fact that Mr Georgiades enjoyed overwhelming support from the student body, and did not reflect that the student

meeting deplored "harassment" of Mr Georgiades by the Bureau for State Security.

The "Mail" submitted that while a large number of students clapped in support of Mr Georgiades, some students also hissed at him and shouted remarks such as, "Why didn't you tell us all this publicity eight months ago?"

The council held that the report read as a whole conveyed that the student meeting censured Mr Georgiades, and was thus unfair.

AGENTS

On a third report which appeared immediately below that on the student meeting, headed "SRC man tells of BOSS approach", the "Mail" submitted that the report, which set out Mr Georgiades' denial and version of the meetings with Mr Horn, a BOSS agent, was adequate redress. The report was read to Mr Georgiades, who approved of it as correct.

The council, however, said Mr Georgiades' approval meant no more than that he had agreed it had correctly reflected his denial and did not mean he was satisfied it sufficiently redressed the harm done.

A statement of fact made by a newspaper about an individual was not always withdrawn by the mere publication of a subsequent denial by the person concerned, the council ruled.

In its adjudication, the

council found Mr Georgiades had not set out all the facts in his letter of complaint and affidavit. To that extent he had not been frank with the council.

The "Mail" in its letter and affidavit had wrongly sought to justify the report, the council found.

The second complaint against the "Mail" was made by Mr F R Buckland about an article headed "Life behind the barbed wire curfew villages", published on April 1 last year.

Mr Buckland claimed the article contained several misstatements of fact on living conditions and the high incidence of disease in resettlement villages, north of Salisbury.

The council ruled that while the article did contain inaccuracies, the "Mail" had published it in good faith and had no reason not to believe the truth of the facts given to it.

REACT

It also found the newspaper had reacted properly when it received the complaint. The council dismissed the complaint.

In complaints against another publication, the council dismissed a claim made by Mrs M Reynolds against the Daily News.

It also dismissed the Herstigte Nasionale Party's objection to a report in Beeld but upheld an objection made by Professor Roy Sergeant of Rhodes University against a review of his production of "Romeo and Juliet" which appeared in The Star on July 15 last year.

NEWSPAPER PRICE INCREASE

THE prices of South African newspapers will increase next week. The Sunday Times will cost 30 cents.

The increase has become unavoidable because of soaring production and

distribution costs and steep rises in the price of raw materials.

For example, the price of newsprint has risen by 83 per cent in the past two and a half years to R335 a ton.

It now costs more than

50 cents to produce and distribute a single copy of the Sunday Times.

At 30 cents (less than the cost of a five-minute telephone call from Johannesburg to Pretoria) the Sunday Times remains an

outstanding bargain, its many sections crammed with the best in news, views and entertainment.

Sunday isn't Sunday without the Sunday Times. ● There is still a chance to beat the price rise — see coupon on Page 8.

Such a situation, in which there are several participants with conflicting interests, each of whom has significant influence on the attainments of the others as well as on his own outcome, is known as "a game of strategy" - or, for short, as a "game". (Chess and other board exercises are one sort of game; oligopoly - like international diplomacy, labour-management negotiations, and so on - is a game of

(compare chess, or international diplomacy, labour-management negotiations). (Taken from Dorfman - PRICE and MARKETS)

OLIGOPOLY BEHAVIOUR seen as A GAME (of strategy)

ready
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ant
ity

NI MERCURY (247)
Fleet St take-over

LONDON—Beaverbrook Newspapers Ltd., the owners of three of Britain's major newspapers, was bought yesterday for about R20.5-million by Trafalgar House Investments Ltd., a property conglomerate.

Mr. Victor Matthews, managing director of Trafalgar House, said Beaverbrook Newspapers had accepted their takeover bid and the three national newspapers—the Daily Express, the Sunday Express and the Evening Standard—would continue to publish under the new owners.

Trafalgar House, which also owns Cunard Shipping Lines, was just one of a number of companies which had expressed interest in buying the Beaverbrook papers.

Earlier yesterday the sale of shares of Beaverbrook stock was halted on the London Stock Exchange. (Sapa-AP.)

Explanation of Price Hiding

Theory of the kinked oligo

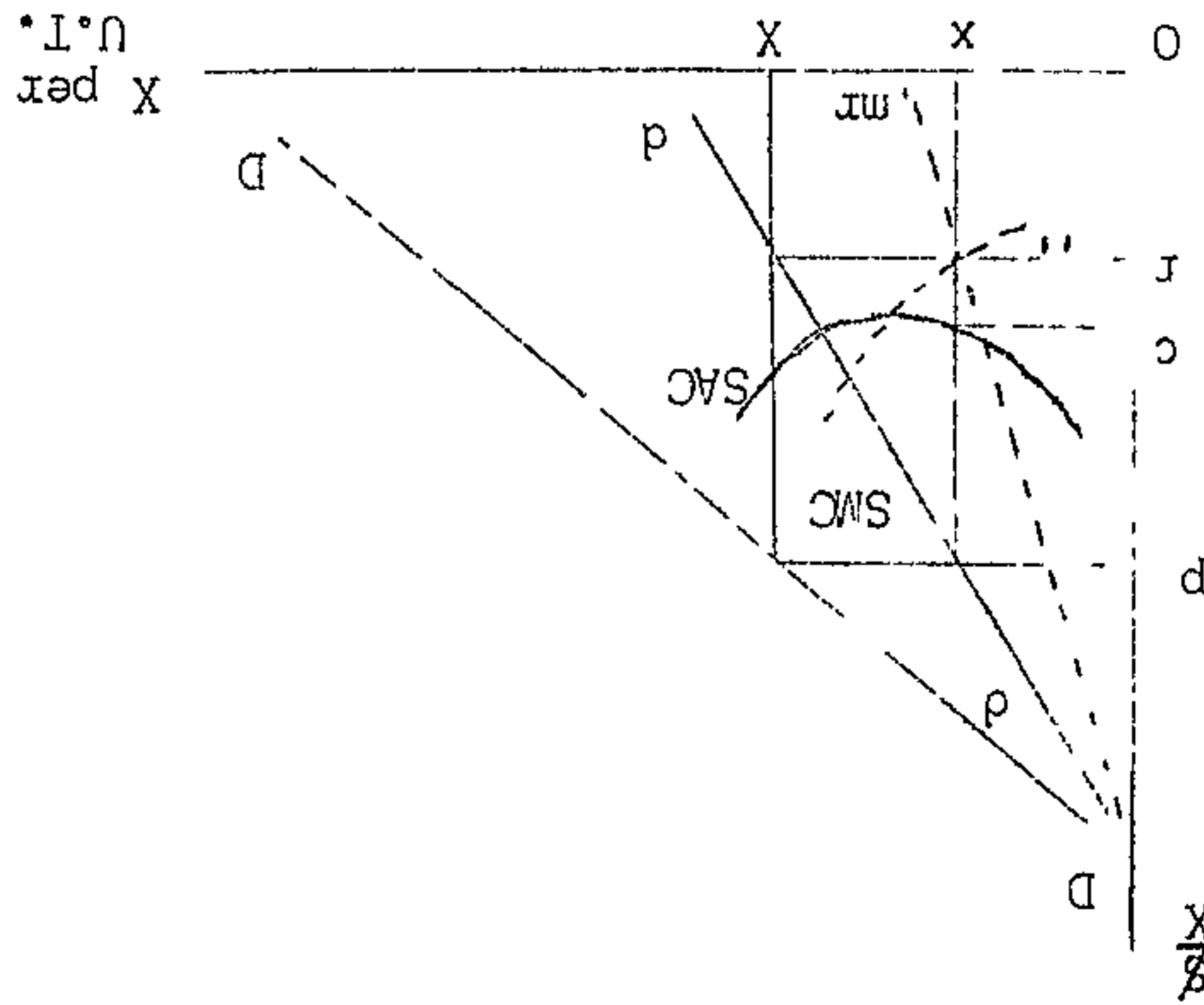
NON-COLLUSIVE, UNORGANIZED

Here the result can be the
the industry (same as pure
Market-sharing Cartel need
firms may receive larger sh
be accomplished on a region
result of different demand
costs, inferior territories
all of which make pricing a

4.

(Homogeneity ensures single price.)

Assume Homogeneous product, and Agreement to Share market.



MARKET SHARING CARTEL.

See Machlup for full analysis of such "political" situations.
arrangements.
of interests can arise that could lead to a breakdown of Cartel
this may increase costs and decrease industry profits. A conflict
The more influential firms pressing perhaps for larger quotas -
of course the problem of group goals vs individual goals arise.

247

CAPE TIMES 5/7/77

Suzman complaint is accepted by paper.

JOHANNESBURG. — A complaint against Die Transvaler by Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, was settled here yesterday with the newspaper accepting Mrs Suzman's version of events which occurred when she visited Soweto in February.

The complaint, which was lodged with the Press Council, arose from a front-page report in Die Transvaler on February 11 headlined "Helen vlug by skool in Soweto" (Helen flees at Soweto school).

The settlement, made an order of the council by Mr Justice O Galgut, is for the newspaper to publish a front-page statement headed "Soweto press case: Helen's version accepted".

The statement says the complaint was to have been heard by the Press Council but that after discussion between the parties, Die Transvaler accepted Mrs Suzman's version of her visit to Soweto on February 10 — that she had been well received, had not been jeered at by black schoolchildren and that there had been no open hostility toward her.

"Die Transvaler accepts Mrs Suzman's denial that she fled or that children made hostile remarks towards her during her visit to the Meadowlands High School."

Making the settlement an order of the council, Mr Justice Galgut said it was "a proper sort of case to settle". — Sapa

Mercury
8/7/77

Call to restrict papers' holdings

GREEN, P. Communities (Education in

GRINDLEY, J.R. Environmer
1. Plankton
2. Environm
3. Antarcti

HALLETT, R. History
Study of the
in order:
1. To trac
Cape Town.
2. To use
Cape Town's social histor

HAMPTON, S. SRC Office
Study group
talks, poetry readings and

HARESNAPE, G. English
1. Antholo
Dr. U. Barnett).
2. Critica
English poetry and prose
Black and White in Englis

HARRIES, P. History
Labour mig
South Africa. Includes

HENDRIE, D. Saldru
Working on
year. Also involved in
inadequacies, and on the

HODGSON, J. Religious Studies
1. Theological study of the prophet Ntsikana.
2. Study of Zonnebloem College, Cape Town: a study of
Church, Education and Society 1858-1970.

LONDON — A British Government commission on the Press yesterday called for a reduction in the share of newspaper proprietors in radio and television stations.

"Our view is that control over the dissemination of news and opinion ought to be in as many hands as possible," the Royal Commission declared after its three-year study of the Press in Britain.

It did not call for newspaper groups to be diversified immediately of their broadcasting interests, but said that when contracts came up for signature or renewal, newspaper concerns should not be allowed to have effective control of any radio or television station.

One British commercial television station was 62 percent owned by a pair of major newspaper groups, the report said.

The commission, set up in 1974 when there were fears for the future of several newspapers, came out against Government subsidies to the Press.

It said the disappearance in the 1960s of two London dailies, the Liberal News Chronicle and the Herald, which backed the Labour Party, left a gap in the British Press which could be filled with advantage.

It would be costly and risky to launch new newspapers to take their place, but no more so than introducing other nationally marketed products, the report stated.

The commission said it had heard a number of complaints that the British Press was biased against the Labour Party and the trades unions. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

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Press hammers Harold's 'tiger'

247

Mercury Correspondent

MERCURY 9/7/77

LONDON — Sir Harold Wilson's Royal Commission of Inquiry into the British Press has totally backfired on him and has been dubbed "Sir Harold's Paper Tiger."

Instead of the anticipated explosive report, the commission's publication yesterday of its findings has been the platform from which several newspapers have launched a stinging attack on Sir Harold for ever having established the commission.

The report concludes that in general the Press does a better job than its critics care to believe.

In a vicious leading article the Daily Mirror said the report was, "as dead as yesterday's news."

The Mirror also attacked Sir Harold, saying "Harold Wilson wanted the inquiry to get his own back on the Press and expose the wickedness of Fleet Street. What he got was a weary wodge of platitudes. Even his own promised exposures missed the deadline for inclusion in the report."

Sir Harold, who had promised to back his famous comment that hordes of distinguished journalists were scouring the country to find information with which to attack the Labour Party, submitted his evidence too late for inclusion in the report.

The commission urged greater privacy for individuals who come under the spotlight.

It suggested six guidelines to improve standards and protect Press freedom. Among them were: A strengthening of the Press Council which hears complaints against newspapers; a code of conduct for journalists administered by the council; better training for journalists, and guaranteed contracts for editors of one year.

The Sun newspaper summed up the Commission's efforts by calling it "one big yawn."

The newspaper, said, "Reading the report is like sprinting through glue. So much history, so many generalisations, so few ideas."

Africa

(247) ROM # 12/17

Reporter jailed for protecting sources

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — A South West African journalist, Mr Gene Travers, 35, was yesterday jailed for six months for refusing to disclose his news sources for a report containing allegations against Government officials.

Mr Travers, a reporter on the English-language newspaper, The Windhoek Advertiser, was convicted by a Windhoek magistrate after a brief hearing behind closed doors.

The magistrate, Mr Cris Bezuidenhout, decided to hear the case in camera so the police investigation would not be hampered.

Mr J M Smith, editor of the Advertiser, said Mr Travers' imprisonment resulted from a report he wrote alleging that Owambo had been turned into a private hunting ground by certain Government officials.

The report alleged that a highly-placed Government official had shot and killed two elephants from an Air Force helicopter recently.

His sources also told him that a Defence Force unit had machine-gunned four lions on the road between Ruacana and Kamanyab and that 15 buck were killed illegally by Government officials in a hunting party.

Shortly after the report appeared about two



MR TRAVERS
... jailed

months ago, police asked Mr Travers to name his sources. He refused to do so on ethical grounds.

"This whole investigation by the police has been motivated by the Advertiser's strong anti-Government views," Mr Smith said.

He said the newspaper's legal advisers had been instructed to petition the Judge President of SWA to have the sentence set aside or reduced.

Mr Travers first appeared in court about two weeks ago and was given until yesterday to change his mind about not naming his informants.

Mr Smith said his reporter had stuck to the traditional newspaper code and would rather face imprisonment than expose his sources.

DEWAR, N.

Geography

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DICK, Bruce

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DOSTAL, E.

Future trends within v
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Currently involved in long-term tren

DOWDLE, E.

Immunology

Work in the Department

1. Isolation of a pr
for biochemical identification of c
2. Modification of t
cancer cells and its influence on t
3. Endogenous compo
of opium alkaloids (these may be re
of sleep and wakefulness).
4. The arrow poison
Western Bushmanland, derived from
5. The enzymes resp
the organism which causes bilharz

ELLIS, G.

Applied Mathematics

1. Housing problem
squatters; urban problems in general.

2. Homeland development problems, particularly inter-
relation of economic and health problems in the Ciskei.

3. Migration.

4. Quality of life, the concept and how it can be measured.

Natal Mercury 13/7/77

Blasphemy fine for Gay News editor

LONDON — Denis Lemon, an editor convicted of the rare charge of blasphemy in his newspaper for homosexuals, was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment yesterday, suspended for 18 months.

Gay News, which published the blasphemy, was fined R1,000 and costs. Lemon was fined R750 plus costs.

The blasphemy was in a poem titled *The Love that Dares to Speak Its Name* and concerned a Roman centurion's homosexual love for Christ as the body of the Saviour was taken down from the cross.

The Judge, Mr. Justice Alan King Hamilton, said the poem was "appalling" and contained the most "scurrilous profanity."

The Judge praised the "moral courage" of the jury of seven men and five women at the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court and said he hoped their verdict showed the pendulum of public opinion was beginning to swing to a "more healthy climate."

In the six-day trial, the first of its kind since 1922, the jury, by a 10 to two majority, convicted Lemon and his paper of "unlawfully and wickedly" publishing a blasphemous libel on the Christian religion — (Sapa-AP.)

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SIR HAROLD — reluctant to talk on Press.

N. Mercury 13/7/77

'Hostility' of Press to be queried

(247)

Mercury Correspondent
LONDON — The alleged hostility of most British newspapers to the Labour Party is to be investigated by the Press Council.

Britain's former Prime Minister, Sir Harold Wilson, is to be asked to supply further details of allegations he made in 1974 of political "hounding" by reporters.

In the council's latest annual report chairman Lord Shawcross chides Sir Harold for refusing to assist in following up his allegations.

Sir Harold has refused to refer his complaints to the council which he regards as inappropriately constituted to consider such matters.

Echoes of Sir Harold's allegations were heard in Parliament on Monday when Mr. William Price, Parliamentary Secretary, Privy Council Office, who is a journalist, bitterly denounced the attitude of most of the Fleet Street newspapers towards the Government.

Replying to a debate on the Labour-Liberal pact, he referred to "the longest-established pact of all — the unholy alliance between the Conservative Party and 85 percent of the national Press"

Travers out on bail of R200

247
rom
14/7/77

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK. — Mr Gene Travers, 33 the South West African journalist jailed for six months this week for protecting his news sources was released yesterday pending an appeal.

He was granted R200 bail in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court while his legal advisers drew up an appeal against his sentence.

Mr Travers a reporter on the Windhoek Advertiser, was sentenced to the prison term on Monday for refusing to disclose his news sources regarding allegations against Government officials.

His imprisonment resulted from a report he wrote alleging that Owambo had been turned into a private hunting ground by certain Government officials.

The report claimed that a highly-placed official had recently shot and killed two elephants from an Air Force helicopter.

His sources also told him that a Defence Force unit had machine-gunned four lions on the road between Ruacana and Kamanjab and that 15 buck were killed by officials in a hunting party.

Police want him to name his sources so that they can investigate the allegations.

MR TRAVERS
... will appeal

MRS THATCHER . . .
crushed opponents.

D.D. 22/7/77
**Thatcher
lauded by
UK press**

LONDON — The Conservative leader, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, received ecstatic applause in the British press yesterday for her speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday when she flayed the Labour Government for its economic policies.

Mrs Thatcher, who is convinced she will become Prime Minister next year, is slowly but surely increasing her popularity in Britain by dropping some of her more irritating mannerisms.

The pro-Tory Daily Telegraph says: "Mrs Thatcher enjoyed a parliamentary triumph in the House of Commons yesterday that Walter Mitty might have thought exaggerated in a daydream.

"If you can imagine a blend of Prof Milton Friedman, Bette Davis, Oscar Wilde, Helen of Troy and the Red Army choir, then you will have only a very inadequate idea of how good she was."

The Yorkshire Post wrote. "Mrs Thatcher crushed some of her opponents on the Labour benches as well as only a woman can crush a pompous man — off-hand twitily, almost flirtatiously."

The Conservatives are convinced that the electoral tide is running against the Government and that the social contract will collapse in a wage explosion this year, resulting in a massive increase in inflation. — DDC.

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CENTRE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

Research Workshop

May 1977

D.P. 25/7/77

Editor arrested at Heathrow

247

Allen,

Ames,

Andrew

Archer

Bauer,

Beekman

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Bekker,

Bennet,

Bennett

Biggs,

Borland

Botha, M.C,

Brock, C.

Bromberger, K.

Bromberger, N,

Coetzee, J.M.

Cragg, J.

Cullinan, M,

Danziger, E.C.

Davey, A.

Davidson, P.

Davies, R.

De Satge, R.

Dewar, N.

Dick, B.

Dostal, E.

Dowdle, E.

Ellis, G.

LONDON — The communist editor of a British coalminers' journal was arrested on his return here yesterday after abandoning a request for political asylum in East Germany.

Mr Maurice Jones, 33, persuaded to change his mind about asylum by two officials of Britain's mineworkers union, flew back with his wife and two-year-old daughter.

They all returned on a flight from East Berlin, but soon after Mr Jones stepped off the aircraft, he was arrested.

Mr Jones fled Britain two weeks ago claiming his family had been threatened by British police following his arrest

during demonstrations outside a London factory, which is refusing to recognise a trade union.

He was released on bail accused of using insulting words and behaviour outside the factory and police said his arrest concerned his subsequent failure to appear in court.

There was shouting as Mr Jones, demanding that his lawyer be present, was taken to a police station.

— SAPA-RNS.

Technical Engineering

Dutch Law

Physics (Stellenbosch)

South African Languages

Provincial Blood Grouping Laboratory

Shawco

Urban Problems Research Unit

Saldru

English

Jagger Library

S.R.C. Office

Education

History

Ethnography, S.A. Museum

Geography

S.A.V.S., S.R.C. Office,

Geography

Comprehensive and Community Medicine

Unit for Futures Research (Stellenbosch)

Immunology

Applied Mathematics

247

^{N. Mercury}
Editor
screams
as police
pounce

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON Runaway editor Mr. Maurice Jones returned home to London yesterday after fleeing to East Germany and was immediately dragged screaming out of a Heathrow Airport customs hall by six uniformed police officers who were waiting to arrest him.

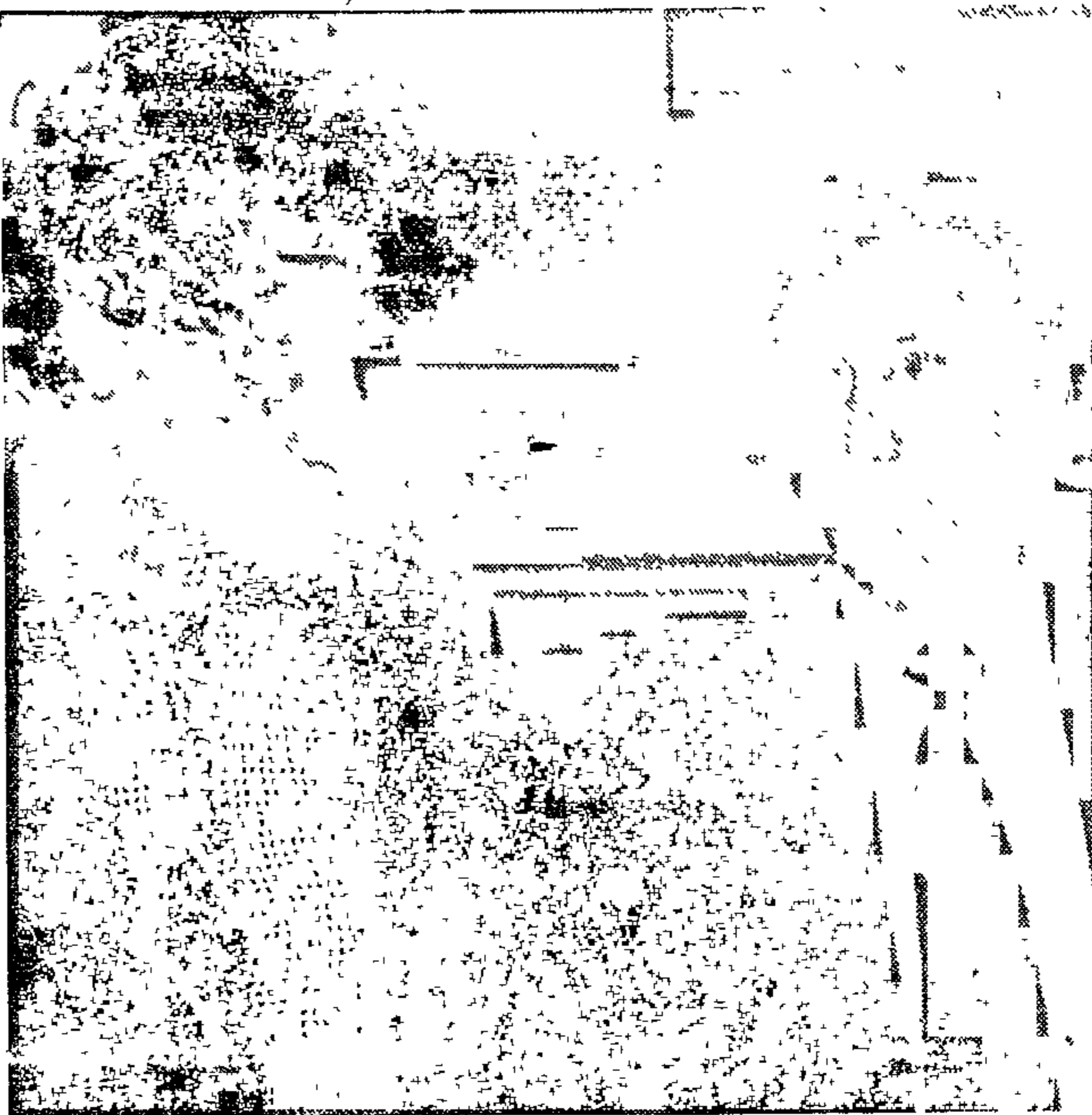
Mr. Jones returned to Heathrow with his wife Lena (26) and daughter Tanya (2) in the company of miners' leader Mr. Arthur Scargill who had flown to East Germany to bring him back.

Mr. Jones fled behind the Iron Curtain claiming that police had threatened him and his family.

As uniformed officers from the Heathrow constabulary tried to arrest him Mr. Jones shouted: "I want to speak to my solicitor."

When one officer grabbed him by the arm Mr. Jones started to fight them off and was immediately wrestled to the ground by all six officers shouting: "They're kicking me," with his two-year-old daughter crying beside him.

He was later calmly led into the back seat of a police car and driven to the Heathrow Police Station.



LONDON — Runaway communist editor Mr Maurice Jones (33) of the Yorkshire Miner (left) and Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill (right) on their arrival at London's Heathrow Airport. Mr. Jones fled to East Berlin last month after his arrest in a picket line at the Grunwick Film Processing Factory in North London. He was trying to seek political asylum because of what he described as police threats against his family — (Cablecast)

Please fill in this form and hand it in with the registration fee (R5,00) at the desk, where you will be provided with a folder containing full details of the Workshop.

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

MAY 1977

----- : (HOME)

----- : TELEPHONE NUMBER (WORK)

----- : UNIVERSITY ADDRESS

----- : NAME

Magazine mistakes for your amusement

(247)



Cont.

TODAY'S THOUGHT

I can pardon everybody's mistakes except my own.
—Marcus Cato

PETER BAYER, a journalist and cartoonist who works for the most-banned magazine south of the line, *Scope*, has been collecting boo-boos from magazine stories.

It's not often that one comes across a really noteworthy mistake in a magazine story because, unlike newspapers, magazines have more time in which to proof-read their pages and make the necessary corrections.

However, Mr. Bayer has persevered and picked up one here, and one there.

Nose noise

And now he has passed some of them on to me for your delight and edification. Here they are:

In "Light Cavalry Action," by John Harris, this appears

"Porter rubbed his nose, wondering what it would sound like and if it would appear as it had 20 years before when he'd taken part in it all."

In a short story in an unnamed magazine there is this:

"Her eyes lit up, fluttered, met his and dropped to the floor, went back to the jewels. He picked them up, held them there for a moment, then handed them back to her with a tender smile."

Or, how about Thomas Cobb's "A Marriage of Inconvenience," which says:

"Like Adela, he had dark brown hair, with enormous black eyebrows, a moustache, and a short beard."



WONDERING about the Harveld Gold Cup? Want to know what's going to win? Well, all I can say is that Moses knows, but he isn't talking. Mr. Moses Jali (67) has been practising as a witch-doctor in Umlazi for more than 40 years, and he is a keen punter to boot. In 1970 he won R12 000 on the jackpot. Since then he has thrown the bones many times for racing clients, and claims that many of them have also won.

It has, in fact, given him 361 more shaves than it was designed to do

Ralph, the Natal Mercury's Chief Sub-Editor, bought his Bic shaver on July 21, 1976. It cost him 13 cents and was supposed to be good for 10 shaves — a typical product of the throwaway

For the second, unclad ceremony, the bride wore only a blue garter and the groom wore only his wedding ring.

The clothed audience of passers-by failed to respond to the bride's invitation and moved off with disbelieving looks.

* * *

The Natal Mercury

Wed July 27, 1977

Ear muffs

In yet another magazine story there's this gem of verbal gymnastics:

"She sat huddled in her chair, covering her ears with crossed legs."

"The Jade Venus," by G. H. Coxe, has this bit of unwitting smut:

"He had been aware from the first that she was unusually attractive; now, in her dark green dress, with the low-cut, rounded neckline, he saw she had lovely legs."

A weekly magazine had this in a serial:

"Mr. Perkins will be able to help you," she said, as she took the dusty lodger from the shelf."

And in the old Personality:

"The door opened and Keith stood there. For a brief moment they looked at each other and then she ran into his arms."

Razor wreck

LIKE many men, Ralph Hawkins has become deeply attached to his razor.

For more than a year it has served him well, ploughing a smooth furrow through the dense bristle of his beard every day for 371 days.

And now he is emotional wreck, because the razor he loves so dearly is living on borrowed time.

Not fair

But it refused to give up the ghost. It simply kept shaving and shaving.

He has never sharpened it in any way, or lam it carefully in the earth's magnetic field every night, as some rosophiles have been known to do to win competitions or to make one blade last in the desert.

It simply isn't fair. It's extremely disturbing, and Mr. Bic must bear the blame for this.

Dammit all, if a man promises that his razor will last for 10 shaves he should stick to that promise and make certain it will last for 10 shaves.

And no more.

Nude nuptials

SEVERAL curious on-lookers left an open-air marriage ceremony in a hurry the other day when the bride asked them to remove their clothes.

It happened in a field at Lake Ontario, when a nude wedding ceremony was held a day after the couple was married in a conventional ceremony.

The only reason they had a conventional ceremony was because they couldn't find a minister willing to conduct a nude ceremony.

Money trouble

THE POOR Old Lady of Threadneedle Street is having trouble with her eyesight.

The Bank of England has admitted that some of its notes are going into circulation with minor flaws.

Other people don't think the flaws are so minor.

Some of the notes are smudged, some have two different serial numbers on the same note, and some have the Queen's portrait on the wrong side.

Last word went to a dealer in banknotes: "If this goes on," he said, "a correctly-printed one-pound note could become a collectors item."

GUY BERNARD'S Washington Letter

N. Mercury
3/8/77

S.A. gets a big boost from Post

247

THE Washington Post very seldom has a good word for South Africa. The U.S. capital's premier newspaper is generally a good deal more liberal in its views on everything than the Administration. Its editorial opinions tend to be radical-chic.

This being so, it is surely worth noting when its senior correspondent assigned to Africa, David Ottaway, gets a big play with a leader-page piece on how frustrating it is to work there these days.

And he hit out hardest at the absence of Press freedom in Black Africa. Things are much, much better in White-ruled Africa, he conceded — and one cannot help feeling he hated to have to admit it

Monopoly

"It is the prevailing official African view that the Western media have a monopoly over the shape and substance of news emanating from the continent and that as a result the Western, and too often even the African, reader is getting a distorted picture" he wrote.

"After working in Africa for three years, I have come to precisely the opposite conclusion that African governments exercise so much control over Western news agencies that it is becoming extremely difficult to tell the reader what really is happening"

Ottaway complained that Black African propaganda men employ repressive measures against Western correspondents, and especially Americans.

He pointed out that President Mobutu expelled more

than a dozen White reporters for reporting critically on his regime and the poor performance of his forces in the Shaba bust-up this spring

Nigeria — the country held up by America's UN envoy, Andrew Young, as the economic giant that must be propitiated — has got so impossible to work in that even the Voice of America has closed its bureau there. The VOA is, ironically, the U.S.'s own propaganda radio service

The Associated Press, said Ottaway, has also closed its Lagos office down for the same reason. The AP is America's biggest news service.

"The net effect" he reported, "has been to leave the continent's most populous and wealthy nation almost totally uncovered by the Western media. In fact, the vast majority of Western correspondents now reside either in Johannesburg or increasingly isolated Nairobi"

"Many other African States, most notably the Marxist- or socialist-oriented ones, have all but shut out the Western Press," he went on "Obtaining visas for Angola, Mozambique, Congo-Brazzaville, Somalia, Malawi, Equatorial Guinea, French Guinea, Uganda and now Ethiopia is either extremely difficult or impossible — particularly for Americans.

"News reporting in White-ruled Africa is somewhat better. South Africa has made a determined effort to improve the access of foreign correspondents to even the grim realities of the country, and it is today far easier for them to obtain visas than three years ago."

Rhodesia, on the other hand, had tightened up controls sharply since the guerrilla war began blazing up. "Any reporting on such delicate issues as the loyalty of Black troops serving in the White-run Army and police is cause for expulsion" he said "However, on balance there is far greater Press freedom in White-ruled Africa than in the rest of the continent."

Ottaway then had harsh observations to make about the way the managements of Western news services in London, Paris and New York were starting to accept "the outright suppression of controversial news for the protection of existing contracts and the better pursuit of new ones."

The big news agencies are, after all, commercial enterprises. They do not want their correspondents expelled from countries. They also are eager to snap up contracts from Government-controlled local wires services for the supply of foreign coverage

N. Mercury 3/8/77
**Papers
 warned
 by PM**

247

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UMTATA — Prime Minister of Transkei Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima threatened the Sunday Times and Daily Dispatch with "trouble" in a statement yesterday and said he would not "leave their recriminations and defamations go unchallenged."

Chief Matanzima was referring to reports that an impasse existed between himself and Whites of the Transkei Development Corporation.

His statement reads in part. "I want to remind these papers and their henchmen that I am a man of integrity and no amount of insult will deter me from the course I have taken politically, because the whole campaign is political blackmailing."

"Mr. Franko Maritz (managing director of the TDC) is a man of integrity and I have worked with him for many years. We shall continue to work together." — (Sapa.)

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n. Mercury 6/8/27
**Swamp
247
talk for
council**

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Mercury Reporter

TWO OF the four authors of the Wildlife Society handbook Mangroves of southern Africa are to be asked to give an illustrated talk to Durban city councillors and officials.

Councillor Pieter Breytenbach, chairman of the Amenities Committee, said yesterday he wanted this arranged before August 15 when council officials meet the National Monuments Commission about the swamps.

"The book is interesting but the talk would emphasise the ecological beauty and environmental worth of the mangroves," he said.

247

New censor shock

DOZENS of publishers and editors of banned publications face possible prosecution after an Appeal Court decision this week.

By JILL McILRAITH

It means they may be convicted retrospectively for publishing undesirable material, even though it was not banned at the time of publication.

The decision came in a written judgment by the Supreme Court in Pretoria rejecting an appeal by ex-student editor Sean Moroney

SA, CATTLE, HUA, (0,07) 19,7 HWEA W: (5)

for editors

His prosecution and conviction were the first under a retroactive interpretation of the Publications Act.

In 1975 Mr Moroney was editor of Wits Student, the University of the Witwatersrand newspaper.

Last November, he was found guilty in Johannesburg Magistrate's Court of publishing undesirable material.

The case involved two appeals, those factors which and applied a backward

issues of Wits Student printed in August 1975 which were banned a month later as obscene

Mr Moroney was not charged until 17 months later for having published the undesirable articles in the first place.

Publishers, writers and lawyers were dismayed by the Supreme Court decision.

Mr Peter Randall, a director of Raven Press, said the implications were horrifying.

"We are being asked to r we obtained a measure The average yield for he sample obtained less of the sample reaped a e treated with extreme the part of workers 600 indication whether this d and eaten before the

anticipate what will be in the minds of the Publications Board before we publish," he added

Publisher Mr Adrian Donker said, "The court decision could become an axe over our heads."

Wits English lecturer Mr Jonathan Paton said the effect would be to stifle creativity

A lawyer who has been involved with Publications Act cases described the decision as "startling."

needed when talking about A single year's

law," he said "It means that a person can be convicted by a decision of a committee and has no means of defence"

In the court case, the magistrate said he could not discuss whether the two Wits Student issues were undesirable or not

He was bound by the decision of the Publications Control Board, he added

The Appeal Court upheld this and agreed that the magistrate did not have to prove undesirability

Mr Acting Justice Phillips and Mr Justice Curlewis said the producer of an offending publication committed an offence whether he produced the article before or after a Publications Board decision

A lawyer commented this week, "The judgment of a court has been superseded by a decision of a committee."

"Never before has there been such a concept in criminal law."

Under the Publications Act, Mr Moroney has no right of appeal because he did not have a financial interest in Wits Student

The bags he than the fact s in

The number of bags harvested ranged from 3 to 10 a good

35. 200 lb. bags. 36. See M. Lipson (1976), pp. 4-5 For the importance of including or excluding this measure. as the average between a good and bad harvest.

Complaint against paper over red tape claim

D.D. 16/8/77 Unit
(247)

PRETORIA — Judgment was reserved yesterday by the Press Council on a complaint by the Commissioner of Prisons, Gen W M. du Preez, against the Pretoria afternoon newspaper, Hoofstad.

The complaint concerned a report in the newspaper on June 4 in which its political correspondent said that official red tape had led to an estimated R61,76 being spent by both sides following a request to interview Gen Du Preez.

The correspondent, then in Cape Town for the parliamentary session, had been refused permission to speak to Gen Du Preez, also in Cape Town, the newspaper said.

Telephone calls had to be made to and from the Department of Prisons in Pretoria, and a meeting of the general staff would have to be called to decide if Gen Du Preez could speak to the newspaper, it was claimed.

The Department of Prisons alleged the report was malicious, unreasonable, irresponsible and the reporter's opinions had been subjectively presented. It also implied Gen Du Preez was unfit to manage the department and that there was large-scale maladministration and waste of money in the department.

Gen Du Preez said in a letter to the Press Council that a reply by the Department of Prisons had not been fully published by the newspaper and he denied allegations of red tape in his department.

Counsel for the newspaper told the Press Council that the report was not malicious. It had followed attempts to gain an exclusive interview with Gen Du Preez on an item in his annual report for his department.

No reply was received by the time the paper went to press that day and a general statement was released to all papers that afternoon through SAPA on precisely the points about which Hoofstad's reporters had inquired.

It was accepted newspaper practice that replies should be given to the newspaper making the inquiry. The delay and calls to and from Pretoria showed exactly the red tape about which the newspaper complained, he said.

Gen Du Preez said in a letter the claim that the general staff would have to give him permission to conduct a press interview was not only untrue, but ludicrous in view of his department's press liaison activities.

He had issued a general statement because of widespread press interest in the particular subject

and specifically because of inquiries by other newspapers.

In another matter involving Hoofstad, a settlement was reached between the parties before it was to be argued before the Press Council.

The complaint, made by the Medical Association of South Africa, arose from a report published in Hoofstad on May 27. In it a claim was made that some doctors were earning over R50 000 a year and one pathologist was said to be earning R102 000 a year.

These claims were made in the last two paragraphs of a report about the Pretoria City Council being unable to find a medical officer at a salary of R13 000 a year.

The Medical Association said the newspaper had acted irresponsibly in saying that doctors earned "giant incomes in comparison with other professions."

In the settlement statement which Mr Justice Galgut made a formal order of the council, the newspaper said the impression was created that there were no applications for the city council post because the pay was too low.

This was incorrect. Other factors also played a role in this specific case.

On the subject of earnings, the Human Sciences Council report said doctors who also lectured at universities averaged R37 500 in earnings, with some earning considerably more than R78 750.

However, about a quarter of all doctors earned under R20 250 a year and general practitioners on average R15 370 — DDC-SAPA.

D. D. 16/8/77
**Sentence:
reporter
appeals** (247)

South

ment Research Unit

WINDHOEK — A Windhoek Advertiser reporter, Mr Hendrik van den Berg, writing under the name Gene Travers, appealed in the Supreme Court here yesterday against a sentence of 180 days imprisonment imposed by a magistrate last month because he declined to divulge his news sources.

The appeal is being heard by the Judge-President of South-West Africa, Mr Justice F. J. Badenhorst, sitting with Mr Justice M. J. Hart.

Mr Travers was not present in court when his counsel, Mr Bryan O'Linn, and Mr F. H. van Zyl, for the State, presented argument

Mr Travers was earlier granted R200 bail in the magistrates' court, pending the outcome of the appeal

The court action was a sequel to reports which appeared in the Windhoek Advertiser in which allegations were made of irregularities concerning the hunting of game in Northern SWA — Namibia

It was alleged that a helicopter had been used to hunt elephant, that parts of Owambo had been turned into a private hunting ground by certain officials and that lion had been shot with automatic weapons.

In his argument, Mr O'Linn said the appellant had said in evidence that he had based his reports on information obtained from certain sources.

There could be no doubt that Mr Travers had not been an eye-witness and he would have been unable to give admissible or relevant evidence. He could only have given hearsay evidence.

Mr Travers had declined to divulge his sources on the grounds of his promise and his professional ethics as a journalist not to do so.

Mr O'Linn said the sentence on Mr Travers was excessive

Mr F. H. van Zyl, for the state, said the sentence had been justified. It depended on the appellant in any event, how long he would remain in jail because he could decide to give the required information at any time.

Judgment was reserved.
— SAPA.

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Cape Town

October, 1976

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Rapport 28/8/77

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ACCOMMODATION FOR SINGLE MEN IN GUGULETU

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Press Council blames Mercury as paper

JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council has severely censured the Pretoria daily newspaper, Hoofstad, for publishing a "false and erroneous" report which transgressed the Press Code in a number of fundamental aspects.

The council also described as "unforgivable" the part played by a reporter, Mr. W. J. Prinsloo.

The council instructed the newspaper to publish its findings prominently and in full.

The council's findings, announced yesterday, resulted from a complaint brought by Mr. P. J. Muller, chairman of the Pretoria Citizens' Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square, and others, against the newspaper.

In Hoofstad on August 31 last year, a report began: "Fifteen members of the Pretoria Citizens' Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square are to stand as independent candidates in the coming municipal election in March 1977."

The report named various candidates.

The council's findings described the report as "false" in spite of the fact that correct information had been given to the reporter, Mr. Prinsloo, by Mr. Muller in a telephone conversation.

The council also found that the newspaper had disregarded further information sent to it.

Within an hour of the publication of the contested report a member of the committee telephoned Mr. Prinsloo to lodge a complaint.

He undertook to publish a correction but did not do so.

Instead another report appeared on September 1 stating: "The citizens' committee of Pretoria is to go ahead unhindered with its municipal action."

The council found Mr. Prinsloo's role to be "unforgivable."

His action amounted to "extreme irresponsibility" and "very nearly recklessness." — (Sana.)

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(247)

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Journal of the Athenian Confederacy	1926	16

Security before free press — Minister

ET 29/10/77

247

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Minister of Forestry, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, said in Stanger last night that although South Africa's still had a free press, the country's future security was more important than a free press

Mr Raubenheimer was speaking in support of the National Party's parliamentary and provincial candidates in the Umhlanga constituency at a meeting attended by about 70 people

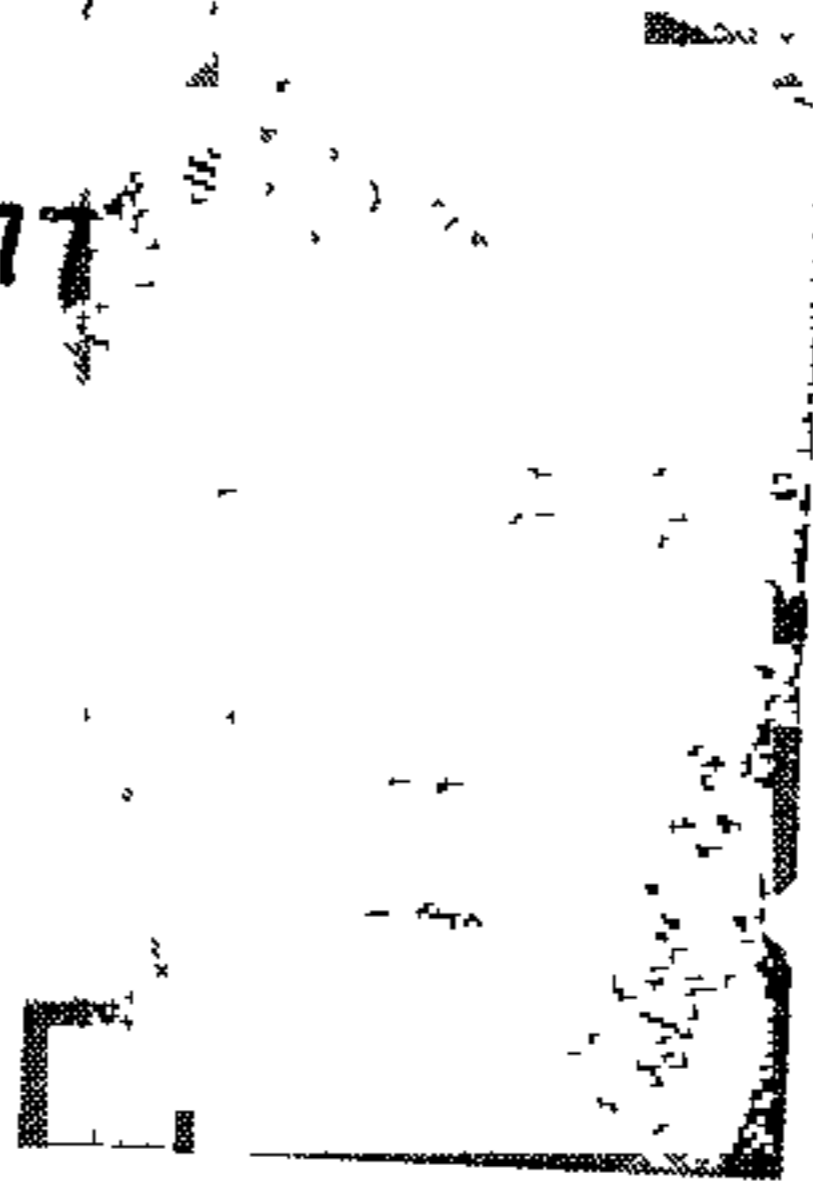
South Africa still had a free press, he said, even though some people would say it was difficult to believe after recent events

The government had been criticized both here and abroad for clamping down on certain newspapers but where in Africa was the press as free as here

"We have a free press but we cannot afford an irresponsible press — South Africa's future is more important," Mr Raubenheimer said.

"If the press oversteps the mark only a weak government will sit back"

"The press is not an untouchable holy cow and the



Mr Raubenheimer

government does not shy away from its responsibility"

Mr Raubenheimer said that South Africa was one of only five countries in Africa which still had free elections and referring back to the United Party's slogan of the 1950's he said "This is the time to vote for the right to vote again."

South Africa was being threatened from abroad and other countries were attempting to dictate to her how she should run her own affairs

News by Ormonde Pollak, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban

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THE EDITOR, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE CRUNCH...

By ANTHONY SWIFT

AN ICY WIND blew through the tattered remnants of Press freedom this week with threats of action against newspapers by both Mr Vorster and Minister of Justice Mr Jimmy Kruger.

Observers feel the warnings could herald a shift towards more autocratic and even one-party rule in South Africa.

The Prime Minister told the Natal congress of the National Party he would not hesitate to take action against individual newspapers — even before the end of the year allotted to the Press to "get its house in order."

Mr Kruger promised in an interview that he would promptly close down any paper "which incites people."

Main target of the Government's attacks was the World — the second largest and fastest growing newspaper.

The editor of the paper, Mr Percy Goboza — earlier summoned to meetings with Mr Vorster and Mr Kruger — says he was warned about his strongly anti-Government line.

Worlds apart

Political philosopher at the University of Stellenbosch Dr Andre du Toit commented: "The audiences Mr Kruger and the World address themselves to are worlds apart. But from an objective point of view and in the circumstances the World must be seen as a moderate and responsible newspaper."

"It is clear from what Mr Vorster said to me that as long as he occupies the executive position in the Government, integration is out."

"I made it quite clear to Mr Vorster that as long as I am editor of this newspaper separate development is out."

An editorial statement by Mr Goboza that was read out by both Mr Vorster and Mr Kruger reads: "We have realised that it is no longer of any use appealing to the morality or much-vaunted Christianity of those who rule. Now instead we appeal to their instinct for survival. We say to the whites in general, either abandon your privileges now and submit yourselves to majority rule in a non-racial society or face certain destruction in the future."

"That means revolution," Mr Kruger said. Professor Anthony Giffard, head of

The Week

(247)

Sun. Feb.

4/9/77

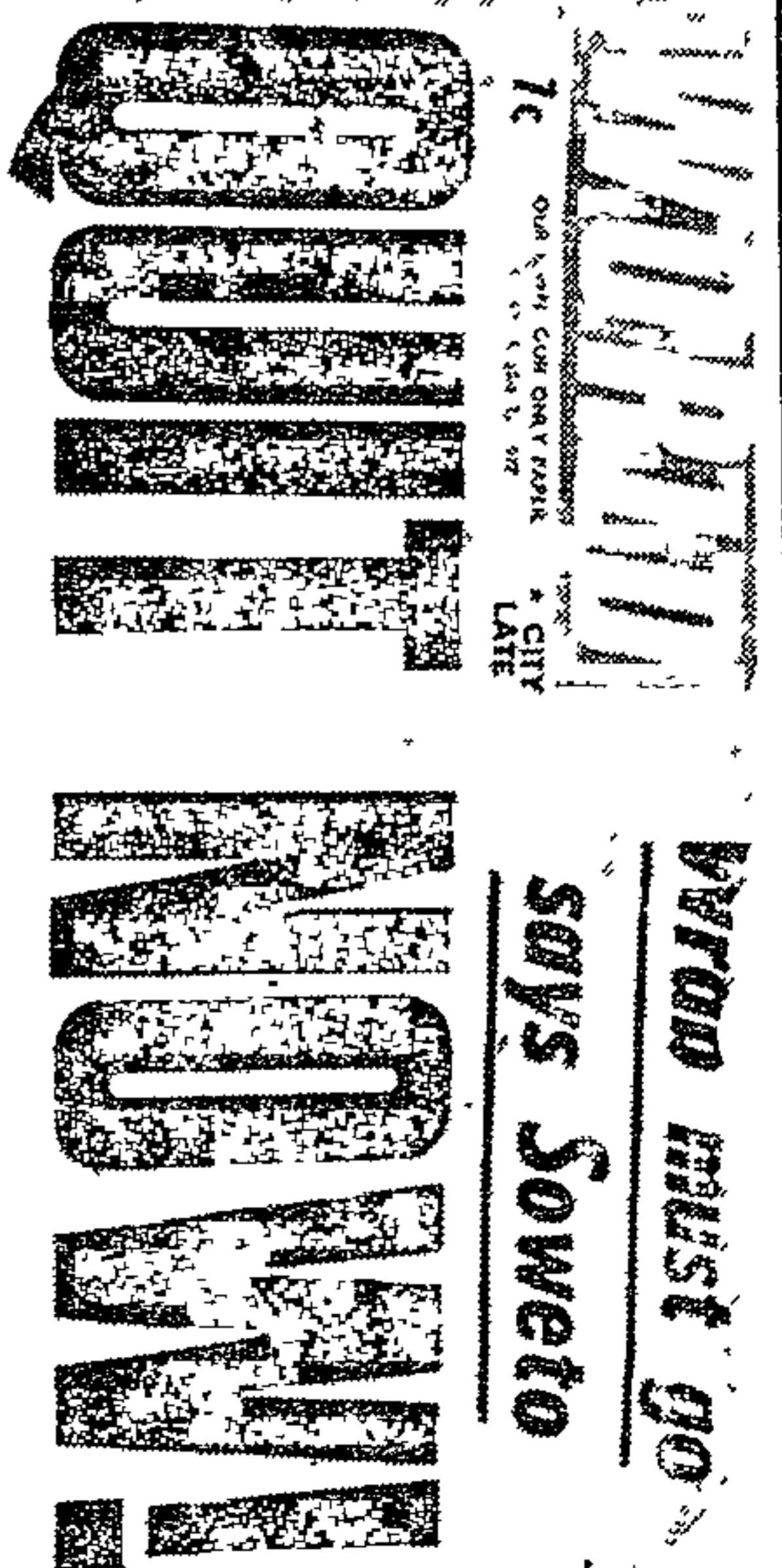
World took on Vorster

the department of journalism at Rhodes University, said: "Naturally the point of view of the World differs from that in papers aimed at white readers. One cannot expect the World to have the same attitude towards Bantu Education, apartheid and majority rule as Die Burger or Die Transvaaler."

"I don't believe the paper has been irresponsible in advocating a mild form of black consciousness. It has urged that the present political system be changed, not destroyed. Thus it has every right to do."

"The paper is by no means radical." The paper might well have a shock effect on the average white reader — it gives prominence to the intrusions of police activity in the life of the community, it demands inquiry into allegations of police brutality, it tells of people being ejected from their homes, it exposes the bungling unconcern of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board which in a besieged state is trying to administer the sprawling city.

It encourages the political aspirations of its readers and exposes the apparent attempts of the authorities to thwart them. It defends the right of the people to have a say in the world in which they have to live.



THE West Rand Administration Board must resign now. The World — attacking the West Rand Administration Board

Of the paper's moderation Dr du Toit emphasised that we need to understand the circumstances in which it operates. "And the circumstances in Soweto are very special. There is barely any semblance of legitimacy left in the administration of Soweto. If the World was closed it might be the last straw. But it might also just be accepted as another step in the prolonged coercive process which included the putting of the schools under the WRAB recently."

"With the closure of the World the breakdown of whatever minimal legitimacy the present white rule of Soweto still enjoys would become complete."

At the moment, said Dr du Toit, the opposition and black Press were being intimidated by the Government. The Afrikaans Press is being controlled by being taken into the inner sanctum and then held to silence on their word of honour. In both cases the free flow of information and comment is impeded."

Professor Giffard said that the old formula of "sex, sin and sport" had yielded to a new political orientation. "The World now aims at giving the black man his dignity," he said.

"Only black journalists can tell us what is happening in the townships, only blacks can articulate their people's aspirations."

"The riots in Soweto last year came as a shock to most whites. If they had read World they would have known black grievances over the issue of Afrikaans schools had been simmering for more than 18 months. Whites seldom become aware of black issues until they reach disaster proportions."

"If World were banned a vitally important segment of political opinion would be forced underground. White would be deprived of insight into the views of the largest section of the country's population."

On Thursday the World led with an account of the Vorster/Kruger attack upon it.

Inside was the address delivered by Mr Goboza for the annual Richard Feeham Academic Freedom Lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, ended with a typical Goboza statement: "Eventually we must all be motivated by the sobering realisation that we are both here to stay and none of us has the right to wish the other away to Europe or the homelands. We must therefore learn to live together; brothers or perish together like fools. The latter is probably the price we will pay for failure to come around that conference table."

As an ... (Mimeo)

D.D. 16/9/77

Press Council censures paper

JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council has severely censured the Pretoria daily newspaper, Hoofstad, for being guilty of "misleading and malicious reporting".

In a series of findings yesterday under the new press code, the council upheld a complaint against the newspaper by the Department of Prisons

The council found that a report in Hoofstad on June 4 this year, under the headline, Red tape easily wastes R61-76, contained "unverified and outrageous assertions and conclusions".

The council said Hoofstad should have published an apology — which it owed to the complaint — and a correction.

The newspaper was instructed to publish the council's findings in full.

The complaint was brought by Gen Du Preez, the Commissioner of Prisons, who contended the report had wronged him and his department.

The newspaper outlined in the report its alleged difficulties in contacting Gen Du Preez in connection with comments he had made in his annual report.

It claimed that the "red Tape" involved in going through the various channels of the Prisons Department to secure an interview with the general was excessive.

It would have cost in the region of R61-76, claimed the report, if the total telephone costs etc were added up.

The newspaper contended that a telephone call direct to Gen Du Preez would have cost only four cents.

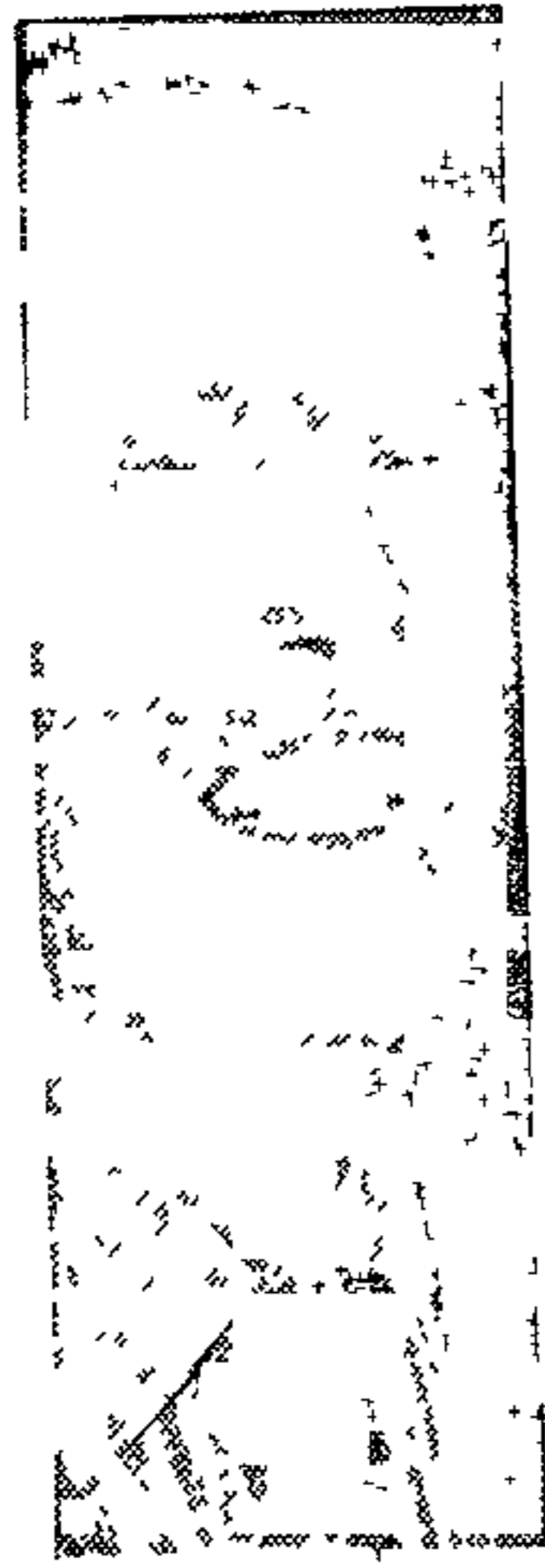
The council judged that the Department of Prisons had handled Hoofstad's enquiries "in a responsible and efficient manner". — SAPA.

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and what the Press Council ruled



Professor Chris Barnard . . . did not say apartheid should be retained

PRESS COUNCIL UPHOLDS BARNARD AGAINST TRIBUNE

immediately by our reaching agreement on the text of a further letter to the Editor, to cover your objections, to which I would be willing to add a footnote expressing regrets where necessary.

The complainant's attitude appears from the following paragraphs in one of his letters:

I am prepared to do this under the following conditions namely that you write, in your capacity as Editor, an apology for the article which appeared in the Sunday Tribune on 6th February, 1977, written by Mr Roland Stanbridge. In this apology you must indicate your regret that Mr Stanbridge deliberately distorted what was written in my book **SHARP DISSECTION.**"

In other words, it must be made quite clear that these points that are made in this particular article by Mr Stanbridge are a deliberate misrepresentation of what has been written in my book **"SHARP DISSECTION."**

I would also like you to clearly indicate to your readers that if these articles gave the impression that I am a racist, you apologise for this because my actions in the past have shown that I have the goodwill of the

various racial groups of this country at heart.

On the above facts Counsel for respondent in the forefront of his argument urged.

A — That the real dispute between the parties was whether or not respondent had complied with complainant's request on the last paragraph of his letter of 22 February.

Counsel further urged:

B — That respondent had made efforts to settle the matter and had at all relevant times offered to publish a further letter by complainant with such footnote as the Editor thought appropriate and expressing regrets where necessary and thus to rectify its failure on 13 March to properly reflect that this was complainant's reply to criticism of his book (In the alternative Counsel urged):

C — That the article was a fair review of and report on the book.

It is necessary to examine each of these submissions. Although logically I should deal with submissions A and B first I will for reasons which will appear later deal with C first.

Ad. C above: WAS THE AR-

TITLE A FAIR REVIEW AND REPORT.

The headline as stated is in extra large letters. The alleged offending paragraphs then follow in double size print. Any person reading the headline and paragraphs which I numbered 1-4 above will in the view of the Council gain the impression that the complainant's cure-all is as contained in these paragraphs I will discuss each paragraph.

Paragraph 1: The words are clear and unambiguous. They set out that part of complainant's cure-all is to keep apartheid and detention without trial but hide the fact There is no qualification. Counsel for respondent referred the Council to various passages in the book. He urged that these passages justified this paragraph. A close study of each of these passages, whether considered singly or as a whole, shows that complainant did not unequivocally urge retention of apartheid or detention without trial. The effect of each of the passages need not be discussed in detail. That would only unduly lengthen an already long judgment. It is sufficient to say that as to apartheid, the paragraphs indicate that complainant urges that "institutionalised petty

apartheid" should be done away with immediately; that all forms of racial discrimination should be "phased out at a steady and orderly pace," that South Africa needs "a policy in which discrimination is not based solely on race, but which is rooted in a society in which quality determines acquisition of political rights."

As to detention without trial the book states that in the modern world subversive activities are sophisticated and that governments are not always able in the nature of things to prove that a person intends engaging in such activities; hence, so the complainant says in the book, certain restrictions are necessary to ensure order and it may be necessary to take action before and not after the violent outcome. He concludes the aspect by saying: "If a country's system of government has built-in checks and balances to prevent abuse of detention, there should be no moral objection to the isolation of subversive elements by means of detention without trial."

It will thus be seen that whereas the challenged paragraph suggests that the complainant positively advocates the retention of apartheid and detention

without trial he in fact does not do so but qualifies these statements as indicated above.

As to paragraph 2

In the passages to which the Council was referred the complainant says that, for reasons stated by him, for the foreseeable future the white South African will have to govern the country; that "the country should be ruled by the most efficient, most highly qualified and most competent men and women, irrespective of their colour, creed or any other non-relevant consideration." that

"I would, for the next few years at least, abolish the multi-party system and cast my vote for a one-party state, and within this system build a society based on merit in an orderly and evolutionary manner"

It is obvious from the above that there is no justification for the statement in this paragraph that the complainant advocated the abolition of parliament for a white one-party state.

As to Paragraph 3:

What he terms the power of words and the news media all over the world and goes on to say that some newspapers do not always write the truth that it is difficult to get at newspapers;

'South Africa: Sharp Dissection'

THE PRESS COUNCIL has issued a ruling on a complaint by Professor Chris Barnard about an article in the Sunday Tribune on February 6.

The complaint followed the publication of a report relating to Professor Barnard's book "South Africa: Sharp Dissection" and a subsequent letter from Professor Barnard published on March 13.

The Press Council states.

The complainant is the head of the Department of Cardiac Surgery of the Medical School of the University of Cape Town. His name is well-known in South Africa and in many other parts of the world. He is the author of a book entitled "South Africa: Sharp Dissection".

The headline to the challenged article is in extra large type and reads: Professor BARNARD'S CURE-ALL.

Then four paragraphs follow. These are as it were part of the heading to the article and are in bold double-size type. They read (the numbering is my own):

- 1 — Keep apartheid and detention without trial — but hide them for the rest of the world.
- 2 — Abolish Parliament for a white one-party State.
- 3 — Clamp down on the Press and freedom of expression.
- 4 — Be prepared to use the nuclear bomb if necessary.
- 5 — SOUTH AFRICA should present an acceptable face to the outside world and then practise racial discrimination and "do exactly what it wants behind this façade," says Professor Chris Barnard.

The complainant was overseas when the article appeared. However, a copy of the article was sent by a journalist on the staff of respondent to complainant's brother. On complainant's return from overseas he was shown the article and on 22 February he wrote respondent. The opening paragraphs of his letter read:

My Brother, Professor Marius Barnard, showed me your letter in which

WHAT THE COUNCIL RULED

The Press Council adjudication was:

A. The report in the SUNDAY TRIBUNE of 6 February 1977 mis-stated the contents of Professor Chris Barnard's book "South Africa: SHARP DISSECTION" in that Professor Barnard did not:

- i. say that apartheid should be retained in South Africa. He explained that institutionalised petty apartheid should be done away with immediately and that all forms of racial discrimination should be phased out at a steady and orderly pace
- ii. say that detention without trial should be retained. He said that to combat subversive activities, which often are sophisticated and not easily proved, it may be necessary to take action before and not after the violent outcome and hence if there are built-in checks and balances to prevent abuse of detention there should be no moral objection to the isolation of subversive elements by means of detention without trial.
- iii. suggest the abolition of Parliament for a white one-party state
- iv. suggest a clamp down on the Press and freedom of expression.

v. say that South Africa should practise racial discrimination and hide the fact and do exactly what it likes behind the façade.

B. The publication of Professor Barnard's letter in the issue of the SUNDAY TRIBUNE of 13 March did not adequately redress the wrong done by the misrepresentation in that:

- i. mention was not made that it was in reply to the criticism of his book nor was the date of the original article mentioned and
- ii. the footnote added to the letter by the SUNDAY TRIBUNE persisted in the original wrong allegations.

C. The complainant's contention that the SUNDAY TRIBUNE deliberately distorted and misrepresented what was said in his book is not upheld.

D. The complaint is upheld to the extent set out in paragraphs A and B of this adjudication.

E. The SUNDAY TRIBUNE is ordered to publish A to E of this adjudication in a manner which is as prominent as the article of 6 February 1977.

you requested him to comment on a report which appeared in the Sunday Tribune on the 6th February, 1977.

I would first like to point out that I find it in very poor taste that you should attempt to start a public political confrontation between my brother and myself in this way. This may have boosted the sales of your newspaper but certainly could only have done harm to the cardiac surgery team where my brother and I work together.

SECONDLY, I deny categorically that I have ever said, written or insinuated:

- 1 — Keep apartheid and detention without trial — but hide them from the rest of the world.
- 2 — Abolish Parliament for a white one-party State.
- 3 — Clamp down on the Press and freedom of expression.
- 4 — Be prepared to use the nuclear bomb if necessary.

This letter then goes on to give examples which he alleges support the contention that the author of the article, one Roland Stanbridge, gives a "twisted and distorted" version of what complainant's book said. Some of the examples given will be discussed later.

The last two paragraphs of complainant's letter read.

I think that you will have to agree with me that Mr Roland Stanbridge has distorted and twisted what has been written in SHARP DISSECTION to suit his own purpose. It is exactly this misuse of the freedom of the Press that I would like to see curbed.

I therefore ask you to publish this letter in the next issue of Sunday Tribune and give it the same prominence as you gave Mr Roland Stanbridge's report.

Respondent reacted to complainant's letter by publishing it, but without the first two paragraphs, on 13th March under the head note:

"WHAT I BELIEVE" (in large type)

A footnote was then added by respondent. In the footnote the journalist Roland Stanbridge quotes certain extracts from complainant's book and goes on to say that these support his allegations in the article.

The complainant was not satisfied that the publication of his letter in the way in which it was done redressed the wrong which he maintained had been done to him by the original article. He then lodged his complaint with the Press Council. In reply to this complaint, respondent, explained why it had left out the first two paragraphs of the letter and then went on to say:

We agree that in the subbing of the published letter and in the deletion of the first paragraph, a reference to the date of publication of the original report was omitted. This we regret.

We believe the headline "What I believe" was accurate but concede that it did not reflect the fact that the letter was a reply to criticism of the book. We agree that it would have been fairer to Professor Barnard had it done so.

We believe we gave Professor Barnard generous space and display for his point of view.

We believe the comments by Roland Stanbridge on the book were fair and justified and we believe the treatment of the book was in line with accepted practice.

Thereafter efforts were made by the parties to settle the dispute.

There were verbal discussions and correspondence followed. It is matter for regret that the parties did not resolve their difference. The respondent's attitude is set out in one of its letters to complainant. The relevant paragraph reads:

You will recall that I suggested to you that the issue would be resolved

18-9-77

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE

that "given the many and complex problems in South Africa, the degree of personal and Press freedom is quite remarkable"; that "the danger exists that this freedom may get out of hand"; that "Nowhere is the need for accent on freedom greater than in respect of the Press, not only in South Africa but in the Western World generally." In the concluding paragraph of this chapter the complainant writes:

"As in other spheres of freedom, the Press will have to decide whether it will not perhaps destroy freedom itself by insisting on unbridled freedom. If the Press continues to insist on freedom of expression it must, at the same time, accept the responsibility that this implies. It must be prepared to report events and news accurately, without creating, with the sole purpose of selling its wares, issues that concentrate on the sensational."

I need only say that the passages in the book do not support the statement that complainant advocates a clamp down on the Press and freedom of expression.

As to Paragraph 4:

It is the view of the Council that the addition of the words "if necessary" at the end of this paragraph does qualify the statement sufficiently. So qualified it does not conflict with what complainant says in his book.

As to Paragraph 5:

The Council was not referred to any passage in the book, nor have I found any passage which justified an allegation that the complainant said South Africa should practise racial discrimination. This is also apparent from what was said above in relation to paragraph 1.

In the result the Council finds that the paragraphs referred to do not reflect the contents of the book. I turn now to discuss the submission under A above

Complainant in the opening paragraph of his letter of complaint quoted the date of the offending article. He thereafter gave his version. The respondent as we have seen has conceded, and very fairly, that in publishing that letter (without the first two paragraphs) it failed to reflect that it was a reply to the criticism of his book or to the fact that the criticism appeared on 6 February 1977. Moreover, although the letter by itself seems to refute the statements in the criticism, the effect of the footnote which was added by respondent on 13 March is virtually to repeat what was said in the original article of 6 February. A newspaper, is of course, entitled to add a footnote to any letter from a complainant but if by so doing it adheres to the contents of the offending article it can hardly be suggested that it has redressed the wrong done to a complainant. This applies where, as in this case, a complainant has in fact been wronged and he asks that a letter be published and the newspaper does so but adds a footnote adhering to its original allegations. The purpose of the letter has been nullified. It thus cannot be said that such a complainant agreed that by publishing his letter his complaint would be redressed.

As to the submission in B above

There is no doubt that the respondent sought to settle the matter. Its attitude and that of the complainant is set out above. The Council is of the view that the complainant set his demands too high in asking that the apology had to indicate that journalist had "deliberately distorted" and "deliberately misrepresented" what was said in the book. The Council is of the view that it has not been shown that there was such deliberate conduct. That, however, does not end the matter as will be seen from what follows.

Where an article or report wrongs a complainant or does him an injustice and the newspaper indicates its willingness to settle the dispute the mere fact that the complainant sets his own terms too high does not mean that the newspaper is necessarily absolved from doing more. Much will depend on the circumstances. Speaking generally the newspaper should then publish what it deems will adequately redress the complainant. If it fails to do so it may well be that it has not put the matter right.

Moreover in this case the respondent continues to maintain that the original report was justified and it is not prepared to detract therefrom. It follows that in fact the parties would not have been able to come to terms in any event.

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Council censures newspaper

D.D. 23/9/77

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JOHANNESBURG — Deliberate and mischievous omissions and incorrect attributions in a report published by the newspaper, Die Afrikaer, were misleading and deserved serious censure, the South African Press Council has found.

The council was ruling on a complaint by Mr J. Lloyd, Nationalist MP for Pretoria East, against a report in Die Afrikaer of May 6 under the heading "Who joins talk with the 'Red propaganda?'" The paper was ordered to publish the council's shortened judgment.

Die Afrikaer's report was written in reaction to a National Party election pamphlet dealing with South Africa's participation in the Angola war.

Positioned with Die Afrikaer's report was a photostat of the first paragraph of a report in the Rand Daily Mail of February 12.

The paragraph read: "South Africa had no answer to some of the Russian weapons being used by Cubans in Angola, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, told me in an exclusive interview."

Die Afrikaer, however, omitted the second paragraph, which read: "He added, however, that under the circumstances we can hold more than our own."

Die Afrikaer also referred to an "article" which it claimed had been written by Mr Schalk Pienaar, senior political correspondent of

Nasionale Pers, for Deurbraak, a publication of the Progressive Reform Party.

The following words were quoted as though they were the words used by Mr Pienaar: "our sons, Afrikaer sons, were blasted from Angola."

The council found that the "article" was in fact an interview published in question and answer form.

Mr Pienaar had replied when asked to comment on the premise that the Afrikaer had fled from Angola "He wanted to help steer events in Angola in a certain direction and was simply shot out of Angola — as the non-whites tend to view it" — SAPA

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Congress (ANC) , leaders

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ders were aware of the economic interdependence

l groups. By presenting an interracial approach

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The skills and qualities of these groups

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ider experience in campaigning for rights,

ational ability and a channel to world opinion. (4)

eir privileged position to change white

ystem. By 1946 the South African political

climate favoured interracial co-operation. Coloureds and Africans found themselves in the common position of being segregated by the introduction of the Coloured Advisory Council. The government thus demonstrated that it regarded Coloureds as a separate group from the Whites.

(1) L. Kuper: Passive Resistance in South Africa, p. 41.

(2) M. Wilson and L. Thompson (Eds.) The Oxford History of S. A. II pp 451 -455

(3) Ibid, p.455.

(4) G. Carter: The Politics of Inequality, p. 366.

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A SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK EDITOR SPEAKS HIS MIND

THE

MANIACAL

OBSESSION

WITH

GRUMP

IDENTITY

QUESTION: Let's start off if we may, on your personal outlook generally, what's your philosophy?

QOBOZA: I believe in a free society, I place great emphasis on the rights of individuals. I believe that general order in any society must be directed towards the protection of individuals. In South

Africa, of course, the whole problem is complicated by colour consciousness and the almost maniacal obsessions people seem to have for group identity.

What in your estimation is the main problem facing black journalists today?

A black journalist operating in South Africa today suddenly finds himself in an invidious position. This is because, as a person, he cannot exist in a vacuum.

Again, he finds the added responsibility of articulating his people's aspirations a massive challenge. There was interestingly enough a time when the black journalist was by tradition and attitude forbidden to operate within the corridors of power.

Years ago black journalists could never go beyond private secretaries of Cabinet Ministers. And the fact that no black journalist has to date had an intensive interview with the Minister of Bantu Administration and De-

velopment is in itself a tragic comment.

The last year has not been a particularly happy one for the black journalist. Caught as he was in the middle of all the fury he had an added burden of informing the world outside his community about what was happening.

For this, he paid a heavy price. He was continuously harassed by police, detained by police, had cameras wrenched from him, had his notebooks torn in front of his face.

Above all, he paid the supreme price of having his freedom violated by long stretches of detention without trial. And for no visible reason except that he is a journalist.

It is said privately by some of your colleagues that you occupy the hottest journalistic seat in the country. How do you feel about that?

Well, all editors are occupying a hot seat in many ways. But perhaps because of my constituency, which is the black community, my seat tends to be hotter than the others.

I am absolutely conscious of the real problem facing our nation, the delicate nature of the relationships between blacks and whites. This tends to add a further burden on me and my colleagues on

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of The World, is one of the most attacked newspaper editors in South Africa.

He comes under fire not only from Government circles but also from elements within the black community.

The black consciousness movement is unhappy because the leadership considers him as operating within a white establishment.

Homeland leaders see him as champion of their opponents in the urban areas.

He was interviewed by HARRY MASHABELLA of The Star on his position and his beliefs.

the newspaper.

We are aware of the negative reactions coming from certain quarters about the type of things we carry in the newspaper. But not even our most violent critics can accuse us of violation of any law or ethics of our profession.

Freedom of the Press on this newspaper is more precious than anything else, as far as we are concerned. The right of our people to know what's happening and the right of our people to free expression of their thoughts is something we

people in the country — black and white — who have given us support. I am sure that these attacks, far from subsiding, will increase both in their venom and intensity.

I get numerous abusive letters from people who are obviously racists. My own life has been threatened, so has my family, by white people phoning in the middle of the night.

But all these things are to be expected when a climate of hate is deliberately being encouraged by people who should know better. But then for every abusive letter, one draws consolation from the fact that there are 10 other letters of goodwill.

Recently, there have been some people, apparently from Soweto, who were conducting a smear campaign about you. What do you think of such characters?

In the light of these new pressures, particularly from Government quarters, have you been affected in any way in producing your newspaper?

It has not been very easy to be exposed and subjected to continuous attacks. But I am absolutely grateful to the massive support I have had from my colleagues on this paper. Even more important I am grateful to the many

Blacks do not have a long history or tradition if any, of Press freedom. Governments in most independent African states have taken over control of newspapers. If we were to gain majority rule in South Africa tomorrow how do you think newspapers would fare under such circumstances?

I am quite confident that our people here have had the opportunity of being exposed to the high values attached to a free Press. I therefore think the Press here would survive and prosper even under such circumstances.

What is your feeling on the Soweto situation today?

The situation in Soweto is one that distresses me very much. Soweto has become a vacuum. Soweto has lost its soul. Soweto is wallowing in hopelessness and frustration.

The basic problem here in the fact the people in South Africa have failed to interpret correctly the mood and determination of the people of this complex to rid themselves of the popular myths that have been subjected to over the years.

One can detect the big difference between the time when Soweto was administered by the Johannesburg City Council and today when controlled by the West Bantu Administration Board. The City Council ter



MR PERCY QOBOZA

“... We cannot sacrifice morality on the altar of expediency. Separation is wrong because it implies discrimination and discrimination causes bitterness and animosity between the races. People must accept this. We do not agree with what Mr Vorster says. But we defend his right to say it. And that's all we ask for ourselves.”

ded to understand and relate to the problems facing the community there. They were able to do this because there were qualified people in the administration. It tended to be more sympathetic. But what's more, the council tended to listen.

The West Rand Administration Board, on the other hand, has put people, with dubious qualifications into positions of responsibility. This inevitably leads to a breakdown in communications and fills a lot of people with a sense of frustration.

The other area turning Soweto into a hotbed of bitterness is the inability of the authorities to understand that the people here want real power to run their own lives and decide their own destiny in terms of their own values.

That is why the Urban Bantu Council collapsed. There are some claims that in fact the UBC represented what Mr Manie Mulder calls “the silent majority.” I can only say that anybody representing the silent majority could never have crumbled like a pack of cards as the UBC did.

Mr Mulder may not know this, since he strikes me as a man who knows few things about the facts of life in Soweto. But in the last UBC elections only 11 percent of the people bothered to vote.

Something even more shattering is that the last UBC chairman polled only 72 votes, beating his opponent by only one vote, in that election out of a possible 10 000 votes. Is this the “silent majority” they are talking about?

They are now talking about the proposed community councils and they will find the process of rejection even more thunderous.

There is need to reassess attitudes. The only way out is by meaningful discussion. When I talk about discussion I mean talking to people who have the respect of the community in general and who understand what is at stake.

That means to pull Soweto out of its hopelessness, the Government ought to realise that it is far better to talk to people like Dr Nthato Motlana rather than subject people like those to the insults they have had the last few weeks.

get politically conscientised at a far earlier age than white children. This is very understandable in terms of their own experiences.

It is very clear to me that normality will never come back again in our schools system until the system of Bantu Education is eradicated and replaced with an educational system for all as was the case before 1955.

When speaking of the Committee of Ten plus one, the chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, was understood by many people to imply you controlled the committee. What is your attitude to that?

I'm most distressed by the childish attitudes that have been displayed towards the Committee of Ten. I don't apologise to anybody for having brought about the type of discussion that led to the birth of the Committee of Ten.

I want to say categorically that my own involvement here was only to bring together delegates of various responsible organisations in Soweto to discuss the leadership vacuum in the complex and also to put our premises at their disposal.

My role ended there. I was not even at the meeting. And I have subsequently never attended any meetings of the committee. Naturally, I have taken personal interest in what they do, and I have been impressed.

They are people of very high intellectual standing and respect in the black community. They certainly do not need a humble mind of my nature to tell them what to do. And for anybody to suggest that they dance to my music is a great irresponsibility and a terrible reflection on their integrity.

Having cleared that, I think it's a tragedy that the Government has taken the view that the Committee of Ten is not an organisation they can talk to. Mr Kruger has described the committee as (comprising) self-appointed leaders.

At no stage did the Committee of Ten ever claim to be the leadership of Soweto. They were nine men and woman elected at a representative meeting of organisations to draw up a blueprint as to how they saw Soweto and how they saw the future.

These people did that.

Cont

STAR 30-9-77

Another area causing lots of concern is that of education. Here again we have the unfortunate position of the authorities misreading the situation

Instead of a genuine attempt to investigate the genuine grievances about the inferiority of Bantu education, the Government has reacted in a predictable manner, looking for communists and agitators under every bed

They must come to accept that black children

and they had to present their blueprint to Soweto to accept or reject. One of the main proposals was to cut up Soweto into 50 constituencies, all designed, because they visualised an election where true leadership would emerge.

But they never had the opportunity to present their document because every time their efforts were frustrated by Mr Kruger's banning of meetings.

Editor's jail sentence case: Appellate Court sets date

D.D. 1/10/77

(247)

EAST LONDON — Officials of the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein confirmed yesterday that November 18 had been fixed as the date to hear the appeal by the State against last year's successful Supreme Court appeal by the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, against a magistrates' court sentence of six months' imprisonment for refusing to disclose the identity of an informant relating to alleged criminal conduct by security policeman.

Mr Woods was originally sentenced in the East London magistrates' court in December 1975 and was released on bail pending his appeal in the Grahamstown Supreme Court, which was upheld on a technicality involving the serving of the original subpoena.

Following this decision, the State decided to appeal against it to the Appellate Division and it is this appeal

which will be heard on November 18

The original subpoena arose from a report made by Mr Woods in October 1975 to the head of the Bureau for State Security, Gen H. J. van den Bergh, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, in which he mentioned that an informant had told him of the role of a certain security police officer in alleged criminal actions of harassment against members of the Black Community Programme in King William's Town.

On his return from Pretoria Mr Woods was visited at his home by a security police officer, Col J. van der Merwé, who said the head of the Security Police, Gen M. Geldenhuys, would appreciate fuller details of the complaint

Mr Woods supplied such details in a long memorandum to Gen Geldenhuys, naming the accused security policeman as Warrant Officer G. Hat-

tingh of King William's Town and mentioning two criminal allegations against him

One was the breaking and entering of BCP offices in King William's Town and the destruction of equipment in these offices Mr Woods said he had been told by an informant that Hattingh had been seen in the vicinity of these offices at the time, but pointed out that no prosecution of Hattingh would succeed because his informant would not come forward to testify and would not disclose his identity for fear of reprisals.

The other was the damaging of a car belonging to author Alan Paton at Hogsback in 1964, but that the witness concerned was also unwilling to testify.

Mr Woods concluded his memorandum by stating that he had made it clear to both Gen Van den Bergh and the Minister that in view of the reluctance of these two witnesses to give evidence he was not seeking a prosecution of Hattingh, but merely suggesting that these allegations be put to Hattingh by his superiors and the matter handled privately to let security policemen know that such actions were strongly disapproved of at

higher levels

Several days later Mr Woods was asked to swear to the memorandum on oath, and did so.

He was then told that as he had made a sworn allegation to a police officer alleging criminal conduct he would be prosecuted if he did not disclose the names of his informants.

Mr Woods asked for a final opportunity to secure permission from his two informants to disclose their names and returned the following day to say that while the one witness (relating to the break-in at the BCP offices) remained unwilling to disclose his name, the other witness (to the Paton car incident) was agreeable

He revealed that this witness was an East London City Councillor, Donald John Card, a former security police warrant officer and a colleague of Hattingh's at the time of the Paton incident.

Mr Card was willing to testify that Hattingh had boasted to him of how he had smashed the front and rear windows of Mr Paton's car with large stones during the night.

However, the State decided not to proceed with the Paton incident, but to prosecute Mr Woods for refusing to disclose the identity of the informant in the other matter, and in the East London magistrate's court he refused again and was sentenced to six months imprisonment.

He noted an appeal and was given bail of R50, winning the appeal in Grahamstown on the technical grounds that the subpoena against him had not been issued by the same magistrate who had presided at the hearing.

It is against this decision that the State is appealing in the country's highest court of appeal in Bloemfontein on November 18.

DIE AFRIKAANSE PERS (1962) BEPERK

Voorlopige aankondiging van winste en Gekonsolideerde Finansiële State vir die jaar geëindig 30 Junie 1977.

Die geouditeerde groep finansiële resultate vir die jaar geëindig 30 Junie met vergelykende syfers is soos volg

INKOMSTEREKENING

SAKE-RAPPORT 2/10/77

	Jaar geëindig 30 Junie 1977	Jaar geëindig 30 Junie 1976
Omset	R114 000 000	R109 000 000
Netto inkomste voor belasting, buitengewone en abnormale items	4 450 000	3 347 000
Mfn belasting	773 000	716 000
Abnormale afskrywings	3 677 000	2 631 000
Toeskryfbaar aan buite-aandeelhouders	179 000	268 000
Toeskryfbaar aan eie aandeelhouders	1 061 000	746 000
Wins per aandeel	R2 437 000	R1 617 000
Aandeelhoudersbelang begin van jaar	44,7c	29,7c
Reserwe versterkings	R16 306 000	R15 421 000
Aandeelhoudersbelang end van jaar	5 531 000	885 000
Netto bate waarde per aandeel	R21 837 000	R16 306 000
	R4,00	R2,99

DIVIDEND

'n Onveranderde finale dividend van 10c per aandeel is vir die afgelope boekjaar verklaar

Op las van die Raad

J DE KLERK
B J SCHOEMAN *Direkteure*

VERKLARING VAN DIE VOORSITTER

As gevolg van noue aandag aan koste, was dit moontlik om op verlede jaar se winste te verbeter. Sekere kapitaalwinste is na nie-verdeelbare reserwes geplaas.

Resultate in die afgelope jaar was gunstig beïnvloed deur goeie prestasies in die tydskrif-afdeling en in ons fabriek.

Winste is op die oomblik nog bevredigend maar sal ongunstig beïnvloed word indien advertensies op beeldradio op 1 Januarie 1977 'n aanvang neem.

JOHANNESBURG

September 1977

J DE KLERK, *Voorsitter*

VADERLAND BELEGGINGS BEPERK

Finansiële Resultate vir die jaar geëindig 30 Junie 1977

Die enigste bate van die maatskappy is 2 423 467 aandele in Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Beperk. Die maatskappy het 'n onveranderde dividendinkomste van R242 347 vir die afgelope boekjaar ontvang.

Vollediger besonderhede van die resultate van Die Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Beperk verskyn in 'n verklaring namens die maatskappy se Raad.

Daarvolgens het die winste toegeneem van 29,7c na 44,7c per Afrikaanse Pers-aandeel waar ooreenkom met 9,2c en 13,8c respektiewelik per Vaderland-aandeel. Die batewaarde van 'n Afrikaanse Pers-aandeel het toegeneem van R2,99 na R4,00 waarvolgens elke Vaderland-aandeel se batewaarde toegeneem het van 92c na R1,24c.

'n Onveranderde dividend van 3c per aandeel is verklaar

Op las van die Raad
B J SCHOEMAN
M V JOOSTE

Direkteure Okt 18

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EDITORIAL OPINION

D.D. 4/10/77 (247)

Pamphlets that lie

Thousands of pamphlets were distributed throughout East London townships at the weekend in an attempt to discredit this newspaper and myself as its editor.

The poor quality of Xhosa used in the pamphlets indicates they were not compiled by blacks, and the sentiments expressed indicate that the pamphlets were in fact compiled by certain whites who wish to create hostility among blacks against this newspaper and against me.

The pamphlets contained lies. It is a lie to say I have any links with Government agents or informers. It is a lie to suggest that any members of my family are connected with state security or military — my eldest son is twelve years old. It is a lie to say the state has not taken steps against me — next month I am again on trial as to whether I will serve six months imprisonment or not. But the worst lie of all is to question my grief over the death of my friend Steve Biko.

People who seek to spread such vicious lies are people seeking to cloak their own misdeeds, but their efforts are in vain. The truth will find them out and their guilt will be made public. Their crime will be exposed.

The vast majority of the black people will reject these lies because they will know who is behind this attempt to distract attention from the crime that is about to be exposed.

The Editor.

Kule mpela-veki kusasazwe amawaka ezibhiliwane kuzo zonke ilokishi zaseMonti kuzanywa ukunyelisa igama leli phepha nelam, nje ngomhleli weli phepha.

IsiXhosa esisetyenzisiweyo sikumgangatho ophantsi into ebonisa ukuba ezi zibhiliwane azibhalangwa ngabantu abamnyama, nezinto ezithethiweyo kuzo azalathi ntlungu yomntu omnyama, into eyalatha nangakumbi ukuba kukho qaqobana labamhlophe abanomqweno wokufaka umoya omdaka phakathi kwabamnyama wokuba bavukele eli phepha kunye nam.

Ezi zibhiliwane zithetha ubuxoki. Bubuxoki ukuthi mna ndinoqhagamshelwano nearhente zikaRhulumente okanye umpimpi Bubuxoki kananjalo ukuthi kukho kusapho lwam nolwakowethu abajongene nokhusele lukarhulumente okanye osemkhosini — unyana wam omdala uneminyaka elishumi alinambini ubudala.

Bubuxoki ukuthi urhulumente akathathanga manyathelo okundimangalela — kule nyanga izayo ndiza kuvela enkundleni apho kuya kugqitywa ukuba ndidontse inyanga ezintandathu okanye hayi na. Obona buxoki bugqitha bonke obunye bobokuthi andixhwalekanga kukusweleka komhlobo wam uSteve Biko.

Abantu abanenjongo zokusasaza ubuxoki obukhohlakele ngolu hlobo ngabantu abazama ukuquma izenzo zabo ezingendawo, kodwa amalinge abo awe phantsi Inyaniso izakuzicacela ibonakalise esidlangalalen, ubutyala babo budandalaze elubala.

Uninzi lwabantu abamnyama luza kububona obu buxoki lubukhabe ngawo omane kuba bayakube besazi ukuba ngubani obusasazayo ezama ukulahla umkhondo kwibibi eliza kuvela kungekudala

— Umhleli

Detailed sunshine data are available from both Bloemfontein and Bethlehem (Table 2). Bethlehem data would appear to represent the situation in the Ficksburg-Clocolan area better than the data from Bloemfontein. However, the difference between these figures illustrates the increasing aridity from East to West, which is evident even in the short distance from Ficksburg to Clocolan. These data show the average annual duration of bright sunshine to be 70 - 80 per cent of the possible. During summer months, when rain clouds are present, only 60 per cent of the possible sunshine duration is recorded, whilst the relatively cloudless winter skies allow 80 per cent of the possible sunshine to be recorded. Although the average daily sunshine recording is highest

Editor lodges complaint

247

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6/10/77

PIETERMARITZBURG — The Editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, disclosed here yesterday that he had lodged a complaint with the South African Press Council against the Cape Nationalist newspaper, Die Burger, in what is believed to be the first case in which a South African editor has accused another editor of contravening the new press code.

In the course of an address at the University of Natal, Mr Woods criticised "Nationalist newspapers such as Die Burger, Die Vaderland, Die Transvaler and The Citizen" for certain reports on the death of detainee Steve Biko last month and attacked Die Burger particularly for a front-page headline it had published which he said gave the impression that an allegation by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, about certain pamphlets, was "established fact" instead of an allegation "by a partisan politician".

He said he had telephoned the newspaper and asked them to correct the wrong impression he felt the headline encouraged, but that this had not been done.

"This was a disgracefully slanted headline and accordingly I have reported it to the Press Council," said Mr Woods.

He rejected any suggestion that Steve Biko had wanted violence and bloodshed in South Africa.

"He foresaw it, yes. Don't we all? He could see it looming ahead. But to

suggest that he advocated it or desired it is not only a despicable lie but a cowardly one in that the accusation never came in his lifetime but comes only when he is dead and cannot answer back," he said.

Mr Woods also criticised The Citizen for "creating the absurd impression that the basic cause of Steve Biko's death was nephritis" and added: "One hopes that when the truth comes out such newspapers will swallow their misleading words and headlines".

Warning that South Africa was heading for civil war, he said voices of warning were increasingly being regarded as voices of incitement.

As far as South Africa in the long term was concerned he remained an optimist, but it was the short-term that held danger because "apartheid is on direct collision course with black anger, and those who rule underestimate the depth and scope of this anger".

In a strong attack on the Security Police, he said that in addition to 45 deaths in detention there had been public testimony of alleged torture of detainees and that many South Africans believed these allegations.

"Will Mr Vorster not consider it necessary on the score alone to hold a judicial inquiry?" he asked.

He believed it was wrong to give Security Police "the power of life and death" over innocent, unaccused citizens and called for an end to all detention without trial. — DDC.

7/10/27 (247)

Book ban angers editor

Mercury Correspondent

QUEENSTOWN — Mr. A. B. Greig, the editor of Queenstown's daily newspaper, the Daily Representative and father of England cricketer Tony Greig, will appear in the Ladybrand Magistrate's Court on October 12 charged with being in possession of an objectionable publication.

The publication con-

cerned is a novel, The Last Cop Out, by crime writer Mickey Spillane.

It was found in Mr. Greig's possession when he was crossing the border from Lesotho to South Africa.

He said the book had been bought in South Africa.

Mr. Greig has turned down the opportunity of

paying an admission of guilt fine of R50.

"There's no way I'll pay a fine on a charge of this nature and I am prepared to serve any prison sentence imposed by the Court.

"I would have thought the State machinery could have been more usefully employed at a time like this than in pressing charges involving an antiquated law

which decides what a responsible adult may or may not read in his own leisure time for his own amusement.

"All my children, who are grown up and now live overseas, are astounded and highly amused by this.

"They can't believe books by Mr. Spillane really are banned in South Africa," Mr. Greig said.

Biko headline

25M 2/10/77
may have

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giving

impression

STAFF REPORT

YESTERDAY'S main headline in the Daily Mail, "No sign of hunger strike - Biko doctors," may have conveyed the erroneous impression that this was a direct quote by the doctors who had examined Mr Steve Biko before his death.

The correct position was as follows: the opening paragraph of the report was based on a "Mail" investigation, that included interviews with the doctors who examined Mr Biko, and revealed that Mr Biko showed no signs of a hunger strike or dehydration.

In other words it was the full investigation, based in part on the interviews, which revealed this -- and not solely what the doctors said.

Council raps

Mail over

Biko report

Star 8/10/77

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Childhood—Clear
Circular, adj., e chitja joaleka le saka; n., lengolo la tsebiso le romeloang batho ba bangata.
Circumcise, v., ho bōlōtsa.
Circumcision, n., lebōllo; to go to the circumcision, ho bōllo.
Circumspect, adj., e masenè, e ke-

Childhood, n., bongoaana.
Childish, adj., ea bongoaana.
Childless, adj., ea se nang bana.
Chilled, v., to be, ho shoa ke serame, ho kēna ke mobatsela; the wind is chilling, moea o hatsetse hampe.

Charitable, adj., ea imang, rata-nang le batho.
Charity, n., ho etsetsa batho hantle.
Charm, n., magic power, thatho, sethare, phoso.
Charm, v., to delight, ho khahlisa.
Chase, v., ho thabisa.

Certain—Childbirth
Certain, adj., ea 'nete, ea sebele, e itseng; a certain man, motho oa hore ho itseng.
Certainly, adv., ka 'nete, ruri, ka sebele, amaruni.
Certainty, n., 'nete, ruri, tsebiso.
Certificate, n., lengolo la ho paka, la ho tisa taba.
Certify, v., ho paka, ho tisa.
Chaff, n., mōkō.
Chafe, v., the skin, ho phumola.
Chafe, v., to fret, fume, ho ngēta, ho itšēna; to excite passion, ho halefisa.
Chain, n., lehlahlala, leqakatsa, ketane; v., ho hōleha, tlama.
Chair, n., setulo sa ho lula, sa ho ruta.
Chairman, n., motsamaiisi oa phutho ea litaba.
Chalk, n., phōfō e tšoeu, choko.
Challenge, v., ho phephetsa; ho eisa; n., keiso, phephetso.
Challenger, n., motsōela-ntoang.
Chamber, n., phaposi, ntlō ea lekhotla.
Chameleon, n., lempete, lenoabo.
Chance, n., seōlo; a good chance, hloahloa, lehlohonolo.
Chance, v., ho tšoba, ho hlaha.
Change, v., ho fetola; to become changed, ho fetoha; to change one's mind, ho thunya-thunya, koencha; to change money, ho thuba chelete, n., phetoho, koencho; chelete tse nyanyane.
Chaos, n., moluba-lube, ntho e se nang sebōpeho.
Chap, n., thabela, lefatsane, le-nga, pelane; chap under the toes, monyōkolane; v., ho petla.
Chapel, n., ntlō ea thapelo.
Chaplain, n., moruti oa lekhotla la masole.
Chaplet, n., sefaha sa litōna.
Chapter, n., khaohanyo, karolo ea buka, khaolo, hloho.
Character, n., semelo, mokhoa oa motho, sebōpeho sa motho.
Charcoal, n., mashala a lifate.
Charge, v., ho neela (ntoeng), ho laela, bēa molato, n., tso, bole-beli, taēlo, paballo; he is in my charge, o paballong ea ka, charge of a gun, hlahlō ea sethunya.
Charitable, adj., e moholo, oa sehloho.

The Rand Daily Mail was reprimanded last night by the Press Council over a report published yesterday in connection with the death of Black Consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko

An urgent complaint brought before the council by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, was heard last night by Mr Justice Galgut and two assessors

INTERVIEWS

Mr Kruger complained in writing and was not present at the hearing.

The Minister referred to the front-page story under the headline "No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors"

The complaint was that the body of the report did not support the headline in one way or another

Further, the body of the report did not support the statement contained in this paragraph:

"The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death"

A copy of the statement made by Mr Kruger after the death and a later denial by Mr Kruger that he had indicated that a hunger strike was the cause of death, was attached to the complaint.

Mr S Kentridge, SC, for the Rand Daily Mail, argued that the statement attached to the complaint was not the statement referred to in the report.

"UNACCEPTABLE"

After the finding, Mr Kentridge told Mr Justice Galgut that the finding of the council was "completely unacceptable"

"It is a finding that no reasonable tribunal could have come to," Mr Kentridge said

"I am ignoring what you have just said," Mr Justice Galgut told Mr Kentridge

"And what I have said here earlier," Mr Kentridge replied

● Full report Page 4

Chronic, adj., e iphetang hangata; chronic disease, lefu le iphetang ka nako e itseng, bohloko bo liqobo be le ea tšōfē.
Chrysalis, n., phetoho ea seruru-bele le ea tšōfē.
Chuckle, v., ho tšēha.
Church, n., building, kereke, ntlō ea thapelo; a Christian assembly, kereke, phutheho ea balumeli.
Churchyard, n., phupu ea bafu.
Churn, v., ho fēhla, n., lefethlo sefēhilelo.
Chyme, n., mosoang.
Cicatrix, n., sepha, sebetsi.
Cinder, n., molora oa mashala.
Circle, n., mopotohō, seikalikoe; complete circle, lesaka la nkope.
Circuit, n., to make a circuit, ho potoloha.

teana ka matla; to cause to clash, ho thula, thulanya.
Clasp, v., ho tšosana, kopa, ngomela.
Class, n., sešema, lefoko, mofuta.
Clatter, n., lerata, molumo, kapa lerata ha ntho tse thata li teana.
Claw, n., lerō.
Clay, n., mobu oa ho etsa serētšē, serētšē; pottery, letsopa; white clay, phēpa, khoraba, mokoetša.
Clean, adj., e hloekileng, ntle, hlo-kang litšila, v., ho hloekisa, hlatsoa, hlakōla, tsōkōlisa.
Cleanliness, n., hloeko, makhethe.
Cleanse, v., ho hlatsoa, hlakōla-ōla, khōfa.
Clear, adj., e hloekileng, e ehleng; v., ho hloekisa, eisa, hleka, lokōlla molatong.

Clash, v., e iphetang hangata; chronic disease, lefu le iphetang ka nako e itseng, bohloko bo liqobo be le ea tšōfē.
Chrysalis, n., phetoho ea seruru-bele le ea tšōfē.
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Church, n., building, kereke, ntlō ea thapelo; a Christian assembly, kereke, phutheho ea balumeli.
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Cinder, n., molora oa mashala.
Circle, n., mopotohō, seikalikoe; complete circle, lesaka la nkope.
Circuit, n., to make a circuit, ho potoloha.

Cheak, n., mothetsi; thatso, le-qhaka; v., ho thetsa thekisoeng, phōma, shinella, khohlisa.
Check, v., ho thibela, hanela; n., thibelo.
Check, n., lerama; check-bone, kuthamama.
Cheer, n., thabo, litlatse; v., ho hlabela motho litlatse; to cheer up, ho khothatsa, khothahala.
Cheerful, adj., e thabiseleng, hlasi-molohang.
Cheese, n., mafi a thata.
Chest, n., breast, sefuba; box, le-kese le koalolang.
Chew, v., ho hlafuna, tšohla; chew the cud, thuisa, kuma, busō-lōsa.
Chicken, n., tsuoanyana.
Chickenpox, n., mokoana, khō-phole.
Chide, v., ho khalemela, ho nya-tsa.
Chief, n., morēna e moholo, hloho, khosana, monghali, mong; kho-sana, monghali, mong; adj., e moholo, oa sehloho.
Chieftain, n., morēna, molao, se-ēpa-pitso, khosana.
Chieftainship, n., borēna, serēna.
Chilblain, n., monyōkolane, machachetsi a serame.
Child, n., ngoana, plur. bana.
Childbirth, n., pelehi.

Chap, n., thabela, lefatsane, le-nga, pelane; chap under the toes, monyōkolane; v., ho petla.
Chapel, n., ntlō ea thapelo.
Chaplain, n., moruti oa lekhotla la masole.
Chaplet, n., sefaha sa litōna.
Chapter, n., khaohanyo, karolo ea buka, khaolo, hloho.
Character, n., semelo, mokhoa oa motho, sebōpeho sa motho.
Charcoal, n., mashala a lifate.
Charge, v., ho neela (ntoeng), ho laela, bēa molato, n., tso, bole-beli, taēlo, paballo; he is in my charge, o paballong ea ka, charge of a gun, hlahlō ea sethunya.
Charitable, adj., e moholo, oa sehloho.

~~Act~~ D.D. 8/10/77 (247)

Press Council reprimands Rand paper

JOHANNESBURG — In an unprecedented urgent session of the South African Press Council, convened at the request of the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, the Council, after sitting until late last night, reprimanded the Rand Daily Mail for a front page report concerning the causes of death of Mr Steve Biko.

The Press Council, under the chairmanship of former Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Oscar Galgut, with Professor T. van Wyk of Unisa and Mr Jan Victor of Perskor as assessors, upheld two complaints by Mr Kruger.

One was against the headline: "No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors," which Mr Kruger contended was not justified by the report, and the other was against a paragraph in the report

"The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the worldwide outcry over Mr Biko's death."

Mr Kruger's contention was that this paragraph was not supported by the body of the report.

His request for an urgent hearing was because he regarded it as "in the national interest"

In its findings upholding both complaints, the Council ruled that the Rand Daily Mail

publish the full adjudication on its front page as soon as possible

Mr S W Kentridge, SC, for the Rand Daily Mail, said the findings of the Council were "completely unacceptable" and he asked the Council to review them

Mr Kentridge said that "no reasonable tribunal" could have come to such conclusions. He questioned "the sort of public image . . . in the world at large" the findings of the Council would create.

Earlier Mr Kentridge said the Minister's complaints had no foundation and asked why Mr Kruger was not present at the hearing

"I contend the complaints have no foundation, and never had, and that is why the complainant, acting with certain coolness, did not in fact have the coolness to show his face before this tribunal."

Mr Kentridge, in an hour-long submission, said the Rand Daily Mail had

sent a request to Mr Kruger through the Press Council Secretariat asking him to be present "to amplify and explain the complaints."

He contended that Mr Kruger should have been present if the matter was one of national urgency.

Mr Justice Galgut said it was not in the rules of the Council for complainants to attend hearings.

Earlier Mr Kentridge conceded that the report's headline could be ambiguous. "On a certain interpretation it may be said that it is at least ambiguous" But he said in this case the Rand Daily Mail was prepared to publish an explanation and correction "without requiring any direction from the Press Council"

He also said that if the Mail's facts were shown to be false, the newspaper would see they were "unhesitatingly corrected."

But, said Mr Kentridge, the Mail stood by every statement in its report as

being "true and correct" and that the newspaper had been brought to the Council "on a wild goose chase"

The Mail report was based on interviews with doctors who examined Mr Biko before his death on September 12. It listed its disclosures, which it said were based on the doctors' interviews

"We would like to be told which of these dozen or so statements are incorrect," said Mr Kentridge. "We stand by these statements. There is nothing to show they are incorrect" — SAPA

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Biko report: Press Council raps Mail

cont

Justice Minister calls for urgent hearing

The Press Council reprimanded the Rand Daily Mail last night after an urgent hearing brought at the request of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger.

Mr Kruger, who was not present or represented at the hearing, made two complaints about the newspaper's front-page lead yesterday, headlined "No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors"

He challenged the headline, and a paragraph in the report which read

"The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death."

Argued

Mr S Kentridge, SC, for the Mail, argued that the statement handed in by Mr Kruger to support his complaint was an announcement of Mr Biko's death, and not the one following the worldwide outcry to which the Mail was referring

He accepted, however, that the headline was open to criticism

Mr Justice Galgut and two assessors upheld Mr Kruger's complaints and reprimanded the Mail

Immediately afterwards, Mr Kentridge told Mr Justice Galgut that the finding of the council was "completely unacceptable."

"It is a finding that no reasonable tribunal could have come to," Mr Kentridge said

This is a transcript of a taperecording of the judgment

"This complaint arises out of a report which appeared in this morning's issue of the Rand Daily Mail. It is being heard tonight as a matter



Mr Justice Galgut . . . Press Council chairman

others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death

"8) Mr Kruger said Mr Biko died in detention on September 12 after beginning a hunger strike on September 5. Several doctors who examined him could find "no physical problem," according to Mr Kruger

"9) The Mail investigation revealed that

of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death

"I attach herewith a copy of the said statement that followed the death of Mr Biko together with a denial at a later stage that I had indicated that a hunger strike was the cause of Mr Biko's death

"I regard an urgent hearing by the Press Council of national importance because of the fact that the overseas news

the complaint are paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, which I have already read in our view those paragraphs do not in any way support the headline.

"Or put the other way, it is quite clear that the headline does not give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report and to that extent, it is a contravention of Clause 2(e) of the code.

"I wish to add in this regard that Mr Kentridge has advised us that the respondent feels there may well be some merit in this complaint, and he has stated further that the respondent will publish something to this regard in tomorrow morning's newspaper.

Word 'the'

"Now I turn to the second ground of complaint.

"It would have been noticed that in reading paragraph 7 I emphasised the word "the"

"I did so because it is clear that the Minister took that word to refer to his Press release of September 13, 1977

"Mr Kentridge, on behalf of the respondent, has advised that the Minister had erred in that regard, and they were not referring to that statement. He then read to us passages from statements made by the Minister which statements were reported in various newspapers, and also at a congress of the National Party

gard, the statement by Mr Kruger that the doctors could find no physical problem was wrongly stated to have been contradictory

"The next issue which follows is that nothing in any of these points, nor was anything placed before us in the hearing to

reprimanded, and we do reprimand the Rand Daily Mail, and further we direct that those adjudication numbers that I read out, being adjudication numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 to be published on the front page of the Rand Daily Mail as soon as possible."

Mr Kentridge said: "Mr Chairman, I regret that something has fallen from you which I would ask you to recall. You do not seem to have understood, Sir, that we did not waive the rules with regard to the first complaint, and I made it perfectly clear that we



Mr Allister Sparks . . . Mail editor.

indicate that Mr Kruger was wrong when he said that any of the doctors contradicted Mr Kruger when he said that after beginning a hunger strike on September 5. We're not concerned whether in

have come only to deal with the facts

"Further, I would ask you to consider that you have completely misdirected yourselves in saying that the report from the doctors as shown, shows

SMR

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of urgency, both parties having previously agreed to dispense with the rule. Mr. Kentridge addressed us on the issue of urgency and he stated, inter alia that the urgency arose because of the nature of the allegations contained in this report as a whole.

'Not relevant'

"We as the council are of the view that the question of urgency is not relevant to the decision on the complaints filed.

"The headline to the challenged report is in extra large letters in two lines which stretch across three quarters of the page. It reads: 'No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors.'"

The following paragraphs in the body of the report are relevant. They are numbered, and the numbering is mine, as also the underlining.

1) "An extensive investigation by the Rand Daily Mail which included interviews with doctors who examined Mr Steve Biko in detention has revealed that the Black Consciousness leader showed no signs of a hunger strike or dehydration.
2) "In fact, Mr Biko was overweight when he died in detention on September 12, and on delivery for burial his well-built body weighed between 85 and 90 kg.

(i) The Security Police and doctors were 'deeply concerned' and worried about his deteriorating condition."

(ii) A lumbar puncture test — done to detect possible brain damage — was ordered by a specialist physician, Dr Colin Hersch.

(iii) The fluid drawn from the spine during the lumbar puncture revealed many red cells, which medical sources said yesterday was an indication of possible brain damage.

(iv) The results of the lumbar puncture, as well as the other symptoms, were discussed with a Port Elizabeth neurosurgeon, Dr R J Keeley, who said there was nothing to worry about. This week Dr Keeley again insisted that he would be most surprised if Mr Biko had brain damage.

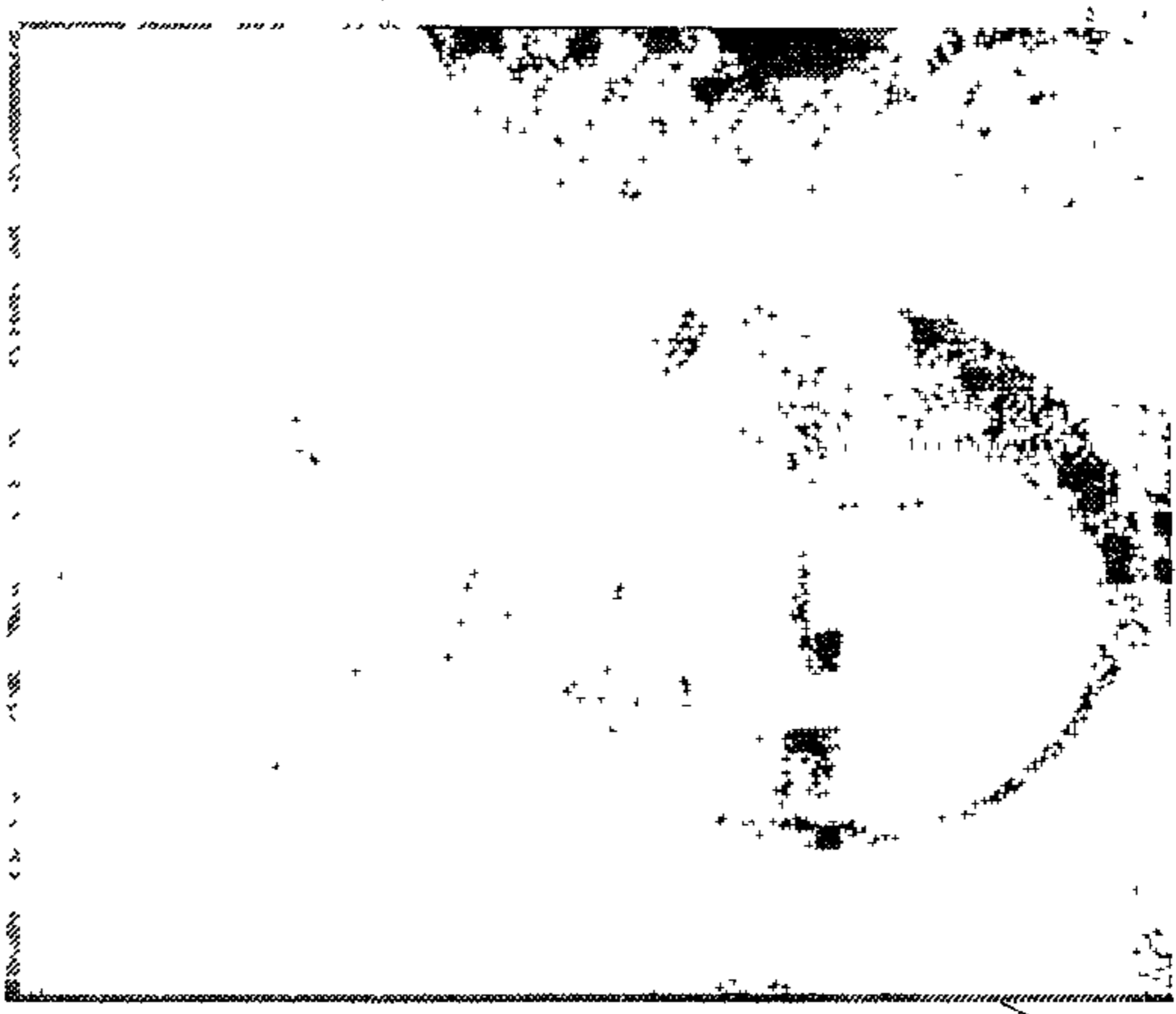
"Dr Keeley did not examine Mr Biko.

Symptoms

(v) Mr Biko showed several other worrying symptoms that seemed to indicate brain damage, and his condition deteriorated steadily while in detention.

(vi) An X-ray of the skull was recommended, but not carried out.
(vii) None of the doctors had "any idea" that Mr Biko was close to death.

"It is difficult for us to understand why the Rand media are taking over everything that is being



Mr Sydney Kentridge . . . Counsel for Mail.

written about the Biko case in the South African English Press

"It is my submission that if the normal rules of procedure be followed in this instance, a Press Council hearing would only take place in a few weeks' time. At that stage further damage would

fact he persisted with that hunger strike, or with the fact that he may have had a drink of water during a medical examination three days later.

"What we are concerned with is whether the statement made by the Minister to the effect that he died after beginning a hunger strike on September 5 — that particular statement has not been contradicted.

"It follows therefore, that in respect of the second complaint also, the report is not correct.

"In the result, then, the adjudication of the council is that the headline did not correctly reflect the contents of the report in that the contents of the headline were the statements or quotations from the doctors who attended Mr Biko.

"In that respect the headline gave the public a tendentious view of the matter, and this, in our view, is tendentious reporting.

"The two paragraphs 7 and 8, which suggest that doctors who interviewed Mr Biko made statements contradicting the two statements which I read out which appeared in paragraph 7 are not correctly reported.

"In the result then, we are of the view that the Rand Daily Mail should be

that they did not find anything wrong.

"I was also surprised to hear you say, Sir, that you are not concerned whether Mr Biko persisted in a hunger strike

"Our whole point is that there never was a hunger strike, and we would therefore ask you to recall these findings on complaints that were never before you as far as we were concerned.

"And secondly, I also have very great regret on behalf of my client that your finding is one which is completely unacceptable. In our view, it is completely contrary to the evidence before you and completely contrary to the plain meaning of the English words used.

"I reserve the right to review this, if necessary, on the grounds that it is a finding to which no reasonable tribunal could have come, and I would also ask you, Sir, in asking you to recall this, that if you are interested in the public interest and public image, what sort of a public image your finding makes in the world at large as well as in South Africa.

Mr Justice Galguti: "I am just ignoring what you have said."
Mr Kentridge: "And what I have said earlier in the hearing too, quite obviously."

STAR 8-10-77

Drank water

3) "Sources close to Mr Biko during the last days of his life also revealed that he drank water during a medical examination on September 8 — three days after, according to the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, "he began to refuse meals and water after threatening a hunger strike."

4) "The Mail investigation—in Pretoria, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town — also supported earlier reports that Mr Biko was found to have extensive brain damage and severe bruising."

5) "The doctors who examined Mr Biko in Port Elizabeth are:

● Dr Ivor Lang, the district surgeon.

● Dr Benjamin Tucker, the chief district surgeon.

● Dr Colin Hersch, a specialist physician.

6) Mr Biko's condition was discussed with a neuro-surgeon, Dr R J Keeley.

7) The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and

(viii) During initial examination by the district surgeon, Dr Ivor Lang, and the chief district surgeon, Dr Benjamin Tucker, Mr Biko was conscious and was closely questioned about his symptoms and personal history.

"The complaint reads:

"Complaint against the Rand Daily Mail of October 7, 1977

"As discussed by telephone this morning, I am hereby also submitting my complaint against this morning's Rand Daily Mail to you in writing for an urgent hearing by the Honourable Mr Justice Galgut

"Firstly I refer to the front-page headline.

"No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors"

"My complaint is that the body of the report which follows does not support such a headline one way or the other

"Secondly, the body of the report does not support the statement contained in the following paragraph:

"The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week

have been done — thus nullifying the effectiveness of the Press Council

"Thanking you for your kind co-operation in anticipation. — J T Kruger

"Mr Kentridge, as I have already stated, addressed us on the question of urgency, and again stressed these last two paragraphs as an important aspect in the complaint before us

Urgency

"We are of the view that the question of urgency is not relevant to the merits of the complaint as such. All the members of the council have no doubt whatsoever that the headline conveyed to the public that this was a statement made by the doctors who had attended Biko, and that these doctors found no sign to indicate a hunger strike.

"We have no doubt whatsoever that the Rand Daily Mail should have realised that that is what the reading public would have understood by that headline

"The only paragraphs relevant to that aspect of

points said to be correct. The points mentioned in paragraph 8

"Those two points are firstly that Mr Kruger said Mr Biko died after beginning a hunger strike on September 5

"Secondly, Mr Kruger said that several doctors who examined him could find no physical problems, according to Mr Kruger

"As already stated, the report goes on to say that the Mail investigation revealed that those investigations are in our view there to show among other things, that those two statements contained in paragraph 8 were contradicted by what followed

"These paragraphs, which I have numbered, which in the view of the council are the ones which are relevant, all show clearly that the police and the doctors were very worried by Mr Biko's condition.

"However, they do go on to show that despite their worries and despite their suspicions and their investigations, they did not find any physical problems and in that re-

Why Council backed Kruger against RDM

Tribune Reporter

THE PRESS COUNCIL reprimanded the Rand Daily Mail on Friday night after an urgent hearing brought at the request of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger.

Mr Kruger, who was not present or represented at the hearing, made two complaints about the newspaper's front page lead that day headlined: "No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors".

He challenged the headline, and a paragraph in the report which read "The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who hand contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death".

Mr S. Kentridge, SC, for the Mail, argued that the statement handed in by Mr Kruger to support his complaint was an announcement of Mr Biko's death, and not the one following the world-wide outcry to which the Mail was referring.

He accepted, however, that the headline was open to criticism.

Mr Justice Gaigut and two assessors upheld Mr Kruger's complaints and reprimanded the Mail.

After the finding, Mr Kentridge told Mr Justice Gaigut that it was "completely unacceptable."

"It is a finding that no reasonable tribunal could have come to," Mr Kentridge said.

"I am ignoring what you have just said," Mr Justice Gaigut told Mr Kentridge. "And what I have said here, earlier," Mr Kentridge replied.

The following is a transcript of a tape-recording of the judgment:

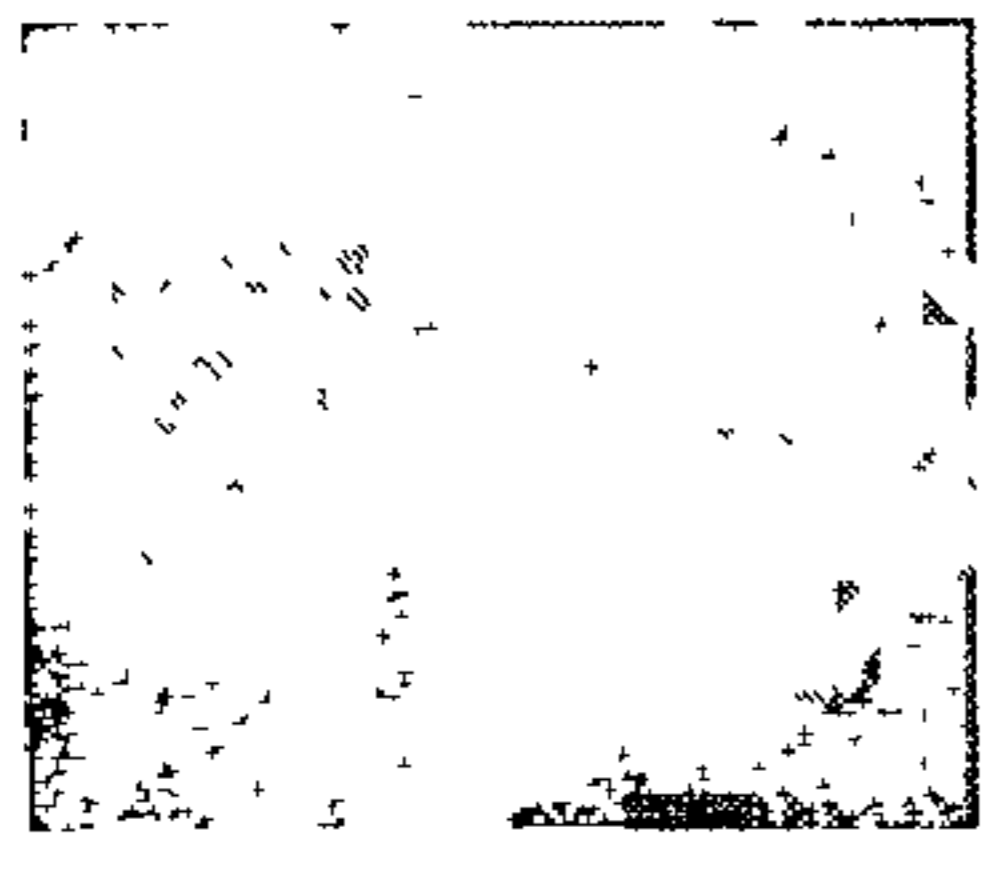
This complaint arises out of a report which appeared in this morning's issue of the Rand Daily Mail. It is being heard might as a matter of urgency, both parties have previously agreed to dispense with the rules Mr Kentridge addressed on the issue of urgency. He stated, inter alia, that the urgency arose because of the nature of the allegations contained in his report as a whole.

Not relevant

We as the council are of the view that the question of urgency is not relevant to the decision on the complaints filed.

The headline to the report is in excellent large letters in two large stretch across the quarters of the page. Reads "No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors".

The following



Justice Minister Kruger. He wasn't even there

Sun. Tribune 9/10/77

Newspaper lawyer claims findings 'completely unacceptable'

Dr Benjamin Tucker, the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Colin Hersch, a specialist physician.

Mr Biko's condition was discussed with a Port neurosurgeon, Dr R. J. Keeley.

The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death.

Well-built

In fact, Mr Biko was overweight when he died in detention on September 12, and on delivery for burial his well-built body weighed between 85 and 90 kg.

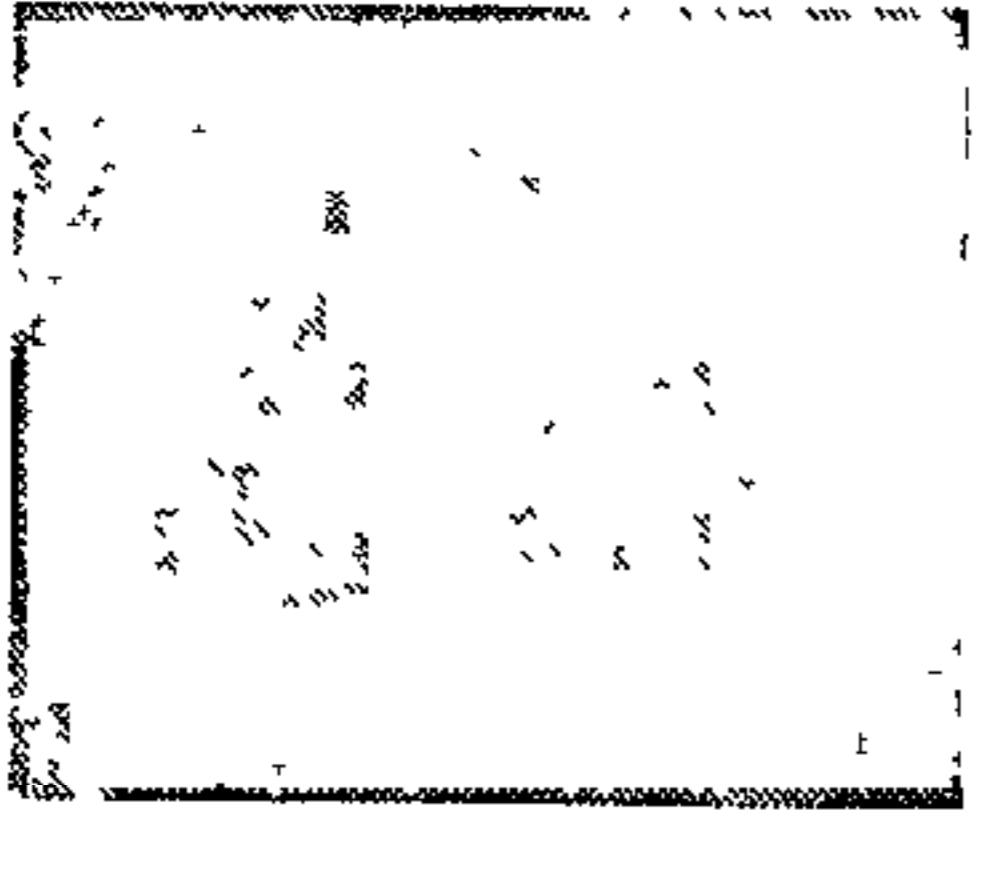
Sources close to Mr Biko during the last days of his life also revealed that he drank water during a medical examination on September 8 — three days after, according to the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, "he began to refuse meals and water after threatening a hunger strike."

Concerned

The Security Police and doctors were deeply concerned and worried about his deteriorating condition.

A lumbar puncture was done to detect possible brain damage — was ordered by a specialist physician, Dr Colin Hersch.

The fluid drawn from the spine during the lumbar puncture revealed many red cells, which medical sources said yesterday was an in-



Kentridge: Findings were unacceptable

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Lawyer claims findings 'completely unacceptable'

Dr Benjamin Tucker, the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Colin Hersch, a specialist physician.

Mr Biko's condition was discussed with a Port neurosurgeon, Dr R. J. Keeley.

The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death.

Symptoms

Dr Keeley did not examine Mr Biko.

Mr Biko showed "several other worrying symptoms that seemed to indicate brain damage, and his condition deteriorated steadily while in detention."

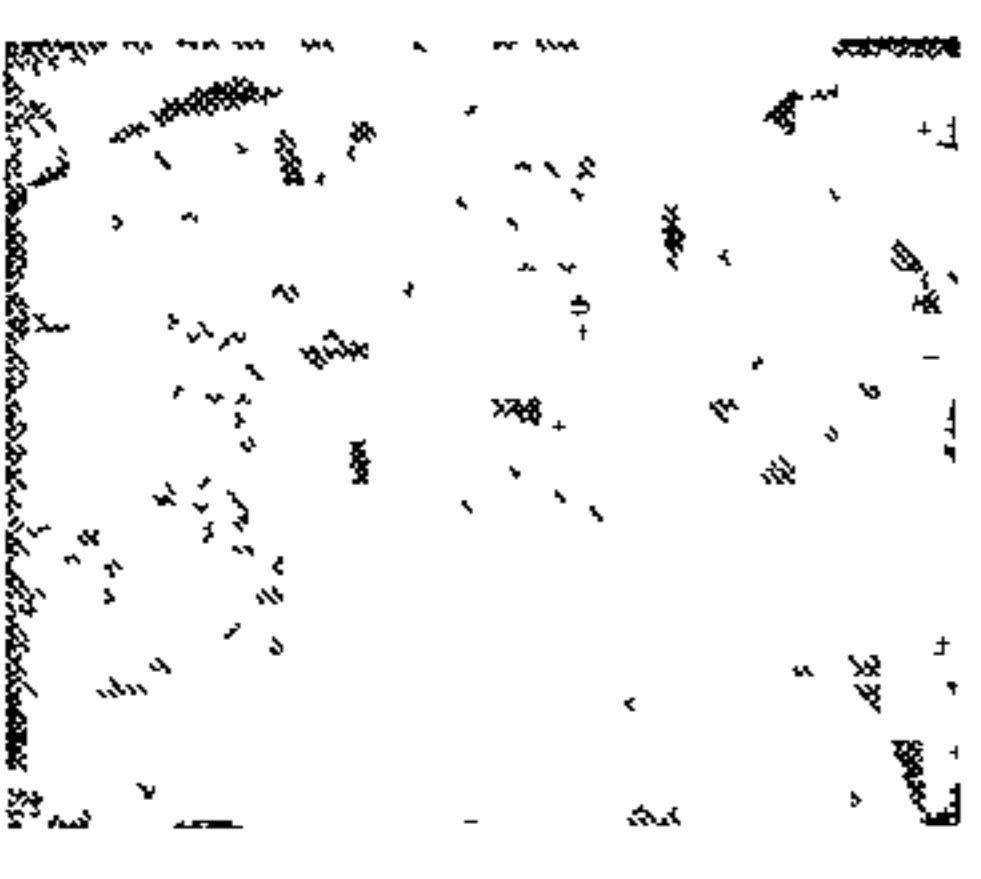
An X-ray of the skull was recommended, but not carried out.

None of the doctors had "any idea" that Mr Biko was close to death.

During initial examination by the District Surgeon, Dr Ivor Lang, and the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Benjamin Tucker, Mr Biko was conscious and was closely questioned about his symptoms and personal history.

The complaint against the Rand Daily Mail of October 7, 1977

As discussed by telephone this morning, I am hereby also submitting my complaint against this morning's Rand Daily Mail to you in writing for an



Council chairman Gaigut: It was 'tendentious'

325 - also tendentious

Council chairman Gaigut: It was 'tendentious'

urgent hearing by the Honourable Mr Justice Gaigut.

"Firstly I refer to the front-page headline: 'No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors'."

"My complaint is that the body of the report which follows does not support such a headline one way or the other."

"Secondly, the body of the report does not support the statement contained in the following paragraph: 'The facts that emerged from interviews with these doctors and others who had contact with Mr Biko during the last week of his life contradict points made by Mr Kruger in the statement that followed the world-wide outcry over Mr Biko's death'."

Mr Kruger, as I have already stated, addressed us on the question of urgency, and again stressed these last two paragraphs as an important aspect in the complaint before us.

We are of the view that the question of urgency is not relevant to the merits of the complaint as such. All the members of the council have no doubt whatsoever that the headline conveyed to the public that this was a statement made by the doctors who had attended Biko, and that these doctors found no sign to indicate a hunger strike.

We have no doubt whatsoever that the Rand Daily Mail should have realised that that is what the reading public would have understood by that headline.

The only paragraphs relevant to that aspect of the complaint are Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, which I have already read.

In our view those paragraphs do not in any way support the headline "the", and nothing has been placed before us to

Or put the other way it



Friday's Rand Daily Mail front page

325 - also tendentious

Editor to speak out this week

is quite clear that the headline does not give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report and to that extent, it is a contravention of Clause 2(E) of the Code.

I wish to add in this regard that Mr Kentridge has advised us that the respondent feels there may well be some merit in this complaint, and he has stated further that the respondent will publish something to this regard in tomorrow morning's newspaper.

Now I turn to the second ground of complaint. It would have been noticed that in reading paragraph 7 I emphasised the word "the".

I did so because it is clear that the Minister took that word to refer to his Press release of September 13, 1977.

Mr Kentridge, on behalf of the respondent, has advised that the Minister had erred in that regard, and they were not referring to that statement.

He then read to us passages from statements made by the Minister, which statements were reported in various newspapers, and also at a congress of the National Party.

It is difficult for us to understand why the Rand Daily Mail used the word "the", and nothing has been placed before us to

Or put the other way it



Friday's Rand Daily Mail front page

325 - also tendentious

No sign of hunger strike — Biko doctors

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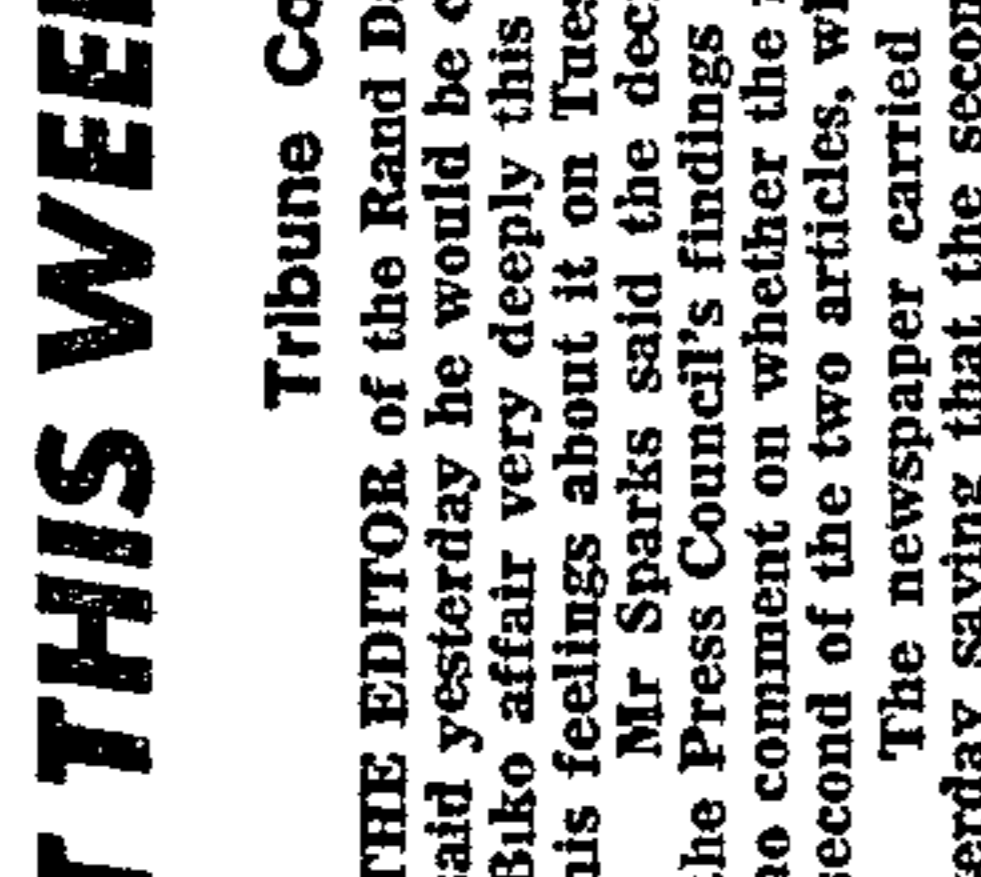
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Friday's Rand Daily Mail front page

325 - also tendentious

Contradicted

Secondly, Mr Kruger said that several doctors who examined him could find no physical problems, according to Mr Kruger.

As already stated, the report goes on to say that the Mail investigation revealed that those investigations are in our view there to show among other things, that those two statements contained in Paragraph 8 were contradicted by what followed.

These paragraphs, which I have numbered, which in the view of the council are the ones which are relevant, all show clearly that the police and the doctors were very worried by Mr Biko's condition.

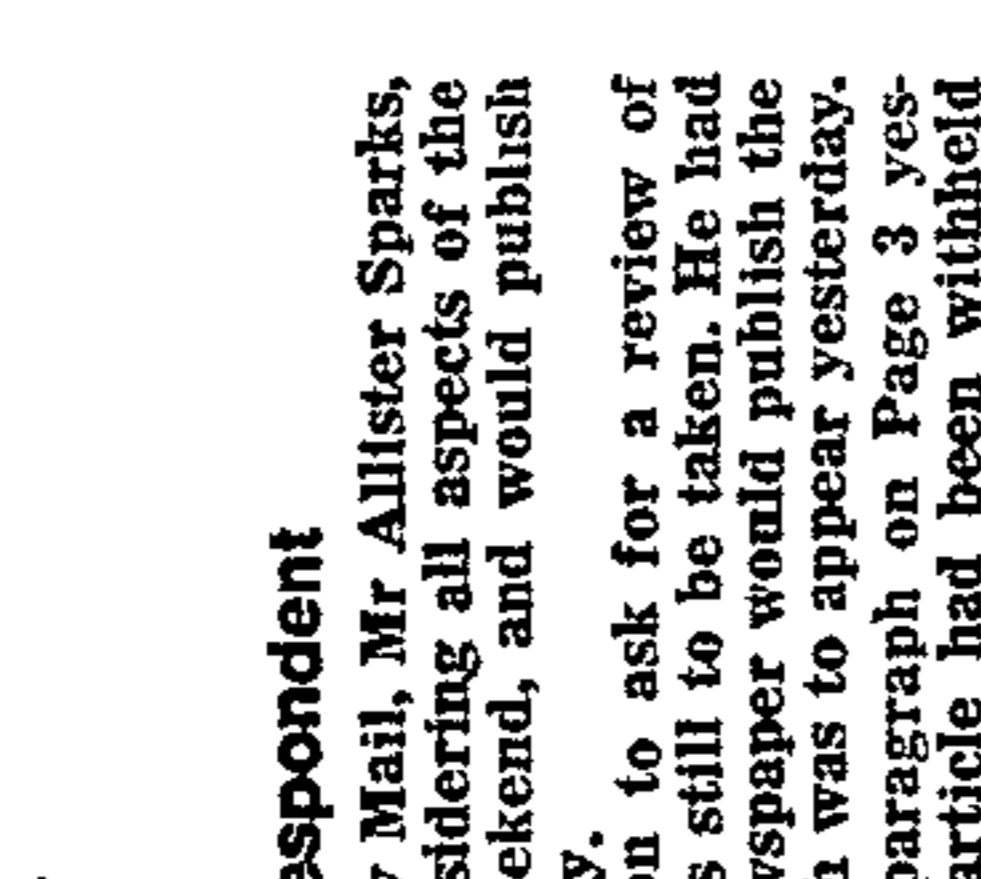
However, they do go on to show that despite their worries and despite their suspicions and their investigations, they did not find any physical problems and in that regard, the statement by Mr Kruger that the doctors could find

no physical problem was wrongly stated to have been contradictory.

The next issue which follows is that (there was) nothing in any of these points, nor was anything placed before us in the hearing to indicate that Mr Kruger was wrong when he said that any of the doctors contradicted Mr Kruger when he said that after beginning a hunger strike on September 5, we were not concerned whether in fact he persisted with that hunger strike, or with the fact that he may have had a drink of water during a medical examination three days later.

What we are concerned with is whether the statement made by the Minister to the effect that he died after beginning a hunger strike on September 5. That particular statement has not been contradicted. It follows therefore, that in respect of the second complaint also, the report is not correct.

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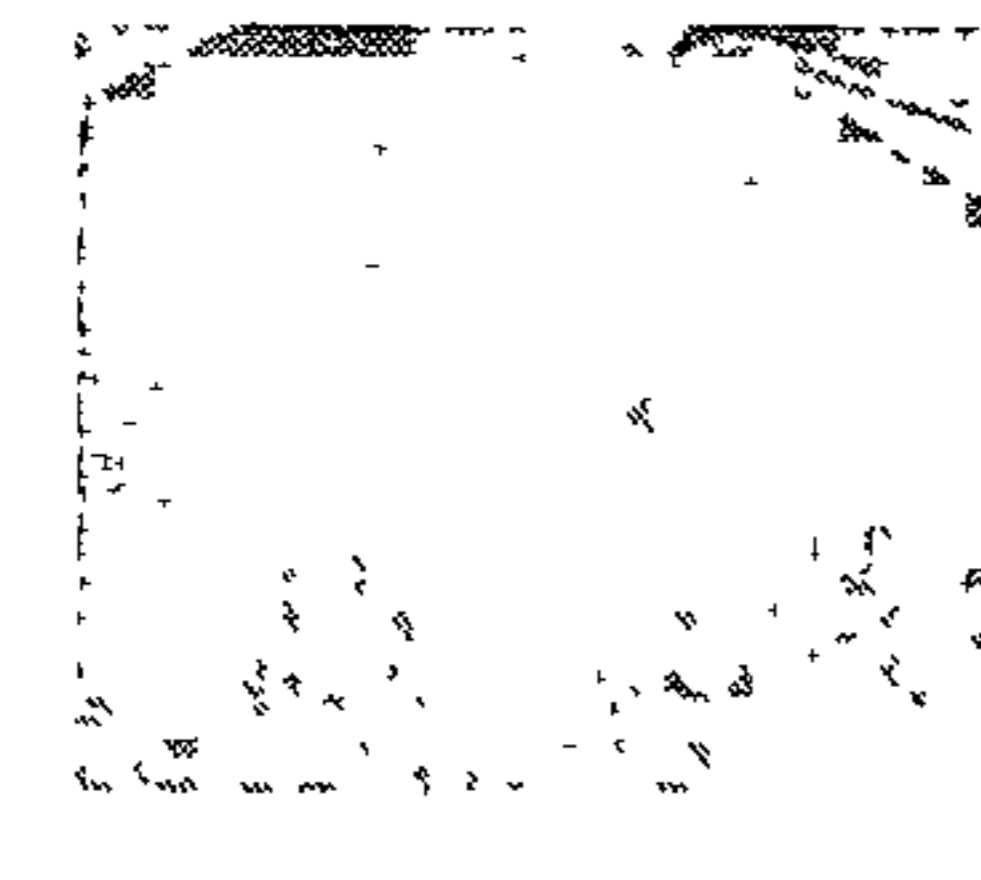
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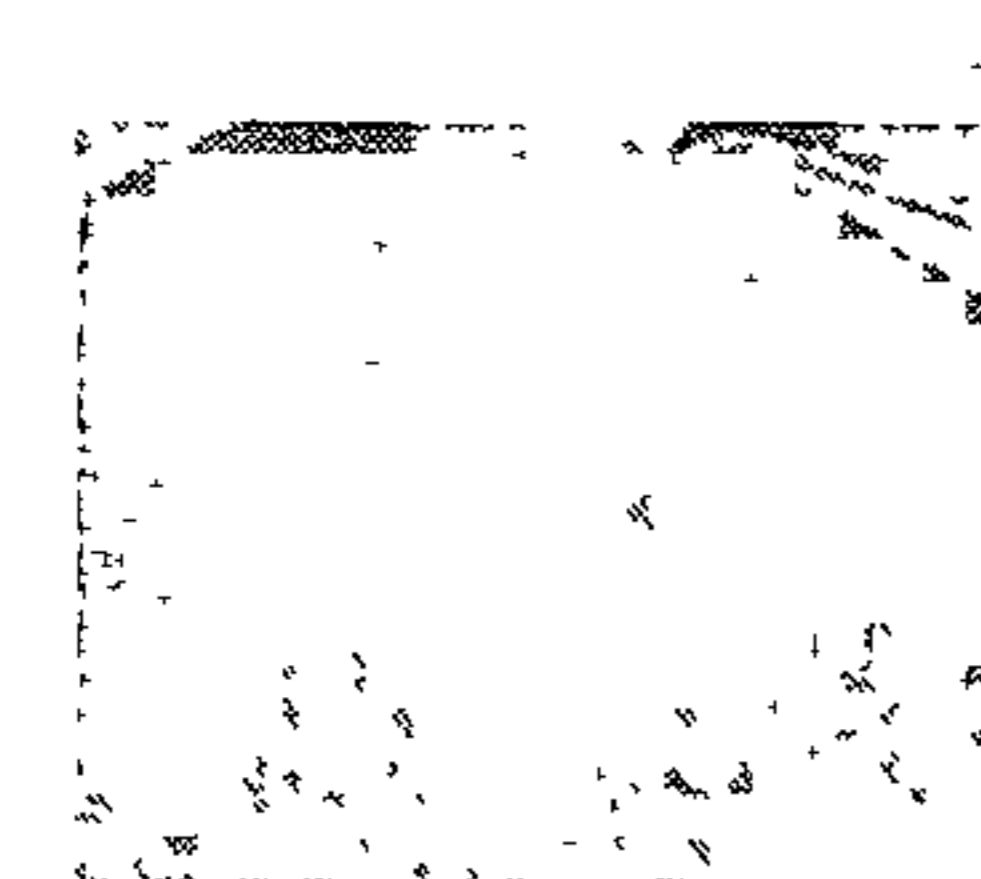
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U sal na my buister! nou advokaat

VUITWATRA bootsing in Pertsraad

Maandag 9/10/77

247

MNR NEVILLE KRIGE,
hoof van die Pertsraad
Kretoria

Deur MARTIN WELZ

VURWARM verwyte is Vrydagand heen en weer geslinger tussen die voorsitter van die Pertsraad, regter Oscar Galgut, en adv. Sydney Kentridge, SC, by die verhoor van 'n dringende klagte van die Minister van Justisie, mnr. Jimmy Kruger, teen die Rand Daily Mail.

In een stadium in die begin van die verhoor het adv. Kentridge na die voorsitter gesnou: "U sal na my buister!" En toe teen die einde: "Geen redelike tri-

bunaal kan tot so 'n bevinding kom nie!" Die Rand Daily Mail deur die Pertsraad teëgewys oor twee aspekte van sy berig van V. daerogend

doed van Steve Biko. Die berig het verskyn onder die opskrif "No sign of hunter strike" — Biko-dictator.

Min Kruger het gekla dat die opskrif nie deur die inhoud van die berig gestaan word nie. Daarby het hy aangevoer dat die volgende setling in die berig ook nie deur die inhoud gestaan word nie.

Die feit wat blyk uit onderhoude met hierdie dokters en andere, wat gedurende die laaste week van mnr. Biko se lewe kontak met hom gehad het, weersprek punt wat deur mnr. Kruger gemaak is in sy verklaring wat gevolg het op die wereldwye protes oor sy dood.

Vroeg haaks

Die Pertsraad by t'n mnr. Kruger op albei punte gelyk gegee en die Mail belang.

Regter Galgut se assessore by die saak was mnr. Jan Victor van Porskor en prof. Theo van Wyk, rektor van Utnsa.

Regter Galgut en adv. Kentridge was reeds vroeg in die verhoor haaks toe adv. Kentridge sy betoog ingelui het met 'n versoek dat die Raad kennis moet neem van die feit dat min Kruger nie persoonlik by die verhoor opgedaag het nie, ten spyte daarvan dat hy vroer die middag deur die verweerder versoek was om teenwoordig te wees om sy klagtes te verduidelik en om 'n paar vrae te beantwoord.

Nadat hy ons almal hierheen laat kom het vir 'n saak van dringende nasionale belang, moes by ten minste hoortheidshalwe hier gawees het. Adv. Kentridge gesê.

Hierop het regter Galgut geantwoord dat die betoog irrelevant was aangesien die Pertsraad se reël nie verstaan dat 'n klaer by die verhoor teenwoordig moet wees nie. Adv. Kentridge het daarop geantwoord dat die Rand Daily Mail alleen tot 'n dringende verhoor ingestem het op die veronderstelling dat

In een stadium in die begin van die verhoor het adv. Kentridge na die voorsitter gesnou: "U sal na my buister!" En toe teen die einde: "Geen redelike tri-

die Minister die Koe ant se bewering oor die onsenhede van mnr. Biko se dood betoos. In daardie geval sou dit werklik van nasionale belang wees dat die Raad onmiddellike kennis word het van die Koe ant se bewering.

Op hierdie punt het regter Galgut vir adv. Kentridge aangedui dat hy moet ophou met sy betoog. Om's betoog was 'n stukke gekk. En in my lesse is dit eens dat altes

wat u tot nou toe gesê het, irrelevant is. Het regter Galgut gesê. Netens in die reël word daar verstaan dat die klaer teenwoordig moet wees nie.

U sal na my buister, het adv. Kentridge hom met 'n druk toegesnou. Voor hierdie tribunaal geld die reël nog dat die arder kant ook aangehoor moet word voordat daar tot 'n beslissing gekom word.

Daarop het hy voortgegaan met sy betoog.

Onmiddellik nadat regter Galgut sy uitspraak gelewer het, het adv. Kentridge ontseid op die been gekom. Hy het onder meer gesê dat die bevinding "volkome onaanneemlik" is.

Na ons mening is dit heeltemal teenstrydig met die grintuens voor u en heeltemal teenstrydig met die eennoudige betekenis van die Engelse woorde wat gebruik is.

EK behou die reg voor om dit op herstelling te neer te bring op die grond dat dit 'n bewingding is, waartoe geen redelike tribunaal kan geraak nie.

En ek wil u vra as u belang stel in die openbare belang en die openbare beeld watter soort openbare beeld u bevinding is, die wêreld en in Suid-Afrika self.

Regter Galgut mnr. Kentridge ek sal wat u gesê het eenvoudig ignoreer.

Adv. Kentridge: Soos u klaarlik alles geïgnoreer het wat ek vroeër in die verhoor gesê het.

Dismount—Disunite

Dismount, v., ho theoaha pereng, thōlōha.
Disobedience, n., ho se utloae, khano, setōkō-tšebē.
Disobedient, adj., e sa utloeng.
Disorder, v., ho se utloae, hana na, n, mofere-fere, ho se lōke, masohlōko, mahleke; *to put in disorder*, ho loebehla, sohlo-kanya, solobanya, blanthōlla.
Disorganise, v., ho ferekanya.
Disown, v., ho latōla, tēla.
Disparage, v., ho nyatsa baholo, sēba.
Disparate, adj., e sa lekaneng, e sa tšoaneng, e fetanang.
Dispel, v., ho qhalanya.
Dispensary, n., ngalo eo ho ne-oang batho lithare ho eona.
Dispense, v., ho arolela, abela.
Disperse, v., ho hasa, hafa, hasa-nya, qhalanya, tsoebera, *to be dispersed*, ho etloha, farasa, fata-kana, qhalana, qhemetseha.
Dispirit, v., ho felisa pelo, kapa tšepo.
Displace, v., ho tlosa ntho tulong tsa eona.
Display, v., ho phuthōlla, bona-hatsa, hlalōsa, pepesa, n, po-nahaio, pepeso.
Displease, v., ho se khahlise, be-lactsa, *to be displeased*, ho ngo-ngoreha.
Dispose, v., ho bēa, hlophusa, lo-kisa.
Disposition, n., sebōpeho, mokhoa oa motho.
Dispossess, v., ho amōha.
Disproportion, n., ho se lekane, ho fetana.
Disprove, v., ho bontša leshano la taba.
Dispute, n., tseko, tsekusano, pha-pang, qabang, lefoqo, lekoele.
Disqualify, v., ho hlokusa motho tōlelo ea ntho.
Disregard, n., kheso, v., ho se eie hloko.
Disreputable, adj., e hloakang tšoa-nelo, e tlase, hlabisang lihlong.
Disrespect, n., hlompōllo.
Disrobe, v., ho hlōbōla, apōla.
Dissatisfy, v., ho se khahlise, se khohlise, belactsa, tletlebisā, *to be dissatisfied*, ho belactsa, tletleba.

Dissemble, v., ho etsa ka boikake-tso.
Disseminate, v., ho qhala, hasa-nya.
Dissension, n., khang, phapang.
Dissent, v., ho se lumellane, fapa-na, n, phapano, ho se utloane.
Dissimulation, n., boikhakanyo, boipato.
Dissipate, v., ho qhalanya, qhala, nyametsa.
Dissipated, adj., e mekhōa e mebe.
Dissipation, n., qhalanyo ea leruo la motho, bohloa.
Dissolute, adj., e mekhōa e mebe, sehloa.
Dissolve, v., ho qhubulhisa, arōla, senya, *to be dissolved*, ho monyela, nyebeleha.
Dissuade, v., ho eletsa motho hore a se ke a etsa hore ho itseng.
Distance, n., sebaka, bohōle, v., ho sua motho peisong.
Distant, adj., e hōle, monamo.
Distaste, v., ho se rate.
Distemper, n., lefu, bōloetse, of dōgs, semaga.
Distend, v., ho otlōlela ngā tsohle.
Distinct, adj., e furallaneng le, e khethoang ho e sa tšoaneng le eona, e bonahalang.
Distinction, n., khetho, boholo.
Distinctly, adv., ka ho khetha, ka ho utloahala.
Distinguish, v., ho khetha.
Distort, v., ho sokanya, khopamusa.
Distract, v., ho laka-likisa, fereka-nya, tsetsa, *to be distracted*, ho ferekana, tseleleha.
Distraction, n., mehopolō ha e ha-peloa ntho tse ngata, pherekano, tseleleho.
Distress, n., tsetsi, tseleho, ma-hlomola, bomalimabe; v., ho soa-busa baholo, tšoenya, hlomōlisa; *to be distressed*, ho thaseba, apa.
Distribute, v., ho aba, arōla.
District, n., sekoto sa naha, setreke.
Disturb, v., ho se tsepe, belaela, khanana; n, pelaelo.
Disturb, v., ho tšosa, ferekanya; *to be disturbed*, ho ferekana.
Disturbance, n., letsoho, mofere-fere.
Disunite, v., ho arola, arohanya, *to be disunited*, v., ho aroha, kh-o-hana.

Cool it plea to newspapers

JOHANNESBURG — The Citizen newspaper has made an urgent plea for the Government not to destroy press freedom because of the actions of one or two newspapers

In an editorial yesterday, the Citizen also called on newspapers now in the firing line to do nothing to aggravate matters to the point where a confrontation between a section of the press and the Government became inevitable.

After the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, had bumbled his way through a series of statements, it became essential for the press to handle the matter with the greatest restraint, the Citizen said

This was necessary because of local reaction and the international furore which the Biko affair had caused

Referring to the Rand Daily Mail's extensive investigation which reveal-

ed that Mr Biko showed no signs of a hunger strike or dehydration and resulted in an urgent Press Council hearing, the Citizen said the Government was indeed distressed and angry over some of the Biko reports and their effect both here and overseas.

"There is talk of reintroducing the Press Law next year. There is also talk of drastic action being taken before then against one or two newspapers." — DDC

JOHANNESBURG — Newspaper reports on the meeting of the Press Council last Friday evening had created the impression that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, had called the meeting of the council

This was not so, the Press Council said in a statement here yesterday.

The council said that in lodging his complaint

against the Rand Daily Mail, the Minister requested that the matter be considered urgently and that the rule in terms of which a newspaper complained against is entitled to a period of seven days to respond to the complaint be waived.

"Any member of the public who lodges a complaint may make a similar request.

"The Minister was told his request could only be met if, in the first instance, the Rand Daily Mail agreed to waive the rule and, secondly, if the chairman of the council then agreed to convene such an urgent meeting

"The Minister's request was put to the Rand Daily Mail who consented and the chairman called the meeting for Friday evening.

The Minister was advised and a request by the Rand Daily Mail that he should be present at the hearing was conveyed to him.

"The request by Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, for his complaint against Die Burger also to be heard as a matter of urgency will be put to Die Burger. If Die Burger agrees to waive the rule, the complaint will probably be dealt with in the same way as the Minister's complaint against the Rand Daily Mail" — SAPA.

A.D. 11/10/77 (247)

Press Council explains urgent night sitting

Disuse—Downcast

Dogged, adj, motho ea hloentseng.
Doings, n, plur, liketso, metsa-mao.
Doll, n, setšoantšo, popi.
Dollar, n, chelete ea America e etsang 4s.
Dolt, n, sethoto.
Domestic, adj, eo e leng ea ntlo, e thapileng, n, mohlanaka, le-khabunyane.
Domesticate, v, ho thapisa.
Dominant, v, ho rena, busa.

N. Mercury 11/18/77

Press body clears it up

JOHANNESBURG — Newspaper reports on the meeting of the Press Council last Friday evening had created the impression that the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. T. Kruger, had called the meeting of the council, but this was not so, the Press Council said in a statement here yesterday.

The Press Council wishes to make it clear that, in lodging his complaint against the Rand Daily Mail the minister requested that the matter be considered as one of urgency.

Request

He asked that the rule in terms of which a newspaper complained against is entitled to a period of seven days to respond to the complaint, be waived.

Any member of the public who lodges a complaint may make a similar request.

The statement says: "The minister was told that his request could only be met if, in the first instance, the Rand Daily Mail agreed to waive the rule and, secondly, if the chairman of the council then agreed to convene such an urgent meeting.

"The minister's request was put to the Rand Daily Mail who consented and the chairman thereupon called the meeting for Friday evening.

"The minister was advised and a request by the Rand Daily Mail that he should be present at the hearing was conveyed to him.

"The request by Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch for his complaint against the Burger also to be heard as a matter of urgency will be put to the Burger. If the Burger agrees to waive the rule the complaint will probably be dealt with in the same way as the minister's complaint against the Rand Daily Mail."
(Sapa).

D.D. 12/10/77

Kruger says new Mail headline breaches code

247

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, reacted yesterday to a leading article in the Rand Daily Mail under the

OAU oil cut bid

LONDON — A seven-member delegation of the Organisation of African Unity flies to Iran later this month to try to pressure the Shah into cutting off South Africa's oil supplies

This action is being taken in retaliation against South Africa's refusal to cut off Rhodesia's oil supplies

The Shah is expected to resist strongly any attempt to force him to cut off South Africa's oil. Iran has a share in the Natref refinery in South Africa — DDC

heading "The crux of that Press Council case"

Mr Kruger said in a statement the Mail breached the journalistic code with another incorrect heading

"In spite of what the chairman (an ex-Appellate Division judge) of the commission correctly dealt with, the Mail makes its own "crux" as being the facts (simply stated — not proven) of the medical reports

"The Rand Daily Mail knows very well that I, as the responsible Minister, cannot divulge any portions of the reports while awaiting the final autopsy reports. All the reports will be placed in due course before a competent authority. Yet persists in challenging me to do so, going so far as to say that I am afraid to do so"

Mr Kruger said the real crux of the Press Council case was the following

That a newspaper of the

so-called standing of the Rand Daily Mail writes a headline which does "not give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report" and to that extent breaches its ethical code. To quote the judgment "In that respect the headline gave the public a tendentious view of the matter, and this in our view is tendentious reporting"

That a newspaper of the so-called standing of the Rand Daily Mail writes two paragraphs which suggest that the doctors who interviewed Mr Biko made statements contradicting statements already made by the Minister, are not correctly reported

"The above is the true crux of the Press Council case which the Rand Daily Mail is now conveniently trying to dodge

"I may also say that the lack of grace shown by the Rand Daily Mail when its own Press Council, with its own chairman, censures it, surely deserves the censure of the South African public"

Mr Kruger said the allegation that it was necessary for him to attend the hearing was totally refuted by the chairman's finding

"Indeed, I had indicated earlier that should the chairman require my presence, I was willing to attend the hearing," the Minister said — SAPA

DD . B/10/77

Editor is guilty, 247 discharged

LADYBRAND — The Editor of the Queenstown newspaper, the Daily Representative, Mr Alexander Broom Greig, was found guilty in the magistrate's court yesterday of being in possession of an objectionable publication in terms of the Publications Act of 1974.

The magistrate, Mr H P. Strydom, cautioned and discharged Mr Greig.

Mr Greig, who was not represented, pleaded guilty.

The publication concerned is a novel, *The Last Cop Out*, by crime writer, Mickey Spillane, and it was found in Mr Greig's possession when he was crossing the border from Lesotho to South Africa. He said the book had been bought in South Africa. — SAPA-DDR

DD,
13/10/77

Paper receives ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ complaint

PRETORIA — The black newspaper, The World, yesterday acknowledged receipt of the latest urgent complaint by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, to the Press Council about an editorial in the newspaper last Saturday.

In a statement the newspaper's editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, said. "We have received the Minister's complaint from the Press Council and we are considering it in the light of the Minister's request that the matter be dealt with as speedily as possible."

No elaboration on the statement could be gained from the newspaper's manager, Mr John Marquard, but the registrar of the Press Council, Mr G. Uys, said he hoped to receive a reply from The World this morning.

Mr Kruger's complaint was against a leading article in The World headed, "Kruger explodes that myth of South Africa's 'free' Press," and which went on to deal with the Press Council hearing against the Rand Daily Mail last Friday.

Mr Kruger objected to six of the paragraphs in the leading article and claimed they breached the various sections of the Press Code — DDC.

Transvaler man wants 'real' speech freedom

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A political reporter for the Transvaler, saying he is tired of being a propagandist for the National Party newspaper, has issued a challenge to the entire South African press "to allow real freedom of speech"

"Today I am withdrawing from party politics. I want to be able to function as an independent journalist, but I do not believe there is a single truly independent paper in this country," said Mr Natie Ferreira, a former Chief Sub-editor of the Cape Times

A 38-year-old Afrikaner who said he was "born and raised in the Nat Party", Mr Ferreira said the South African press must promote honest communication if it is to be truly free

Speaking at a sparsely attended press conference at a Johannesburg hotel, Mr Ferreira said, "Things are not getting better in South Africa, they are getting worse"

"This is an escalating situation and I do not believe we can carry on with the current party political line structures"

Mr Ferreira said the South African press did not accurately reflect what was happening in this country

Saying "I myself am in the process of analysing the party policy," Mr Ferreira refused to comment on his own political philosophy except to say he is committed to "the freedom principle"

He described this principle as "the right of people of any colour, race or creed to live a free life without undue pressures, without being discriminated against"

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X

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D.D. 15/10/77

Kruger slams World decision 247

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, yesterday accused The World of "double standards," following a decision by the newspaper not to agree to an emergency Press Council hearing of his complaint against it

Meanwhile, it was learnt yesterday that Mr Kruger has complained to the Press Council about a report in the Pretoria News on the death of Mr Steve Biko

His complaint against the Pretoria News was the third against newspapers for articles on the Biko death

On Tuesday Mr Kruger asked for an urgent hearing against a leading article in the World, alleging that six of its 12 paragraphs contravened the press code.

After consultations with its lawyers, however, the World yesterday declined to agree to an urgent hearing.

The World said yesterday "We regret that we do not consider there are sufficiently strong grounds for our agreeing to do so. We are, however, giving full attention to each of the six points raised by the Minister to determine their merits and our response."

Mr Kruger attacked the World for its decision.

His complaint, Mr Kruger said, had been based on the "serious allegations" made against him in the World and it was only fair the matter should be heard as soon as possible.

"In the light of the stand the World takes on matters of justice, it would appear to me that double standards are applied when it comes to justice for a member of the Government.

"I find it scandalous that a newspaper wastes no time in attacking a Minister, but wishes to wait the full period of the rules to redress any wrong."

The Editor of the World, Mr Percy Qoboza, declined to comment.

In terms of Press Council proceedings a newspaper has seven days to rectify any complaint to the satisfaction of the complainant.

Mr Kruger said yesterday he did not know when the post-mortem report on Mr Biko would be available, but hoped it would be as soon as possible.

At this stage he was not prepared to find the police guilty or condemn them before the facts were known. He trusted the police and would accept the findings of an inquest.

— DDC-SAPA

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Just like that - a new temple, swamp-drainage, harbour works,
River-clearance, undertaking, the lot - then pocket the cash
And fraudulently file their petition in bankruptcy.
Once these fellows were horn-players, stumping the provinces
In road-shows, their puffed-out cheeks a familiar sight
To every country village. But now they stage shows themselves,
Of the gladiatorial sort, and at the mob's thumbs-down
Will butcher a loser for popularity's sake, and
Pass on from that to erecting public privies. Why not?
These are such men as Fortune, by way of a joke,
Will sometimes raise from the gutter and make Top People.
What can I do in Rome? I never learnt how
To lie. If a book is bad, I cannot puff it, or bother
To ask around for a copy; astrological clap-trap
Is not in my stars. I cannot and will not promise
To encompass any man's death by way of obliging his son.
I have never meddled with frogs' guts; the task of carrying
Letters and presents between adulterous lovers
I resign to those who know it. I refuse to become
An accomplice in theft - which means that no governor
Will accept me on his staff. It's like being a cripple,
With a paralysed right hand. Yet who today is favoured
Above the conspirator, his head externally seething
With confidential matters, never to be revealed?
Harmless secrets carry no obligations, and he
Who shares them with you feels no great call thereafter

Journal: Kruger must be sacked

LONDON — The influential weekly journal, The Economist, devoted its front page and main editorial yesterday to the death of the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko

The front cover shows Mr Biko's coffin on a trailer and asks, "But how did Biko die?"

Parts of the main editorial read: "If Steve Biko had not been who he was, his death in a Pretoria prison cell on September 12 would have gone largely unnoticed."

The Economist called on the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to dismiss his Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger,

and said the Nationalists' policy was "repugnant" and a recipe for disaster.

It said Mr Kruger had at first tried to explain away Mr Biko's death. "It would have been better for Mr Kruger if he had said nothing," The Economist said.

"If Mr Vorster wants to regain any respect in the world community, he must remove Mr Kruger from his Cabinet," the editorial said.

The journal said Mr Vorster seemed to have authorised Mr Kruger to divert attention from the subject of Mr Biko's death by harassing newspapers that were trying to get at the truth. — DDC.

experimental work had been investigated. The colour processing technique was therefore experimental. One criticism that can be made of the colour prints is that the colour balance between groups of photos, even within the same run, varied. The overall impressions of some photos is a bright yellow compared to others which had a dark purple hue over the entire print. This variation is due to small processing units and the exhaustion of chemicals during the process. This situation will, no doubt, improve with experience, which will come as the product gains in popularity. The advantages of increased accuracy and detail of colour photographs over black and white (monochrome) photography have been established in the previous section (6.1). Another advantage, not investigated here but which has been discussed by Heller et al. (1964) and which was noted, is that the colour image enables faster interpretation. Faster interpretation of colour photos is probably due to two major factors. The first is the matter of colour providing a greater possibility of recognising a large number of units. The second is interpreters associating particular colours with certain objects. In this study, in particular *Elionurus argenteus* on the ground had a particular colour which was readily associated with its photo image. An attempt to note any direct correlation of hue with species dominance or species was made.

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REMARKS ANGERS QOBOZA

By PETER SULLIVAN

MR PERCY QOBOZA, the editor of The World newspaper, is seeking legal advice on remarks made earlier this week by Mr Jimmy Kruger, South Africa's Minister of Justice, in which he referred to Mr Qoboza as a "fat, fully-grown lout" (vet uitgegroeide lummel).

Mr Kruger told a National Party meeting in Hartswater he had received a letter from a group of Soweto residents who were querying how this "vet uitgegroeide lummel" could criticise the blacks' lot when he was living such a rosy life.

Mr Qoboza said, "If I said this about Mr Kruger he would rush to the Press Council to demand an apology from me. Equally, I demand an apology from him."

"Our criticism of Mr Kruger has always been to do with actions he has taken or failed to take in his public office. This attack on me is completely different — it is a slanderous personal comment."

"The matter is in the hands of my legal advisors."

Mr Kruger has taken three newspapers, including the World to the Press Council over reports relating to the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

A Department of Justice spokesman confirmed yesterday that the inquest is likely to be heard in a special court this week.

Mr Kruger refused to comment on the report that the Biko inquest was likely to start within a week when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg on a flight from Kimberley.

When approached, he replied, "You do not speak to me at an airport. Do you want to be arrested?"

Cloudy and cooler from the north. Wind north-

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Owl, Screech	Hame	Wheat-eater		
Owl, Screech	Mohooe	Wheat-eater		
Owl, Eagle Owl	or Horned Owl	Wheat-eater		
Morubisi		Wheat-eater		
Oribi	Hloale	Wheat-eater		
Otter, Oribi		Wheat-eater		
Porcupine	Noko	Wheat-eater		
Pig, Wild Pig	Kolobe	Wheat-eater		
Quail, Koekoek	Sekoek	Wheat-eater		

MORITJA PRINTING WORKS

ACTION

Warden, St. Andrews

Hon. Secor

Warden

Warden

man

Honey-guide—Zebra
Honey-sucker or Malachite
sunbird, Talerale
Hyena, brown, Phiri
Hyena spotted, 21st name
Ibis, Bald Ibis, of Vid
Ibis, Mokhotlong
Ibis, Sacred Ibis, Lenganga
Ibis, Sacred Ibis, Lenganga
Iguana, Monitor lizard, Pate
Jackal, Silver Jackal, Phokoh
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Rail, Water-rail, Mphakapaka
Ratel, Seal
Reebok, Hood Reebok, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th

Minutes of the meeting
Opening
Apologies:
Present:

Citizen refuses to face Press Council probe

Sun. Exp.

16/10/77

(247)

Express Reporter
MR Louis Luyt's Citizen newspaper, which has been making great play of complaints to the Press Council against other newspapers on the Biko affair, this week refused to let the Council hear a charge against itself on a connected matter.

The newspaper is the only daily publication which does not fall under Press Council rules — because it resigned from the Newspaper Proprietors' Union at the beginning of this year.

Its decision not to submit to the authority of the Government-approved Council is all the more remarkable because of the public stance it has adopted on the Biko case.

The paper's attitude was yesterday described by Mr Rene de Villiers, Progressive Federal Party MP and former editor of the Star, as "very strange".

Mr de Villiers said that if the Citizen had sufficient confidence in its report, it should have no objection to being scrutinised in the



● Rene de Villiers

same way as every other newspaper in South Africa.

The complaint against the newspaper also involves the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, who has been responsible for three complaints to the Press Council about newspapers' handling of Mr Biko's death.

The charge against the Citizen is from the Black Peoples' Convention which claims that the South African Black consciousness movement has been

smearred in a "fallacious" report which blamed them for the alleged activities of a different body.

According to the report in the Citizen, the letters and documents on which the report was based were made available to the newspaper by Mr Kruger.

A lawyer acting for the BPC said yesterday he had been instructed to bring an action for damages against the newspaper.

He tried to lodge the complaint against the newspaper with the Press Council but was told that as the Citizen was not a member of the NPU, the complaint against it could be heard only by consent.

The lawyer said he contacted the Deputy Editor of the newspaper, Mr Ralph Cohen, to inquire whether the paper would accept a Press Council hearing.

After consulting with the Editor, Mr M A Johnson, Mr Cohen refused to consent.

Later Mr Cohen confirmed the newspaper's immunity from the Press Council rules to the Express, saying, "I think you will find that is technically the position."

He refused, however, to comment on the refusal to accept the Press Council's authority, or on the article itself.

The disputed article appeared on Pages 1 and 2 of the newspaper two weeks ago under the headline "SA Black Link with Vietnam Revealed".

It claimed that the "Black Consciousness Movement" or "BCM" had requested arms and aid from Vietnam and the North African rebel group, the Eritrean Liberation Front.

It said in the fourth paragraph that Mr Steve Biko was the "father of the BCM" and an active member at the time of his detention.

According to the report the BCM had asked for arms, instruction and assistance for a "revolutionary struggle

against the forces of imperialism, fascism and racism".

Letters and documents supporting the link had been made available by Mr Kruger, the report said. The documents were written in the name of the South African Students' Movement, which it described as "the cover name for BCM".

However, a photograph accompanying the article showed one of the documents to have the letterhead of the "Southern African Students' Movement", Gaborone, Botswana.

Mr Thomas Manthata, national executive member



● Ralph Cohen

and publicity secretary of the Black Peoples' Convention — the main Black consciousness organisation in South Africa — said this week that the Botswana-based Southern African Students' Movement was a different organisation from the local South African Students' Movement.

The Citizen's refusal to submit to Press Council jurisdiction contrasts strongly with the prominence and space it has given to complaints against other newspapers.

It published the Press Council's ruling against the Rand Daily Mail on complaints from Mr Kruger as Page One news under the headline "Biko Mail is Censured by Council" last Saturday.

Last Thursday it led Page 1 with news of Mr Kruger's complaint against the World, and also gave more front page space to an attack by Mr Kruger on the Rand Daily Mail of a "lack of

grace" in reacting to the Press Council finding.

Yesterday it was again the World's turn.

Mr Kruger was quoted at length and with great prominence, attacking the World for "scandalous" behaviour in not agreeing to another urgent hearing by the Press Council.

In an editorial this week the newspaper sided with Mr Kruger against other newspapers who "hold their own interim inquiry" into Mr Biko's death.

However, yesterday morning the newspaper led its own front page with a report predicting what the outcome of the inquest would be.

The report said critics and newspapers "who virtually accused Mr Kruger of being responsible for Mr Biko's death will probably have to eat their words" and "it appears there will be little difficulty in proving the Government is not responsible for Mr Biko's death".

This inconsistency is not the only aspect of the Citizen's coverage of the Biko death that has raised eyebrows.

Its report of a Time Magazine interview with Mr Kruger was headlined "Biko death Time says Kruger was not callous". But the article itself revealed that far from Time making such a statement it was Mr Kruger himself claiming that he had been misinterpreted and did not mean to be callous.

The Citizen also quoted from a story in the New York Times to show that Mr Biko was not as moderate as some people in South Africa claimed.

The quotes used — with Mr Kruger's permission, since Mr Biko was a banned person — were highly selective. Not used were specific quotes which might put a somewhat different complexion on Mr Biko's attitudes.

Amend Council procedure 247

AS ONE who had a hand in the setting up of the Press Council in its present form, I followed with interest — and disquiet — the Council's hearing of the complaints of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, against the Rand Daily Mail about a news report on the death of Steve Biko

I will not plunge into the controversy about the substance of the Rand Daily Mail story, which in any case was not in issue at the hearing. Nor will I make so bold as to pronounce on the merits of the Council's adjudication.

But there are, I believe, some aspects of the matter, mainly procedural, that need attention if the Press Council is to fulfil the expectations of those who set it up.

Although I realise that in this case the Rand Daily Mail consented to an urgent hearing, I believe that in future such hearings should only be held where the need for urgency is paramount and demonstrable.

It is true that the preamble to the Council's rules of procedure proclaim it to be "of the essence of the Council's proceedings that complaints be heard and adjudicated upon within the shortest possible time after publication of the matter complained against."

On the other hand the rule that normally allows seven days in which the respondent newspaper can, if it thinks fit, give "redress to the satisfaction of the complainant" is there for an excellent reason.

It is obviously desirable where possible — and it often is — for a dispute to be settled "out of court" without invoking the ponderous and expensive machinery of the Press Council. In fact in Britain the recent Royal Commission of the Press considered that "mediation and conciliation" should be a primary responsibility of the council, before going through the quasi-judicial procedures leading to an adjudication.

The "redress" referred to in our Press Council's rules often takes the form of a correction, and it was a feature of the latest case that the "Mail" spontaneously offered, and arranged, to publish a correction on one of the two complaints — the headline. The chairman ruled that the intended cor-

IN MY JUDGMENT

The Rand Daily Mail's Ombudsman, James McClurg, takes a critical look at the media.



If you have any complaints against the Rand Daily Mail, or suggestions for the Ombudsman to take up, write to the assistant editor responsible for reader contact, Trevor Bisseker, at PO Box 1138, Johannesburg.

rection could not be taken into account, and the newspaper was reprimanded on this count.

This situation surely calls for a procedural amendment, so that an important principle of the system can be preserved even in the case of an urgent hearing.

There is of course another important reason why urgent hearings should be approached with caution.

It is vital to avoid any suggestion, even in appearances only, that the Press Council could be used by the Government as an instrument for administering summary punishment to a recalcitrant newspaper.

Finally there is the question of the attendance, or at least representation, of both parties at a hearing. It is, of course, correct that under the rules there is no obligation on either the complainant or the respondent to attend a hearing.

My recollection is that this rule was intended to meet the occasional case of a private complainant who might not be able to afford to travel a long distance. It would, it was felt, be unfair to debar such a person from having his complaint heard.

But who can justify a situation — and how it came about is irrelevant — that allowed a newspaper to be put in jeopardy (including the risk of a heavy fine) in a matter said to be of national importance, without being confronted by its accuser?

Rules that can permit that sort of thing cry out for instant amendment.

RAM 17/10/77

(247)

17/10/77

(247)

Rulings that 'Council Changes SA Press'

Staff Reporter

THE PRESS COUNCIL has given a ruling, in upholding a complaint against the Rand Daily Mail, which experienced newspapermen believe could have far-reaching implications for the practice of journalism in South Africa.

The effect of the ruling appears to be that, in a report on a subject which can be considered "highly vocative and emotive and of serious public interest", newspapers must go beyond what had traditionally been regarded as normal newspaper practice.

They must go beyond the actual news source being noted in order to present the other side of the picture.

Mr Rene de Villiers, MP, former editor of The Star, the Daily News and The Friend, said last night that the implications of the ruling could seriously affect the nature and practice of journalism — and perhaps even change the character of South African newspapers.

The case arose from a complaint by Mr Etienne Malan, former United Party MP and member of the Schlebusch Commission, against a "Mail" report on a Christian Institute booklet entitled Torture in South Africa.

Mr Malan was chairman of the Publications Control Board committee which subsequently banned the book. The booklet consisted of a collection of statements alleging torture in detention taken from various newspaper reports of court cases and other sources. There is enclosed also a letter by the Rev Theo Kotze, of the Christian Institute.

The "Mail" report gave the contents of the booklet in summarised form, and also noted from Mr Kotze's letter

among other things, that the report should have gone beyond what was stated in the booklet and investigated and reported what had become of the various allegations referred to.

He said it should have been particularly circumspect because the Christian Institute was an organisation against which the Schlebusch Commission had made certain adverse findings.

The "Mail" argued that the report correctly summarised the contents of the booklet in accordance with established newspaper practice — and that the public had the right to know the contents of an unbanned publication.

It said it was normal newspaper practice to publish all the opinions by a great variety of spokesmen and authors without necessarily making such information the paper's own.

The "Mail" sought to call Mr De Villiers to give evidence on what normal newspaper practice was in such matters — and Professor John Dugard, Professor of Law at Wits, to testify on the standing of the Christian Institute, and on the frequency of allegations of assault and torture.

The council ruled that they could not be called because they had not previously filed their evidence in statement form and that in any event their evidence was not relevant to any question that the council had to decide.

The council found against the "Mail" and ordered it to publish the following adjudication.

1 The "Mail" should have realised that the subject matter of the booklet was highly emotive and of serious

public interest.

2 Newspapers carry a heavier responsibility, when reproducing the contents of such a booklet, than the "Mail" suggests.

3 The "Mail", having decided to publish a summary of the contents of the booklet together with Mr Kotze's letter

(a) Should have added by way of a footnote or in some other appropriate manner that the allegations of torture had been denied by the police, could not always be investigated by the courts in which they were made, had been referred in some cases to the Attorney-General for investigation, and had in one case been rejected by the court, and

(b) Should have stated that deaths and suicides of persons in custody had in most cases been investigated in inquest proceedings before a magistrate and that these proceedings were open to the public and the findings

were not secret and were available to the deceased's family.

4 The "Mail" did not correctly reflect what was stated in the booklet about the number of policemen who had been convicted of crimes and the number of policemen who had been retained in the force. By doing so the "Mail" had conveyed to the reading public a far more serious picture than was in fact the case.

5 By virtue of the above findings, the Press Council finds that the "Mail" failed to report the news accurately or objectively and thus failed to give the public the news in a balanced manner.

Commenting last night, Mr De Villiers said the implications of the finding were far-reaching "and could seriously affect the nature and practice of journalism and perhaps even change the character of South African newspapers."

"If newspapers are not going to be able to publish

"I do not think it is practical to expect any daily newspaper to fulfil the highly exacting requirements laid down in the Press Council's finding. It might be possible in theory or in an ideal world but not in the day-to-day practice of journalism.

"Certainly if the Christian Institute's arguments had been officially refuted or even challenged by an authoritative source, the 'Mail' would have been under a moral obligation to publish such refutation or challenge.

"In the event, it did its duty by accurately reflecting the contents of the public document in its possession.

"The Press Council's contention that by publishing Mr Kotze's letter without comment the 'Mail' implied agreement with his views is in my opinion contrary to journalistic precept and practice. A newspaper must report life, wars and all, without in any way implying agreement with what it reports. It would in the nature of things be impossible to do so.

"It is to be hoped that the Newspaper Press Union and the Society of Editors will meet as soon as possible to discuss the implications of the Press Council's finding and the likely consequences for newspaper practice."

The "Mail's" ombudsman, Mr James McClurg — a former newspaper and broadcasting executive who was involved in the setting up of the Press Council — said

"I have not been able to study the adjudication carefully, but on the face of it, it must surely imply that in controversial matters, especially involving security, it will in future not be sufficient for a newspaper to publish a fair and accurate

report of what someone has said or written.

"If it is to satisfy the Press Council, the newspaper will have to provide a summary, at length if necessary, of any facts it believes could cast a different light on the matter.

"If my reading is correct, an intolerable burden will be imposed on South African newspapers of all political viewpoints.

"Not even when South Africa was at war and her security was threatened from within have I once heard it suggested previously that newspapers had an obligation of this kind.

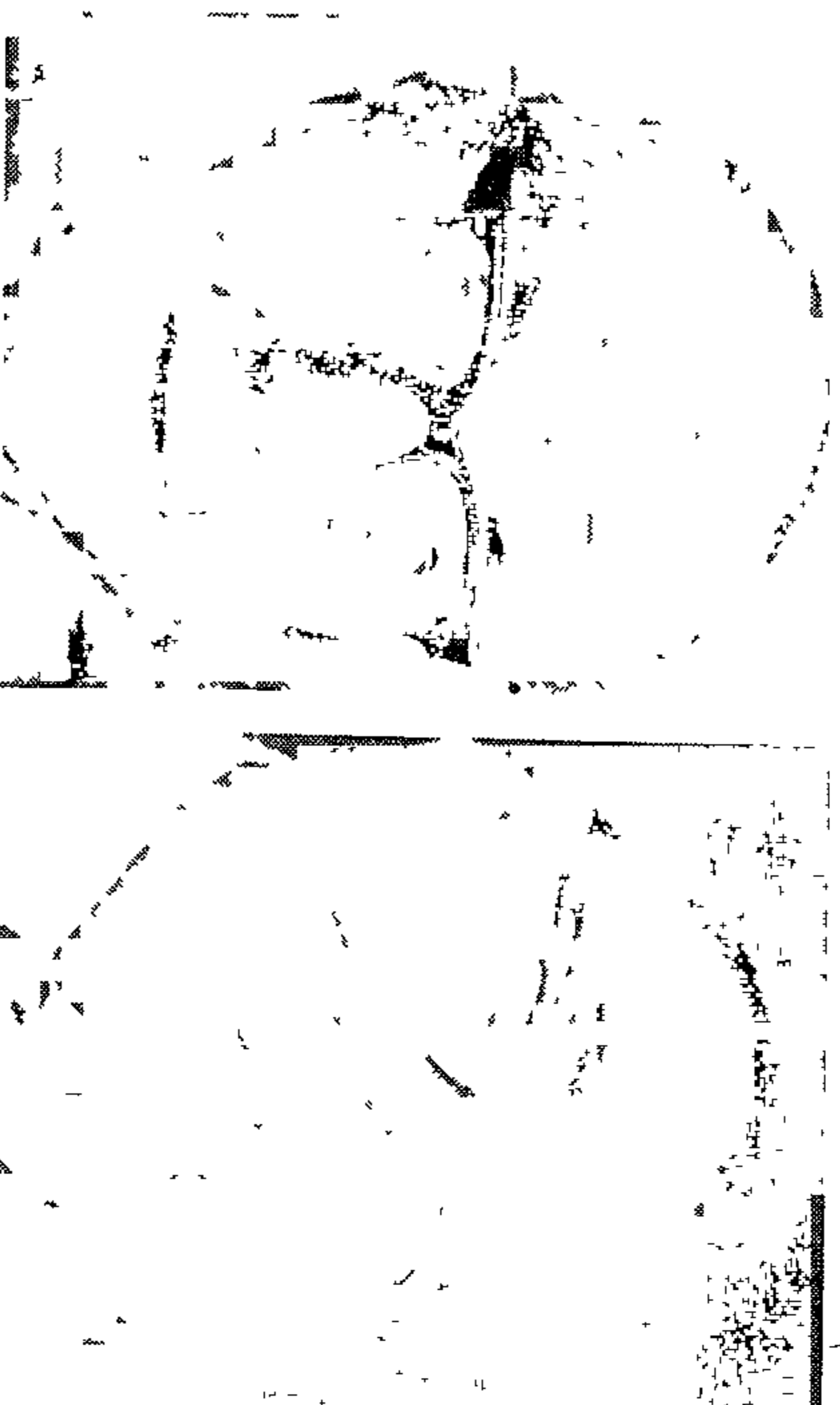
"From the purely practical point of view the proposition is a nightmare. I believe, incidentally, that the Press Council was correct in ruling against the 'Mail' on the complaint about the number of policemen guilty of offences involving violence, but this part of the adjudication creates no new precedent as the other part of it so unhelpfully appears to do."

Mr Joel Mervys, former editor of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express, said "The Press Council's ruling appears to add a new dimension to newspaper practice by placing upon newspapers a responsibility that did not exist before.

"In what the council describes as an 'emotive and evocative' situation it will not be enough for a paper to report what a person says or claims.

"It must check the validity of those claims and repudiate them in an editorial footnote should it consider that step to be necessary or desirable.

"Where such a system will lead to I'm not quite sure. What is clear is that the job of being an editor is going to become more complex than ever."



MR MERVYS, former editor of the Sunday Times

MR DE VILLIERS, former editor of The Star.

D.D. 18/10/77

The World apologises to Kruger

JOHANNESBURG — The World yesterday apologised for two points made in an editorial criticising the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, last week.

The World declined to agree to an urgent hearing, but yesterday conceded that two points in the editorial were either incorrect or unjustified.

The editorial had defended the Rand Daily Mail for its report on the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Steve Biko. It had noted that the only "sin" committed by the Mail article was a misleading headline.

The World editorial described Mr Kruger's decision to ask for an urgent hearing against the Mail as a scandalous public demonstration.

The World said yesterday. "The use of the word 'scandalous' was not justified and is regretted." — DDC.

Mother stabs son, hangs herself

STUEHLINGEN (West Germany) — A 40-year-old mother, distraught because the family did not have enough money for her son's heart operation, fatally stabbed the boy, 16, and then hanged herself.

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Minutes of a Meeting of the Parish Council of St. Francis of Assisi, Simonstown, dated 12th August 1977

Minutes of the meeting of the Bantustan Council of Mantanzima, dated 12th August 1977

D.D. 18/10/77
 (247)
Newspaper hits back at BPC

JOHANNESBURG — The Citizen newspaper has hit back at a claim by a lawyer representing the Black People's Convention who said he had been unable to lodge a complaint to the press council about an article which appeared in the Citizen. It has challenged him to "seek redress in the courts."

In an editorial published yesterday the Citizen explained that the council could not hear complaints concerning the Citizen because it is not a member of the Newspaper Press Union.

It also accused the Sunday Express, which published an article about the Citizen's refusal to go

before the council, of attempting to "smear" The Citizen.

The Citizen also published a story giving "more details" of the alleged involvement of the black conscious movement in efforts to seek arms and military aid from foreign organisations. It was a report on this subject which prompted the BPC to instruct a lawyer to act against The Citizen.

The original complaint against the Citizen was based on their report that black consciousness movement, of which Mr Steve Biko was "the father" and an active member at the time of his detention, had asked for arms for "a revolutionary struggle against the forces of imperialism facism and racism."

The Citizen cited letters from the South African Student's Movement.

In an article published yesterday the Citizen claims that "a typographical error" was responsible for the wrong organisation being named. The letters came from the Southern African Student's Movement it said.

The publicity secretary of the Black People's Convention, Mr Thomas Manthata, said the two organisations have "absolutely nothing in common." — DDC.

Sleepy—Smock

- Sleepy**, adj, e robalang, e tšeroeng ke boroko, to feel very sleepy, ho otsela
- Sleeplessness**, n, ho hlabakela.
- Sleet**, n, sefako se sesesane; v, ho na ha sefako se joalo
- Sleeve**, n, letsoho la seaparo
- Sleigh**, n, setei, v, ho tsamanea ka setei
- Slender**, adj, e tšesane, e sekoko-toana, to be slender, ho seneka.
- Slenderness**, n, bokokotoana
- Slough**, n, a muddy place, mohlaka, tšebè-tšebè.
- Sloven**, n, motho ea aparang ka bohlasoa.
- Slovenliness**, n, bohlasoa, ho hloka makhethe
- Slovenly**, adj, and adv, e bohlasoa, ka bohlasoa, to be slovenly, ho sòbòkella
- Slow**, adj, not quick in motion, e eang butle, dull, sethoto.

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- Smile**, v, ho bososela, bobothaba, hleletsaba; n, lebososela
- Smite**, v, to strike, ho ota, bata; to kill, ho bōlaea
- Smith**, n, letlala, setei
- Smithy**, n, ntlo eo letlala le sebelang ho eona.
- Smock**, n, hempa e tšoanang le baki
- Smoke**, n, mosi; v, to emit smoke, ho etsa mosi, kubella, to smoke a pipe, ho tsuba, to end in smoke, morero ha o senyehela ruri, o fetoha lesupi.
- Smooth**, adj, e boreleli, e bonolo; v, ho batlatsa, sllia
- Smoothing-iron**, n, tšepe ea ho sllia
- Smoothing-plane**, n, tšepe ea ho ned, adj, ea buang a qekisang ka lipolelo.
- Snares**, n, sefi, lemena, leraba, moqechhe, v, ho tšosa
- Snares**, n, ho rora, n, mororo
- Snares**, v, ho hlobila, pshemola, phamola, re phamoli re hoala!
- Sneak**, v, ho itšunya ka bohale; n, motho ea itšunyang ka bohale.
- Sneer**, v, ho tšeha, soma; n, tšebò, tšomo
- Sneeze**, v, ho ethumola
- Sniff**, v, ho fōfōnela.
- Snivel**, v, ho hlophetsa mamuna.
- Sniveller**, n, e lang fetela
- Snob**, n, letlakó.
- Snooze**, v, ho otsela
- Snore**, v, ho hona, kurutla
- Snort**, v, ho kurutla ha pètè
- Snow**, n, lehloa, v, ho khetheha
- Snowdrift**, n, qubu ea lehloa
- Snow-white and snowy**, adj, e bosoeu ho kang ba lehloa
- Snub**, v, ho nša phoso, khalemela, nyasa, laša, n, tšeo, nyaso
- Snuff**, n, tobacco-powder, koae, prompi e tsujang ka linko, v, to snuff tobacco, ho tsuba koae ka linko.
- Snuff-box**, n, kooma
- Snuffers**, n, plur, sekere sa ho pōma khoele ea lebone.
- Snuffie**, v, ho bua ka linko.

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Smoke—Soldier

- Snug**, adj, concealed, e patiloeng; comfortable, e iketleng, e monate.
- So**, adv, joalo, joana, ha ho le joalo, ka baka leo.
- Soak**, v, ho kolobisa habōlo, ho ma.
- Soap**, n, sesepa
- Soapy**, adj, e tlotstsoeng ka sesepa, e kang sesepa
- Soar**, v, ho fōfēla holunō
- Sob**, v, sisa pelō, ho lla habōlo; n, lillo tse bohōkō
- Sober**, adj, not under the influence of drink, e sa tshoeng
- Sober-minded**, adj, e itšoarang.
- Soberness**, n, borisoaro ho noeng kapa ho halefeng
- Sociability**, n, ho rata bathō, bo-tsoalle
- Sociable**, adj, e ratang ho lula le bathō.
- Socialism**, n, thuto e reng maruo 'ohle a kopanngoe ho bēla e mong le e mong ka ho lekana
- Socialist**, n, motho ea ratang hore barui ba amohue maruo a bona, 'me a abeloe ba hlokanang
- Society**, n, an association, mokhatlo, the public, bathō bohle ba sechaba, kapa ba moise; persons who associate, bathō ba chakelangan, ba nang le setsoalle.
- Socket**, n, kausi (ea maōto)
- Socket**, n, ntho e sekoto eo e 'ngoe e hlomelloang ho eona; the socket of the eye, bohobolokona.
- Sod**, n, lekote la mobu
- Soft**, adj, e bonolo, e nyekethè, e namō-namō
- Soften**, v, to make soft, ho nolofatsa, to grow soft, ho nolofala.
- Softly**, adv, ka bonolo, ka ho hloka lerata, butle
- Softness**, n, bonolo, bolela, bolana, boreletsana, butša-butša, nyekethè, nyekè-nyekè
- Soil**, n, earth, mobu; land, lefatše; naha.
- Soil**, v, to pollute, ho silafatsa; n, lūšila.
- Sofourn**, v, ho ahella, jaka, n, kahello, tjako.
- Solace**, v, ho tšelisa, khōthatsa; n, tšeliso, khōthatsa
- Solar**, adj, eo e leng ea letsatsi
- Solder**, v, ho kopanya, mōmahanya, n, tšepe eo ho kopanngang litšepe tse thata ka eona

World
NM 18/10/77

says

(247)
sorry

for

remarks

JOHANNESBURG — The World newspaper said yesterday it regretted that it had referred to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger's behaviour in calling for an urgent sitting of the Press Council to hear a complaint against the Rand Daily Mail as "a scandalous public demonstration."

It said in a leading article that the use of the word "scandalous" was not justified and was regretted.

The World also said it apologised for another aspect of a leading article last Monday in which it said that it seemed that the only "sin" the Rand Daily Mail had committed in a report concerning the alleged causes of death of Mr. Steve Biko was that it had a misleading headline.

Misleading

In a leading article of yesterday-week the World said, "It seems that the only 'sin' the newspaper committed is that it had a misleading headline which it quickly rectified and acknowledged in the true tradition of objectivity of the English-speaking Press in South Africa."

In yesterday's editorial the World said: "It was not correct to say 'the only sin'. The Press Council also considered a second complaint by Mr. Kruger against the Mail."

The World said: "We are sorry that in this respect our leading article was incorrect and apologise for the error."

Following Monday-week's comment by the World Mr. Kruger lodged a complaint with the Press Council and called on the World to waive the rules so that the complaint could be heard urgently.

This the newspaper declined to do. — (Sapa.)

Newspaper Warned of Closure

N.M. 20/10/77

(247)

PRETORIA — Both the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster and the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, have in the past warned that the Black newspaper the World would be closed if it continued with what were regarded as inflammatory reports.

While stressing their belief in Press freedom, they have made it clear that a newspaper could be closed under existing legislation if deemed necessary in the interests of the State

Mr. Vorster criticised the World at the recent Cape and Natal National Party congresses, quoting from an editorial, urging Whites to submit to majority rule or face certain destruction.

"This is a demand the National Party rejects entirely," Mr. Vorster said

Mr. Kruger told the Johannesburg newspaper the Citizen last month that he would close any newspaper which incited people to overthrow law and order anywhere in South Africa

"One does not need pamphlets to incite people against law and order if you have a newspaper to do it for you," he said.

Section 6 of the Internal Security Act allows the State President to stop any

publication without notice

"A newspaper can be stopped if it does create bad feelings among races or does anything that adversely affects law and order or the security of the state."

Mr. Kruger said he called in the editor of the World, Mr. Percy Qoboza, during recent unrest and had pointed out in detail what he considered to be inflammatory material in the newspaper.

Mr. Kruger said he felt he would then have been justified in preventing publication of the World but did not do so.

Mr. Kruger told the Citizen "I have the responsibility in South Africa to see that law and order is maintained and if any newspaper transgresses to such an extent that law and order cannot be maintained, unless such a newspaper is stopped, I shall stop it immediately.

"And this isn't a threat, this is a promise." — (Sapa.)

Gooboozer Banned

Mr. 24/1/77

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JOHANNESBURG — The editorial chapel of the banned Black newspapers, the World and Weekend World, has issued a statement backing editor. Mr. Percy Qoboza who was detained by Security Police yesterday.

The statement made through the acting chairman of the chapel, Mr. Mazwai reads: "We the editorial staff of the World and Weekend World, hereby declare our solidarity with our editor M. P. Qoboza. We also declare our solidarity with Mr. Aggrey Klaaste, news editor of Weekend World, also detained.

The declaration of solidarity also includes our detained comrades Joe Thibole, Mr. Bokata and Mofidi Lungu.

Bomb death

EVANSVILLE — A millionaire, M. Ray Ryan, was killed yesterday when a bomb ripped apart his luxury car in the parking lot of an Indiana health spa near Mr. Ryan (72) was apparently murdered by professionals, a federal official said — (Sapa Ap)

"We wish to make it clear that we intend these acts of intimidation calculated to make us abandon the sacred principles of our fighting as journalists and give betray the trust the Black people have in us.

"We refuse to be intimidated. We also wish to make it known to the public that the only way in which we can pay tribute to our detained brothers is by continuing on our chosen path unfrightened and unhesitatingly.

"Thus we owe to them and the Black people

"We also express our solidarity with all families of detained people. Their tears are our tears, their tribulation ours.

Executives

Executive members of the Argus group and its legal advisers were to meet the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, in Pretoria last night to discuss the banning

of the two papers and the detention of Mr Qoboza.

The company's representatives were been led by the group's chairman Mr L E A State, and the World's assistant manager Mr Brian Mofidi.

Mr Kruger had earlier given permission for representatives of the Argus group and Mr Qoboza's family to visit him at Pretoria Square.

Mr Slater sent a telegram to the Pretoria Minister of Justice protesting in the strongest possible terms against the banning of the Argus group and its legal advisers.

"There can be no legitimate ground for such drastic action which can only do an abominable harm to race relations and to South Africa's image overseas," he said.

The Daily News said in a leader "The speech move by the Government in banning

the World come face the gravest implications.

RIKO

"Threats against the Press have long been theogue in Government circles. Now they have been uttered with the closure of the World.

"It is almost certain that the return of our spark will have the effect of the over a period of time in our opinion.

"For apart from the direct assault on the freedom of the World, the high reputation as one of the best periodicals in the world for the region in aspirations of South African urban Blacks.

Certainly its editor Mr Percy Qoboza, though he may have incurred the Government's displeasure in his outspoken attacks on its policies, is the reverse of judging for his race of.

The editor of the Star, Mr. H. J. van der Merwe, told delegates to use Unisa cc

press on "Marketing of the international image of South Africa" in Pretoria. "If you want a lesson or how not to market South Africa just look at today's actions by the Government.

"The actions destroy most of the reasonable arguments I have prepared in a paper for this international audience.

Stupidity

"The credibility of the Press was the most powerful asset available to South Africa in its overseas relationship. In we show the Government that it is not at all afraid of the Press.

The Cape Argus said in a leader "The Government's banning of the World newspapers and of numerous Bill of resolutions looks to be a diet of monumental stupidity if such action is required to keep the peace in a mean little lawful provinces. It has become possible for South Africa and that the Government has to concern

"There can be no doubting the reaction in the outside world to these events, particularly to the banning of the World and Weekend World which will be seen as a precursor to action against other newspapers — perhaps censorship of the South African Press as a whole — a Press whose freedom has shone brightly in the gloom of this country's foreign image and kept alive a foreign confidence in our ability to solve our own problems.

Weapon

"Press freedom is a real danger today, and therefore we demand the freedom of all South Africans.

The director of the Foreign Affairs Association, Mr. Cas de Villiers, said "Any decision to ban a newspaper is a blow to South Africa's image abroad. The degree of Press freedom here is one of the few effective weapons we can give to our friends in other countries which they can use to defend us.

have no doubt that the Government will come to the consequences of its short-sightedness before the consequences of its... (Sapa-Mercury)

in its place will come younger, angrier more extreme voices which will point to the uselessness of trying to reason or negotiate with Whites.

Black opinion in South Africa has succeeded in silencing the articulate mumpkin of moderate men has succeeded in on the truth.

World was "a shameful act of the banning of the Press." Mr. R. S. Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, said in a statement yesterday.

EDITORIAL FOR BANNING

D.D. 20/1/77

(247)

EDITORIAL OPINION

Ban on Editor

One of the many victims yesterday of the Nationalist Government's attempt to still the voices of critics was the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods

A banning order was served on him at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg not much more than an hour before he was due to fly to the United States and then Australia for brief visits as a guest of those countries. We apologise on Mr Woods' behalf to both countries for his inability to get there after accepting the invitations.

It will scarcely surprise readers to know that up to a late hour last night we had no knowledge of Mr Woods' whereabouts. No more did his family know where he was. It is not in the character of the Minister responsible for yesterday's Dracoman measures to deem it necessary to supply such information. We can only hope Mr Woods himself will be able to communicate today.

But not publicly, of course. Effectively Mr Kruger has prevented Mr Woods, for a time, from occupying his editorial chair or from writing or speaking publicly about himself or the grave issues affecting this country. Much as we regret the Minister's action, because we know it will hurt South Africa as much as it will hurt Mr Woods, we promise our readers that it will not affect this newspaper. We will continue to publish facts about life in this country, no matter how unpalatable they may be, and we will continue to speak our mind about them.

Our policy remains, as stated years ago, to be free from any party political ties, to advocate the preservation of South Africa's traditional links with the Western world and to promote equal rights for all the people of this country.

EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, was banned under the Internal Security Act late yesterday afternoon.

The order was served on him at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before 5 pm as he was about to fly to the United States on the personal invitation of the United States Ambassador, Mr William Bowdler, to meet Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the United States Ambassador at the UN, Mr Andrew Young, and possibly Pres Carter after his American

visit. Mr Woods was to have flown to Canberra for consultations with members of the Australian Government

Mr Woods, who had an international reputation as an outspoken Editor, telephoned his wife, Wendy, at 4.50 p m, yesterday to tell her that he had just been banned.

"He seemed calm but in a hurry — as though the police were chivvying him," Mrs Woods said last night

It is believed that Mr Woods was being driven back to East London by three members of the Special Branch

Mr Woods was a close friend of Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention last month. Mrs Woods said last night that she feared the banning order on her husband was an attempt to damp down criticism of the handling

The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods.

Newspapers silenced in clampdown

Mrs Wendy Woods answered a constant stream of telephone calls from throughout the country last night after the banning of her husband, Donald, Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

Why I did it — Kruger

QUOTE

DD 20-10-77 (247)

JOHANNESBURG — The Government yesterday silenced the black newspapers, The World and Weekend World, arrested The World's editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, banned the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, and banned 18 organisations in a massive clampdown.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, announced that between 50 and 70 people were also being held in preventive detention as part of the measures to counter danger to the maintenance of public order.

The bannings were followed by early morning police raids on the homes and offices, mainly in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, of leaders of the organisations declared illegal. Police seized documents and detained a number of people.

There was immediate and widespread critical reaction to the bannings, both within South Africa and overseas.

The Newspaper Press Union sent a delegation to interview Mr Kruger yesterday afternoon. Afterwards the NPU president, Mr Hal Miller, said the NPU would consider the situation further.

When he heard of the banning of Mr Woods, Mr

Miller said he deplored this further action which could only make a bad situation worse.

Mr L. Slater, chairman of the Argus Company, which owns The World and Weekend World, sent a telegram to Mr Vorster protesting in the strongest possible terms against the banning of the two papers. Mr Slater is to meet Mr Kruger today.

By late last night the Daily Dispatch had established the names of seven people who were banned under restriction notices in terms of the Internal Security Act. They were:

Mr Donald Woods; Dr Beyers Naude (director, Christian Institute); Rev Theo Kotze (Cape director, Christian Institute); Rev Brian Brown (Administrative director, Christian Institute); Rev David Russel (Anglican minister); Rev Cedric Mayson (Editor, Pro Veritate); Mr Peter Randall (former director in education at Wits).

The 18 organisations which were declared unlawful in a special Government Gazette yesterday were:

The Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa; the Black Parents' Association, the Black

of the Biko case by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger — the man who would have signed Mr Woods' banning order.

Mr Woods had phoned his wife at 4.30 p.m. to say goodbye before he left for overseas. Twenty minutes later he phoned again and Mrs Woods learned that he had been banned.

Mrs Woods then broke the news to their children. "They took it well," she said.

Mrs Woods said she and her husband had discussed the possibility of the Government acting against him. "We thought it unlikely," she said. "But we were wrong."

A public meeting to protest against yesterday's spate of bannings and detentions will be held in the East London City Hall at 1 pm today.

The only reason she could think of for the banning order was because of her husband's close personal friendship with Mr Biko and his position as an internationally recognised Editor. "The Government appears to be

People's Convention; the Black Women's Federation, the Border Youth Organisation, also known as the Border Youth Union.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa; the Eastern Province Youth Organisation, also known as the Eastern Cape Youth Organisation, the Medupe Writers' Association; the Natal Youth Organisation; the National Youth Organisation

The South African Students' Movement; the South African Students' Organisation; the Soweto Students' Representative Council; the Black Community Programmes; the Transvaal Youth Organisation; the Union of Black Journalists, the Western Cape Youth Organisation, and the Zumele Trust Fund

The Christian Institute's organ, Pro Veritate, was also prohibited.

The Gazette also designated a regional magistrate, Mr Willem Krugel, as liquidator of the assets of the organisations declared unlawful. This does not affect the three publications.

Mr Qoboza was detained shortly before he was to have addressed a press conference on the banning of his newspaper.

PRETORIA — The publications and organisations banned yesterday had been acted against because investigations showed they endangered the maintenance of public order, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, said here yesterday.

The steps taken were "certainly necessary," Mr Kruger, said in a TV interview last night.

Since the riots broke out in the country last year the grievances that initially were stated had now been changed.

"New grievances have come up, new objectives have been stated, new processes have been devised and almost from day to day there is a change in tactics to keep the prevailing unrest going, so that there can be confrontation between black and white."

"A relatively small group of activists are taking part in this thing, but they are using a lot of puppets and they have managed now to intimidate a lot of people, particularly our black people."

"This is an impossible situation. We cannot allow this to continue. The whole social set-up of our black population is being disrupted by this continual confrontation between black and white. Asked whether he felt these organisations, peo-

whether he had taken into account the enormous amount of foreign reaction and negative publicity which the country was receiving and still would receive.

"I am afraid the public image may well be tarnished overseas."

"If I have the choice between a public image overseas and peace in my country, I have to make the choice for peace in my country." — SAPA.

"The public should not be misled by the laudable names of many of the organisations declared unlawful yesterday."

"The organisations' fine-sounding names and objectives actually serve only as smokescreens to conceal their undermining activities."

— Mr Kruger, Minister of Justice.

Cont.

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EL reporters' homes searched

EAST LONDON — Special Branch searched the homes of three reporters of the Daily Dispatch at Mdantsane yesterday.

The Special Branch visited the home of Mr L. D. Ximwa at 4.20 am. After searching it they took documents of the Union of Black Journalists, two issues of Transkei newspaper, Isaziso, and a book How Long Will South Africa Survive by W. R. Johnson and published in the United Kingdom. At 4.50 am they went to the home of Miss L. P. Jijana and after a search took away a circular convening a meeting of the Union of Black Journalists in King William's Town.

US deeply disturbed

WASHINGTON — The United States said yesterday it would re-examine its relations with South Africa because of yesterday's banings and detentions. A State Department spokesman, Mr Hodding Carter, said the United States was deeply disturbed by the South African Government's action, which he called "totally unprecedented".

"The Carter administration policy toward South Africa is one which looks to clear movement away from apartheid and the repressive laws that undergird that system. However, we have now witnessed unfortunate actions that seem to represent a very serious step backwards," he said. — SAPA-RNS.

questioned him about the Union of Black Journalists, Saso and BPC.

After searching the house they left with documents on Union of Black Journalists activities.

The home of Mr Ryan Mapisa, East London Branch secretary of the BPC, was raided in Duncan Village and documents taken. The Branch chairman, Mr Bonile Tulumma, was detained.

In King William's Town, several people were detained. The police closed the Zanempilo Health Centre and the BCP and Saso offices.

Dr Sidney Moletsane, the medical superintendent at Zanempilo, was detained. — DDR.

A spokesman for The World said three men, believed to be security officers, arrived at the newspaper's head office in Industria at about 12.15 p.m. and were shown to Mr Oboza's office. The editor was busy preparing notes for the press conference which was to have been held at 12.30 p.m. They returned accompanied by Mr Oboza and left by car.

Mr Slater and Mr Oboza's wife visited him at John Vorster Square later in the afternoon.

According to the five-year banning orders served on Dr Naude, the Rev Brian Brown, and Mr Mayson, they have been restricted to the Johannesburg district. They have to report to the police every week.

People wept yesterday outside the offices of the Christian Institute in Mowbray after the Rev Theo Kotze was served with a five-year banning order.

The banning order restricts Mr Kotze to the Wynberg magisterial district till October 31, 1982. He must report to the Claremont police station every Wednesday.

The banning order served on Mr Russell, formerly of King William's Town, is combined with house arrest. He is an assistant priest at Holy Cross Church, Nyanga. His banning order confines him to Cape Town magisterial district. — DDC-SAPA.

afraid of these two aspects," she said.

"He was widely respected as an opponent of apartheid and of authoritarianism — always calling for people to be charged in open court rather than arbitrarily banned. Now he has fallen victim to the very laws he opposed so strongly but always within the legal framework.

"It has been a shattering culmination to a day of catastrophe for all South Africans.

"Donald's banning will simply focus more world attention on the Government's fear and desperation.

"But if the Government feels it has now efficiently silenced people like him and the others who were banned today, they are mistaken. Others will take the place of those banned and detained without trial.

"Those whites who had some credibility with blacks have been banned and the only legitimate black organisations have been silenced. I fear greatly for us all." — DDR.

pie and use newspapers had willfully been promoting the situation in the country," Mr Kruger said. "Well, as far as the organisations and the publications are concerned, I have appointed committees to go into this whole matter and they have been making a study of this over a period. They have now brought out their reports.

"There is no doubt in my mind, according to the reports, that these organisations are a threat to the maintenance of peace and to the security of the State."

Asked whether this was not a blow to press freedom, Mr Kruger said: "I do not think any responsible publication can demand the freedom under the name of press freedom to endanger the security of the State or to disrupt the maintenance of public order." Mr Kruger was asked

● East London MPs protest; profile on the Editor; what a banning order means — all on page 5.

● Country-wide raids; national and international reaction — page 2.

Handwritten signature

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—Acting Editor

Suzman to seek Vorster interview

EAST LONDON — The veteran Progressive Federation Mrs Helen Suzman, is to request an urgent interview with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, today, about the banning order served on the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods.

"I will try to get an interview with Mr Vorster today," Mrs Suzman said last night in an interview.

She said Mr Kruger's decision to ban Mr Woods was "an action of a panic-stricken man. He is a menace to South Africa and he should be kicked out of the South African Government.

"To dare to do this to Donald Woods is unthinkable.

"I think the power he

has held in the 18 months since Soweto erupted has gone to his head.

"Since Soweto and his whole handling of that crisis, complete power was placed in his hands and the whole matter has now become a police exercise from beginning to end," Mrs Suzman said.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, said the banning was "sheer madness."

Mr Tertius Myburgh, Editor of the Sunday Times, said the banning was "an outrage."

Mr Rene de Villiers, a former Editor of The Star, said the Government's action marked the beginning of the end of freedom and liberty in the country. — DDR.

(News by B. Streek, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

(247)

Press freedom fears

EAST LONDON — The banning of two newspapers and the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, was seen yesterday as the beginning of the end of press freedom in South Africa.

Mr Joel Mervis, former Editor of the Sunday Times, and PFP candidate for Orange Grove, said: "The closing of The World and The Weekend World is a monstrous invasion of press freedom. In fact, it heralds the death of press freedom, because no paper can henceforth feel safe."

Mr D. Richard, Editor of Die Vaderland, said: "The reaction will be. The World is the first, who is going to be the second?"

The chairman of The Argus company which owns the two banned black newspapers, Mr L. E. A. Slater, said in a telegram to the Prime Minister: "There can be no legitimate grounds for such drastic action which will only do incalculable harm to race relations and to South Africa's image overseas."

The President of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Tatten, said: "Not since Lord Charles Somerset's closure of a newspaper

more than 150 years ago had so much damage been done to the cause of a free press at a single blow than was done by the Minister today."

The chairman of the Editorial Chapel of the Daily Dispatch, Mr P. Davis, said the strength and courage shown by Mr Woods in fighting for the underdog was an example that all the journalists who worked for him had taken to heart.

"We believe in Donald Woods as a man, as a colleague and as the Editor of a fighting newspaper for which we are proud to work. We will continue to search for truth and understanding and lay it before our readers who have the right to know what is happening in this country — we will continue to do this in the face of all intimidation because we believe it is right," Mr Davis said.

Mr Charles Nqakula, acting chief executive officer of the Union of Black Journalists, said "Both The World and the UBJ incurred the Minister of Justice's wrath by ar-

ticulating the real feelings and aspirations of the black masses in this country."

The Department of Journalism at Rhodes University in condemning the bannings of the two newspapers said "It is a stupid act, since the silence of these two newspapers will breed rumour, confusion and terror."

Meanwhile, reaction to other bannings was widespread throughout South Africa yesterday.

Ex-judge Mr Kowie Marais said the Government's actions were the first steps towards a total dictatorship and the end of what was left of a peaceful existence in South Africa.

Mr Marais said he believed the Government's actions anticipated the release of the post-mortem findings on the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

"We expect the findings of Mr Biko's post-mortem to be made public soon. The Government expects

reaction from many quarters and this is one of the methods of silencing the mouthpieces of black people," Mr Marais said.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said the banning of the Christian Institute and black organisations was grim evidence of escalating pattern of confrontation and counter-confrontation developing in South Africa.

"For all South Africans, the options are rapidly narrowing to one of peace or war, unless Black and white citizens of this country come to terms with one another, we will all be the losers in a situation which is too ghastly to contemplate," said Mr Eglin.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, commenting on the banning of the Christian Institute and its director Dr Beyers Naude, said "As a Christian I am left without hope for the future of this land."

"No one should be un-

der any illusions as to where we are going. The battle lines from the point of view of the government have now been clearly defined."

The head of the Department of Psychology at Rhodes University, Prof Dreyer Kruger, said the banning of Dr Beyers Naude was a further indication of the cultural crisis in which the National Party had put the Afrikaner.

The national chairman of the Labour Party, Rev Alan Hendrickse, said the bannings were a frightening indication that South Africa was headed for a dictatorship.

The Institute of Race Relations said in a statement, issued by its director, Mr F. J. van Wyk, "This is an act of ruthless tyranny. It is an act insensate in its stupidity, tragic in its dimension and incalculable in the harm it does the people of this country and the Republic's international relationships" — SAPA DDC-DDR.

6. MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

B. Kantor : The Evaluation of Monetary Policy in South Africa, S.A.J.E. March 1971.

B. Kantor : The Money Supply Process in South Africa.

G. de Kock : The Business Cycle in South Africa S.A.J.E. March 1975.

P.D.F. Strydom : Monetary Legislation in South A S.A.J.E. March 1974.

Annual Reports and Economic Surveys of the S.A.

Budget Speeches and Statistical Survey.

S.A. Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin - The Econo

7. THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INFLATION.

Glahe Chap. 12 Durnburg and McDougall Chap. 16.

H.G. Johnson : "Inflation : A) Monetarist View in Further Essays in Monetary Economi

F. Machlup : Cost Push and Demand pull in R.J. Ba (ed) Inflation, chap. 9 (Penguin).

RICHMOND. — The friend newspaper is dropping its weekly column written by the editor of the East London Daily Dispatch. Mr Donald Woods. A statement yesterday said his decision has been taken regretfully as a result of the closeness of Mr Woods' personal involvement in a number of running battles with political and other leaders an involvement which Mr feel must affect his status as an independent observer from the sidelines of current affairs. This personal involvement is increasingly becoming more appropriate to the subject of straight news reports than of a "While we believe that part of a newspaper's function is to provide thought-provoking opposing points of view which do not necessarily coincide with those of the newspaper we feel that Mr Woods' column is present circumstances—lays itself open to the charge that it could be used as the vehicle for personal campaigning." This statement was made before Mr Woods' banning was announced.

Newspaper drops Donald Woods column

RDM 22/10/77

Woods Argus 20/10/77 hopes to speak at Biko inquest

247

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—

Mr Donald Woods, the editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, who was banned yesterday, still hopes to give evidence at the inquest into the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Mr Woods has been restricted to the East London magisterial district. But his wife, Wendy, when asked if Mr Woods would still give evidence at the inquest, said: 'We think so.'

The couple, who have five children, the eldest 14, are unsure what they will do for a living, now that Mr Woods has been prevented from continuing with his normal occupation.

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EIGHTEEN ORGANISATIONS LISTED

The banned Organisations

THE BLACK newspapers, the World and Weekend World were banned and 18 organisations, including the Christian Institute declared unlawful in a special government gazette published in Pretoria yesterday.

The Christian Institute's organ Pro Veritate is also prohibited

The action against the 18 three publications is taken in terms of Section 6 of the Internal Security Act. It prohibits the printing, publication or dissemination of the three publications

The action against the 18 organisations is in terms of Section 2 of the same Act

- Among the organisations declared unlawful are the Black Parents' Organisation, The Black Peoples' Convention (BPC), The South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Union of Black Journalists
- The full list of organisations declared unlawful is
- The Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa
- The Black Parents' Association
- The Black Peoples' Convention
- The Black Women's Federation
- The Border Youth

- Organisation, also known as the Border Youth Union
- The Christian Institute of southern Africa
- The Eastern Province Youth Organisation, also known as the Eastern Cape Youth Organisation.
- The Medupe Writers' Association
- The Natal Youth Organisation
- The National Youth Organisation
- The South African Students' Movement (SASM)
- The South African Students' Organisation
- The Soweto Students' Representative Council (SRC)
- The Black Community Programmes
- The Transvaal Youth Organisation
- The Union of Black Journalists
- The Western Cape Youth Organisation, and
- The Zamele Trust Fund.

No R 301 1977

PROHIBITION ON THE PRINTING, PUBLICATION OR DISSEMINATION OF THE WORLD

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 6 of the Internal Security Act (Act 44 of 1950) I hereby prohibit the printing, publication or dissemination of the periodical publication *The World*

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria, this Eighteenth day of October One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-seven

N DIDI RICHHS State President

By Order of the State President-in-Council
I I KRUGER

No R 302 1977

PROHIBITION ON THE PRINTING, PUBLICATION OR DISSEMINATION OF WEEKEND WORLD

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 6 of the Internal Security Act (Act 44 of 1950) I hereby prohibit the printing, publication or dissemination of the periodical publication *Weekend World*

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Eighteenth day of October One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-seven

N DIDI RICHHS State President

By Order of the State President-in-Council
I I KRUGER

Liquidator appointed

THE Gazette designated a Regional Magistrate, Mr Willem Frederick Krugel, as liquidator of the assets of the organisations declared unlawful.

This does not affect the three publications "All property (including rights and documents) held by any of the organisations concerned or by any person for the benefit of any of the organisations concerned vested in the liquidator as from the date on which the organisation was declared to be an unlawful organisation," it said. Particulars of property held or claims against the organisations are to be lodged with the liquidator, it said.

DETENTION OF EDITOR

JOHANNESBURG

SECURITY police detained Mr. Percy Qoboza, Editor of the World, just 10 minutes before he was to address a Press conference on the banning of the newspaper.

While scores of Pressmen milled around the building, three policemen stopped Mr Qoboza in the courtyard and took him to John Vorster Square

The World's assistant manager, Mr Brian Moutl, who was with Mr Qoboza at the time, said one of the policemen had identified himself as a Captain van Zyl.

"He said he was detaining Mr. Qoboza under Section 10 1A of the Internal Security Act," Mr Moutl said. "They wouldn't allow anybody to take photographs and they gave no reason for the detention."

Scores of journalists representing both South African and overseas media had started to arrive at the World building to attend Mr. Qoboza's conference

Earlier Mr Qoboza had indicated he would be speaking off the cuff when he addressed the newspapermen

At loggerheads

The World, which has a circulation of about 160 000, has recently been at loggerheads with the Minister of Justice, Mr Jim Kruger, over the issue of the death of Mr Steve Biko

The World criticised Mr Kruger in a recent editorial over his urgent complaint to the Press Council about a report in the Rand Daily Mail on the circumstances of the death of Mr. Biko.

The World this week apologised to Mr. Kruger for certain remarks in that editorial, and withdrew its description of Mr. Kruger's application to the Press Council as "scandalous" - (Sapa.)

1 ONT-B

Natal Mercury 20-10-77

Mr. Kruger's explanation

THE PUBLICATIONS and organisations banned today had been acted against because investigations showed they endangered the maintenance of public order said the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger.

Organisers whose aim was the creation of confrontation between Black and White had used organisations, publications and individuals for the creation of a revolutionary climate and organisation of unrest, he said

Committees consisting of a Regional magistrate and two other jurists had been appointed under the Internal Security Act to produce factual reports concerning certain organisations and publications

"The facts in the factual reports leave no doubt that the activities of the organisations named in the Government Gazette endanger the maintenance of law and order, and that the publications named in the Government Gazette serve, inter alia, as a means for expressing views the publication of which is calculated to endanger the maintenance of public order.

"It was consequently decided to declare the organisations and publications concerned illegal and to prohibit them," Mr. Kruger said

It has also been decided to act against people whose activities endangered the maintenance of public order.

"Some are restricted, but where this is insufficient as a preventive measure, use is being made of the detention powers contained in Article 10 (1) A bis of the Internal

Security Act of 1950."

The Government action taken was related to sporadic unrest throughout the country since last year which had been the work of a small leader-group.

"The Government is determined to ensure that the peaceful co-existence of peoples in South Africa is not disturbed by a small group of anarchists," he said.

"The situation will thus be watched closely, and if necessary new measures will be considered.

"People who think that the Government will allow itself to be intimidated or dictated to are making a big mistake

"Grievances initially presented as the causes have long since disappeared into the background.

"New grievances, new objectives and new processes are being brought into focus practically day by day to ensure that the unrest continues and in an attempt to achieve the desired confrontation between White and Black.

"A relatively small group is taking the lead in this, but use is made of a whole number of organisations, and of many human vehicles

"The pattern of life of parts of the population has been disrupted, and it is especially the Black population in the Republic which suffers under this, among

other things by the disruption of their community institutions and the burning of their houses

"The time has come that no longer can it be continued taking preventive measures only against the physical manifestations of the hate campaign.

"The big organisers keep themselves in the background and continue to use organisations, publications, people and almost exclusively young people, for the creation of a revolutionary climate and for the organisation of unrest," Mr Kruger said.

"Action which endangers peace and quiet in our country will not be tolerated under any circumstances"

Mr. Kruger said a Review Committee had been appointed to review his action under Section 10 (1) A bis of the Internal Security Act in connection with detentions. Anyone wishing to make written or oral representations to the committee should contact the Secretary for Justice. — (Sapa)

UNIVE

OWN

D.D. 21/10/77
Editor:

press (247)
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FROM

Name of applicant:
Address:
.....
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The Dean,
Faculty of Arts,
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Rondebosch. 7700

Telephone : 698531 Ext 127)

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PRETORIA — The South African press could serve the country and its national reputation best by mirroring society "faithfully and accurately," Mr Harvey Tyson, the Editor of The Star, said here.

Addressing a conference in Pretoria on the marketing of South Africa's image abroad, Mr Tyson stressed that the editorial side of the press was not a marketing tool.

"The press blunts its effectiveness the moment it forsakes its clearly defined role and attempts to be some kind of goodwill ambassador, or an optimistic, sunny public relations instrument, or — especially — a branch of any government information office.

"Nor, of course, should the press set itself up as some sort of propaganda organ for any other cause."

The role of the press, he said, was to serve the public by keeping it informed and exposing corruption, injustice and other aberrations.

The way to improve South Africa's image, he said, was by getting rid of as many "weaknesses and sicknesses" as possible. The press could help by mirroring its society so that "society can take a good look at itself and demand of its leaders any alterations which it deems necessary."

A free and competitive press — which had a very good chance of accurately reflecting the image of its community — should be cherished for mirroring ugly warts, provided it did not exaggerate their ugliness, Mr Tyson said.

But even when newspapers were being fair they constantly came under pressure not to accurately reflect their communities.

It would have been dishonest — and to no avail — for newspapers to have

of

..... "played down" the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, Mr Tyson said.

..... "It is the facts themselves, rather than the reporting, which have hurt us so."

..... A free press in South Africa had a great deal to do with the country's reputation. The credibility of the press was the most powerful asset available for putting to the world basic facts on which informed judgments should be made.

..... South Africa's press, with its independent judiciary, was admired by foreigners, Mr Tyson added. — SAPA.

(Signature & Date)

- 1. Head of Department Authority
- 2. Faculty Authority: DC No. _____

approval of initial registration
see over)

Another Kruger tried press ban

CAPE TOWN — The banning of a major newspaper in South Africa has only two precedents — one in the Cape and one in the Transvaal, and both in the previous century.

In 1827 Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, was persuaded by the Cape Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, to ban the South African Commercial Advertiser for reflecting on the conduct of an official.

The banning was shortlived and a free press was established at the Cape in a law on the English model.

In 1897 President Kruger and the executive council of the Transvaal Republic tried to suppress The Star for three months

after branding the newspaper as "dangerous to peace and order."

Mr J. Pakenham, Editor of The Star at the time, had made vigorous attacks on the Kruger government.

The directors of the newspaper immediately registered a new paper called the Comet, which appeared the next day instead of The Star.

The Supreme Court upheld an application that the government be ordered to withdraw the banning order on The Star, and this newspaper immediately reappeared on the streets under its former name.

No major South African newspaper has been banned in the present century.

Scraper, n, tseisi; V., to rub out, to erase, ho hlakola, fefa, fala, qegebolosa, karapa.
 Scrapper, n, phalo, litšela
 Scratel, n, a slayit zomnd, legebapanyana; V., ho fefa, ngoara, ngopa, ngoaeta, ngoaeta.
 Scrawl, n, mongolo o mobe; V., ho ngola hampe ha letsobo le boina.
 Scram, v, ho meketa, hōa, hō-eleta, n, meketo, mohōo.
 Screech, v, ho meketa.

ka ho rōka.
 Seaman, n, motho ea sebensang lilepeng.
 Seaport, n, moise o pel'a kou ea leonale.
 Sear, v, ho chesa, omeletsa.
 Seared, adj, e omeletseng, e seng e se tala.
 Search, v, ho batla, lekola, fuputsa, phenyekolla, ruma; n, patlo
 Sea-sick, adj, ea kuhlang ke le-oatle a be a rate ho hlatsa.

Schoolhouse—Sea-sick

Schoolhouse, n, ntlo ea sekolo
 Schoolmaster, n, moruti oa sekolo (oa monna).
 Schoolmistress, n, moruti oa sekolo (oa mosali)
 Science, n, tsebo e tebleng, hla-lefo
 Scientific, adj, e leng ea tsebo e tebleng
 Scintillate, v, ho ntša hlhase, ho benya, phatsuma
 Scion, n, of a tree, lehlōmela la sefate, of a family, lehlōmela la ...
 Screen, v, ho sureletsa, pata; n, tšireletso, lehlaf, lesira.
 Screw, n, sekurufo, v, ho tusa ka sekurufo, ho patsa.
 Scribble, v, ho ngola hampe, ho ngola kapele
 Scribe, n, mongoli
 Scripture, n, lengolo, hahōlo ma-ngolo a Bibe.
 Scrub, n, borosolo; v, ho hlatsosusa hantle ka borosolo
 Scruple, n, pelaelo, tsoato, v, ho belaela, tsoafa

Season—Self

Season, n, suitable time, nako e tšonelehang; the four divisions of the year, karōlo ea selemo ea kholi tse tharo: selemo, lehlabula, hoetla, maria; in season, ka nako ea teng; out of season, ka nako e sa tšonelehang
 Season, v, to render palatable, ho nka
 Seat, n, chair, setulo; a situation, bolulo; a site, setša; a house, ntlo; v, ho lulisa
 Sea-weed, n, setlana se melang leatleng
 Secede, v, ho tōha, arōhana.
 Secession, n, karōhano.
 Seclude, v, ho khaohanya, koalla kante.
 Second, adj, ea bobeli; inferior, e ka tase ho e ngoe; n, a support, modatsi, mothusi; of time, karōlo ea mashome a tšeletseng ea minute; v, ho hlatsa, ntšetsa pele; second-hand, e seng ncha.
 Secondary, adj, e hlalimang ea pele, e nyenyane, e se nang bohōlo.
 Secondary, adv, taba ea bobeli, la bobeli.
 Secretary, n, sephiring, bonnoši, lekunutu.
 Secret, adj, e patloeng, ea lekunutu, e sephiri; n, lekunutu, sephiri, se sa tsejoeng.
 Secretary, n, a clerk, mongoli; a bird, mamolangane.
 Secrete, v, to conceal, ho pata; to produce from the blood, ho ntša, tsoa; gall is secreted by the blood, nyooko e tsoa maling.
 Secretary, adv, ka sephiring, ka lekunutu, ka ho pata.
 Sect, n, sehlopha sa batho ba cang ka thuto e le ngoe.
 Section, n, karōlo, khaohanyo, khaōlo, sekoto
 Secular, adj, seo e seng sa Kerike, joaleka lithuto tse ling.
 Secure, v, to protect, ho sirela, sireletsa, pholosa; to fasten, ho tisa; adj, e tihlang, phemisi-tsoeng tsentsi.
 Security, n, safety, pholoho; a pledge, tebeleto, tšepiso.
 Sedate, adj, e khutitsang, e se nang ho ferekana.
 Sedateness, n, ho khutsa, ho hloka pherekano.

Sedative, adj, e khutitsang; n, sethare se khutitsang bohōkō.
 Seditary, adj, e atsang ho ntulela hae, e sa tsoeleng ntle.
 Sediment, n, litšifa.
 Sedition, n, phechōhelo, bohkantho, koeneho.
 Seditious, adj, e rang ho fetshala, ho ikhantša.
 Seduce, v, to lead astray, ho khetlosa, fapōsa, qeka; to deprave, ho hlala bohlole.
 Seducer, n, mokhetosi, moqapōsi, moqeka.
 Seduction, n, molato oa ho khetlosa (haholo ho isa bohlole).
 See, v, ho bona, talima, bōha, lemōha; see to it, u hlakomela taba ena; to see about a thing, ho hlakomela taba, ho imantšela eona, let me see, ntumelle ke bone, a nke ke bone
 Seed, n, peō, hlanyālo, lyalo; v, ho bea peo, seed time, nako ea ho jala
 Seedling, n, setlana se melang peong.
 Seedy, adj, not strong, e feileng mada, e sa iketeng.
 Seek, v, ho batla, leka, fuputsa, hoara-hoara.
 Seem, v, ho bonahala joaleka hoja, ho tsoana; it seems, ho joaleka hoja, eka.
 Seeming, adj, e bonahalang, e kang; n, ponahalo, tšobotsi, sebopeho.
 Seemingly, adv, ka ponahalo, ka ho bona ka mahlo.
 Seer, n, senōhe, moprofeta.
 Seethe, v, to cause to boil, ho belisa; to be boiling, ho belsa.
 Seize, v, ho tšoara, hapa, nka ka mada, phōlla.
 Seldom, adv, mohlomong, mahlāpe, e seng hangata, ka secōlo.
 Select, v, ho khetha; adj, e khethehleng, e ikhethang.
 Selection, n, khetho, ntho e khethehleng.
 Self, n, sebele sa motho, sebele; myself, na ka sebele; self-confidence, boitšepo; self-denial, boitelo; self-possession, boitšoarō, ho se ferekane kapele; self-provach, boinyatso; self-righteousness, ho ipona ho lōka; self-sufficiency, ho



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N. Mercury 21/10/77

OPINION

More ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ threats against Press

By The Editor

THE ink was hardly dry on banning orders and the detention cell doors were probably still thumping shut when Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Information, is reported to have told foreign correspondents in Pretoria that the closing of South Africa's second largest newspaper the World, was a strong warning to all other publications in the country.

The Government, he said, would not hesitate to take action against any publication if it was necessary.

We ask: What purpose that mailed fist if not to try to intimidate the Press generally? The seriousness of the threat is not only evident in the detention of Mr. Percy Qoboza, Editor of the Black newspaper. It is plain from the vicious and punitive provisions of the five-year banning order served on Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch.

Mr. Woods is no revolutionary nor is he a skulking subversive, but for the next five years he may not leave East London without permission. He cannot speak publicly, prepare anything for publication, is barred from any social gathering and cannot see more than one person at a time other than his family.

That and more to silence a journalist who, along with Mr. Qoboza, was just too outspoken for Nationalism's stomach. Neither has been charged with any offence so what other reason could there be? Dr. Mulder's threat, com-

Council

STUDENTS UNION
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
RONDEBOSCH 7700

ing so swiftly on the heels of Mr. Kruger's decrees, may comfort those who would sooner try to cover all South Africa's warts and pimples with the vinegar and brown paper of nursery rhymes. But bannings are not the magic wand to make all things unpleasant to go away.

OCT

The causes of South Africa's ills must be sought out and exposed if they are to be remedied. There is no other way. And we, as a responsible newspaper, will continue to do just that irrespective of what threats are made or by whom.

The Press is not perfect but most journalists have — and always have had — a concern for integrity, fairness and decency.

In the almost 125 years since its foundation the Natal Mercury has been dedicated to truth, justice and responsible freedom as primary elements of journalistic life. We have no intention of changing or of being intimidated.

And to those who might clamour for more of Dr. Mulder's kragdadigheid or Mr. Kruger's bannings as the tensions grow we say that distorting the mirror will not allay their fears in these troubled times. It is this Government alone — not the Press — that can remove the cause of them.

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AFRICAN STUDENTS

Woods still Daily Dispatch editor ²⁴⁷

EAST LONDON — Mr Donald Woods, the banned editor of the Daily Dispatch, would remain the editor of the newspaper "with all the rewards of an editor and will not suffer financially", the acting editor, Mr G A Farr, said in a statement here yesterday.

"While Mr Woods is unable to carry out the functions as editor, Mr G A Farr will be temporary acting editor and will run the newspaper in his own style," the statement said

Meanwhile, Mr Donald Woods's wife, Mrs W Woods, said her husband, had arrived home early yesterday after an all-night drive and had had a good sleep — Sapa

be taken after completion of either Economics I

1 after the completion of one of the following
ive, Ancient History & Classical Archaeology,
ic History I, Geography I, History I, Politi-
Sociology I.

l as Afrikaans en Nederlands I as a qualifying

1 after the completion of Maths.I; and Maths
efore taking Appl.Maths.III (refer Science

only be taken after the completion of

Chemistry I.

f. Chemistry II can only be taken after the completion of Physics I.

Chemistry III can only be taken after the completion of Mathematics I.

g. Comparative African Government & Law I can only be taken after the completion of Political Science I.

h. Cultural History of Western Europe III can only be counted as a major course (Column C.) if at least one of the following courses is included in the curriculum: Afrikaans en Nederlands II, Economic History II, English II, French II, German II, Greek II, Hebrew II, History II, History & Appreciation of Music II, History & Theory of Art II, Italian II, Latin II, Philosophy II, Religious Studies II.

i. Drama I can only be taken after the completion of Speech & Drama.

j. Economics IB is a course for students who do not intend to take Economics II.

Economics III can only be taken after the completion of an approved course in Statistics.

k. English I. Admission to English I is limited. Students will be admitted to English I when this course is required either by University regulations or by statutory requirements. All other students will be admitted on merit.

l. Geology III can only be taken after the completion of Chemistry I and Physics I.

m. Mathematics I can consist of either Maths. Ia and Ib, or Maths.Ia and Statistics Ia.

n. Mathematical Statistics I can only be taken after the completion of Mathematics I, and Maths.Stats.II after completion of Maths.II.

o. Physics II can only be taken after the completion of Mathematics I.

p. Physiology I can only be taken after the completion of Chemistry I.

q. Public International Law should not be taken in the first year.

r. Roman Law I can only be taken after the completion of Matric Latin or equivalent[†]

s. Roman Law II can only be taken after the completion of Latin I, and either after the completion of, or at the same time as, Roman-Dutch Law I.

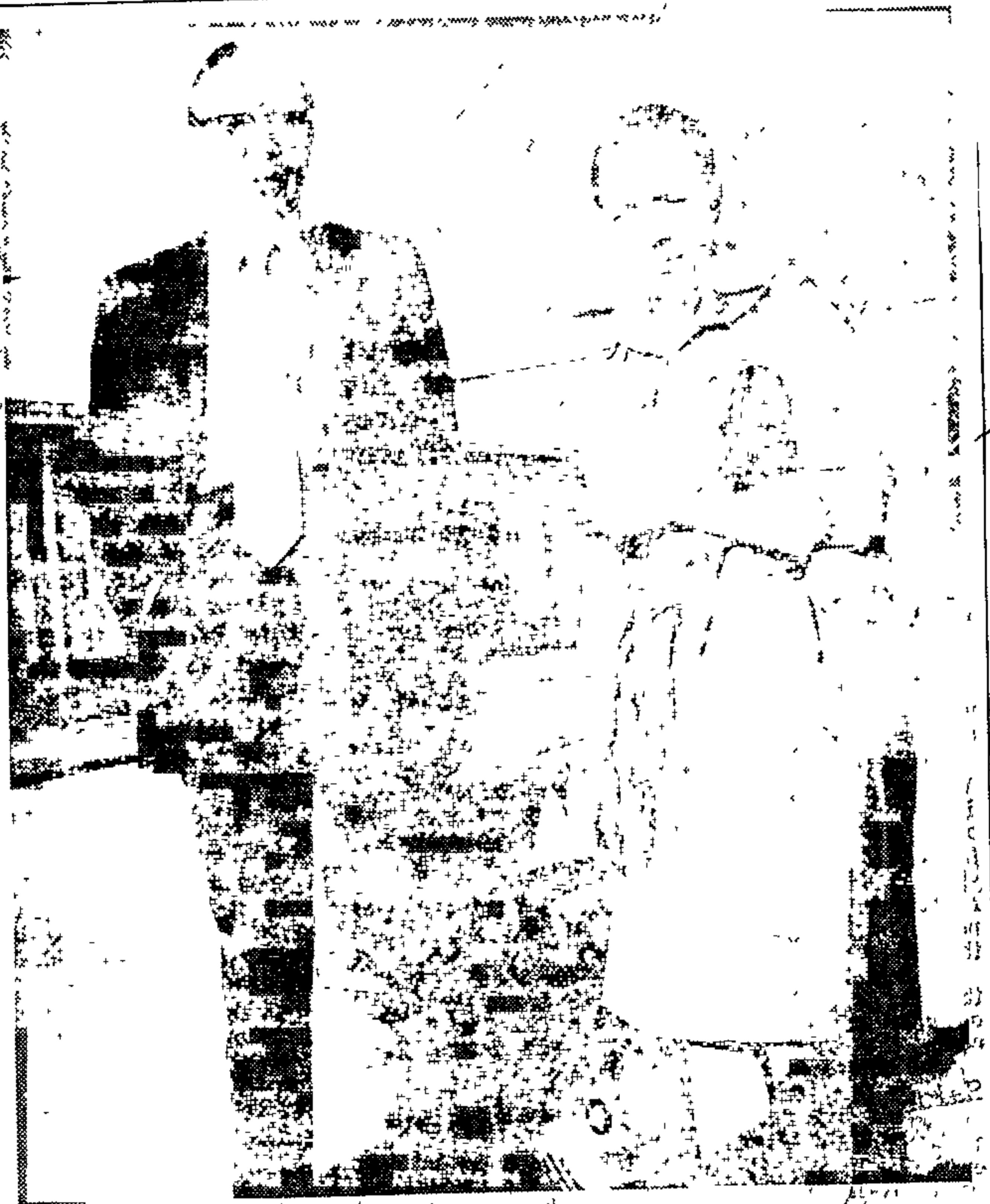
t. Roman-Dutch Law I can only be taken after the completion of Matric Latin or equivalent,⁺ and either after the completion of, or simultaneously with, Roman Law I.

+ An elementary Latin course is offered at the University for this purpose.

u&v. Law: If you are proceeding to the LL.B.degree you are strongly advised to take Latin I and II. A working knowledge of Afrikaans is desirable.

If you intend practising as an ADVOCATE, or, after having obtained the LL.B.degree, as an ATTORNEY, in the Republic or in South West Africa, you must include in your curriculum ENGLISH I AND AFRIKAANS or AFRIKAANS EN NEDERLANDS I.

w. Zoology II can only be taken after the completion of Chemistry I.



MR L. E. A. SLATER, chairman of the Argus Company, and Mrs Anne Qoboza, after visiting detained editor of The World, Mr Percy Qoboza, in prison yesterday. Mr Slater telephoned the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, to obtain permission for company representatives and family to visit Mr Qoboza. He was taken food, clothing and a radio.

Woods can still play golf - in twosomes

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.—
The banning order against Daily Dispatch Editor Mr Donald Woods should not prevent him from continuing with two of his favourite pastimes: Chess, as long as nobody watches the game, and golf, as long as he is prepared to play only

Cont

ARGUS

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The order, under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, prohibits Mr Woods from speaking to more than one person at a time, except for members of his family. He must report to the police station weekly and cannot move outside the East London magisterial district.

FIVE-YEAR BAN

He may not attend social gatherings, though many banned persons have been able to attend entertainment at theatres and cinemas. The order lasts for five years.

Mr Woods may not work for a newspaper, may not have his views published, and may not be quoted.

Press chief hopes for reform

MR D. P. DE VILLIERS, managing director of Nasionale Pers, today reacted to a report in The Argus yesterday on a statement at the nomination of Dr Denis Worrall (Nat) as parliamentary candidate for Gardens.

The report was carried under the headline 'Afrikaners Press chief regrets bannings.'

It quoted Mr de Villiers as saying the banning of The World, other newspapers, organisations and individuals was a regrettable feature of Governmental action.

He asked The Argus today to report that the words in quotes were not used by him in the context of his statement.

REGRETTABLE

He spoke of 'regrettable features' of 'South African society' which he hoped could in future be obviated by reform.

And under this he included 'the kind of Governmental action taken against certain newspapers, organisations and individuals, together with the kind of circumstances that have in the past given rise to it.'

Mr de Villiers said he was speaking in his personal capacity as a Gardens voter and not on behalf of any organisation.

The Argus regrets any inconvenience caused to Mr de Villiers.

'Soft' ^{William et.} outraged, says Streicher

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THE leader of the South African Party, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said yesterday that the most outraged and vociferous reaction to the banning of certain newspapers and people would come from those who were soft on law and order

Mr Streicher was reacting to the banning of the World and Weekend World newspapers, the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, and six others.

Mr Streicher said he expected that the Minister of Justice, had good reason and strong evidence against the publications and persons concerned for him to have taken these steps.

"It should be clear to even a layman that the sporadic outbursts of unrest that we have had in many areas in South Africa are not of a natural nature.

"Even Swaziland faces the same sort of trouble at the moment.

"But what is surprising to me is the reaction of people who are in responsible positions and who, apparently, have no feeling or inclination that law and order must be preserved

"In this situation the authorities have a special duty towards the innocent law-abiding people in the country.

"Though the freedom we enjoy in South Africa might not be perfect, no authority, when law and order is threatened, can allow so much freedom that the very freedom that we cherish will be obliterated

"Those who shout the loudest now about democracy are the ones who want to open the door to the destruction of that very democracy

"My party will certainly not participate in this game," Mr Streicher said. — Sapa

(Report by Andrew Braid, Van der Stel Buildings, 58 Burg Street, Cape Town)

Boraine calls for Kruger's resignation

et 21/10/77
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DR ALEX BORAINÉ, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands, last night called for the resignation of the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger.

"It is clear that if ever I believed in banning an individual, in silencing an individual, in restricting an individual, it would not be Donald Woods, or Manas Buthelezi, or Theo Kotze or Percy Quoboza — it would be James Kruger," he told 350 people at a meeting in Rondebosch.

He said the methods of the communists were "indefensible" and these were the methods employed by "Kruger and his henchmen".

"But this government with its blind prejudice, its inhuman actions, its dangerous and suicidal policies, is the gravest security risk in South Africa

"It puts at jeopardy, in particular, the safety, the security, the future of white South Africans.

"Therefore I call on Kruger to resign and on the electorate to wake from its slumber and to vote against this government which pushes all of us inexorably towards the precipice," he said

There were two choices facing the electorate in South Africa — a vote for the NP or the PFP. "The old UP is dead — and the NRP will, rapidly disintegrate"

A vote for the NP was a vote for escalating confrontation between white and black in South Africa. It was a vote for front-end loaders, for bannings and detention without trial, he said

"A vote for the PFP is a vote for negotiation between white and black which is the only guarantee for lasting peace and security in South Africa."

An extract of Dr Boraine's speech was given to the Cape Times.

Speaking at the same

meeting, Mr Christo Wiese, PFP parliamentary candidate for Simonstown, said senseless government action against blacks, whites and the press was done to test the tolerance of the electorate

Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, wanted change — but the only change he wanted was to change his title from Prime Minister to that of State President, Mr Wiese said, commenting on the new constitutional proposals

"Much has been said and written about these proposals which have given many people grey hairs. But in spite of all this, they still remain vague. "But the South African voter does not even have full details of these plans. How are we expected to vote for plans we do not know about?"

The chairman of the meeting was Mr Robert Stein

Report by L Raubenheimer, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town

Woods to sue Kruger

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

Banned newspaper editor

Mr Donald Woods intends

to bring a R100 000 defa-

mation claim against the

Minister of Justice, Mr J.

T Kruger, in addition to

a R75 000 claim pending.

This was confirmed by

his wife, Mrs Wendy

Woods, today.

Mr Woods, editor of the

Daily Dispatch, was

banned on Wednesday,

and an East London law-

yer said today the inten-

ded claim damages would

be based on remarks made

by Mr Kruger in public

statements.

The first remark was

that made by Mr Kruger

saying he had taken ac-

tion against people whose

activities endangered the

maintenance of public

order.

OTHER REMARKS

The other remarks, in

an interview on SATV,

were those allegedly link-

ing Mr Woods with

violence and confronta-

tion.

The R75 000 claim dates

from the Natal National

Party congress.

● Woods's banning terms

— Page 3.

it at School:

subjects which are not generally taught in schools and which the University of Cape Town towards a B.A. degree.

ology - Comparative African Government & Law - Cultural
ry of Western Europe - Economics - Economic History -
natical Statistics - Philosophy - Political Science -
ious Studies - Social Anthropology.

ergraduate courses in Archaeology at U.C.T.

describes the aims and methods of prehistoric archaeology -
in which archaeologists set about reconstructing the life
before the first appearance of written records. This part
cribes the progress made by man from the origins of tool-
llion years ago up until the rise of the first civilizations
Emphasis is placed on the techniques of excavation, analysis
n as well as on the narrative of prehistory.

e second course in archaeology is the prehistory of Africa.
is made to describe the achievements of man on the African
s earliest appearance until almost the present day. Much of
s within the Stone Age, but attention is also paid to the
peoples of Southern Africa, their origins, spread and present
series of lectures on metals and ceramic technology, taught
of Metallurgy and Material Science, is included in the course.

and II the focus is on hunters, herders and agriculturalists
e more recent large-scale flowerings of civilizations such as
Egypt and the near East. Although these are legitimate branches
hey are not taught at present within the Department of Archaeology,

was introduced for the first time in 1976, changing the
from two years to three. The course is offered in both the
faculties and focusses on the investigative techniques of the
the field, in the laboratory, and in writing prehistory. The

course includes some practical training in museum methods, photography, mapping,
and the like, but has a heavy emphasis on the applied science techniques employed
by archaeologists. Fieldwork is required.

In Additional Archaeology (taken simultaneously with or subsequent to Course III)
students with exceptional aptitude and interest pursue individual original research
projects involving scientific applications in the analysis of archaeological
materials, and participate in a research seminar. Laboratory and fieldwork are
carried out as each project requires.

COMPARATIVE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND LAW I:

The material for this course is derived largely from Southern Africa with com-
parative reference to case studies in the political systems of East and Central
Africa. The course includes an introduction to the comparative study of the
politics of race, class, and ethnicity.

Comparative African Government and Law I may not be taken in the first year
and Political Science I must be completed beforehand. It is suggested that
the following course or courses should be taken prior to or concurrently with
Comparative African Government and Law I. The suggested courses and their
times of meeting are given below:-

- Political Science I meets at 9.25 a.m.
- Economics I meets at 10.20 a.m.
- Sociology I meets at 11.15 a.m.
- African History I meets at 8.30 a.m. (this course cannot be taken by a
first year student)
- Social Anthropology I meets at 8.30 a.m.

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et article 17

Terms of editor's 5 year banning order

Own Correspondent

FAST LONDON - The exact terms of the banning order served on the editor of the Daily Dispatch Mr Donald Woods, became known only yesterday morning when he arrived at his home here after being driven through the night from Johannesburg by teams of special branch men

The order, made under the Internal Security Act, prohibits Mr Woods from

- ① Attending any gathering, including any social gathering "at which the persons present also have social intercourse with one another",
- ② Attending any political gathering "at which any form of state or any principle or policy of the government of a state is propagated, defended, attacked, criticized or discussed",

- ③ Attending any gathering of pupils or students,
- ④ Leaving the magisterial district of East London,
- ⑤ Entering any "Bantu area" including townships, hostels or villages,
- ⑥ Entering any coloured or Indian area,
- ⑦ Entering any factory,
- ⑧ Entering any place where "any publication is prepared, compiled or published" - in effect prohibiting him from entering the Daily Dispatch offices,
- ⑨ Entering any school or university,
- ⑩ Entering any court unless he is applying for a relaxation of the banning order or he is a witness or accused or is involved in a civil case,
- ⑪ Entering any harbour

Mr Woods also cannot prepare anything for publication or help in preparing any publication - which includes "any book, pamphlet, list, placard, poster, drawing,

photograph or picture".

He may not give any "educational instruction" to anybody beyond his children. He may also not take part in the activities of any organization declared unlawful. Neither may he communicate with any other banned person.

Mr Woods is also required to report to the Cambridge Police Station here every Monday between 6am and noon.

The banning order begins by saying that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger is "satisfied that you (Mr Woods) engage in activities which endanger or are calculated to endanger the maintenance of public order".

The ban is effective for five years and expires on October 31, 1982.

The order is signed on Wednesday - the day it was served on Mr Woods as he was due to fly to the United States and Australia for brief visits.

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Mulder warns other papers ^{C.T.} 2/11/77

JOHANNESBURG -- The Minister of the Interior Dr Connie Mulder, said that the government would not hesitate to close down other newspapers if the State was endangered or law and order threatened

Dr Mulder was speaking to foreign correspondents in Pretoria this week

He said the government clampdown decision had been discussed by the Cabinet for three weeks before it was

launched and could be construed as a warning to others not to abuse the right of criticism

"We had to stop the World," Dr Mulder told the newsmen on Wednesday

He said he hoped it would not be necessary to close down other newspapers

The newspapers' own Press Council appeared to be doing a satisfactory job and he hoped it would not be necessary to reintroduce the Newspaper Bill, Dr Mulder said

D.D. 22/10/77

ES/370 *Handwritten* 247

Editors condemn bannings

JOHANNESBURG — Editors of 14 South African newspapers yesterday expressed "profound condemnation of the arbitrary action" against The World newspaper and its Editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, and the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods

The statement, drawn up by the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, and endorsed by 13 other editors said "We, the editors of the following South African newspapers, record our profound condemnation of the arbitrary action taken against The World, its Editor Percy Qoboza,

and the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Donald Woods

"We see these steps as direct threats to the press, to the cause of free expression and to the right of every citizen to know the facts about his country.

"If the steps are intended to intimidate other editors, we record that we have no intention of altering our way of conducting newspapers

"We wish our readers and the Government to take note of this."

The editors associated with the statement are Mr George Farr, Acting Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Tertius Myburgh, Sunday Times,

Mr Allister Sparks, Rand Daily Mail; Mr Rex Gibson, Sunday Express; Mr Ian Wylie, Sunday Tribune; Mr Richard Steyn, Natal Witness; Mr Mike Lloyd, Diamond Fields Advertiser; Mr John Sutherland, Evening Post; Mr Harry O'Connor, Eastern Province Herald; Mr James McMillan, Natal Mercury; Mr Graham Hutton, Financial Mail; Mr Peter Ferraz, The Friend; and Mr Anthony Konigkramer, Hanga.

Meanwhile, the president of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Hal Miller, said in spite of representations to the Minister of Justice, he had not been able to establish the detailed reasons for the banning of The World and Weekend World.

The Government Gazette merely indicated the papers had been banned in terms of Section 6 of the Internal Security Act (Act 44 of 1950), which indicated that a publication could be banned, if it served, inter alia, as a means for expressing views or conveying information, the publication of which was calculated to endanger the security of the State, or the maintenance of public order.

The press needed these details if it did not have access to the detailed reports which led to the banning of The World and Weekend World, how could it in future possibly make a balanced assessment of the news available to it, or comment fairly about that news?

He appealed to the Minister either to withdraw the banning orders, or to publish fully detailed reasons for the banning of the papers. — S.A.P.A.

STATEMENT OF CONDEMNATION BY 14 EDITORS

N. Mercury 29-10-77 (247)
JOHANNESBURG — Editors of 14 South African newspapers yesterday expressed "profound condemnation of the arbitrary action" against the World newspaper and its editor, Mr. Percy Qoboza, and the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods.

The statement, drawn up by the editor of the Cape Times, Mr. Raymond Heard, and endorsed by 13 other editors said:

"We the editors of the following South African newspapers, record our profound condemnation of the arbitrary action taken against the World, its editor, Percy Qoboza, and the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Donald Woods.

"We see these steps as direct threats to the Press, to the cause of free expression and to the right of every citizen to know the facts about his country.

"If the steps are intended to intimidate other editors we record that we have no intention of altering our way of conducting newspapers.

"We wish our readers and the Government to take note of this."

The editors associated with the statement are:

Mr. George Farr, acting editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Tertius Myburgh (Sunday Times), Mr. Allister Sparks (Rand Daily Mail), Mr. Rex Gibson (Sunday Express), Mr. Ian Wyllie (Sunday Tribune), Mr. Richard Steyn (Natal Witness), Mr. Mike Lloyd (Diamond Fields Advertiser), Mr. John Sutherland (Evening Post), Mr. J. O'Connor (Eastern Province Herald), Mr. James McMillan (The Natal Mercury), Mr. Graham Hatton (Financial Mail), Mr. Peter Ferraz (The Friend) and Mr. Anthony Königkramer (Ilanga). — (Sapa.)

US viewers see effect of bans

EAST LONDON — Last night about 20 million American television viewers saw a film on what a South African banning order means to the individual banned, and in particular what its implications are for the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods.

While directing filming at the Dispatch and at Mr Woods' home yesterday, the Bureau Chief of ABC News' Southern Africa Bureau, Mr Rex Ellis, said the film was a follow-up to last week's spate of bannings.

"There is no banning in the American statute books. By showing what it means to Mr Woods and the Daily Dispatch we hope to make Americans understand the

full meaning of a banning order," Mr Ellis said.

The film shot yesterday was flown to Johannesburg and sent to America by satellite in time for the 6 pm newscast. It included interviews with the Editor's wife, Mrs Wendy Woods, the Dispatch's Acting Editor, Mr George Farr, and the paper's Managing Director, Mr Terry Briceland. Scenes were shot in the Dispatch's Editorial Department and newsroom as well as at Mr Woods' home.

As I understand it Mr Woods would be guilty of contravening his banning order if we quoted him in an interview overseas, so I took shots of him at home with no sound track," Mr Ellis said. — DDR

Editor may seek Kruger interdict

EAST LONDON — The banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, is to seek an interdict in the Supreme Court if the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, makes any further allegedly defamatory remarks about him.

A warning that an interdict may be sought is contained in a letter from Mr Woods' attorneys in which R100 000 is claimed from Mr Kruger following allegedly defamatory remarks made about him.

Mr Woods' wife, Wendy, has also announced that action is contemplated against Mr Peregrine Worsthorne of the London Sunday Telegraph following an article written by him over the weekend.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mrs Woods said: "The attorneys for Mr D.J. Woods, the banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, are addressing a letter of demand to Mr Kruger, the Minister of Justice, in which a sum of R100 000 is being claimed as damages for allegedly defamatory remarks made by Mr Kruger about Mr

Woods

"The letter also alleges that the Minister has continued to defame Mr Woods since the first allegedly defamatory statements were uttered at the time Mr Woods was banned.

"The letter accordingly requires the Minister not to make any further allegedly defamatory remarks concerning Mr Woods, failing which an interdict will be sought in the Supreme Court. "Action is also contemplated against Mr Peregrine Worsthorne of the Sunday Telegraph, London, for damages

"The action arises out of a leading article published in the Sunday Telegraph at the weekend," Mrs Woods said in her statement. — DDR

American television newsman Rex Ellis is filmed outside the Daily Dispatch yesterday by ABC News film cameraman Ron Headford, as part of a film about the Daily Dispatch and its Editor, Mr Donald Woods.

CT 25/1077
21 editors

protest

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JOHANNESBURG -
Another editor has associated himself with a statement expressing "profound condemnation of the arbitrary action" taken by the government against the editor of the World, Mr Percy Qoboza, and the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods

The Rev T H Bishop, editor of the Anglican Church newspaper Seek, expressed his support yesterday. This brings to 21 the number of editors who have added their names to the statement. -- Sapa

World did
Star 25/10/77
not use

Kruger quote

Tim Patten, Political Reporter

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, publicly accused the banned newspaper The World of publishing a communist document which, it has now been established, did not appear in the newspaper.

But Mr Kruger today refused to comment on his error — made in a SABC-TV and radio interview on Sunday night — saying "I can see your line of thinking. If you want to deny it, you know where to go."

The Minister used the "quotations" as an example of why he had banned The World last week.

A thorough investigation and search through copies of The World has established that the extracts read by Mr Kruger during the interview did not appear.

This is corroborated by Tutet College, the educational institution which prepared lessons on the Russian revolution for The World. Tutet College says the extracts read by Mr Kruger were not published in the newspaper.

WITHDRAWN

The "extract" read by the Minister, which he said had appeared in The World last year shortly after the Soweto riots, included a diagram and fabricated account of Lenin's revolution in Russia. He said it depicted the position of the peasants and workers in Russia before and after the 1917 revolution.

The director of the SA Committee of Higher Education's newspaper programme, Mr Clive Nettleton, explained today that the section read by Mr Kruger had been part of a slide and tape educational programme shown to a private course in Bophuthatswana only last year. The course had no connection with The World.

The programme was later withdrawn from circulation because the writers believed that it was

Kruger at fault

~~Extract~~

not been submitted to the newspaper for publication in the educational series.

In the radio and TV interview Mr Kruger referred to the home education programme for blacks published in The World and said "I can give you an example of this. In the Bantu World of last year, just after the unrest, the newspaper which is now banned

"One of the lessons was as follows: Lenin and power. And it says the following:

"Look at this diagram. In it we have compared the conditions of the workers and the peasants before the revolution and after the revolution when Lenin was in power.

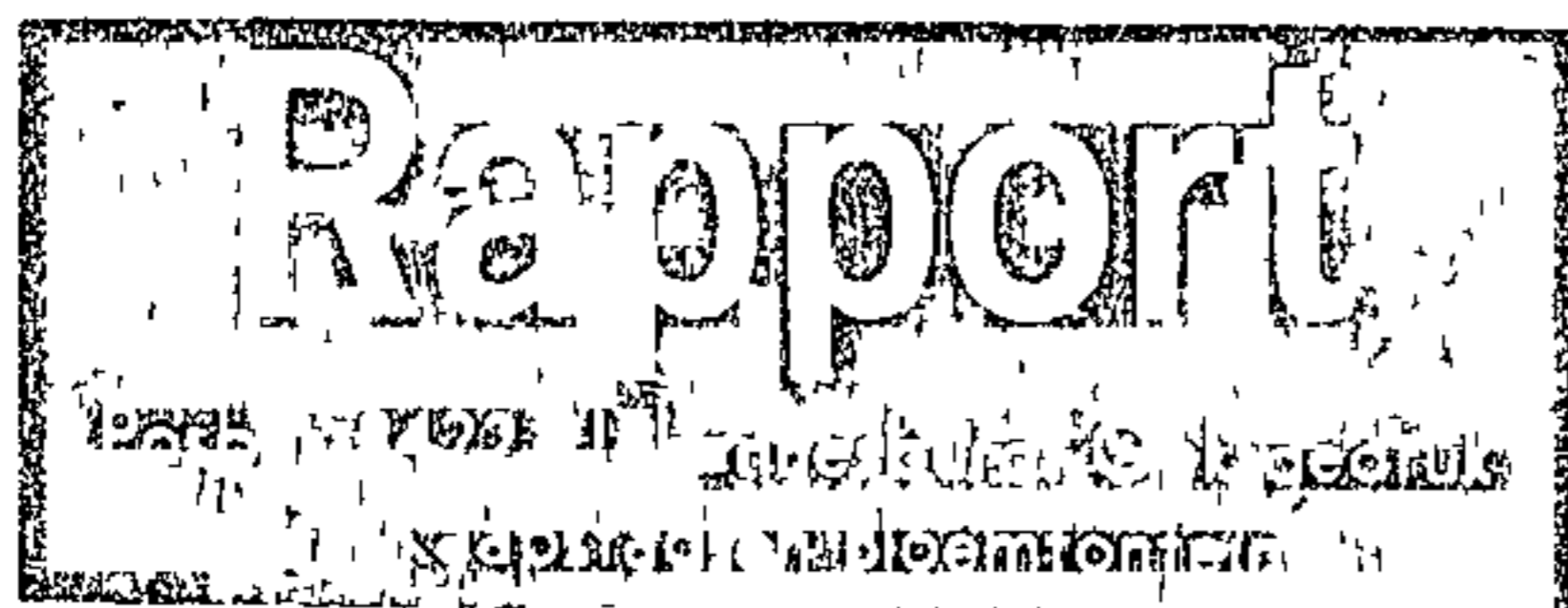
Mr Kruger, while reading the "extract" reminded listeners that the educational series containing three quotes had appeared in The World at a time when the unrest in Soweto was still continuing, and added "and then this sort of thing appears

He read on:

"Before the revolution the peasants had very little land. After the revolution peasants were given much more land. Before the revolution employers took all the profits. After the revolution workers now owned the factories. The profits belonged to them. Before the revolution workers and peasants had no say in the government. After the revolution workers and peasants had much more say in the government. Before the revolution the Tsar was against the workers and peasants. After the revolution the leaders of the new government ruled on behalf of the people.

The error caused by Mr Kruger has cast new light on the investigation conducted against The World before its banning last week.

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BEDENKINGE

NET die mees onkritiese Suid-Afrikaner sal met sy hand op sy hart kan verklaar dat hy absoluut geen bedenking het oor die oprede die week teen twee swart koerante, twee redakteurs en 'n verskeidenheid van ander persone en organisasies nie.

Sulke bedenkings is reeds weerspieël in die kommentaar van die lojalste koerantondersteuners van die Nasionale Party.

Dit gaan nie soseer oor die noodsaaklikheid al dan nie van sulke drastiese stappe nie. Die meeste Nasionalistes sal die Eerste Minister en die Minister van Justisie se woord aanvaar dat dit onvermydelik was.

Die feit dat dit juis nou gedoen is, met die wêreiddruk reeds so sterk op ons, en in die middel van 'n verkiesingsveloetog, sal ook die meeste mense oortuig dat dit werklik nie anders kon nie. Geen politieke party sal sommer vir sy teenstanders so 'n emosionele argument op 'n skinkbord aanbied nie.

Waaroor daar wel ernstige bedenkings bestaan, is die volstreekte weiering om die publiek in te lig oor presies waarom dit nodig was om teen dié persone en instansies op te tree.

Dit is hierdie aspek van die betrokke wetgewing wat ook vir baie Nasionalistes 'n kwelling des geestes is. Die feit dat daar dan niksbaie gereed is om 'n man op te sluit in 'n koerant toe te maak, maar dat daardie redes nie in die openbaar uitgespel hoef te word nie.

Die geval van *The World* en *Weekend World* is hier die meeste ter sake. 'n Koerant doen al sy werk in die openbaar. Wat hy dink en doen, publiseer hy. Sy foute en sondes word dus ook elke dag ten toon gestel vir almal om te sien en te lees.

'n Mens sou dus dink dat juis in so 'n geval maklik aangedui sou kan word hoe en waar die oortredings begaan is.

Maar tot in dié stadium is selfs die eienaars van die koerante, na ons wete, nog nie ingelig oor presies wat die klagtes is nie.

'n Mens kan jou voorstel met hoeveel minder skade vir Suid-Afrika die saak sou verloop het as daardie koerante en aangehoudenes voor die hof gedaag en aangekla was.

Ons aanvaar graag dat die optrede van die Minister van Justisie en die Veiligheidspolisie in die beste belang van die land was. Ons wil nie'tem'n 'n beroep op hulle doen om so gou moontlik die land in te lig oor presies waarom dit gaan. So word die demokrasie die beste bedien.

- a. African Economic History I can only be taken after completion of either Economics I or Economic History I.
- b. African History I can only be taken after the completion of one of the following courses: African Languages Intensive, Ancient History & Classical Archaeology, Archaeology I, Economics I, Economic History I, Geography I, History I, Political Science I, Soc. Anthropology I, Sociology I.
- c. Afrikaans cannot be counted as well as Afrikaans en Nederlands I as a qualifying course.
- d. Applied Maths. II can only be taken after the completion of Maths. I; and Maths II must, from 1977, be completed before taking Appl. Maths. III (refer Science Prospectus).

courses can only be taken after the completion of
 e taken after the completion of Physics I.
 be taken after the completion of Mathematics I.
 Government & Law I can only be taken after the completion of

Western Europe III can only be counted as a major course
 one of the following courses is included in the curricu-
 arlands II, Economic History II, English II, French II,
 brew II, History II, History & Appreciation of Music II,
 t II, Italian II, Latin II, Philosophy II, Religious Studies
 ken after the completion of Speech & Drama.
 se for students who do not intend to take Economics II.
 be taken after the completion of an approved course in

English I is limited. Students will be admitted to
 use is required either by University regulations or by
 All other students will be admitted on merit.
 e taken after the completion of Chemistry I and Physics I.
 list of either Maths. Ia and Ib, or Maths. Ia and Statistics Ia.
 s I can only be taken after the completion of Mathematics

the happenings of last
 week had been expressed.
 Both the deputation
 and the Minister had "let
 their hair down" in the
 discussions, he said.
 A third member of the
 deputation, Mr Justice Ko-
 wie Marais, said he had
 asked the Minister for
 reasons for banning the
 World and to tell him

taken after the completion of Mathematics I.
 e taken after the completion of Chemistry I.
 e taken after the completion of Latin I, and either
 , or at the same time as, Roman-Dutch Law I.
 only be taken after the completion of Matric Latin or
 after the completion of, or simultaneously with,

MP, said after the meet-
 ing that she did not think
 the meeting was "entirely
 without use."
 "Whether anything
 practical will emerge is
 another matter," she said.
 Mr Rupert Lorrimer, MP,
 who was a member of the
 , deputation said the par-
 ty's extreme concern at

Political Correspondent
 A deputation from the
 Progressive Federal Party
 came a way from a
 45-minute interview with
 the Minister of Justice,
 Mr Kruger, today without
 winning any concessions
 from him on lifting last
 week's bannings.
 The leader of the depu-
 tation, Mrs Helen Suzman,
 Republic or in South West Africa, you must include in your
 D AFRIKAANS or AFRIKAANS EN NEDERLANDS I.
 as an ADVOCATE, or, after having obtained the LL.B. degree,
 ing to the LL.B. degree you are strongly advised to take
 in course is offered at the University for this purpose.

Kruger remains unyielding on bannings

26/10/77 The Star Wednesday Oc

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'Woods made me think'

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STAR 26/10/77

Donald Woods — forthright, courageous, a man who fights against racism and promotes democracy — he is a countryman of whom all South Africans should be proud.

Those cherub-looking but power-mad, arrogant and, above all, foolish policemen-politicians (men who dare to call themselves true and freedom-loving South Africans) have silenced Mr Woods along with others. But they cannot and will not silence the vast majority of our people who hold or support opinions similar to his.

To me, Mr Woods has been an inspiration. His weekly column in the Rand Daily Mail made Friday mornings something special. He made me think, he made me smile, he instilled in me the hope that one day South Africa would be a country from which the rest of the world could learn, a great shining light at the tip of the continent of Africa, a light that would permeate all the way to the north.

But now his visions, insights and new ideas will be lost to us for a while — a while when SA most needs men, not only of his convictions, but of his sense of humour too. He has been banned by law, but he is set free in his fight for justice. May his and our hopes prevail.

Just Africa
Germiston.

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through or a second page of a letter]

Δ Δ. 26/10/77

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Challenge to Owen on free press

MIDDELBURG — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R. F. Botha, has challenged his British counterpart to say which countries in Africa had more press freedom than South Africa.

Speaking at Middelburg, Transvaal, he was reacting to Dr Owen's statement that any further bannings of newspapers in South Africa would result in conflict with the international community.

Mr Botha said there was no press freedom at all in 84 per cent of African countries while the remaining 16 per cent of these countries the newspapers were Government-owned.

He also criticised other countries for giving money to organisations aimed at the undermining of law and order in South Africa. — SAPA

(News by C Meyer, 627 Old Mutual Building, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

The World denies printing Red quotes

D.D. 26/10/77
247

JOHANNESBURG — The banned newspaper, The World, never used quotations on the Russian revolution attributed to it by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, during a television interview to explain his countrywide clampdown last week.

The assistant editor of The World, Mr Denis Beckett, confirmed yesterday that the newspaper had not published the article read on television on Sunday by Mr Kruger. The article referred to an educational series run last year to assist school pupils.

Asked whether the newspaper planned any legal action, Mr Beckett said: "Our primary aim is to get The World on the road again. And beyond showing that there was an inaccuracy, we would not want to get involved in any actions at this stage."

Mr Kruger refused to comment last night.

On television, he said an educational series had been published in The World at a time when unrest in Soweto was continuing "and then this sort of thing appears."

Mr Kruger referred to an article on Lenin and power, with a diagram of the revolution in Russian, and read the tabulation which described conditions affecting peasants and workers before and after 1917.

Yesterday Mr Clive Nettleton, director of the South African Committee of Higher Education's newspaper programme, which prepared articles for publication in The World, said the article quoted had not been given to The World.

Mr Kruger's extract came from a slide and tape educational programme

used in two summer schools at the beginning of 1976.

The diagrammatic lesson was withdrawn after this "because we felt it was an oversimplification and was not thorough enough," Mr Nettleton said.

Articles which had been carried in The World from July 28 to August 27 last year were courses on history, English and geography to assist pupils while schools were closed he said.

He said articles used in The World on the Russian revolution were only those which complied with the syllabus set for senior history pupils by the Department of Bantu Education.

A senior Bantu Education official confirmed last night the Russian revolution formed part of the approved history syllabus.

— DDC

D. D. 26/10/77

Black chess (247) official resigns

CAPE TOWN. The union of the South African Chess Federation as a body representing all races received a setback yesterday when the only black man on the executive, Mr W. C. Bowers, resigned as vice-president.

Mr Bowers, who has twice represented South Africa at congresses of the international body, Fide, said he felt there was no longer any place for the middle man in any body that was subject to black extremism on the one hand as represented by Mr Hassan Howa, and white extremism as represented by the Government on the other.

Mr Bowers specifically referred to the banning order placed on Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, who was a delegate together with Mr Bowers and the president of the South African Chess Federation, Mr L. R. Reinstein, in the nearly successful attempt to keep South Africa in world chess at Lucerne this year.

In his letter of resignation, Mr Bowers wrote "It is today the fifth day since the banning of our colleague Donald Woods, and no move has been made by the South African Chess Federation to express concern at the plight of the delegate who so brilliantly defended us against the Russian, the Eastern, the Arab, and the African blocs in Fide at the special congress at Lucerne in July of this year.

We, the delegates, know that the emphasis was placed on having us expelled, which they failed to achieve. Our case rested upon the contention that the SACF complied with Fide statutes and we believe that the communication thus established between chess players could help in bringing about understanding of some of the problems that beset our country.

How then could a man who fought so hard for moderation and dialogue be accused of being sub-

"It is therefore my clear duty to express in this manner my unshakable belief in Donald as a man of integrity, honour and a true South African."

Mr Bowers said he had resigned without consulting his fellow members of the executive, because he did not wish to put any pressure on his colleagues.

Other members of the executive were not prepared to comment last night — DDC

Schoolboys told to cherish free speech

The Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr. Allister Sparks, left, and the headmaster of Selborne College, Mr. John Stonier, at the school's prizegiving in East London last night.

EAST LONDON — The heritage of free speech, established in the Eastern Cape by Pringle and Fairbairn a century and a half ago, was now being trampled on, the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr. A. Sparks, told pupils at Selborne College's annual prizegiving last night.

"This is my cultural heritage and yours and it is being trampled on in its very birthplace. Don't let anyone trample on that heritage without raising your voice in protest," Mr. Sparks said.

Not since the days of Pringle and Fairbairn had actions like the banning of the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, the detention of the Editor of The World, Mr. Percy Qoboza, and the banning of The World and Weekend World been taken against the press.

"Neither Mr Fairbairn nor Mr Pringle were clapped in jail for what they wrote. It is as well to see the events of the past week in their historic perspective
"I predict that in the struggle to preserve freedom of speech and press freedom in our

country, the names of Woods and Qoboza will come to occupy the same symbolic place in our history books as the names of Fairbairn and Pringle do in the struggle to establish it," Mr. Sparks said.

Freedom of speech was one of the few things which South Africa had left to hold up with pride before the world. "I am not going to lie down and let some latter-day Lord Charles Somerset trample all over it without a fight that will echo around the world," he said.

The generation now at Selborne would be the generation which faced the great change coming to South Africa, a change which was coming regardless of whether their families voted Nat. P.F., N.P. or S.A.P. or anything else which may emerge.

Since World War II with its Nazi excesses and the gassing of six million Jews there was a swell of feeling through the world against the idea that one race should dominate and discriminate against another. "This swell swept away the colonial age, and changed the map of the world. It has become one of the

great revolutionary tides of all time," he said.

It was now clear that by the end of next year the age of white rule would have come to an end in Rhodesia. For 300 years the white man had lived in South Africa as the "baas"; but of master not only of his own destiny, but of everyone else's too. "That 300 year period has run its course. It is coming to an end and a profound change is going to take place," he said.

It was essential for young South Africans to grow up with a new attitude towards blacks, one which did not view them in the master-servant relationship.

"We have to learn to know each other and we have got to learn to live together — or we shall perish together," he warned.

"Get to know people across the colour line and seek to communicate meaningfully with them. Get to know them as people. Get them into your sports clubs as members. Invite them to your homes," Mr. Sparks advised. —
DDR

RDM 26/10/77

We didn't say that, says World man

247

Staff Reporter

THE banned newspaper, The World, did not use quotations on the Russian revolution attributed to it by the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, during a television interview to explain his countrywide clampdown last week.

The Russian revolution forms part of an approved history syllabus for the Department of Bantu Education, as well as the national core syllabus for all history pupils in South Africa, a senior Bantu Education official said last night.

The assistant editor of The World, Mr Denis Beckett, yesterday confirmed the newspaper had

not published the article read on television on Sunday by Mr Kruger during an educational series run last year to assist school pupils.

Mr Kruger last night declined to comment.

On television he said an educational series had been published in The World at a time when unrest in Soweto was continuing "and then, this sort of thing appears".

Mr Kruger referred to an article on Lenin and power, with a diagram of the revolution in Russia, and read the tabulation which described conditions affecting peasants and workers before and after 1917.

The Star

Thursday October 27 1977

Helping to fill World vacuum 247

THE second largest circulation daily newspaper in South Africa — second only to The Star — is banned. The World happened to be the only broad-based vehicle of exclusively black opinion in this country. In the days when it could speak freely, it often spoke sharply; sometimes soothingly, and always in the tones of the peace-seeking urban black man.

Under Percy Qoboza, The World lived up to its slogan "Our own, our only paper." It did so despite the fact that it angered black extremists. It did so even when it was appealing for calm and moderation in times of popular uprising and inflamed feeling. It did so because The World served its community, as a good newspaper should, by airing its readers' grievances, investigating individual complaints, comforting the afflicted, teaching the ignorant, and generally reflecting

its own society

Now it is banned. There is nothing that can take its place. Yet its place must be preserved for the day when, under different circumstances, The World can return — free and unbowed. The Argus Company announced today that another of our sister newspapers will try to carry out this task. Post, a newspaper well known to black readers, moves into Soweto this weekend to publish where the banned Weekend World and The World once flourished.

One point must be made absolutely clear. Post, which currently publishes from Natal, will NOT attempt to act as a substitute for The World when it moves strongly into the Transvaal. It cannot legally do so. What it can do is, as we have said, keep open the place in the market for The World. What it must do is act as a means of communication for a million urban black people

afg

Blacks to get new paper

Star 27/10/77

247

The weekly newspaper Post is to be expanded to meet the needs of black readers in the Trans-

vaal.

In the absence of The World, it may become a black daily newspaper — but it is legally prevented from, and will not attempt to be a substitute for The World or Weekend World. The World and Weekend World were banned last Wednesday and the editor, Mr Percy Qoboza is being detained in Modder Bee Prison in terms of the Internal Security Act. There is no indication from the Government that any dispensation will be given The World which would allow it to publish freely.

Meanwhile there is a vacuum in the black newspaper field. Post, presently produced in Durban and having a limited sale in the Transvaal, is being prepared to meet a need, at least temporarily, in this field.

The Managing Director of the Argus Company, Mr C L C Hewitt, said today. "Post will now be produced in Johannesburg also, as often as readers and advertisers require it."

DAILY HOPE

"The first of the new editions will come out on Sunday and we hope there will be two or three further editions next week. Thereafter, if we receive the support we expect, we plan to publish on a daily basis."

Post would be produced from the premises of The World, using most of the editorial, commercial and production staff of that paper.

"However, it will not be in any way a substitute for The World," Mr Hewitt said. "That is neither a legal nor a practical possibility."

"Post will, though, be aimed specifically at black readers, and might carry some of the features which appeared in The World."

Mr Hewitt added that the Argus Company assumed that the ban on The World and Weekend World would be lifted at some time. When that happened, the role of Post would obviously be reassessed.

Journalists hit

at Kruger's

STAR 27/8/77
crackdown (247)

About 100 Johannesburg journalists have unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the action taken against The World and Weekend World and against editors Mr Percy Qoboza and Mr Donald Woods.

The resolution, proposed by Mr Raymond Louw, general manager of South African Associated Newspapers, called for the immediate lifting of the ban on the newspapers, the release of Mr Qoboza, and the lifting of the restriction on Mr Woods.

It added that the courts were freely available for Mr Qoboza and Mr Woods to be brought to trial, if they had done anything

wrong. Earlier, Mr Louw referred to a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, that the newspapers he had banned could possibly be deproclaimed if the unrest in South Africa quietened down completely.

Mr Louw described this statement as "terrorism".

He said there was no difference between that statement and the Baader-Meinhof gang asking for hostages. The hostages here were Mr Qoboza and The World.

He believed that one of the reasons for the banings was "the preservation of Nationalist power".

It was only natural that the Government would strike at the very core of those people and those institutions which had been striving harder than most to bring home to them the need for a drastic revision of their policies.

Mr John Marquard, ma-

nager of The World, said the reaction of the newspaper's staff to its banning had been to get it going again.

"This remains our prime objective. We are not sure we are going to get there but we are not going to give up hope," he said.

Mr Joe Latakhomo, news editor of The World, said the newspaper had been silenced "but the black voice will still come through, first as a whisper, finally as a rumble".

Only then, he said, might the powers that be listen to that voice.

And then, he warned, it might be too late.

Report by M Crozier, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

'FREEST PRESS'

241 IN AFRICA ^{NM} 23/10/77

JOHANNESBURG —
The Minister of Finance,
Senator Owen Horwood,
speaking at a luncheon of
the American Business-
men's Club here yester-
day said:

"Our critics talk
loosely about the
freedom, or lack of
freedom of the Press.
Where in the whole of
Africa is there a freer
Press than in South
Africa at this moment?

"Which country on the
vast continent of Africa
has done more to uplift
and improve the lot of its
Black and Coloured and
Indian populations than
South Africa?

"Which country on the
Africa has done more for
its Black, Coloured and
Indian peoples by way of
the provision of housing,
educational and training
facilities, medical services
and social welfare
generally than has South
Africa? — (Sapa.)

247

PM challenges paper on Woods report

PORT ELIZABETH — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said here last night he regarded it in the public interest and in the interests of press freedom in South Africa that the Rand Daily Mail should disclose who the person or agency was that had lied when it reported that the banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, was to have met Pres Carter shortly.

Addressing a public meeting here, Mr Vorster referred to a recent report in the Mail in which it was stated that Mr Woods was to have met Mr Cyrus Vance, Mr Andrew Young and "probably Mr Carter" if he had not been detain-

ed at Jan Smuts Airport. Mr Vorster said this report appeared on a Thursday. In the Saturday edition of the paper, another report appeared in which it was stated "The American Ambassador has advised that this information is incorrect."

Mr Vorster said one of three things could have happened and it was up to the Mail, in the interests of the inviolable right of the public to be informed, to state what had happened.

The reporter could have sucked the story out of his thumb, he could have been told a lie by Mr Woods or by someone else

and he might have been informed about something which should not have been publicised.

If the Mail believed in the high ideals of press freedom and the right of the public to be informed it now has a duty to say who had lied — Mr Woods, his supporters or the Americans, Mr Vorster said.

"What has happened here? Don't let this issue remain hanging in the air. You are doing your own reporting, the world, Mr Woods, and the Americans an injustice," Mr Vorster added — SAPA.

(News by J. Roelofse, Van Der Stel Building, 58 Burg Street, Cape Town)

247

28/10/77

Paper for blacks to expand

JOHANNESBURG — The weekly newspaper Post is to be expanded to meet the needs of black readers in the Transvaal, the Argus Co announced here yesterday.

Post is produced in Durban and has a limited sale in the Transvaal.

Post will now be produced in Johannesburg also, as often as readers and advertisers require it, the managing director of the Argus Co., Mr C. L. C. Hewitt, said.

"The first of the new editions will come out on Sunday and we hope there will be two or three further editions next week. Thereafter, if we receive the support we expect, we plan to publish on a daily basis."

Post would be produced from the premises of The World, using most of the editorial, commercial and production staff of that paper.

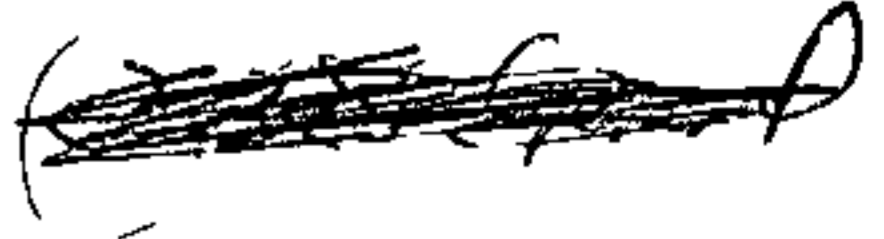
"However, it will not be in any way a substitute for The World," Mr Hewitt said. "That is neither a legal nor a practical possibility. Post will though, be aimed specifically at black readers, and might carry some of the features which appeared in World."

Mr Hewitt added that the Argus Co. assumed that the ban on World and Weekend World would be lifted at some time. When that happened, the role of Post would be reassessed.

— SAPA

BB 28/10/77

247



Kruger threatens to shut black paper

D.D. 30/8/77



OUR OWN, OUR ONLY PAPER ★ CITY LATE WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1977

THE of the of C Mr last a "pathic man" school

Page No.

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice has threatened to close down The World, South Africa's largest black newspaper

Mr Kruger confirmed yesterday he had considered steps to close the newspaper.

He would place evidence before the Prime Minister when Mr Vorster reviews the Newspaper Bill next year.

The newspaper's editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, said he was summoned by Mr Kruger to a meeting in Pretoria and warned that if The World continued with its highly critical anti-Government line, he would not hesitate to put an end to it.

Mr Qoboza also revealed yesterday he had been summoned to the office of the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

"Mr Vorster also expressed his distaste at the newspaper. But in all fairness, Mr Vorster, unlike Mr Kruger, was prepared to listen to my point of view," Mr Qoboza said

Mr Kruger said Mr Qoboza had indicated to him he would tone down his criticism. Mr Kruger said he was reasonably happy with the response

Last night Mr Qoboza denied he had at any stage given Mr Vorster or Mr Kruger any undertaking to tone down certain articles in his newspaper.

"The Prime Minister made it quite clear he would not hesitate in closing the newspaper if The World continued with its critical anti-Government line

"Since the Minister of Justice has decided to publicly tell the whole world I was called into his office to be reprimanded, I am prepared to say the Prime Minister made his threat in a far friendlier and sympathetic manner "

Mr Kruger quoted extensively from back issues of the black newspaper. He referred to statements in certain articles and said "There is no doubt in my mind they would have been inflammatory."

He would be able to close the newspaper in terms of Section 6 of the Internal Security Act but added: I am not contemplating closing The World at the moment."

Replying to Mr Kruger's allegations, Mr Qoboza said yesterday no article in The World had yet been

challenged before the Press Council or a court of law

"This can only mean we have done nothing wrong in law or broken any part of our ethical code. Therefore any action envisaged is evidence that this country is steadily but firmly moving towards authoritarian rule where dissent is equated with treason

"The World and Weekend World are firmly committed to a fair and just society where racism from whatever quarter is rejected."

Mr Kruger said he objected to several recent leading articles and columns in The World.

One recent leader, headlined 'The South African system is a breeding ground for revolution,' said in part "We don't want to have a revolution, but we cannot deny that it is coming."

"We hope our country can achieve a majority rule situation "

Another article Mr Kruger objected to was headlined "Feelings inflamed at (church) service" which contained the line "If the black man does not resist repression, he is going along with the crime of apartheid" — DDC

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SECTION 2

Board hostels

Employers' dormitories

Report on statistical data

Section 3

Employers' dormitories

Report on statistical data

Chapter 4: Nyanga

Board hostels

Employers' permanent hostels

Employers' temporary dormitories

Report on statistical data

Nat papers are also troubled

247

NADERE KENNIS

JAMES McCLURG
reviews the
Afrikaans
Press



EDITING a Government-supporting newspaper no doubt has its compensations in these troubled times. There is, for instance, little risk of waking up one morning to find that the Government has closed your paper down.

On the other hand, as recent events have shown, the editors of the Afrikaans newspapers face some very real problems of their own. Scarcely had the Biko affair, with all its embarrassments begun to slip temporarily into the background than the great security crackdown sparked an even more dramatic and far-reaching crisis.

And this moreover, in election time, when even the softest whisper of criticism is customarily stifled for so long as the battle is waged.

Predictably the dichotomy between the two main sections of the Afrikaans Press — Nasionale Pers and Perskor — emerged immediately. If the two main Nasionale Pers newspapers, Die Burger and Beeld, found the new developments embarrassing, there was little editorial comment.

Where Die Burger contented itself with mournful handwringing on the theme of "There was no other choice", Beeld vigorously defended the Government's action.

It regretted the banning of The World, with which it had been exchanging editorial material on a regular basis, and recognised that a fundamental freedom had been assailed. But it believed The World had sought confrontation and issued a dark warning that those whose idea of Press freedom embraced ideological opposition to "the philosophy of group politics would get confrontation".

Beeld later reacted to suggestions that there was something "sinister" about

this statement. What it meant, explained Ton Vosloo in a special article, was that perseverance in the attitude that saw its only salvation in the "numbers game" would certainly bring on itself a tremendous confrontation, not only with the Government but also with the electorate of South Africa. The first reckoning would come on November 30 (No reference this time, it will be noted, to Press freedom).

In a leading article Beeld also defended its decision not to join with editors of the English-language newspapers in protesting publicly against the Government's invasion of Press freedom. This was because its views had already been expressed in leading articles and because it was opposed to the misuse of a professional body, the Conference of Editors, for "pressure group politics".

WHAT about the traditionally vertige newspaper?

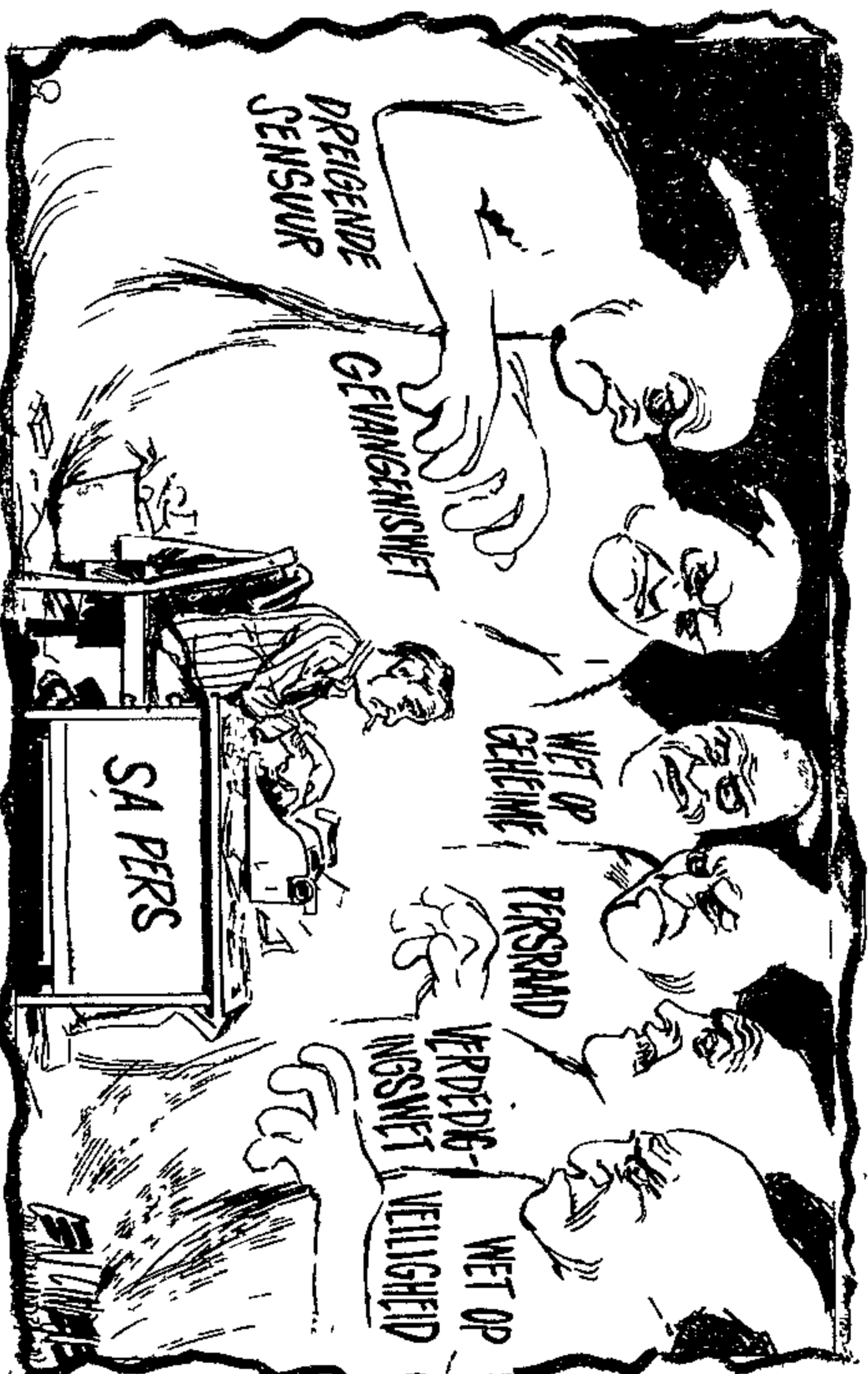
Their editors, too, declined to join the public protest and drew some criticism on that account.

But their comments, though carefully hedged with appropriate protestations of the right kind, left little doubt of their concern over the security crackdown and its probable consequences for South Africa.

Indeed one of them, Oogendblad, noted that this was the first time Nationalist-supporting newspapers had criticised the Government in an election period.

"This alone," it added, "will leave its mark." For its own part, Oogendblad did not believe that the reasons so far given justified the Government's drastic action.

One of the sharpest comments came from the editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Dirk Richard, in his regular



● A picture, the saying goes, is worth a thousand words. Certainly this cartoon, published in Die Vaderland last Monday, depicts the current plight of the South African Press more vividly than any leading article could do. The spectres gathered round the apprehensive journalist are labelled Threat of Censorship, Prisons Act, Official Secrets Act, Press Council, Defence Act and Security Act.

After Biko and the security steps, he said, our image overseas could surely not be blacker. But what was more serious was the effect on our own Black people, the danger of a hardening between White and Black.

"If we do not do something about it quickly, good will will take off so far into the wilderness that we will get it back with difficulty, if at all."

Black consciousness was just as natural as Afrikaner consciousness, it was a danger to the State if it took on such forms as the Stormjaers or Black Power.

Both Die Transvaler and Rapport deplored the absence of information about the grounds on which the action had been taken and urged that offenders should be charged and brought before the courts.

Albert Crafford, Rapport columnist, warned against any thought of speaking in future only to "timid yes-men". There must also be discussion and argument with "no-men".

"The alternative," he concluded, "is a continuous clamping down on malefactors. To all eternity? And at what cost in the long run?"

WHAT effect will the events of October 19 have on the

English-speaking vote? Die Vaderland was quick to express its misgivings. The English-speaking, it said, probably felt even more strongly than their Afrikaner fellow-countrymen about such matters as Press freedom and freedom of speech in general.

If they interpreted the latest steps as an assault on those values, they would not easily place their cross next to the name of a National Party candidate. Die Burger took a more optimistic line.

"There must," it declared, "be English-speaking people who were impressed by the fact that the Government does not shrink from taking action even when it could be unfavourably affected."

Die Transvaler also looked on the bright side. There were indications, it said, that numbers of English-speaking people would persevere in their intention to vote for the NP on November 30.

The tide was so strong that those who had again drawn back from voting for the NP because of so-called shock, would probably not cause a significant turnabout.

Written by James McClurg, 8 Compass Close, Marina da Gama, Muizenberg.

Reef relief as Post fills the gap

A. J. J. J. J.
30/10/77
247

By Tony Hudson

THE NEWS that the Durban-based Post newspaper is to assume the mantle of the banned World in the Transvaal has come as a relief to many Reef businesses.

The closing of the black newspaper last week cast gloom over businesses specialising in the black market. The World was the only daily newspaper for blacks on the Reef.

Frank Muller, marketing manager for advertising agency McCann Erickson, said he welcomed the move by Post because there was no substitute media for The World.

Radio Bantu could carry only simple messages and was useless for conveying complex information or advertising that required visual back-up.

The so-called white newspapers that had Soweto editions, also presented problems because they were sold in the township itself, while The World sold most of its copies in the central shopping areas.

If a replacement for the paper had not been found, said Muller, the retail sector in particular would have been badly hit. With the

Christmas shopping season around the corner and no way of reaching the public, the season would have been bleak.

Spending power would have been there, but it would have been spread in a random pattern with no direction.

McCann Erickson has already begun researching the acceptability of Post and has had encouraging results.

Says Muller: "We have had a very favourable reaction. Post is not an unknown name in Soweto and research shows that it will not be long before the sophisticated urban African on the Reef will accept the newspaper as a replacement of The World."

Mr Eric Ellerine, chairman of Ellerine Holdings, holding company of Ellerine Stores, which sells furniture almost exclusively to the black market, was delighted there would be a paper for black market and said: "I hope it works out."

A spokesman for K Mart, one of The World's biggest advertisers, said he would give Post a try to see if it penetrated the same market as The World.

CHIEF SEBE

Sebe

D.D.

2-11-77

warns

press

247

JOHANNESBURG — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has warned that he will take action against newspapers if it is in the interest of the homeland.

Chief Sebe said the press was largely responsible for the continuation of unrests in the area because it magnified only the negative aspects of issues like Bantu Education.

"If the press threatens the very existence of my people, then I will have no hesitation on the decision to take," Chief Sebe said.

The press, he said, was giving too much prominence to instigators who were forcing other children not to go to school, while underplaying the significance of efforts being made to resolve some of the problems.

He warned "I will take action against any newspapers propagating ideas detrimental to the welfare of my people."

Referring to the unrest in the country, Chief Sebe said: "Now we are worse sufferers than we were 20 years ago. Staying away from school will not solve anything because education is the greatest weapon to fight for freedom."

He also revealed that his government was thinking of establishing its own newspaper and added: "Our reporters will write on facts."

He denied reports that he had left his home in Zwelitsha and was staying at a hotel because of the unrest. — DDC

A.A. 2/11/77
Editor can't attend hearing (247)

EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, has been refused permission to attend a meeting of the Press Council in Johannesburg today.

This was disclosed yesterday by his attorneys after inquiries were made about whether he could attend today's hearing of the council which is to consider a complaint made by Mr Woods about an article which had appeared in Die Burger about the late Mr Steve Biko.

His attorney said that his client had wanted to attend the Press Council meeting.

Accordingly, application was made to the Chief Magistrate of East London, Mr O. M. Bergh, for exception to his banning orders to attend the hearing in Johannesburg.

Application was made on Monday and yesterday the magistrate advised telephonically that he cannot grant the application. He understands from police in Pretoria that the complainant does not have to appear in person and that he can be represented by an attorney or counsel.

Accordingly, he

regrets that he has to decline permission," the attorney said.

Mr Kelsey Stuart of Bell, Dewar and Hall, Johannesburg, has been instructed to appear on behalf of Mr Woods at today's meeting of the council — DDR

===== : EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, has been refused permission to attend a meeting of the Press Council in Johannesburg today. This was disclosed yesterday by his attorneys after inquiries were made about whether he could attend today's hearing of the council which is to consider a complaint made by Mr Woods about an article which had appeared in Die Burger about the late Mr Steve Biko. His attorney said that his client had wanted to attend the Press Council meeting. Accordingly, application was made to the Chief Magistrate of East London, Mr O. M. Bergh, for exception to his banning orders to attend the hearing in Johannesburg. Application was made on Monday and yesterday the magistrate advised telephonically that he cannot grant the application. He understands from police in Pretoria that the complainant does not have to appear in person and that he can be represented by an attorney or counsel. Accordingly, he

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question: year. discussion. You may then SECTION A to your informant with more first draft you should submit in the first quarter next year for life experience, with whom you can establish good rapport. The preferably one far removed from yourself in age, culture and SECTION B: The history. We would like you to find a person, Fieldwork on a separate sheet there for SECTION C: ANSWER FOUR QUESTIONS. TWO FROM SECTION A AND TWO AS DIRECTED FROM

half of the year). themes for more intensive time. (Second Paper) which you will choose year) (c) optional seminar courses in which you will choose lectures, a seminar or two and an essay each (completed by mid the main areas of anthropology theory comprising up to ten as after the mid-year break/(b) a series of teaching capsules on piece of fieldwork, the main part of which you should complete during the long vacation through the deadline for submission The course is made up of the following components:/(a) a

Woods request is refused

Mercury Correspondent 2/11/77

EAST LONDON — The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, has been refused permission to attend a meeting of the Press Council in Johannesburg today.

This was disclosed yesterday by his attorneys after inquiries were made about whether he could attend today's hearing of the council which is to consider a complaint made by Mr. Woods about an article which had appeared in the Burger about the late Mr. Steve Biko.

"Application was made to the Chief Magistrate of East London, Mr. O. M. Bergh, for exception to the banning orders to attend the hearing in Johannesburg," the attorney said

"Application was made on Monday and yesterday the magistrate advised us on the telephone that he cannot grant the application."

Mr. Kelsey Stuart of Bell, Dewar and Hall, Johannesburg, has been instructed to appear on behalf of Mr. Woods at today's meeting of the council.

Judgment in Press case reserved

Her 2/11/77

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Judgment was reserved in today's Press Council hearing of the complaint against Die Burger by Mr Donald Woods, banned editor of the Daily Dispatch, of East London.

Mr Woods was refused permission to attend the hearing, which was held in Johannesburg. The complaint was about an article which appeared in the Cape Town daily on September 19, 1977, headed "Lyke en bloed gevra in Biko-pamflet" (Dead bodies, and blood called for in Biko pamphlet).

Presiding at the hearing was Mr Justice Galgut. He was assisted by two assessors, Dr T McCaul and Mr A H Macintosh.

Mr Kelsey Stuart appeared for Mr Woods and Mr H J Grosskopf for Die Burger.

NO AUTHORITY

Mr Stuart claimed there was no authority for the linking of Mr Steve Biko's name with the pamphlet which was apparently unidentified as to its author and its disseminators.

"There can be no doubt that the headline with its reference to the Biko pamphlet clearly connects the late Mr Biko with the pamphlet which the report says — "gelei het tot die aanhouding van Steve Biko" — led to the arrest of Steve Biko.

Mr Stuart said it was interesting to note that in the report, the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger is quoted as saying that Mr Biko was arrested in con-

nection with the pamphlet.

"These allegations are simply statements of what the Minister believed the prosecution case to be. The prosecution had not yet proved or disseminated the pamphlet or the pamphlets.

"The newspaper code requires that a headline must give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report. This headline does not.

"Die Burger has simply taken allegations which were to have been proved by the State as if they were facts and wrongly presented them to the reading public as facts," said Mr Stuart.

In Die Burger's defence, Mr Grosskopf said the report did not definitely state that the pamphlet had been written by Biko. "In fact, the public would gather from the report that the pamphlet was about Biko and not by him," said Mr Grosskopf.

Judgment reserved in Press Council case

D.D. 3/11/77 (247)

JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council yesterday reserved judgment in a case brought against the Cape Town morning newspaper, *Die Burger*, by the banned Editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, Mr Donald Woods.

The council's chairman Mr Oscar Galgut, a former Supreme Court judge, said judgment and reasons would be given later.

It is expected this will be either at the end of the week or early next week.

Mr Woods had complained about a report on the front page of *Die Burger* on September 19 concerning Mr Steve Biko.

The report was headlined "Lyke en bloed gevra in Biko-pamflet" (Corpses and blood sought in Biko pamphlet).

Mr Woods, whose banning order restricts him to East London, was earlier this week refused permission by the Chief Magistrate of East London to attend yesterday's hearing.

He was represented yesterday by Mr Kelsey Stuart, SC. Representing *Die Burger* was Mr H. J. Grosskopf, Southern Africa Editor of *Nasionale Koerante*.

Die Burger's report said, in part, that a pamphlet propagating a day of remembrance to be linked with the burning down of houses, clenched fists, corpses on streets, and wounded and

bleeding people had led to the detention of Mr Biko, who later died in custody.

The report added that the pamphlet had been shown to *Die Burger* by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger.

There could be no doubt, Mr Stuart told yesterday's hearing, that the headline with its reference to the 'Biko-pamphlet' clearly connected Mr Biko with the pamphlet, which the report said led to his detention.

"There is no authority for this linking of Mr Biko with the pamphlet which was apparently unidentified as to its author and to its disseminators," Mr Stuart said.

"These allegations are simply statements of what the Minister (Mr Kruger) believed the prosecution case to be," he added. "The prosecution had not yet proved that Mr Biko composed or disseminated the pamphlet or pamphlets."

Mr Stuart continued "The newspaper should have indicated in its headline that these were ex-parte statements made by the Minister and should not have conveyed to its

readers that, as a fact, Mr Biko was connected with the pamphlet."

Describing the so-called "Biko affair" as "the most highly evocative and emotive case to have been reported on for many years," Mr Stuart said "a heavier than normal" onus rested on *Die Burger* to give all sides of the matter.

This was particularly so as Mr Biko was dead and was unable to reply in his defence.

"Not only was he dead, but he was a person who had been prohibited from attending gatherings and nothing he said could be quoted."

Conceding that *Die Burger* had handled the "whole Biko affair" in a responsible way, Mr Stuart said the report had "simply taken allegations which were to have been proved by the State as if they were facts and wrongfully presented them to the reading public as facts."

Mr Stuart claimed *Die Burger* had contravened sections of the Press code by not verifying or attributing allegations in the report and for writing a headline which did not

give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report.

Die Burger submitted that the complaints were trivial and vexatious and asked that they be dismissed by the council. The newspaper claimed it had not contravened the Press Code in any way.

In its defence, *Die Burger* produced 21 cuttings from various issues of the newspaper which, it said, showed that it was not biased against Mr Biko.

It said it had given wide publicity from all sides to the case, but it was not always possible to present both sides in every report. Reports were placed as each side stated its case and according to their newsworthiness, it said.

Mr Galgut said he had read the 21 clippings carefully and accepted there had been "no vendetta" by *Die Burger* against Mr Biko.

Mr Grosskopf said the phrase "Biko-pamphlet" was "general language" meaning that Mr Biko had had a connection with the pamphlet. It did not mean that Mr Biko had been the author or distributor of them. — SAPA.

World: Argus head hits out

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Argus
3/11/77

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The managing director of the Argus Company, Mr. C. L. C. Hewitt, said today he deeply regretted the banning of the World and the detention of its editor had become a political debate instead of being dealt with in a court of law.

"This is far too serious a matter to be dealt with at political meetings. A newspaper editor has been locked up without trial and a newspaper has been shut down without a hearing," he said.

The proprietors of the World sought details of the World's alleged transgressions, but these were refused. Now allegations are being made from political platforms and on television.

WELCOME

"We would welcome the opportunity to have the evidence, and the full case heard in court where this matter should have gone in the first place.

"We deplore attempts to conduct a trial by news media just as the Government mightly deplored any such tendency in the Biko case. While the World editor is detained and unable to defend himself, state his side of the case, justice cannot be done.

page 8

Woods v. Burger: Press Council reserves judgment

JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council today reserved judgment in a complaint brought against the Cape Town morning newspaper, the Burger, by the banned editor of The Daily Dispatch, East London, Mr Donald Woods

The council's chairman, former Supreme Court judge, the Hon Oscar Galgut, said judgment and reasons would be given at a later date

It is expected this will be either at the end of the week, or early next week

Mr Woods had complained of a report on the front-page of the Burger on September 19 which concerned the late Mr Steve Biko

The Hon Galgut is sitting with two assessors, Dr H McCaul and Mr A H Macintosh

The complaint concerns a report under the headline "Biko

Bloed Gevra in Biko-pamflet" ("Corpses and Blood Sought in Biko-pamphlet")

Mr Woods, whose banning order restricts him to East London was represented yesterday by Mr Kelsey Stuart, SC Representing the Burger was Mr H J Grosskopf, Editor, (Southern Africa) of Nasionale Koerante

The Burger's report said, in part, that a pamphlet propagating a day of remembrance to be linked with the burning down of houses, clenched fists, corpses on streets, and wounded and bleeding people, had led to the detention of Mr Biko, who afterwards died in custody

The report added that the pamphlet had been shown to the Burger by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger

There could be no doubt, Mr Stuart told today's hearing, that the headline, with its reference to the 'Biko-pamphlet', clearly connected the late Mr Biko with the pamphlet, which the report said led to his detention

"There is no authority for this linking of Mr Biko with the pamphlet, which was apparently unidentified as to its author and to its disseminators," Mr Stuart said

"These allegations are simply statements of what the minister (Mr Kruger) believed the prosecution case to be," he added "The prosecution had not yet proved or disseminated the pamphlet, or pamphlets"

Mr Stuart continued "The newspaper should have indicated in its headline that these were ex-

parte statements made by the minister and should not have conveyed to its readers that, as a fact, Mr Biko was connected with the pamphlet"

Conceding that the Burger had handled the "whole Biko affair" in a responsible way, Mr Stuart said that, in the report complained of, the newspaper had "simply taken allegations which were to have been proved by the State as if they were facts, and wrongfully presented them to the reading public as facts"

Mr Stuart said "elements of confusion" had already been introduced into the Biko affair concerning the place and possible cause of death

"One gathers that there had been some breakdown in the communications between the police and the minister (Mr Kruger) about factual matters in this way

"An editor exercising proper care should not have simply accepted and published as fact information given to the Minister of Police"

The Burger, he contended, should have attributed to the Minister of Police's name, and the Mr Biko's name, and the pamphlet

Mr Stuart claimed the Burger had contravened sections of the press code by not verifying or attributing allegations in the report, and for writing a headline which did not give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report

The Burger submitted that the complainants were "trivial and vexatious" and asked that they be dismissed by the council

The newspaper claimed it had not contravened the press code in any way

In its defence, the Burger produced 21 cuttings from various issues of the newspaper which, it said, showed that it was not biased against Mr Biko

It said it had given wide publicity from all sides to the case, but that it was not possible always to present both sides in every report

Reports were placed as each side stated its case and according to their newsworthiness, it said

The Hon Mr Galgut said he had read the 21 clippings carefully and accepted there had been "no vendetta" by the Burger against Mr Biko

Mr Grosskopf said the phrase "Biko-pamphlet" was "general language" meaning that Mr Biko had had "a connection" with the pamphlet

It did not mean that Mr Biko had been their author or distributor

EDITORIAL OPINION

247

Punishment by suspicion?

Dr Koornhof, Minister of Sport and Education, has confirmed there was Cabinet endorsement for the action of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, in banning two newspapers, The World and Week-end World.

In fact, he says, the decision was taken only after four meetings of the Cabinet. Which strongly suggests that there was no cut and dried case against the newspapers and that the Cabinet, therefore, was uncertain about the justification for such drastic action — at least for a time.

The reason given by Dr Koornhof for the banings was that the editor of the two newspapers had written inciting material. Mr Kruger had twice held discussions with the editor, Dr Koornhof revealed, and before action was taken against the newspapers, the Prime Minister had also warned the editor he must stop inciting the people.

Accepting that all this was done and that the Government has been greatly concerned about the rising tide of unrest in Soweto and other parts of South Africa, what proof is there that the newspapers contributed to the unrest or that the editor's writings incited such unrest?

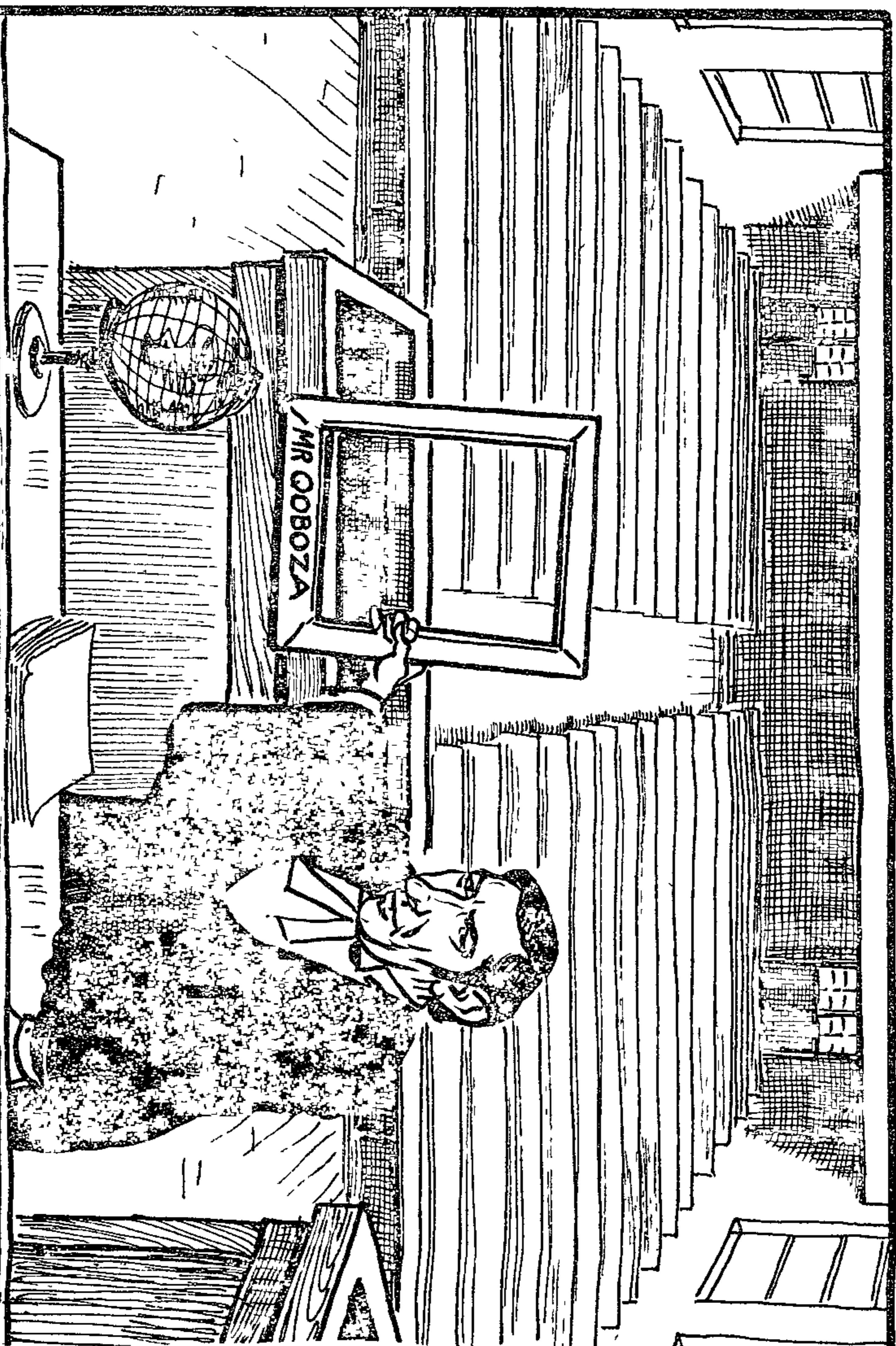
If there was one iota of proof why was the editor not charged before an open court? There are a plethora of laws to which Mr Kruger could have

turned to deal with "incitement". Such action, of course, would have necessitated defining the nature of the incitement and detailing the specific form. Also it would have had to be proved that people who broke the law in Soweto and other places were directly influenced in their actions by writings in the two newspapers. But surely if Mr Kruger or his Commissioner of Police had the evidence the burden of proof would have been no great problem?

The assumption of many South Africans, in the circumstance that there has been no prosecution or any indication that there might be, will be that there is no evidence and, therefore, no proof. And such an assumption leads to the fear that mere suspicion on the part of a minister can lead to the closing down of a newspaper.

Taken to its ultimate limits, a minister's power to close newspapers which oppose government policy and condemn methods of enforcement of the government's will could also allow crackdowns on political parties, on individual politicians and on ordinary citizens.

Anyone who speaks out against the government could be in danger the democratic right of dissent could disappear.



Having heard the case for the prosecution, may we now hear the other side ?

TV kan knou, sê Persbaas

Rapport 6/11/77 (247)

HOEWEL die jaar 1977 gunstiger verloop het as wat hy verwag het, is daar egter nog geen beduidende tekens dat die ekonomiese resessie verby is nie, sê mnr. Ben Schoeman, oud-minister en voorsitter van Perskor en die Dagbreektrust.

In die groep se jaarverslag sê mnr. Schoeman dat TV-advertensies eers op 1 Januarie 1978 begin en hy dus nie anders as besorg kan wees oor die groep se winsvooruitsigte nie

Uit mnr. Schoeman se verslag blyk dit dat die Persgroep 'n baie voorspoedige jaar agter die rug het. Die wins het ook sterker gestyg as wat in die voorlopige aankondiging bekend gemaak is.

Perskor se bedryfswins voor belasting het van R3 347 000 tot R4 452 000 gestyg. Na belasting het die bedryfswins van R2 631 000 tot R3 693 000 gestyg. Die rede waarom die belasting nie in dieselfde mate gestyg het nie, kan toegeskryf word aan belastingtoegewings wat uit die oprigting van die groep se nuwe hoofkantoor kompleks in Doornfontein en ander kapitaalbesteding spruit

Die verdienste per APB-aandeel beloop nou 48,95c, teenoor die 44,7c van die voorlopige verklaring. In die vorige jaar was die syfer 29,65c per aandeel, wat dus nou 'n styging in wins van 65 persent gee

Die groep se kontantposisie het die afgelope jaar ook sterk verbeter. Die netto bedryfsbates beloop nou R7 138 000, teenoor R4 885 000 verlede jaar. Aan die einde van die jaar het die kontantmiddele meer as R3 000 000 beloop, teenoor R800 000 die vorige jaar.

Die groep se reserwe is die afgelope jaar van R8 441 000 tot R14 172 098 versterk. Dit is hoofsaaklik moontlik gemaak deur 'n kapitaalwys van byna R5 miljoen, wat tot die onverdeelbare reserwe gevoeg is.

Daar kan aangeneem word dat hierdie wins spruit uit die onteining van die groep se groot geboue-kompleks in Aucklandpark deur die Johannesburgse Stadsraad.

Ban was unexpected says World manager

JOHANNESBURG — The Editor of The World, Mr Percy Qoboza, and the newspaper's proprietors did at no stage between August 29 and the Government's October 19 action believe that the paper was in imminent danger of being banned.

This was said yesterday by Mr J Marquard, manager of The World, who was commenting on the speech by Dr Piet Koornhof on Wednesday night in which he gave some of the background to

the banning.

"Had we known the paper was in grave danger we would have sought an interview with the Minister immediately," Mr Marquard said.

Mr Qoboza had taken the original warning by the Minister of Justice seriously. He told fellow executives he had no wish to have his paper banned. That would serve no one's interests, least of all those of the people of Soweto.

"The debate on the banning will no doubt

drag on ad nauseam, especially during the election period. We believe the whole matter should be dealt with in the courts, but since it has now assumed the character of a trial by the news media, we believe we must at least set out the sequence of events as we know them."

On July 29, the Minister summoned Mr Qoboza to Pretoria and it was at that meeting Mr Kruger made the remarks which Dr Koornhof reported, including the statement that "I am seriously considering taking your publication off the street and the next few days will decide finally whether I will do so or not. And this is the last time I'm talking."

Mr Marquard said this was the first time the Minister had made such a threat to Mr Qoboza. "Only the Minister can confirm that," Mr Marquard said.

Mr Qoboza reported this threat to fellow executives and wrote to the Minister on Monday, August 1.

"I was indeed very distressed by the attitude you adopted towards me on Friday afternoon. I was even more perturbed by your accusation that The World has been fanning and encouraging students in disorderly conduct in the townships," he wrote.

"The accusation that we have always adopted a negative attitude and encouraged the students is certainly not borne out by the number of editorials we have written condemning lawlessness and also appealing for responsible action and peace in the townships.

"I have taken the liberty of enclosing some of these editorials on various subjects which in the light of your accusations you clearly have not been given for your attention."

"May I make the point, Mr Minister, that both myself and members of my staff have adopted the attitudes reflected in the editorials because we understand our responsibilities in helping the situation in our own townships to return to normal."

"It is a fact that we will always find ourselves in many respects disagreeing with the Government on many issues. But I still want to believe that differences of opinion on matters of State policy do not imply criminal acts on

the part of newspapers in South Africa.

"You yourself have on numerous occasions emphasised the right of newspapers to positive criticism of the authorities."

"I don't think Mr Qoboza received a reply to this letter," Mr Marquard said.

Some days later the Prime Minister telephoned Mr H W Miller, president of the Newspaper Press Union, and said the Minister of Justice wanted to ban The World. Mr Miller asked if he could see the Prime Minister which he did on Monday, August 15.

After a long discussion, Mr Miller suggested the Prime Minister himself should see Mr Qoboza to hear his side of the case. This was arranged.

"We accept that the Prime Minister warned Mr Qoboza, but at the same time we can state that the came away from the meeting in a much more relaxed frame of mind than he had after the meeting with Mr Kruger," Mr Marquard said.

He said he was not aware of any further warnings given to Mr Qoboza after August 29, but quoted two newspaper reports in which Mr Kruger hinted at action.

Certainly neither the Prime Minister nor Mr Kruger had indicated to the management of The World or to the proprietors, the Argus Company, that they did intend to ban the paper.

He said after the four Cabinet meetings it was surprising the Minister of Justice did not consider warning the proprietors, especially after his statements on August 29.

"Had he done so the whole affair might well have taken a different turn. One simple little telephone call might have spared South Africa all the vilification and anger that has been heaped upon it, the echoes of which will be heard for months to come, if not years," Mr Marquard said.

Meanwhile, the managing director of the Argus Company, Mr C L Hewitt, said yesterday the weekly newspaper Post would almost certainly be brought out on a daily basis in the near future to take the place of The World — SAPA-DDC.



... and Mr Kruger replies

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, said yesterday he believed The World had had adequate warning before it was banned on October 19.

He was reacting to Mr Marquard's statement.

Mr Kruger said a meeting he had with the newspaper's editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, on July 29, when Mr Qoboza was told a ban was being considered, was not the first warning Mr Qoboza had had.

Editors, including Mr Qoboza, had been told at a meeting in June that cognisance would be taken of any inflammatory material in their newspapers during the unrest.

Mr Marquard was therefore wrong in believing the July 29 meeting was the first warning Mr Qoboza had had, Mr Kruger said.

The matter had then been brought to the attention of the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, who met the president of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr H. W. Miller, and subsequently Mr Qoboza.

"Subsequent to that meeting The World persisted with articles which I considered undesirable against the background of

the unrest, and to my knowledge the Prime Minister once again contacted Mr Qoboza," Mr Kruger said.

Mr Kruger also said he had in effect told Mr Qoboza he was a "double talker" because he said he would not be dominated by Soweto students, but had praised them in his newspaper.

His statement could be placed before Mr Qoboza through the prison authorities for his comment, Mr Kruger said. Mr Qoboza has been detained since October 19.

The Commissioner of Prisons, Gen W. M. du Preez, last night refused a Johannesburg newspaper immediate permission to allow Mr Qoboza the opportunity to reply to Mr Kruger.

The newspaper requested that it be allowed to present a copy of Mr Kruger's statement to the prison commander at Modder B, where Mr Qoboza is being detained, so that Mr Qoboza could reply last night.

The Commissioner said a written request to allow Mr Qoboza to reply could be sent to his department on Monday, accompanied by the full text of Mr Kruger's statement yesterday. — DDC

CONTAINER UNIT NO.	
Cassette machine No.	
Headphone No.	
Reel-to-reel machine No.	
Consoles	
Other items	
Remarks (Lab. attendant)	
Signature (Lab. attendant)	
Remarks (Technical Manager)	
Signature (Tech. Manager)	
Daily log sheets to be c.	
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D.D. 7/11/77

Complaint by Kruger ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ dropped

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, has dropped the complaint against The World which he made to the Press Council before the newspaper's banning.

This was confirmed by Mr G. Uys, general manager of the Newspaper Press Union.

The complaint dealt with an editorial The World carried on Mr Kruger's handling of events after death of Mr Steve Biko in detention.

— SAPA.

D.D. 7/11/77 (247)

Race body elects Editor to council

EAST LONDON — One of the Border area's representatives on the national council of the Institute of Race Relations for the next four years is the banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods.

This was announced by the director of the institute in Johannesburg, Mr F. J. van Wyk, when he released the names of this area's representatives.

They are: a former chairman of the Border branch of the institute and local lawyer, Mr Denis Kirk, an East London City Councillor and chairman of the Progressive Federal Party in East London, Mr J. B. van Gend, a Catholic priest, anthropologist and educationalist, the Rev P. Whooley, the former Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, now retired to the Hogsback, Prof Monica Wilson, and Mr Woods.

In addition to these five

the local chairman of the institute, Mr W. A. "Bunny" Stevens, will automatically serve on the council during his term of office as chairman.

The regional secretary, Mrs Val Sullivan, said the national council meets once a year to keep members in touch with what is happening in all the institute's fields of interest in South Africa and to plan the overall policy of the institute for the coming year.

The Border representatives were elected by the postal vote of members in this area, the voting having taken place before the banning of Mr Woods, who in terms of his five-year banning order will not be able to attend the council's yearly meetings.

Mrs Sullivan said, however, there was no reason why other members should not consult with him. — DDR

INSIDE

World ban: no comment by Qoboza

10/11/77

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Pretoria Bureau

The Commissioner of Prisons said today that Mr Percy Qoboza, the detained editor of the banned newspaper, The World, had refused to comment on a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, concerning the banning of the newspaper.

The Commissioner, General W. M. du Preez, gave no reasons.

General du Preez said the Press statement by the Minister of Justice, of Police and of Prisons on the banning of the newspaper, The World, was submitted to Mr P. P. Qoboza for his comment, and he has indicated that he is not prepared to comment on the minister's statement.

VALID REASONS

Mr Qoboza's legal representative, Mr Peter Reynolds, said this morning that he was aware of very valid reasons why Mr Qoboza did not wish to comment at this point.

He said "I note the Commissioner of Prisons has not mentioned these reasons, and wonder whether he has been made aware of them by the officer who took a statement from Mr Qoboza."

Mr Reynolds said "I intend to consult with Mr Qoboza with regard to,

his statement—that he had no comment, and if necessary I shall ask the Commissioner of Prisons for an explanation."

Mr Qoboza's reply was released three days after prisons officials obtained it from him.

In a statement last Friday Mr Kruger said he believed The World had had adequate warning before it was banned on October 19.

He added at the time "I am prepared to allow my statement to be placed before Mr Qoboza through the prison authorities for this comment."

Mr Kruger's statement was in reaction to a claim by the manager of The World, Mr John Marquard, that the newspaper and its proprietors had no reason immediately before the security action to believe it was in imminent danger of being banned.

Woods is cheerful in limbo...

CAPE TOWN — The banned editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, is in total control of his life and in good spirits, the Cape Provincial leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Senator Brian Bamford, said here last night.

Senator Bamford was speaking at the annual dinner of the Law Faculty of the University of Cape Town.

He said: "I am speaking tonight in the place of Mr. Donald Woods, who had originally been invited and who had accepted.

"Mr. Woods was recently banned by the Minister of Justice. This means that he cannot leave the East London magisterial district and, in any event, cannot attend a gathering of more than two people, including himself

"He cannot be quoted in any way. He cannot prepare anything for possible publication. He is a distinguished musician-composer and chess player. His banning means that he cannot compose music or prepare chess notes.

"I have spoken to him by phone and although he cannot be quoted there is nothing to stop me giving you my impressions of him.

"He is in total control of his life and in good spirits. He played golf yesterday with Mr. Colin Eglin (the leader of the Progressive Federal Party).

"This was in order, because a caddie does not count as a person in the definition of a gathering.

"At the club afterwards, Mr. Woods was allowed to greet other club members, but was forced to sit at a table with Mr. Eglin only.

"Mr. Woods is suffering what has been called 'civil death' — his total elimination from the mainstream of public and communal life.

"This is but one of the prices this country is paying for a Government which has repressive policies not because it fears Blacks (which it does) but because it has been corrupted by power in the sense that it will do nothing, which in any way imperils its own desperate hold on political power.

"It will do everything and has already done virtually everything to maintain its power."

Senator Bamford said this attitude was in complete contrast to the content and the spirit of South Africa's common law.

He had, he said, reminded Mr. Woods when he spoke to him on the telephone of a Roman Catholic priest who had lectured at Salamanca University during the Spanish Inquisition.

"This priest was taken from a lecture by the inquisitors and incarcerated in solitary confinement for five years (Mr. Woods's period). He then went straight back to his lectern at the university and spoke these words: 'As I was saying . . .'

"With any luck Mr. Woods will do just that himself," Senator Bamford added. — (Sapa.)

(Report by Andrew Braid, Van der Stel Building, 58 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

D.D 11/11/77

Qoboza won't 247 reply to Kruger

PRETORIA — Mr Percy Qoboza, detained editor of the banned newspaper, The World, has refused to comment on a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, concerning the banning of the newspaper.

This was announced yesterday by the Commissioner of Prisons, Gen W. M. du Preez.

In a statement released here, he said: "The press statement by the Minister of Justice on the banning of The World was submitted to Mr Qoboza for his comment and he has indicated that he is not prepared to comment on the Minister's statement."

Last Friday, Mr Kruger said he believed The World had had adequate warning before it was banned on October 19.

Mr Kruger added at the time: "I am prepared to allow my statement to be placed before Mr Qoboza through the prison authorities for his comment."

The general manager of The World, Mr J. Mar-

quard, said yesterday he was not surprised that Mr Qoboza had refused to comment from prison. "I'm sure he'd be happy to talk if he were charged or released," he added.

Meanwhile, the Government was not yet considering lifting the ban on The World, Mr Kruger said yesterday.

"We are watching the position and will be taking a decision at an opportune time." — SAPA.

Editor replies from jail

NM 2/10/77
247

JOHANNESBURG — Mr. Percy Qoboza's reply to an invitation to comment on a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, was issued yesterday by the Prisons Department — but it was heavily censored, a Johannesburg newspaper reported.

The newspaper said it had the text of what the detained editor had actually said.

The Prisons Department version of Mr. Qoboza's response to Mr. Kruger's invitation to him to comment on the banning of the World newspaper after what Mr. Kruger described as "adequate warnings" read as follows, under a heading of Press Statement by General W. M. du Preez, Commissioner of Prisons:

"The Press statement by the Minister of Justice, of Police and of Prisons on the banning of the newspaper World, was submitted to Mr. P. P. Qoboza for his comments, and he has indicated that he not prepared to comment on the Minister's statement."

The newspaper said that what Mr. Qoboza had in fact told four senior officers of the Prisons Department, including an assistant Commissioner of Prisons, General Roud, was:

"I am in a prison cell.

"I am not prepared to comment on the Minister's statement at this time. If I am released or charged in Court, then I reserve all my rights to reply fully to the Minister's statement at that time."

General du Preez was not available for comment yesterday.

When the Prisons Department was asked by the newspaper yesterday whether Mr. Qoboza's reply had been censored, Brigadier H. J. Botha replied:

"Since Mr. Qoboza is not prepared to comment on the Minister's Press statement and as I am not prepared to act as liaison between Mr. Qoboza and the media on matters not related to the contents of the Minister's Press statement the entire matter is considered to be finalised" — (Sapa.)

It's the piano at 8 ²¹⁴ for Donald Woods

He was banned on October 19 and since then the voice of Donald Woods has been publicly silent.

But the journalistic spirit and humanistic zeal and ideals live on in the newspaper he has forged over the last decade and a half.

The world may not have heard much about East London but it has heard of the Daily Dispatch and Donald Woods, we, and others, will not let it forget.

He cannot be quoted, obviously, but he can be visited singly, but not at eight in the morning when he is busy practicing on the piano, clad usually in comfortable shorts, shirt and half-hose.

The eyes still twinkle, the smile still infectious there.

Chess was always an obsession and at his best and most concentrated he is formidable, it is at the

least stimulating to play the man who once took on the world champion.

Chess uncovers a man's soul and the pieces say there is nothing wrong with the Woods spirit.

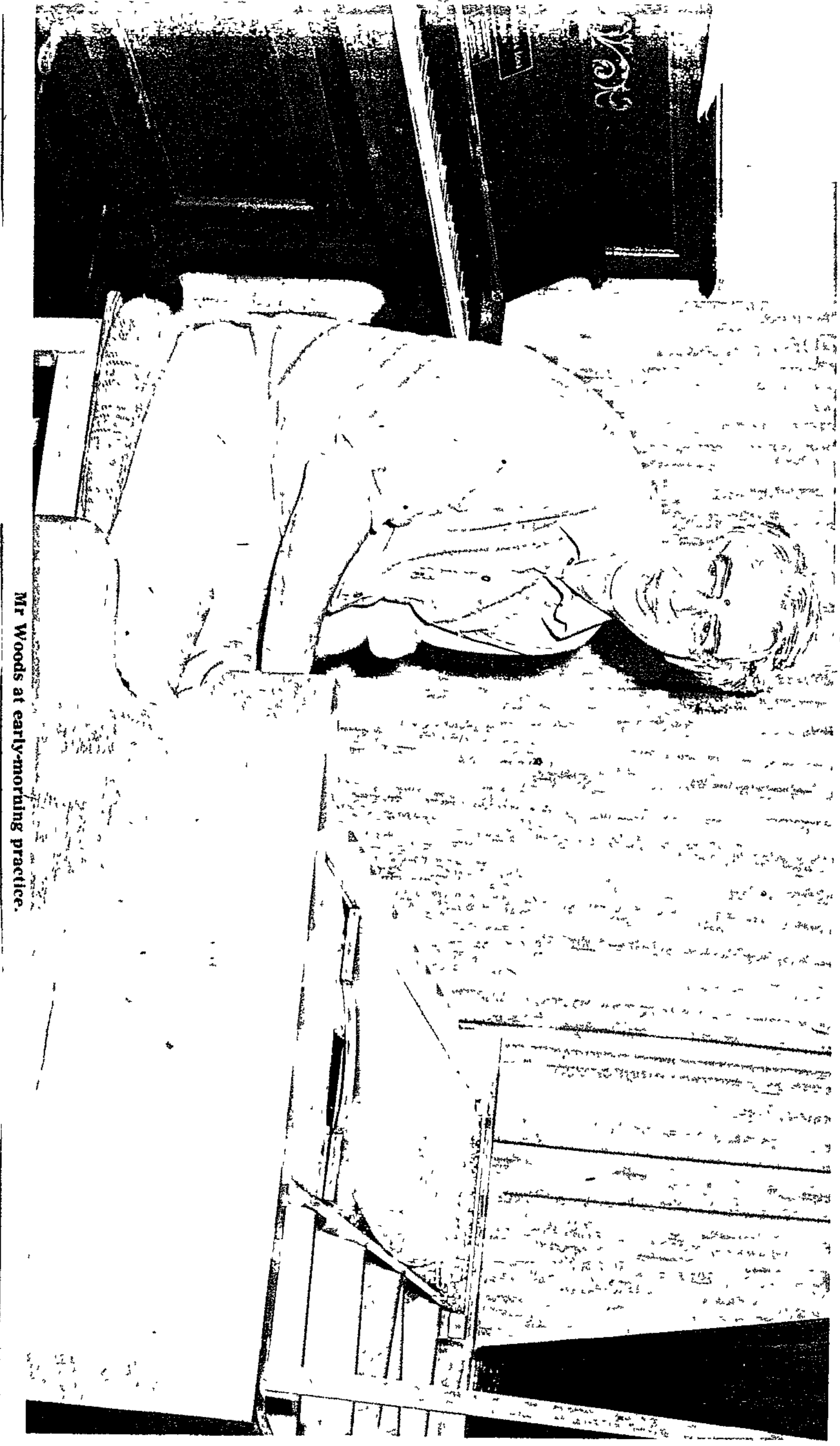
There can be golf, too, the law has decreed, and that it being enjoyed more. There is, after all, more time now but a minor tragedy is that the quips from the keen mind are enjoyed only by one, and whipped away in the wind.

Visitors, too, but markedly alone. The most illustrious to touch down — though not necessarily of the domestic ruling class — make a point of a call, and the more sensitive and compassionate insist on recreation

Banning is a savage infiction upon a man so naturally gregarious and empathetic but invariably in these cases it is the intelligent who are corralled, and it is the intellect that can be a saving factor.

The assaulted individual falls back upon himself. Donald Woods may not have consciously equipped himself for the blow but his life-style has given him the weapons to go along with it.

They are chess, music books, his wife Wendy family, friends and colleagues. In the past he has offered trust and loyalty and as ye shall sow
— GLYN WILLIAMS



Mr Woods at early-morning practice.

Editor's appeal hearing today

D.D.
18/11/77

EAST LONDON — The State's appeal against a Supreme Court's acquittal of the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr D. Woods, will be heard today in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

Mr Woods had been sentenced in the East London magistrate's court in December 1975 to six months imprisonment for refusing to disclose the identity of an informant relating to alleged criminal conduct by security policemen.

Mr Woods appealed in the Supreme Court in Grahamstown against the verdict and his appeal was upheld on a technicality involving the serving of the original subpoena.

Following this decision the State decided to appeal against it to the Appellate Division and it is this appeal which will be heard today.

Mr Woods, against whom a banning order was served by the Minister of Justice, has been refused permission to attend today's hearing.

The Chief Magistrate of East London, Mr O. Bergh, who declined to allow Mr Woods to travel to Bloemfontein, said in refusing the application that it was not necessary for Mr Woods to be in court in person.

Judgment in today's hearing is not expected to be delivered for several weeks. —DDR

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nd Monopoly. Cournot model (see Bias). Monopoly - technical the model assumed. Price discrimination. See Joan Robinson, Imperfect competition, Chs 15 & 16, A&A Ch 8, Hunter (in Welfare analysis and monopoly

y - various approaches to the problem. kinked demand curve, Other kinds of models, eg, price leadership

A&A Ch 8

k.W.Rothschild (in Hunter, ed.) Price theory and oligopoly

ensions: Information costs and externalities. See A&A Ch 9 by L.K.Lennan, The economic examination of traffic towns (In Wagner & Baltazzis, Readings in Applied Micro-economics)

: What is the difference between externalities and of scale?

Biko, editor: Kruger quizzed

A.D.

18/11/77. (247)

PRETORIA — The Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, said last night it had not been deemed necessary to act against black consciousness leader Steve Biko and newspaper editor Donald Woods under the Terrorism Act.

Replying to a question from a young woman at a meeting in his Prinsloof constituency here, Mr Kruger said he had never acted against anybody without the authority of an Act of Parliament to back him up.

When asked why he had not charged Mr Biko and Mr Woods under the Terrorism Act, he said it had been deemed sufficient to restrict the people concerned — the Terrorism Act had an entirely different purpose.

The laws were designed to ensure the safety of the State. He agreed that some were harsh. He did not like them. Nor did the Prime Minister.

"If you are in a state of war or under tremendous pressure you have to use these laws."

"But if circumstances

are such that they must be used, I shall use them to ensure law and order in South Africa," Mr Kruger said.

Asked if it was true that once a year the Cabinet laid its problems before God, Mr Kruger said he did not bring religion onto the political platform.

In any case, he said, he could not talk about what happened in the Cabinet outside it — DDC.

(News by K. Abendroth, 311 Vander Stel Building, Pretoria).

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Kruger: we don't mean to intimidate

THE MINISTER of Police Mr J T. Kruger says the detention of journalists is not intended to intimidate the Press it was reported yesterday.

And the several journalists detained are being detained for good reasons, he is reported to have added.

The report comes from Mr John Patten, president of the South African Society of Journalists.

The society asked Mr Kruger in July and September about detained journalists

The journalists involved were Mr Joe Thlooe and

Mr Willie Bokala of The World, Mr Mike Mzila of Drum, and Miss Thengwe Mtintso of the Daily Dispatch

Since then other journalists detained include Mr Mlofhat Zungu of The World, Mr Jan Tugwana of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Enoch Duma of the Sunday Times, Mr A Sayed of the Muslim News, Mr Aggrey Klaaste of Weekend World, and Mr Percy Qoboza, Editor of The World

The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, has been restricted by a banning order

Yesterday Mr Patten stated "The society has

now received a reply

"Mr Kruger indicated that he was not prepared to consider the release of the journalists while the investigation against them was in progress

"He felt consultations with a deputation from the society could serve no purpose

"On behalf of the society, I wish to express the greatest disappointment at the Minister's reply

"By negotiation rather than confrontation the society had hoped it could arrive at a solution which could have obtained the release of the journalists

"The society feels duty bound to express continuing repugnance in principle to the use made of arbitrary action

Mr Patten's statement added "The society has no knowledge of what the journalists may have done to incur such drastic steps against them, but abhors the Government's use of laws negating the rule of law

"For as long as journalists are detained for crimes unknown, every journalist has reason to feel intimidated, despite the Minister's assurance to the contrary"

If there are no non-monetary rewards

to OC

Woods: State appeals today

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The State's appeal against a Supreme Court acquittal of the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, will be heard today in Bloemfontein.

Mr Woods was sentenced in December 1975 to six months jail for refusing to name an informant who alleged criminal conduct by security policemen.

Mr Woods appealed against the verdict.

His appeal was upheld by the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on a technicality involving the serving of the original subpoena.

Mr Woods, against whom a banning order has been served by the Minister of Justice, will not attend today's hearing.

Permission to travel to Bloemfontein was refused by the chief magistrate of East London, Mr O Bergh.

He said it was not necessary for Mr Woods to be in court in person.

Judgment is not expected for several weeks.

Kruger to pay editor

NN 19/11/77

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DURBAN — The Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, has agreed to pay R3 500 damages plus costs, to settle a claim for wrongful arrest, made against him by Mr. J. M. W. O'Malley, former editor of the Daily News and now editor of the Argus, Cape Town.

In a consent notice signed by representatives of both parties Mr. Kruger acknowledges that the warrant of arrest in terms of which Mr. O'Malley was arrested "was invalid due to a technical defect therein which came about in circumstances beyond the effective personal control of the minister"

The claim arose out of the arrest of Mr. O'Malley at a wine-tasting ceremony on the evening of September 24, 1974, at the Blue Waters Hotel here.

Mr. O'Malley was arrested on a charge of contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The charge related to the publication of an article in the Daily News where he was the editor, on the afternoon of September 24th, about the pro-Frelimo rally which had been planned to take place that evening at Curries Fountain.

Mr. O'Malley was subse-

quently found not guilty and discharged by the Regional Court sitting in Durban

In March 1975 Mr. O'Malley brought action in the Supreme Court against Mr. Kruger in his personal capacity and in his capacity as Minister of Justice, claimed R10 000 damages

The action was due to have begun in the Durban Supreme Court next Monday

The consent notice also stated that Mr. O'Malley, as the plaintiff, acknowledged that his arrest took place in circumstances where the minister "at all times acted entirely in good faith and without any personal ill will or malice."

Accordingly the amount of R3 500 was agreed upon as full and final settlement of the action, the notice said — (Sapa.)

Banned Editor in good spirits says Senator

DD 12/11/77
(247)

CAPE TOWN — The banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, is in total control of his life, and in good spirits, the Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Sen Brian Bamford, said here last night.

Sen Bamford was speaking at the annual dinner of the law faculty of the University of Cape Town.

He said "I am speaking tonight in the place of Mr Woods, who was originally invited and accepted

"Mr Woods was recently banned' This means that he cannot leave the East London magisterial district, and in any event cannot attend a gathering of more than two people, including himself

"He cannot be quoted in any way He cannot

prepare anything for possible publication. He is a distinguished musician-composer and chess player. His banning means that he cannot compose music or prepare chess notes.

"I have spoken to him by phone, and though he cannot be quoted there is nothing to stop me giving you my impressions of him.

"He is in total control of his life, and in good spirits. He played golf on Thursday with Colin Eglin This was in order because a caddie does not count as a person in the definition of a gathering.

"At the club afterwards, Mr Woods was allowed to greet other club members, but was forced to sit at a table with Mr Eglin only

"Mr Woods is suffering

what has been called "civil death" — his total elimination from the mainstream of public and communal life

He had reminded Mr Woods when he spoke to him on the telephone of a Catholic priest who had lectured at Salamanca University during the Spanish Inquisition.

"He was taken from a lecture by the inquisitors and incarcerated in solitary confinement for five years (Mr Woods's period) He went straight back to his lecture at the university and spoke these words. 'As I was saying . . .

"With any luck, Mr Woods will do just that himself," Sen Bamford said. — SAPA.

(News by Andrew Braid, Van der Stel Building, 58 Burg Street, Cape Town)

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Woods
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THE Press Council has ruled in favour of a complaint by Mr Donald Woods, banned editor of the Daily Dispatch, East London, against the Cape Town newspaper, Die Burger.

The council found that a headline on a report in Die Burger of 19 September concerning the late Mr Steve Biko was misleading and that the paper should have published a correction immediately after receiving Mr Woods' complaint.

The report bore the headline "Lyke en bloed gevra in Biko-pamflet" (Corpses and blood demanded in Biko-pamphlet).

The report said a remembrance day linked with the burning down of houses, corpses in the streets and wounded and bleeding people was propagated in the pamphlet which led to the detention of Mr Steven Biko, who had later died in custody.

It added that the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, had shown the pamphlet to Die Burger.

On the day the report appeared, Mr Woods objected to Die Burger by telephone and followed with a telex message which said, the headline was misleading in that it created the impression that a Minister's unproven allegation of a Biko connection with an anonymous pamphlet was fact.

The report was also slanted, the message said.

"The headline carried no attribution or any other indication that it represented anything but fact, whereas it was a blatant comment headline."

In his letter of complaint of October 4 to the Press Council Mr Woods said:

"I told the acting editor of Die Burger, Mr Louis Louw, that I would not like to take a brother-editor before the Press Council but that in view of the seriousness of this contravention of the ethics of journalism generally and our own Press Code in particular, I would do so unless the matter was corrected with equal prominence in the following issue.

"This has not been done and I ask you please to take the necessary action."

Mr Woods, restricted to East London, was unable to attend the council's hearing on November 2.

The council's opinion was that "the majority of the reading public would have deduced from the headline that there was a connection between Mr Biko and the pamphlet and that Die Burger must have realised that the reading public would have so understood it." — Sapa.

Council upholds Woods complaint

JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council has ruled in favour of a complaint by Mr Donald Woods, banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, against the Cape Town newspaper, Die Burger.

The council found that a headline on a report in Die Burger of September 19 concerning the late Mr Steve Biko was misleading and that the paper should have published a correction immediately after receiving the complaint from Mr Woods.

Die Burger was ordered to publish the council's finding prominently.

The report on the front page of Die Burger bore the headline "Lyke en bloed gevra in Biko pamflet" (corpses and blood demanded in Biko pamphlet).

The report said, in part, that a remembrance day linked with the burning down of houses, corpses in the streets and wounded and bleeding people was propagated in the pamphlet which led to the detention of Mr Biko, who had later died in custody.

It added that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, had shown the pamphlet to Die Burger.

On the day the report appeared, Mr Woods raised an objection to Die Burger by telephone and followed with a telex message in which he said:

"This headline grossly misleading in that it creates the impression that a Minister's allegation (unproven) of a Biko connection with an anonymous pamphlet is established fact instead of simply an ex parte statement. The report was also slanted and no contrary statement reflected.

"The headline carried no attribution or any other indication that it represented anything but fact, whereas it was a blatant comment headline."

In his letter of complaint of October 4 to the Press Council Mr Woods stated:

"On the same date I telephoned the acting editor of Die Burger and pointed out to him the gross slanting implicit in

this report and in particular the headline, which is totally misleading in that it does not make any attributive indication that it is a comment headline based on a mere opinion by a partisan politician on a highly delicate issue

"I told the acting editor of Die Burger, Mr Louis Louw, that I would not like to take a brother-editor before the Press Council but that in view of the seriousness of this contravention of the ethics of journalism generally and our own press code in particular, I would do so unless the matter was corrected with equal prominence in the following issue.

"This has not been done and I ask you please to take the necessary action."

Mr Woods, restricted to East London under his banning order, was unable to attend the council's hearing of the complaint on November 2 and was represented by Mr Kelsey Stuart, SC.

The council's findings said Mr Stuart had submitted that the reading public would have deduced from the headline that the pamphlet had been either composed or disseminated by Mr Biko or that he had had a connection with it.

The suggestion in the headline that Mr Biko had had a connection with the pamphlet was incorrect and misleading, Mr Stuart claimed.

At the hearing, Mr H. J. Grosskopf, Editor, Southern Africa, of Nasionale Koerante, representing Die Burger, said the complaint was "trivial and vexatious."

he said that on September 17 Die Burger had reported Mr Kruger as saying that Mr Biko had been arrested in connection with certain inflammatory pamphlets, examples of which the

Minister would show to the press.

The report complained of appeared two days later after Mr Kruger had shown the pamphlets to a representative of Die Burger.

In the light of the previous report, the headline reference to the "Biko pamphlet" could not, in the circumstances, be misleading.

The September 17 report included the statement that Mr Kruger had also made known Mr Biko would be charged with the composing and dissemination of pamphlets which incited people to arson and riots

The council's finding said Mr Grosskopf had put forward that the use of Mr Biko's name would mean no more to the Afrikaans reader than it was the pamphlet in connection with which Mr Biko had been arrested or that there was a reference to Mr Biko in the pamphlet.

The finding said Mr Grosskopf had emphasized that Die Burger was not opposed to Mr Biko and had not hesitated (as was accepted by Mr Stuart) to give all sides of the affair.

The council's opinion was that "the majority of the reading public would have deduced from the headline that there was a connection between Mr Biko and the pamphlet and that Die Burger must have realised that the reading public would have so understood it."

The council was also of the opinion that after receiving Mr Woods's complaint by telephone and telex Die Burger "must have realised that the headline is misleading and, seen in the light of the inciting tendency of the pamphlet, the respondent should have immediately published a correction."

The complaint was heard by a former Supreme Court judge, Mr O. Galgut (chairman), with Dr H. McCaul and Mr A. H. Macintosh as members.

The precise terms of the Press Council finding were.

1 The headline "Corpses and blood asked for in Biko pamphlet" in Die Burger's edition of September 19 is misleading for the following reasons:

A. Minister Kruger had not said more on September 17 than that Mr Biko "would be charged with the compilation and circulation of pamphlets which incited unrest and arson;

B. On the contrary the headline informed the majority of the reading public, as an established fact, that a connection existed between the pamphlet in which "Corpses and blood" were asked for and Mr Biko

2. Even if the respondent did not want to create the above impression, he should have published a correction immediately after receiving the complaint.

3. Die Burger is ordered to publish paragraphs 1 to 3 prominently. — SAPA-DDR.

FOOTNOTE: Permission to quote Mr Woods in this report was granted by the Minister of Justice.

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Woods decision today

EAST LONDON — Judgment will be given today in the State's appeal against the setting aside of a six months sentence on Mr Donald Woods, the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, for refusing to name an informant.

The appeal before Mr Justice Jansen, sitting with Mr Justice Trollip, Mr Justice Muller, Mr Justice Diemont and Mr Justice Joubert in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court, was heard last week and judgment was reserved to today.

Mr Woods was originally brought before an East London magistrate, Mr N. R. Oosthuysen, to be examined in terms of Section 83 of Act 56 of 1955 — the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Woods was asked to disclose the identity of the informant who alleged that he had seen a Mr Hattingh (of the Special Branch) near the scene of a break-in at the offices of the Black Community Programme in King Wilham's Town.

He refused to disclose the identity of the informant and was sentenced to six months imprisonment on December 22, 1975.

On appeal to the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, Mr Justice Kannemeyer, with Mr Justice Stewart concurring, found on December 9, 1976 that if Section 83 required the examination to be held by the magistrate who issued the subpoena (Mr P S Sauerman), the examination in the present case was not an examination held under that section and was thus a nullity. —
DDR

Woods 'thrilled by decision'

Court rules in favour of editor

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THE BANNED editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, was thrilled at an Appeal Court decision in his favour, his wife, Mrs Wendy Woods, said in Pretoria yesterday.

"It's one in the eye for Mr Kruger, and it's very satisfying to see Mr Kruger and his system beaten yet, again by proper legal process

"This is the sixth major court action that Donald has won, and it shows that, when he has a chance to defend himself properly and according to the law, he always wins," she added.

"It seems Mr Kruger uses the courts as infrequently as possible to stifle people who could help produce dialogue and alternatives to confrontation.

"Mr Kruger must be really scared of Donald's influence. If he wasn't, he would welcome the chance of a full and open debate with him on SABC-TV on the issues facing South Africa, particularly why Donald and so many others have been banned and detained without trial," Mrs Woods said — Sapa.

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday ruled in favour of Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, East London, who refused to disclose the name of an informant to an East London magistrate.

Mr Woods was sentenced to six months' jail on December 22, 1975, by the magistrate, Mr N R Oosthuysen, for refusing to identify an informant Mr Woods had been subpoenaed to appear before the magistrate for an examination under the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Oosthuysen ruled that there was no cause to justify Mr Wood's refusal.

On appeal to the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, Mr Justice D D V Kanne-meyer, with Mr Justice T Stewart concurring, set aside the magistrate's ruling and sentence on December 9, 1976.

The judges found that the relevant section of the Criminal Procedure Act required an examination to be held by the magistrate who issued the subpoena

The subpoena had been signed by Mr P S Sauer-man. Thus the examination was a nullity.

Yesterday the Appeal Court dismissed the State's appeal against the finding of the Eastern Cape Supreme Court.

The State argued that the court erred in holding that an examination by a magistrate other than the magistrate who issued the subpoena, was a nullity.

Yesterday Mr Justice Jansen, with Mr Justice Trollip, Mr Justice Muller, Mr Justice Diemont and Mr Justice Joubert concurring, handed down his judgment. He said there could be little doubt that the section of the Act envisaged that a person called by a magistrate should appear before that magistrate and not before another magistrate.

The judge said the State had advanced three arguments against the meaning but that similar arguments had been advanced, and dismissed in the lower court. He agreed with the lower court's reasons, he said. — Sapa.

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30 pm Jameson Hall) (2/6/76)

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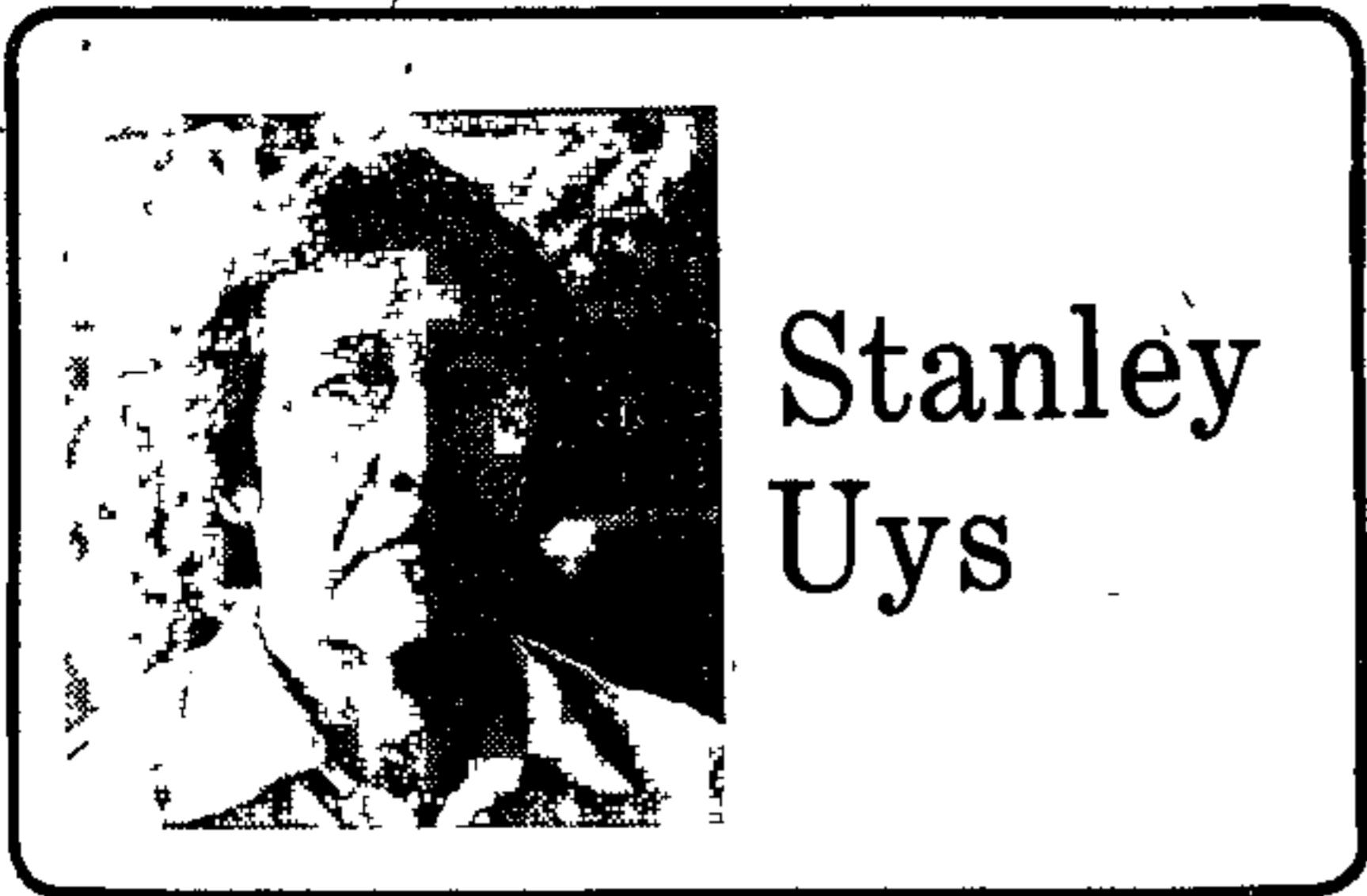
re :

Monetary B. Kantor

Welfare and Distribution S. Archer

Any problems or queries now or during the year may be directed either to your tutor or to me (D. Rees - Room B250).

* * * * *



Stanley Uys

SOUTH AFRICA, since 1948, has received what is generally known as "unfavourable publicity" abroad. But has the publicity ever been as unfavourable as it is now? Or as sustained?

Looking back over South Africa's ups and downs, I can recall no other occasion where the "South African story", as the foreign news media call it, has figured so prominently over such a long period.

This period began on June 16 last year with the Soweto disturbances, and it has continued up to the present day.

At no stage during the past 17 months has foreign interest flagged. In fact, if anything, it has increased, and it is still increasing. The reason for this is obvious. There is a general feeling, at least in western Europe, that the South African race problem is endemic, dangerous and deserving of constant and thorough analysis.

If it is possible to arrange recent South African events in an order of priorities in terms of the interest they have aroused in western Europe and the United States, I would list these priorities as follows.

First, there is Steve Biko's death. Without question, the manner in which this young black consciousness leader died while in Security Police custody has shocked

western Europeans more than any other event in recent apartheid history.

The circumstances of Biko's death, and the present inquest, have been front page news in many west European newspapers and have been featured prominently in radio and television bulletins.

The question I have been asked, and asked repeatedly, is — how have white South Africans reacted to the news of Biko's death? Were they shocked? Will this cause them to vote against the National Party in next week's General Election?

The answers I have given to these questions are, first, yes I think many white South Africans were shocked by Biko's death — and, second, no I don't think this will be a factor in the elections, except insofar as it confirms many opposition supporters in their rejection of apartheid and everything that it stands for.

Coupled with shock over Biko's death is sheer disbelief over the comments made by the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, in the matter.

Most people simply have been rendered speechless by the Minister's contradictory and insensitive remarks.

Second in the priority rating has been the reaction to the October 19 raids

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26/11/77 (247)
second half of the year, viz.

— the banning of the various organisations, including the Christian Institute and its leaders, and the closure of the World, accompanied by the detention of its Editor, Mr Percy Qboza, and the banning of the Editor of the Daily Despatch, Mr Donald Woods.

These are the two events at the top of the priority list, but following them a close third is the growing interest, particularly in important decision-making and opinion-forming circles, in the sanctions campaign against South Africa.

This campaign is only slowly beginning to take shape now, and what distinguishes it from earlier campaigns is that whereas the earlier campaigns, in the main, were conducted by anti-apartheid organisations today the campaign is being promoted at the United Nations, in the EEC, and among Western governments, trade union federations, and other institutions.

The significant fact that is emerging is that interest in the South African situation is now becoming more thoughtful and long-term. More and more people are beginning to shake their heads dubiously over the Republic's long-term prospects.

It was not solely for topical interest that the Times this week published a full-page article by Steve Biko (originally published in a book of essays, "Black Theology". The South African Voice, edited by Basil Moore).

The Times, like so many other publications, radio and television programmes, and everybody else, is beginning to think deeper and deeper on what possible formula can be found to

Those intending to proceed

For d.p. purposes attend 75% of the tutorial class).

30 pm Jamson Hall (2/6/76)

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save South Africa from a race confrontation

This brings one to the General Election, due to take place in South Africa next Wednesday. Usually, the foreign media take little interest in white elections in the Republic, but this time they are extremely interested. The message, at last, has got through to them that white elections are an index of

how willing whites in South Africa will be to liberalise their policies and come to terms with black aspirations.

The questions that are being asked about the elections are, first, whether the Progressive Federal Party is likely to become the official Opposition, and if so what influence it will wield in Parliament (there is no interest whatever in

the New Republic Party or the South African Party). Second, how strong the verligte movement is in the National Party and whether it will manifest itself in any way at or after the elections — and, third, whether Mr Vorster's Government is likely to change its race policies after the election, once it has obtained massive electoral support.

In other words, will Mr Vorster feel free to embark on liberalisation of apartheid, or will he become a captive of his vast electoral following, and in fact, become more, not less, conservative.

This roughly is how the EEC ministers, for example, view South Africa. They have suspended further action against South Africa until next

week's elections have been held and the new government has settled in. Then if there is no movement on the race front, the pressures will build up again against South Africa.

So the choice really lies with white South Africa. next Wednesday. The way they cast their votes could determine what happens next in the councils of the international community.

Editor

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28/11/77

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Vorster

EAST LONDON — The banned Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, is taking legal advice on the question of whether to sue the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, for saying that anybody in South Africa is punished simply for opposing the government.

Mr Woods' attorney, Mr K. J. Kingon, said: "The question here is, does this imply that banned people have done more than simply oppose the government?"

"A banned person who genuinely doesn't know why he has been banned is surely entitled to resent the inference that he has gone beyond criticising the government and to test such a statement in the courts.

"This question is being investigated at the request of Mr Woods. If it seems that Mr Vorster's statement is defamatory of our client, action will be taken."

Mr Woods' action arises from an article in this week's Sunday Tribune in which Mr Vorster is quoted as saying: "No action has ever been taken against anybody for opposing the government, and there is more unbridled criticism of the government and ministers in this country than most other countries." — DDR.

Paper's court order halts Nat pamphlet

DURBAN — The Daily News was granted an urgent interdict yesterday against the Natal provincial secretary of the National Party and a Durban printing company to prevent a National Party pamphlet, which the newspaper claimed was defamatory, from being distributed.

In papers placed before Mr Justice Leon in chambers yesterday, the Editor of the Daily News, Mr Michael Green, on behalf of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, submitted that a reference to the Daily News in the pamphlet was defamatory.

Mr D J. Rossouw, the Natal provincial secretary of the National Party was named as the first respondent and the Concorde Printing and Rubber Stamp Manufacturers (Pty) as the second respondent in the papers.

In an affidavit, Mr Green said he wished to draw the attention of the court to a portion of the pamphlet which stated

"How long are you prepared to swallow double talk like this? Another insult to your intelligence"

"How long are you going to endure the further insult to your intelligence by the Daily News's distortion of what the Minister said about African people, meaning not Afrikaans people or English people or Jewish people, but all of us in Africa and of Africa."

Mr Green said Mr Rossouw had distributed or intended to distribute the pamphlet with the intention of defaming the Daily News

"Whatever the passage quoted means, it conveys that the Daily News has been guilty of distorting

the news"

Mr Green said it might well be that the passage quoted was intended to refer to articles published in the Daily News about a report of statements made by the Minister of Justice to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi during an interview

"The publication of the statements has resulted in considerable public reaction and accordingly the allegation that the Daily News has been guilty of distortion is particularly offensive and is intended and likely, to damage the reputation of the new-

spaper"

Mr Green said it was "quite incorrect" that the articles published by the Daily News distorted the statements of the Minister of Justice

Mr Justice Leon ordered that Mr Rossouw should show cause by 2 15 pm today why he should not be permanently restrained from distributing and publishing the pamphlet and the Concorde Printing and Rubber Stamp Manufacturers from printing or delivering the pamphlet
— SAPA

Students

find

NM 30/11/77

Mercury

at zero

247

Mercury Reporter

PIETERMARITZBURG — Students yesterday ceremoniously burnt the front page of yesterday's Natal Mercury at the National Union of South African Students congress here in protest against the headline "1 200 for 1" on the lead story about the Rhodesian strike into Mozambique.

The newspaper was burnt after students from the University of Cape Town had read out a statement expressing their "disgust at the way the Mercury editorial board had turned the deaths of more than 1 000 people into a jovial colonial cricket match."

The heads of the Nusas-affiliated delegations to the Universities of Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg), Witwatersrand and Cape Town and the non-affiliated Rhodes University associated themselves with the statement.

"Sovereignty"

The statement called on the Mercury editor to explain "this utter disregard for human life and the sovereignty of the State of Mozambique."

It accused the Mercury of expressing its approval "of this invasion of a foreign State by exclaiming in joyous terms that 'Smith's men score total success in camp strikes'."

"The continued pushing of war psychosis by way of defence bonds, SABC, TV, etc. has now reached a new high," the statement continued.

"At this stage we feel only one thing can be done with this newspaper" . . . and the front page was then set alight and dropped into a waste-paper basket.

A member of the Pietermaritzburg SRC, Mr. Jeremy Grundy, said "As a Rhodesian I totally object to everything that has happened here and I demand an apology from Nusas"

This was not given.

Inside Mail

The struggle

to be free

CONT →

IT'S no thanks to the Nationalists that South Africa still enjoys as much of a free Press as it does. The Nationalists have spent 29 years legislating, harassing and intimidating, constantly seeking to curb access to information and full publication.

They have always blamed the mirror (the Press) rather than the ugly image it reflects (Nationalist utterances and the results of Nationalist policies).

The latest example of this occurred only last week. When a newspaper published offensive remarks made by the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, about English-speakers and Jews, it was the newspaper which came under attack from the Government, not Mr Kruger.

In the circumstances, it is remarkable that South Africans remain so well-served by their newspapers — or at least by some of them.

There is no direct censorship in the sense that government officials sit in newspaper offices the way the Nationalists have been strangling the Press is to pass a law — and then it is up to newspapers to ensure that they do not transgress, on pain of criminal prosecution or more.

The process is an insidious one because most of the time South Africans are unaware that their newspapers are applying censorship so as to remain within the confines of a host of Nationalist-created laws.

Of course, the concept of a free Press is at any time a relative one. For the Press is part of a society and it cannot claim to have any more rights than anyone else in that society. Conversely, when individual rights are eroded, the Press suffers also.

Hence in South Africa, the Press has suffered from the same assault on personal liberties by the Nationalists as every South African. In addition, the Nationalists have enacted laws which have had a specifically curtailing effect on the Press.

Just how far Press freedom has been diminished emerges from the just-published second edition of "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law". The author Kelsey Stuart, is chief legal adviser to South African Associated Newspapers Ltd, owners of the Rand Daily Mail, and is acknowledged as the country's leading expert on the law.



● Because of the Affected Organisations Act, newspapers must be careful not to associate themselves with appeals for funds for movements declared 'affected' — whether these appear in letters to the editor, advertisements or news reports.

A newspaperman who happens, in the course of his work, to obtain information or a document concerning an affected organisation can be compelled to yield the information, under penalty of a R600 fine or imprisonment for one year, or both.

● The Riotous Assemblies Act places a wide range of restrictions on newspapers. It is an offence to 'encourage' a prohibited meeting.

The Act also makes it an offence to engender feelings of hostility between whites and other races. That sounds unexceptionable. But where does one draw the line? How far can a newspaper safely go in publishing the comments of politicians or letter writers or expressing editorial opinions on the country's racial situation?

Equally with the issue of incitement to public violence. When does mere reporting or comment become a crime?

Racial hostility also features in the Bantu Administration Act (enacted in 1927 and inherited by the Nationalists), the Terrorism Act and the General Law Amendment Act of 1974. At each turn, newspapers must be extra careful.

● The denial of free movement within South Africa creates severe problems in news gathering. White journalists need permission to enter "black" areas, and particularly during times of unrest this can be a means of controlling the reporting of events. Black journalists need permission to be in other urban areas for more than 72 hours at a time.

● And always, hanging over journalists, is the Criminal Procedure Act which can result in jailing for refusing to disclose information. It used to be eight days at a time, the Nationalists increased the imprisonment to up to a year. The journalistic ethic of protecting a news source is not recognised in law.

There are still more restrictions because, as noted earlier, newspapers are as subject to the law as any individual — and putting something into black and white for all to see makes them

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28 journalists held after protest march

DD 1/12/77
247

JOHANNESBURG — The 28 journalists and a photographer who were arrested during a protest march yesterday morning are to appear in court here today on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The journalists, who include four women, are being held at John Vorster Square. Police have completed their investigations.

The journalists first gathered at St Mary's Cathedral near the Johannesburg station from where they marched into Eloff Street carrying placards, they then turned into Market Street and headed towards the Special Branch headquarters.

Some of the placards read: Lift the ban on UBJ (Union of Black Journalists), Release or charge detainees, and We demand release of Joe Tholoe.

Four police vehicles met the group.

Police in civilian clothes surrounded the journalists, wrenched placards from the marchers and ordered them into the vehicles.

A man who was taking pictures as police ordered the marchers into cars was also bundled and ushered into one of the cars before they drove off to John Vorster Square.

Mr Moroe Mosimane, a photographer for The Star who was covering the march, was also arrested.

Some of the journalists involved in the march were Mrs Juby Mayet, Mr Mike Norton, Mr Phil Mthimkhulu, Mr Jeff Masekoameng, Mr Ike Segola, Mr Mike Ndlazi, Mr Thami Mazwai, Mr Nunka Mkhahpe, Mr Ike Motsapi, Mr Ernest Shuenyane, Mr Bafana Shezi, Mr Harry Mashabela, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Absalom Mntshane, Mr Shadrack Nkomfo, Mr Reuben Nkadimeng and Miss Matilda Masipa. — S.A.P.A.

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- (2) Other holders of
 - insurance comp
 - other private (non-banking)

- (3) The Banking Sector
 - (a) Commercial bank
 - government s
 - legal mini
 - (b) Reserve Bank

- (4) Loan levies - the

Foreign (5) Overseas capital

(Addendum: Some description of and methods of obtaining organisations.)

B. Major types of government accounts

- (1) Revenue
- (2) Loan
- (3) Exchequer (= Revenue plus Loan plus SWA plus Bantu Education)

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pages for use both by journalists and lawyers in dealing with the many laws which affect the Press

Reading Stuart's book, an experienced newspaperman is reminded of the numerous areas where Press freedom has been curtailed. These include

● The first major undermining of freedom came in the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The wide definition of communism enabled the Nationalists to use the law to emasculate political opponents, whether communists, non-communists or anti-communists

The communist cry having worn thin, the 1950 law was extended last year and became the Internal Security Act. The new accent is to permit action, both by Ministerial decree and through criminal prosecution, against those said to be endangering the security of the State or the maintenance of public order

The crucial practical problem facing newspapers is: When does mere reporting and editorial comment stray across the line and become a crime?

Statements by politicians and public figures must be carefully scrutinised — and censored, if necessary — to ensure that newspapers do not fall foul of the law

Newspapers must also keep a wary eye on the section of the Act which makes it an offence to advocate, advise, defend or encourage anyone outside the country to bring about violent or forcible change within South Africa

It is under the Internal Security Act, too, that bannings now take place. Newspapermen face this danger as much as anyone else. Their right to write can be arbitrarily terminated by the Minister of Justice, as happened to Donald Woods last month

Newspapers are also not allowed to publish the statements of banned persons — which means that entire segments of public opinion are choked off. Newspapers keep card index files of the banned to keep track of the hundreds of forbidden people

The Act also allows for the preemptory banning of a newspaper, as happened to The World last month. And it provides for preventive detention. The jailing of Percy Qoboza is an awful warning to others in the Press

● The Prisons Act, in conjunction with court judgments interpreting it, has resulted in newspapers not publishing any reports about jail conditions for more than a decade except those which place the Prisons Department in a favourable light

Stuart comments in his book: "To publish adverse matter is quite simply too dangerous unless an editor is prepared to place his information before the prison authorities for comment. And he can hardly expect them to acknowledge the correctness of such information for it is inherently probable that they will deny it"

● Regarding defence matters, there is a total prohibition on the publication of most information unless the Minister of Defence, or a designated official, gives permission

Whether reports emanate from within South Africa or from abroad, they must be approved for publication. An exception allowed by Ministerial dispensation is a public statement made by foreign officials and responsible persons such as Prime Ministers or public figures of stature. As Stuart notes, editors must, however, be convinced that they are indeed responsible figures and that they spoke in public

It is the power to control defence information that provided the Government with the means of keeping South Africans in the dark about Angola in 1975 and 1976

● The Official Secrets Act places a blanket



By BENJAMIN POGRUND

prohibition on the publication of "any military, police or security matter". That covers Government secrets, plus the preservation of internal security or the maintenance of law and order by the police, plus the activities of BOSS

● The Sabotage Act provides that the crime of sabotage is also committed by anyone who incites, instigates, commands, aids, advises, encourages or procures anyone to commit any of a wide range of listed actions

In theory, the accurate reporting of facts and the expressing of opinions is in order. But at what point does this become the dangerous offence of inciting, instigating, etc?

● The Terrorism Act has a staggeringly wide definition of what terrorism is supposed to be. And again, inciting, instigating, encouraging, advising, are themselves made to be an act of terrorism

Newspapers live under constant and enormous risk because of this — in their news reports, editorial comment, political columns, letters to the editor and advertisements. Any infringement of the Terrorism Act can mean a compulsory minimum of five years' imprisonment

There is an additional hazard: the Terrorism Act provides for incommunicado and indefinite detention and one journalist after the other has been detained in this way. The Government maintains that they are detained for activities unconnected with their journalism. However that may be, the inhibiting effect is marked

In addition, because the Act allows the police such untrammelled power, newspapers experience vast difficulty in doing their job and reporting on detainees. The police are not obliged to give information. Sometimes they do, sometimes they don't

It is an offence to break the law by way of protest against the laws of the country. Newspapers dealing with organised campaigns against the law which involve contravening the law can be guilty of an offence if they are judged to have commented sympathetically on the campaign

● The Unlawful Organisations Act bans various organisations — and hence it is a crime to publish any views of these movements. Reporting the fact of an underground leaflet is all right, quoting even a sentence from it is an offence

are... public... the widest... scrupulously... presents... pages of this... Stuart's book

Committing... must also be avoided. Children... of care must not be... given to children... people wanting to adopt

It's an offence to get onto Railways property except through authorised entrances or to take photographs on Railways property without permission

Banknotes cannot be used in photographs however much reduced... No publicity can be given to lotteries... as much an offence for a newspaper as it is for anyone else

The burden is always on newspapers to avoid contravening the law. And in some cases, such as prisons and terrorism, the burden is on newspapers to prove that they are not liable to be convicted

● As a result of threats by the Government the newspaper industry — through its controlling body of proprietors, the Newspaper Press Union — has over the years tightened up the Press Code of Conduct. Provisions concerning racial hostility and fair comment, however reasonable they sound in practice inhibit newspapers from free publication

Transgressions of the Government's laws and the Press Council rules can land newspapers, editors and journalists in serious trouble

Banning of a newspaper or a journalist is one sanction. The Press Council allows for a fine of up to R10 000. Criminal sanctions through the courts range from a fine to jailing for up to 20 years

Faced by such perils the newspaper adage is applied time and again: When in doubt, leave out

That suits the Nationalists' purpose in the suppressing of news... It does not suit the need of South Africans to know what is happening around them

Any journalist who claims that he is not affected by this maze of restrictions is simply not even trying to fulfil his responsibility of reporting on the totality of South African society. If he is trying, he cannot avoid bumping up against the restrictions day in and day out

While saying all this, it is true, as is frequently said, that South Africa has the most free Press in Africa, although whether this means much these days is a moot point

That our Press is as free as it is is in large measure due to the perseverance of journalists and their dedication to their craft

Even then the law was freedom could not have persisted had it not been for a lingering respect by the Nationalists for the idea of Press freedom. They have that respect abroad as being a toast to... so that, even while engaged in undermining the Press, they were careful to avoid a frontal assault

That, however, was to be abandoned on October 19 when, for the first time, an established newspaper, The World, breached the wall. The question is how far the Nationalists will now go in strangling the Press

(Written by Benjamin Pogrand, 121 Main Street, Johannesburg)

* THE NEWSPAPERMAN'S GUIDE TO THE LAW by K W Stuart (Hutterworths, hard cover R27.50, soft cover R14.50)

Kompeer gorrel: roebels!

DIE storie doen die ronde van buitelandse persmannedat 'n manjifieke, blinknuwe kompeer gewys word. Dit tik vir 'n vale en flits af en toe die Nasionale Partykleure.

Menere, sê die top-Nat, hier het ons die wonderlikste stuk toerusting wat nog onder die vreedsame bestuur van die Nasionale Party vervolmaak is — die Kruithoring-Kompeer Mk 1.

Die kompeer is spesiaal ontwikkel deur ons Nasionale wetenskaplikes om die toekoms van iedereen in Suid-Afrika te verseker. Dit kan voorspel wat in die toekoms gaan gebeur en die regering kan dus vir iedereen beplan sodat daar algehele veiligheid in die land kan heers. Dit kan beskryf word as 'n tegnologiese profeet.

Die buitelandse persmannedat genooi om hul vrae te stel.

Eerste vraag: Kan die kompeer sê of daar oor tien jaar 'n wit of 'n swart regering in Suid-Afrika sal wees?

Die vraag word aan die kompeer gevoer. Die ligte flits helder oranje, dit ritel en kliek diep in die ding se maag en uit kom die antwoord.

"Wit!"

Daar, sien u, sê die voor-aanstaande Nasionalis "Nog vrae?"

"Ja," sê 'n joernalis wat

Meninge uit die swart pers

meer besorg is oor stygende lewensduurte as iets anders "ek wil van die kompeer weet of hy my kan sê wat 'n kilogram botter oor tien jaar sal kos."

Ook die vraag word in die kompeergevoer en die masjien flits en gorrel sy antwoord.

"Tien roebels!"

Die gelijkenis is daar vir elkeen om te sien. Geen Christen wil 'n kommunistiese regering in Suid-Afrika aan bewind sien nie, — nie oor tien jaar nie, nooit nie.

Maar 'n Christen wil ook nie, moet ons byvoeg, 'n toestand sien voortduur wat dit meer waarskynlik maak dat anti-Christelike grootmagte van hierdie wêreld 'n vasstrapplek in Suid-Afrika kry nie.

The Voice, 3/7/77

Broers? No sir!

MENEER, laat my toe om as Godvresende Christen die nuwe wet teen te staan wat die Transkeise Parlement nou voorberei om veelwywery te wetlig.

Dit is vreemd dat 'n parlement soos dié van Transkei, aan die hoof waarvan so 'n stewige Christen soos hoofman Kaizer Matanzima

staan, aan so 'n heidense gebruik kan dink.

Ek sien dat wilmense ook toegelaat sal word om poligamie te beoefen. Die gewaar is hier duidelik 'n Witman sal sy wit vrou in Transvaal hê met wie hy volgens gemene reg getrou is, en 'n swart vrou in Transkei, aan wie hy volgens die Transkeiwet kinders sal gee. Kan u u voorsiel wat sal gebeur met die kinders van vrou nommer een (wit) en vrou nommer twee (swart)?

Sal hulle kan sê hulle is broers en susters? No sir. Nontoko Mvubasi, Ncambedlana in The Voice, 3/12/77.

Saam teen euwel

KORRUPSIE is die aartsvriend van die nasie se vooruitgang en selfrespek en sy versengende krag slaan ontwikkelende lande die hardste.

Ons is nie vry van hierdie euwel nie, en ons moederland se voorbeeld was nie altyd onberispelik nie. Kom ons staan saam en roei dit uit.

Pres. Lucas Mangope in Post, 3/12/77.

Afrika-ur

DIE uur van Afrika — in terme van die lot van die

mens — het nog nie aangebreek nie. Maar dit kom Daaromtrent kan daar geen twyfel hoegenaamd wees nie.

Dit sal nie 'n tydvak van die materialisme wees nie. Dit is ondenkbaar. Dit sal veel eerder 'n era van vergeesteliking inlui.

Die kleinste en armste nasie van Afrika het meer spiritualiteit en menslike warmte as die wêreld se grootste magte.

Pres. Lucas Mangope in Post 7/12/77.

Dan's dit okay

DIT vreemd dat daar so 'n gedoe oor sensuur in Suid-Afrika kom vandat die pryswennende boek Magerfontein, O Magerfontein' verbied is.

Swart Suid-Afrikaanse skrywers is die afgelope jaar of tien feitlik afgeskryf deur die sensuurraad, waarin daar, terloops, geen swart verteenwoordigers sitting het nie.

Al die akademici en skrywers wat woedend gemaak is deur die Publikasieraad se verbod op Etienne Leroux se satiriese boek was doodstil toe die owerhede op 19 Oktober die swart skrywersvereniging Medupe stilgemaak het.

Dit is ironies dat wit skrywers, veral Afrikaanse skrywers, nou onrustig word oor die Publikasieraad se bedrywighede terwyl hierdie literêre inmening al in die jare vyftig begin het en tot die uittoeg van swart skrywers geleidelik het.

In 'n neutdop, sensuur is 'n rasse-ding — as dit nie 'n mens se eie skryfwerk raak nie, is dit okay.

Mothobi Mutloatsi in The Voice, 3/12/77.

Nog ongevoelig

BETREFFENDE die Carlton-bomontplofing 'Ons het geen twyfel nie dat blankes min Jimmy Kruger op sy woord geneem het dat swart "terroriste" al weer bedrywig was en dat hy dus reg gehandel het toe hy (voor) verlede maand op die swart organisasies toegeslaan het.

Na ons mening, hoewel die skuldiges nog nie gevind is nie, het mr Kruger nogmaals sy ongevoeligerheid aan die dag gelê teenoor stemlose swartes wat hulleself nie kan verdedig nie.

Dit is die soort uitspraak wat werklik die saad van rassevyandigheid en wanhoop saai.

The Voice, 3/12/77

DD. 12/77
**Woods ban
Gazetted (247)**

PRETORIA — The name of Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, has been added to the list of people prohibited from attending gatherings for a period of five years in terms of the Internal Security Act, according to a notice in yesterday's Government-Gazette.

The notice was served on Mr Woods on October 19, this year and expires on October 31, 1982 — SAPA.

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RDM 20/12/77.
327 Detention

Two more black reporters held

Staff Reporter

TWO reporters of The Voice newspaper, Mr Phil Mthimkulu and Ms Juby Mayet, were detained yesterday by two plainclothes policemen at the paper's offices in Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

The assistant editor of The Voice, Mr Mike Norton, said he had been given no reason for the detentions.

There are now 12 black journalists being detained.

The president of the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa), Mr

Zwelakhe Sisulu, last night condemned the detentions in a statement.

"The detention of Mr Mthimkulu and Ms Mayet, two respected journalists in the community, will further antagonise an already impatient mass of black people," he said.

The other black journalists already in detention are Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the banned World; Mr Aggrey Klaaste, news editor of the banned Weekend World; Mr Willie Bokala, a World reporter; Mr Joe Thloloe, of The

World, Mr Mike Mzileni, of Drum magazine, Mr Jan Tugwana, of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Enoch Duma, of the Sunday Times, Mr Quraish Patel, of the Daily News, Durban, Mr Wiseman Khuzwayo, of the Daily News; and Miss Thenjiwe Mthintso, formerly of the Daily Dispatch, East London.

Mr Moffat Zungu, of The World, has been charged under the Terrorism Act and will appear on trial with 17 others. The indictment cites Mr Mzileni as a co-conspirator.

247

[Handwritten signature]

World editors express concern

DD 27/12/77

(247)

LONDON — The International Press Institute, which represents more than 1 800 leading editors throughout the world, has written to Prime Minister Vorster, saying they are "very concerned" about the banning and detention of journalists in South Africa and press censorship.

In the letter sent from his London secretariat, IPI director Mr Peter Galliner said. "We are very distressed to witness

the deterioration of the status of the press in your country. We receive constant reports of heavy legal sanctions imposed on newspapers causing severe financial constraints and difficulties.

"We urge you to respect the freedom of the press and not to resort to the repression of all forms of criticism, a practice unknown in democratic countries

"We would like assurances that your

Government will cease harassment of journalists and the press and release all journalists now in detention"

Of journalists who have been through the courts and jailed, the IPI said they were particularly concerned about the case of former Cape Times and Rand Daily Mail journalist, Mr Anthony Holiday, who is in poor health

Mr Galliner said "We urge you to release him as soon as possible to ensure he receives proper medical attention."

He said the cases of The Voice journalists, Mr Phil Mthimkulu and mother-of-seven Mrs Judy Mayet had been brought to his attention.

The letter included a list of eight journalists detained under the Terrorism Act and the two jailed under the Act, Mr Holiday and Mr David Rabkin; three journalists detained under the Internal Security Act; the two journalists banned from press work under the Act (Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, and one of his reporters, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso who is also detained); and the names of Mrs Mayet and Mr Mthimkulu, but the letter was sent to Mr Vorster before they appeared in court and were released on bail on charges of theft or alternatively hindering the liquidation of an illegal organisation.

A spokesman for the Department of Prisons said yesterday: "It is not true that Mr Holiday is in poor health. Furthermore, as the letter has been addressed to the Prime Minister, this department has no further comments." — DDC.